HdO

A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

by

Rudolf E. de Jong

BRILL

A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects
of Central and Southern Sinai

Handbook of Oriental Studies
Handbuch der Orientalistik

Section 1, The Near and Middle East

Edited by

M. Şükrü-Hanioğlu
C.H.M. Versteegh

VOLUME 101

A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

By

Rudolf E. de Jong

BRILL

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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 $\bar{a}$
I	short high vowel i or u

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

dialect	group	name of tribe/social entity
ḌA	I	the dialect of the *Ḍullām* (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970 (*Ẓullām*)
RA*	I	*Rmēliy*, the dialect of the *Rmēlāt* (*Rumaylāt*)
SA*	I	*Swērkiy*, the dialect of the *Sawārkah* (*Sawārika*)
MlA	I	*Mallāḥiy*, the dialect of the *Malālḥah* (*Malāliḥa*)
ʿAA*	V	*ʿArāyšiy*, the dialect of *al-ʿArīš* (not a tribe, but a town)
nTA*	I	Northern *Ṭuṛbāniy*, the dialect of the northern *Taṛābīn* (*Tarābīn*)
BaA*	I	*Balawiy*, the dialect of *Baliy* (or *Biliy*) (*Balī*)
DA*	IV	*Dwēḡriy*, the dialect of the *Dawāḡrah* (*Dawāḡira*)
BA*	III	*Bayyāḍiy*, the dialect of the *Bayyāḍiyyah* (*Bayyāḍīya*)
AxA*	III	*Axrasiy*, the dialect of the *Axārsah* (*ʾAxārisa*)
SaA*	II	*Smḗ niy*, the dialect of the *Samḗ nah* (*Samāʿina*)
ʿAgA*	II	*ʿGēliy*, the dialect of the *ʿAgāylah* (*ʿAqāyila*)
MA*	I	*Masʿūdiy*, the dialect of the *Masāʿīd* (*Masāʿīd*)
ʿAyA*	I	*ʿAyyādiy*, the dialect of the *ʿAyāydah* (*ʿAyāyida*)
eŠA* near	III	eastern *Šarqāwiy*, the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (a region in the eastern Nile Delta, not a tribe)
ḤwA	I	*Ḥwēṭiy*, the dialect of the *Ḥwēṭāt* (*Ḥuwayṭāt*)
ḤwJ	I	*Ḥwēṭiy*, the dialect of the *Ḥwēṭāt* (*Ḥuwayṭāt*) in Jordan
AḥA	I	*Aḥaywiy*, the dialect of the *Aḥaywāt* (*ʾUḥaywāt*)
TyA	I	*Tīhiy*, the dialect of the *Tayāha* (*Tayāhā*)
DbA	I	*Dibriy*, the dialect of the *Dbūr* (*Dubūr*)
TAṢ	I	*Ṭuṛbāniy of Ṣadr*, the dialect of the *Taṛābīn* of *Ṛās Ṣadr* (*Tarābīn* of *Raʾs Sudr*)
ǦrA	I	*Ǧarāḡriy*, the dialect of the *Ǧarāḡrah* (*Ǧarāḡira*)
TAN	I	*Ṭuṛbāniy of Nwēbíʿ*, the dialect of the *Taṛābīn* of *Nwēbíʿ* (*Tarābīn* of *Nuwaybíʿ*)

BdA	I	*Badriy*, the dialect of the *Badāṛah* (*Badāra* or *Badārā*)[1]
ʿLA	VIII	ʿ*Lēgiy*, the dialect of the ʿ*Lēgāt* (ʿ*Ulayqāt*)
ḤmA	VII	*Ḥmēḏiy*, the dialect of the *Ḥamāḏah* (*Ḥamāḏa*)
ṢwA	VII	*Ṣālḥiy*, the dialect of the *Ṣawālḥah* (*Ṣawāliḥa*)
GrA	VII	*Garrāšiy*, the dialect of the *Garāršah* (*Qarāriša*)
ǦbA	VII	*Ǧbāliy*, the dialect of the *Ǧbāliyyah* (*Ǧibālīya*)
ASA	VII	*Saʿīdiy*, the dialect of the *Awlād Saʿīd* (ʾ*Awlād Saʿīd*)
HnA	VII	*Hindiy*, the dialect of the *Hanādwah* (a non-Bedouin family in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr) (*Hanādiwa*)
ṬwA	VII	*Ṭuwara* Arabic: in collective reference to the dialects of the *Ǧbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Ṣawālḥah, Garāršah* and *Ḥamāḏah* (*Ṭawara*)
MzA	VI	*Mzēniy*, the dialect of the *Mzēnah* (*Muzayna*)
BWA	VI	*Wāṣliy*, the dialect of the *Baniy Wāṣil* (*Banū Wāṣil*)

---

[1] See remark *[3] in Introduction I.d.

PREFACE

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

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

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

To gather linguistic data I spent 8 periods of between 4 and 7 weeks in the area. I usually rented an apartment in Ḏahab 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 ʿAliy Mḥammad al-ʿĀyiš, who is the owner and general manager of Mirage Village in Ḏahab and who is himself a member of the Biyyāḍiyyah 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

---

[1] The dialect of the Biyyāḍiyyah was described in De Jong 2000:chapter III.

to whom I am at least equally grateful, is ʿĪd Silīm ʿĪd ʿAwdih al-Aṭraš, known by many as ʿĪd at-Ṭurbāniy.[2] He is a member of the Ṭaṛābīn of Ṛās Ṣadr (where he was born and raised) and he has travelled the desert since he was seven years old, when as a young boy he would accompany his father on trips to nearly every corner of the Sinai peninsula and into Jordan. His experience in desert travel made him eminently suitable to act as a guide and he could at the same time introduce me to members of the different tribes (he knows virtually every wadi and almost everyone living there). His gentle nature and sense of humor make him an ideal travelling companion, and these qualities combined with his loyalty have made him a good friend for life. Not only did he travel with me, he also made recordings for me in my absence, and sat with me—for weeks on end—behind my desk to make sure I could write it all out, word by word. He would also explain to me many details of Bedouin life in Sinai often not available in books.

For his invaluable help in producing illustrations by means of various computer programs of the SPSS, processing of the data collected during the research for this study, and for his assistence 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 Ṭaṛābīn 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 Naʿāmah 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 Naʿāmah 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]

---

[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 Tīh 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 ʿAqaba 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 Ṭawara (or Ṭuwara). Most of these tribes immigrated at different times in history coming from the Arabian Peninsula or (via) Palestine and (today's) Jordan. Of some of these tribes in Sinai today, relatives can still be found in the northern part of the Ḥiǧāz, 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]

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)[5] are found along the Mediterranean coast in the north, who live more or less along the main road al-Ganṭarah (on the Suez Canal in the west)—Rafaḥ (on the border with the Gaza Strip in the east). Of this total, more than one third today live in North Sinai's capital city al-ʿArīš.

Bailey 1985:23 and 2009:xvi show maps of the distribution of tribal confederations in Sinai in the early twentieth century. Interestingly, some

---

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

   [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).

tribes[6] in present-day Saudi Arabia just across the Gulf of ʿAqabah 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 ʿAqabah) the Masāʿīd and (a little farther to the southeast, along the Arabian Peninsula's west coast) Bilī. These tribes are also found in Sinai today: the Masāʿīd live in and around the village of Ǧilbānah in the northwest, Bilī (transcribed as Baliy on the map below) are found not far south from the main road al-Ganṭarah—al-ʿArīš, in an area named Ġarīf al-Ġizlān 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 Ǧarāǧrah, 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 trhough the Mitla pass to Naxl,[7] approximately forty kilometres to the west of Nixl, and also the Malālḥah, who live near the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. Another name not indicated on Bailey's map is that of the Hanādwah, who are actually a family said to be of non-Bedouin origin[8] living in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr inside the territory of the Awlād Saʿīd.

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

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

---

[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 Turḅāniy informant Eid told me that the name for the Mitla pass is actually derived from *Umm Iṯlah* "(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 ʿAzāzmah are claimed to be the "aboriginal inhabitants" of the Negev.
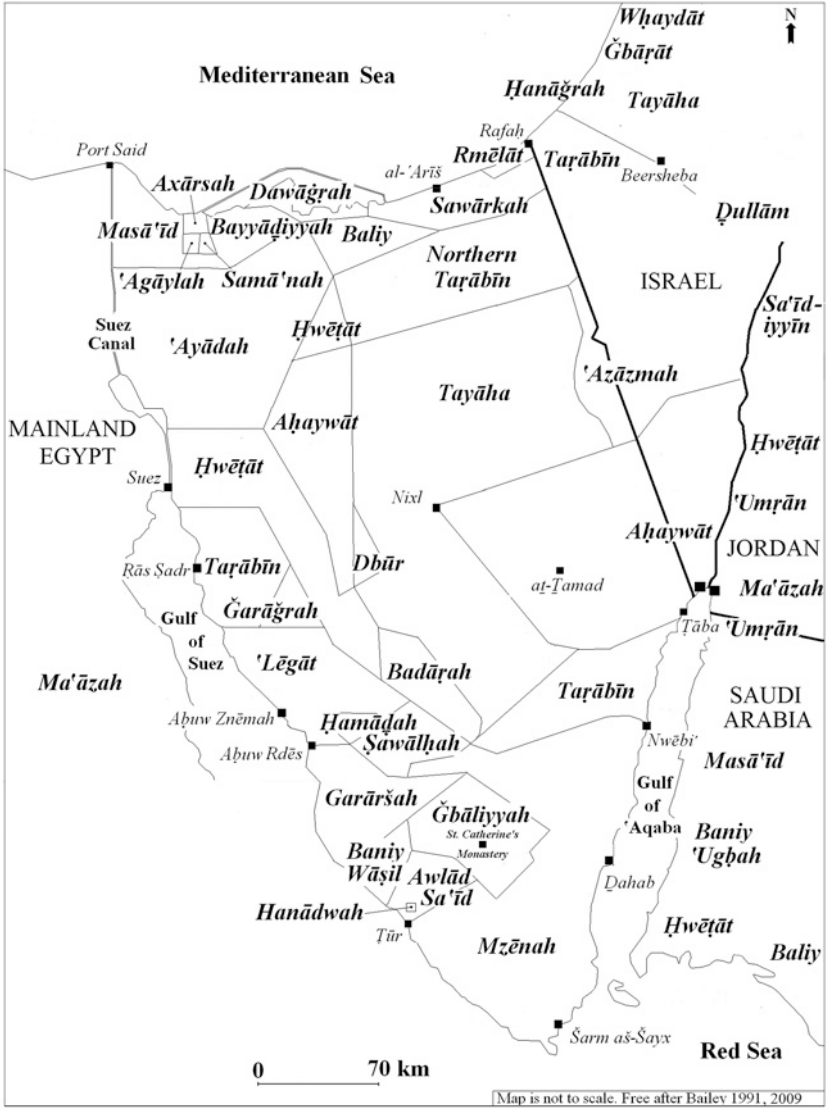
Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions

in the land of the Wallachians[11] (another document mentions Byzantium (ar-Rūm) and Egypt) by the Emperor Justinian I (c. 482–565 CE) in the pre-islamic period to serve and protect St. Catherine's Monastery together with one hundred men with their wives and children who were sent to Sinai from Egypt. After about one thousand years almost the whole tribe had converted to islam. They remained, however, in the service of the Monastery.[12]

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

Tribe	Estimated time of arrival
Ǧbāliyyah*[1], Ḥamāḏah*[2]	pre-islamic period
Badārah*[3], Tayāha*[4], Baniy Wāṣil*[5]	10th (perhaps earlier) through 13th c.
Ṣawālḥah*[6], Awlād Saʿīd*[7], ʿAwārmah*[6], Lēgāt*[8]	14th c.
Taṛābīn*[9], Garāršah*[10]	16th c.
Ḥwēṭāt*[11], Mzēnah*[12]	17th c. (at the latest)

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

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

---

[11] In present-day Romania the larger region around Bucharest, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube river.

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

[13] See however Stewart 1991, where caution with regard to Bailey's conclusions is advised.

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

[15] Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:290 lists them as one of the oldest tribes present in Sinai today. See also Šuqayr 1916:107, where also the presence of at-Tabanah, as the original inhabitants of the 'garden of Fēṛān', and al-Mawāṭrah is reported, and who in a distant past have their roots in the Ḥamāḏah. I have not heard the names of these former two groups mentioned during the research for this study.

*³ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620 actually spells their name as *al-Badārā* (بدارى, with final *ʾalif maqṣūrah*, but it is spelled as بدارة in Šuqayr 1916:107). They are a very small tribe, who are reported to have moved from their earlier abode on Ğabal ʿIǧmah (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).¹⁶ Šuqayr (ibid.) suggests that perhaps the name ʿIǧmah is derived from the word (from the same root ʿ-ǧ-m) describing their speech as "improper Arabic": *luġah ʾaʿǧamīyah*.

*⁴ The Tayāha are a relatively large tribe. Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:566 reports that they came to Sinai with the Banū Hilāl (of ʿAdnānī origin)¹⁷ and that they were among the first tribes to 'settle' on the Tīh plateau. After the Tarābīn had arrived there, several wars were fought over control of the land. Sawārkah, Biliy, Rmēlāt, Samāʿnah are mentioned as allies of the Tayāha in these wars. For some time they were also allied with the Ḥwēṭāt against the Sawārkah. For further details on their history, presence in other countries etc., see ibid.:565–570 and also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:227–233.

*⁵ They are reported, also in aṭ-Ṭayyib (see 1993:622 and 1997:292),¹⁸ to be one of the oldest tribes in Sinai. They are said there to have fought numerous wars against the Ḥamāḍah 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 Fērān, which was then later largely occupied by (the various sub-divisions of) the Ṣawālḥah.

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, Ḥamāḍah and Baniy Wāṣil]. Not long after the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Sawalha and the ʿAleiqat [in my own transcription: Ṣawālḥah and ʿLēgāt] 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 ʿAleiqat and both tribes together overcame the Sawalha in a battle fought in the Watia Pass [in my own transcription: Wāṭyah. The pass is located at appr. 28.41.40 North and 33.58.53 East, see Google Earth] on the main road to the Monastery. A sensible compromise then took place by which the three tribes divided the peninsula among them."

*⁶ In the map below I have indicated the Ṣawālḥah as a separate entity positioned in the area where Bailey 1985:23 indicated the presence of the ʿAwārmah. I have not met people who claimed to be members of the ʿAwārmah¹⁹ (see also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in the previous remark).

---

¹⁶ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620 adds a footnote reporting that some Aḥaywāt claim that the Badārah are originally of Aḥaywiy origin. See also Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:290–291. Today they are found in aṛ-Ṛamlah near Ğabal Ḥmayyir, which is part of the 'Dividing Valleys' between the Tīh Plateau and the Sinai Massif, see Greenwood 1997:27 (figure 3-1), The geomorphic regions of Sinai.

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

¹⁸ Their origin is reported to be Qaḥṭāniy, through Ǧuḍām and Banū ʿUqbah.

¹⁹ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:642 actually mentions the ʿAwārmah as one of the four sub-tribes of the Ṣawālḥah: al-ʿAwārimah, al-Maḥāsinah, ar-Raḍāwinah and an-Nawāṣirah (in my transcription: ʿAwārmah, Maḥāsnah, Raḍāwnah and Nawāṣrah). For the history and origin

*⁷ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:681–682 (see also 1997:360–367) relates a story describing how the Awlād Saʿīd joined the tribe of Ṣawālḥah during their days in the Ḥiǧāz, after which they came to Sinai together. In ibid. it is also reported that a branch (named Awlād Sayf) of the Awlād Saʿīd are originally Masāʿid.

*⁸ For a short history of the origin, present location(s) and activities of the ʿLēgāt in Sinai,²⁰ see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:701–711 and 1997:475–489. Aṭ-Ṭayyib (1993:710 and 1997:487) however quotes Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid in his book *qabāʾil al-ʿarab fī miṣr* on the date of arrival of the ʿLēgāt in Sinai as being in the tenth century Ḥiǧrah (i.e. appr. in the sixteenth century CE) (see also quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark *⁵ above).

*⁹ The large tribe of at-Ṭarābīn²¹ 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

*¹⁰ The Garāršah are said to be a section of the Ṣawālḥah (see Bailey 1985:33; I have heard the same from my own informants).

Bailey (1985:28–29) reports that the ʿAwārmah, Awlād Saʿīd and Garāršah are 'jointly known as the Ṣawālḥah'.²³

Bailey (1985:33) also reports a war that took place around 1600 between the Ṣawālḥah and ʿLēgāt.

*¹¹ 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 ʿAqabah where he fell ill. He was then given shelter by a member of the Baniy ʿAṭiyyah (who are still also today found in Jordan). When Ḥuwayṭ had recovered from his illness, he stayed in ʿAqabah, and managed to guile the Baniy ʿAṭiyyah out of their profitable business of

---

of the Ṣawālḥah see aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:623–644. See also Maiberger 1984:141 (paraphrased:), where he mentions the ʿAwāreme (who are said to be the sub-section of the Ṣawālḥah 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 Ṣawālḥah. The name Ṣawālḥah derives from the prophet (an-nabiy) Ṣāliḥ, from whom they claim descent. Together with the ʿLēgāt the Ṣawālḥah secured an income (in the form of bread paid by the monks) as 'Protectors' of pelgrims *en route* from Cairo to the monastery.

²⁰ They are for instance reported to be allies of the Mzēnah and Ḥamāḍah and to have been in territorial disputes with the Ṣawālḥah.

²¹ Their name Ṭarābīn is said to derive from their place of origin Wādiy at-Tarabah or the town of that name, located to the northwest of aṭ-Ṭāʾif in present day Saudi Arabia. Today sections of this tribe are also present in the Gaza area and the Negev Desert, see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:554–564.

Stewart 1991:106 also mentions that the Ṭarābīn were part of the Baniy ʿAṭiyya.

²² Bailey 1985:25 reports that they moved into ʿAyyādiy territory to their west (now Ṭarābīn of Ṛās Ṣadr), the Mzēnah to their south (now Ṭarābīn of Nwēbiʿ) and Wḥaydāt, Ǧbāṛāt (now found to the north of Gaza) and Rmēlāt (in my own transcription) to their north (now northern Ṭarābīn). In turn, they had their "own place in drought-ridden central Sinai taken over by the Aḥaywāt, although not by conquest", see ibid. For more on the Ṭarābīn see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:554–570 and aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:210–226.

²³ I have treated them as separate entities, in conformity with how informants themselves defined their affiliations.

²⁴ See Von Oppenheim 1943:154–155.

²⁵ 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.[26]

*[12] The Mzēnah are reported (see Bailey 1985:33) to be originally of ʿAdnānī (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 aṭ-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.[27]

About an hour's drive from the airport of Šarm aš-Šayx, Ḍahab also takes its share of tourism revenues, albeit a mere fraction of the money made in Šarm. Farther to the north in Nwēbiʿ, 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*[28] many of the tourists from or via Israel that would come to this area have stayed away.[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.

---

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

[27] Most of the larger tourism businesses are controlled by mainland Egyptians.

[28] The second *intifāḍah* started at the al-ʾAqṣā mosque in late September 2000.

[29] As part of the Camp David Accords, Israelis (and other tourists entering from Israel at Ṭāba) are allowed to travel into Sinai and visit the east coast of Sinai and its towns (including Šarm aš-Šayx and St Catherine's Monastery) on a 14-day permit available at the border. Israeli authorities (the Counter Terrorism Division) have however issued warnings to their citizens not to travel to Sinai due to the threat of terrorist attacks.

On the coast of the Gulf of Suez more tourist facilities are being developed. The focal point for this business in this area is Ṛās Ṣadr (the name of the town is usually spelled 'Ras Sudr' on road signs) and the coast to its south. These facilities mainly cater for holiday makers from Cairo, Ṛās Ṣadr being only a two and a half to three hours' drive away from the capital.

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

f. *Research Questions and Purpose of this Study*

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

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

---

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

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

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

[33] There are publications, however, which partially fill this gap: Nishio 1992 gives a basic vocabulary of the speech of the Ǧbāliyyah, Stewart 1990 is a very valuable collection of texts (in transcription, and with translation in Stewart 1988) on customary law recorded mainly among the Aḥaywāt, but also some of the other tribes. Stewart 1987 gives some texts and provides a sketch of the dialect of the Aḥaywāt. Material presented by Stewart was incorporated into De Jong 2000. Material presented by Nishio will be referred to in descriptive chapter I below.

which exist between the NWA dialects in this area. A similar related question is how far the Negev-type (the dialect of the *Ḍullām*) can be concluded to stretch into Sinai.[34]

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

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

In De Jong 2000:283 the pronominal suffixes *-ᵘk̠* for the 2nd p. sg. masculine and *-k̠* 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 Ḍahab, situated on the east coast of Sinai and more or less half way between Šarm aš-Šayx and Nwēbiʿ. The advantage of this town is that it

---

[34] This question was already posed in Blanc 1970:2.
[35] See De Jong 2000:621–627.

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 Ḍahab.[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 aṛ-Ṛamlah and ʿLēgāt and Ḥamāḏah in other hard-to-access areas in the central western parts of southern Sinai.

In Ḍahab 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 Ḍahab 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 Nwēbiʿ had almost no tourists, and my chances to keep a low profile would have been much slimmer, while the town of Šarm aš-Šayx was too heavily infested with security personnel (the town regularly hosts international conferences and summit meetings) to remain relatively unnoticed.

[37] Most of the recordings were however conducted *in situ*.

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

[39] Although the sound quality was excellent when set to the maximum sampling rate, the Archos recorder I used (with an external Soundman 'Kopfmikrofon') was quite difficult to operate, especially in conditions without light. After pressing the wrong invisible button, this could result in loss of the recording. The iPods were much easier to handle with a Griffin iTalk click-on microphone.

conduct my research in the centre and south, but to simply maintain
as low a profile as possible. To remain friends with military or security
personnel manning road blocks, a pack of cigarettes, or a bottle of water
could work miracles.[40]

b. *Selecting Targets for Field Research*

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

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)ʿ* "with" (see *6 in chapter I, 3.1.16.)
in different areas inside the dīrah of the Ğbāliyyah; speakers of Ğbāliy
who live near the monastery tend to say e.g. for "with him" *imʿúh* (where
i is an anaptyctic vowel), while speakers of Ğbāliy in Mrēr (in Wādiy
aš-Šēx) will more regularly stress the anaptyctic as in *ímʿuh* (which leads
to the conclusion that the morphophonemic base of the in the latter case
is actually |imʿ|). Another example are the genitive exponents in use for
'indirect annexation' among speakers of the Mzēnah. Speakers of Mzēniy
living in Ḍahab and near to the coast will generally use *šuġl*, while speak-
ers of Mzēniy living more inland will more regularly use *ḥagg* (see chap-
ter 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 hav-
ing been introduced to them by my guide and travelling companion
Eid al-Aṭraš.[41] In the course of my research I would sometimes also hear

---

[40] If one passes through a road block three times a week, every time claiming a differ-
ent purpose of the journey, such as Ğabal 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 dīrahs of these collectives to conduct interviews with speakers there as well. I would not attempt to subsume such collectives under a larger collective (like the Dbūr, of whom it is reported that they are a sub-section of the Ḥwēṭāt, or the Badārah, of whom it is said that they are originally Aḥaywāt, or in any case lived in close contact with a sub-section of the Aḥaywāt for a considerable length of time), but I would simply accept the way speakers identified themselves, at face value, so to speak.[42]

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

c. *Selecting Informants*

Informants for interviews were—like so often in Arabic dialect research—selected on the basis of practical considerations: those who were prepared and able to be interviewed were invited to cooperate. Due to the conservative nature of Bedouin society, interviewing women was often not possible. Like in other areas of Sinai, women spend most of their time inside their homes or at a younger age herding goats and sheep. In towns like Ḏahab and Nwēbiʿ 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 (اقصاع الغرفي in Arabic).

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

---

[42] After all, if speakers do not identify themselves as belonging to a certain larger (or smaller) tribal group, or another group altogether, who am I to suggest that they should?

than a year.[43] I have also often spoken to the mother of my main infor-
mant Eid, a Ṭurbāniyyih of appr. 65 years old.

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

Group I

Taṛābīn Nwēbiʿ   Šēx ʿŠēš (47) (Nwēbiʿ) + several Ṭuṛbāniy visitors from
around Nwēbiʿ and Wādiy Watīr in his magʿad. The abbreviation used
here to refer to their dialect is TAN.

Taṛābīn Ṛās Ṣadr   ʿĪd (33) (Ṛās Ṣadr) (+ 4 or 5 of his friends of appr. the
same age in Ṛās Ṣadr/Aḅuw Ṣwayrah, his mother, appr. 60). The abbrevia-
tion used here to refer to their dialect is TAṢ.

Ǧaṛāǧrah   Ṭalāl (29) (born al-Bāǧah/Wādiy as-Sīg); Swēlim (35) (born in
Ṛās asSīg); Ǧamāl (appr. 32) (born in Wādiy as-Sīg); Mḥammad (appr. 32)
(born in Wādiy as-Sīg); Silmiy (53) (born in al-Malbad/Wādiy as-Sīg). The
abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ǦrA.

Tayāha   Mḥammad (34) (recorded in Aḅuw Ṣwayrah); Slēm (49) (Ṛās
aš-Šēṭān, from Ṛās ʿBēd appr. 105 km south of al-ʿArīš); Aṃṃ Xiḍr (appr.
65) (recorded near (northeast of) aṭ-Ṭarfa;[46]); Xiḍr (32) (northeast of
aṭ-Ṭarfa). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TyA.

---

[43] Many Bedouin men have spent time in prisons, often even without official charges.
[44] "More or less formally" should be interpreted to mean that I conducted recording
sessions with them. Often enough though, I met people during my travels with whom I
chatted and on whose speech I would then later—immediately after the conversation—
take notes if I was certain to which tribal groups they belonged, e.g. several Mzēnah in
ʿAyn Ḥuḍrah, a couple of Ḥwēṭāt on the main road through the Mitla pass, Ḥamāḍah on
the way from the Ǧabal Ḥmayyir area to Wādiy Liḥyān, several ʿLēgāt near the area where
I had interviewed Badāṛah (in the Ǧabal Ḥmayyir area), Awlād Saʿīd near al-Buwayb, just
south of Wādiy Fēṛān, Taṛābīn in Ḍahab, etc.
[45] Since I used to rent an apartment in Ḍahab during the several periods of my field
research, I have spoken with and listened to many more individuals than those listed here.
I would then also usually ask them about their tribal backgrounds. Many of these speakers
were of course Mzēnah, but also members of other tribes of Sinai (including tribes from
the north) can be found in this town.
[46] Appr. coordinates are 28.44.15 North and 33.58.48 East.

Malālḥah   Xiḍr (80); Salmān (appr. 30); Zāyid (67); all three from al-Madfūnih/Nagᶜ Šabānih, very near (appr. 300 metres) the border with Israel. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MlA.

Ḥwēṭāt   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 Faráǧ (62); ᶜAwdih (appr. 45, though claims to be 60); Slēmān (appr. 35); Mḥammad (appr. 40, born in Ṭrayfih). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is DbA.

Badārah   ᶜAṭiyyih (60) (born on the Tīh plateau); Silmān (55) (born on the Tīh plateau). Both from aṛ-Ṛamlah, near Ǧabal Ḥmayyir, some 10 to 12 kilometres almost due west from Ǧabal Fōgah.[47] The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BdA.

Group VI

Mzēnah   Ḥasan (54) (from Ḍahab); Mḥammad (from Ḍahab/ᶜAṣalah) (appr. 28); ᶜĀyid (25) (from Ḍahab/ ᶜAṣalah); ᶜAbdaḷḷah (appr. 34) (from Ḍahab); 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 Nwebiᶜ/ Ḍahab road and the east-west route to St Catherine's monastery).[48] The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MzA.

Baniy Wāṣil   Mḥammad (60) (born in Wādiy Ṭammān, to the southeast of Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr, about 30 km from the main road to Šarm); Sālim (25) (born in the mountains east southeast of aṭ-Ṭūr, near Wādiy Sli'.[49] The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BWA.

---

[47] Coordinates appr. 29.02.52 North and 33.33.38 East. I have also spoken to four other men of the Badārah, 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 إسلا.

Group VII

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

Garāršah Maḥmūd (24) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fēṛān); ʿĪd (22) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fēṛān); Ḥsēn (54) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fēṛān); Ḥsēn (24) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fēṛān); Mūsih (24).[50] The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is GrA.

Ḥamāḍah Maḥmūd (30) (born in Sēl Baʿbaʿ);[51] ʿAwwād (55) (Wādiy Liḥyān); Saʿad (36) (Wādiy Liḥyān).[52] The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤmA.

Ǧbāliyyah il-Ḥaǧǧ Msallam (67) (from Brēgah, between Fēṛān and Ḥiṣwah/Wādiy Fēṛān); Mūsa (28) (Wādiy iṛ-Ṛāḥah, appr. 3 km north of the monastery); ʿAṭwah (30) (Wādiy iṛ-Ṛāḥah); Silēmān (27) (St Catherine village); Silēmān (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 ǦbA.

Awlād Saʿīd ʾŌdah (35) (from Wādiy Ṣlāf. 2 years ʾiʿdādiy 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.

---

[50] Ḥiswah is in Wādiy Fēṛān, coordinates are appr. 28.43.13 North and 33.36.33 East, see Google Earth.

[51] The mouth of Wādiy Baʿbaʿ 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 Uṃṃ Buǧmah is well known among geologists for its manganese deposits. Already in pharaonic times, in the general area around Sarābīṭ alXādim and in Wādiy 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 Sarabīṭ alXādim. In this wadi there are several Nabataean and Byzantine rock inscriptions.

Ṣawālḥah   Ḥsēn (38) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); Ǧimʿih (18) (born in
Aḅuw Rdēs, lives in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); ʿAṭwah (36) (born in Xbayyir/
Wādiy Fēṛān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ṢwA.

Group VIII

ʿLēgāt   Saʿád (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 ʿLA.

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 Ḍahab 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 Nwēbiʿ[54] / Ṛās 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 Nwēbiʿ, as a transliteration for Arabic on road signs, Dr Frank
Stewart (in personal communication) advised me to correct this to read Nwēbʿih (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-ʿArīš. 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 Ṛās Ṣadr) with the help of members of different Bedouin tribes, who had decided to assist authorities in their hunt to testify to their abhorrence for the terrorist acts ascribed to these three. The suspects died in the shoot-outs 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 Ḍahab bombings), we decided to work on recordings that we already had instead, and not to venture out of town until the situation had quieted down. This should in part explain why the average number of speakers is a little lower than during my previous research in northern Sinai. On the other hand, the number of Bedouin inhabitants of this southern region is also considerably smaller than in the north.

III. Presentation of the Data

a. *Presentation of the Data and Selecting Criteria for Comparison*

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

The emphasis again tends to be on differences between dialects, rather than shared characteristics.[55] A selection of features which show up as dif-

---

[55] For remarks on this issue, see De Jong 2000:31.

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

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

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

b. *Method of Description*

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

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ĞBĀLIYYAH, AWLĀD
SAʿĪD, ṢAWĀLḤAH, GARĀRŠAH AND ḤAMĀḌAH WITH REMARKS
ON THE DIALECTS OF THE HANĀDWAH AND ʿLĒGĀT

INTRODUCTION

In 1992 Tetsuo Nishio published a basic vocabulary of the dialect of the
Ğbāliyyah tribe in the central south of Sinai. More recently Roy Bernabela
of the University of Leiden sent me his BA-thesis (2009) which contains
four highly entertaining *ġūl*-stories recorded from Ğbāliy speakers near
St Catherine's monastery. Many references in this chapter will be made
to Nishio 1992 and I have also included remarks on data found in Berna-
bela 2009. We shall see that many of the information listed there for ĞbA
is corroborated by the findings of the research lying at the basis of this
chapter. Where differences do turn up, many of these can be ascribed
to differences in interpretation of the phonological system and therefore
also in methods of transcription. To refer to forms listed in Nishio 1992
I shall use my own phonological transcription (such as ǧ for j, š for ʃ, ḏ for
ð, 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(ʾ)*,
-e(ʾ) 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 tran-
scriptions, 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 Saʿīd, Ṣawālḥah and Garāršah. With some reservation, I have also
added the dialect of the Ḥamāḍah to this group, which I have numbered
as VII. Although there are some differences, these dialects show a large
number of similarities justifying their treatment as one typological group.
In addition, the chapter contains remarks on the Hanādwah, who are one
of the families said to be of non-Bedouin origin living in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr
(just to the northeast of the town of aṭ-Ṭūr).

I have not made recordings in the town of aṭ-Ṭūr,[1] since it is a mixing bowl of various Egyptian dialects from the mainland.[2]

For the sake of brevity, the dialects of the Ğbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Ṣawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamāḍah will be collectively referred to as ṬwA (Ṭuwara Arabic). The dialect of the ʿLēgāt is not included in ṬwA here, although often (in other publications) the tribe of the ʿLēgāt is also regarded as part of the Ṭuwara (i.e. tribes inhabiting the region known as aṭ-Ṭūr).[3]

The ʿLēgāt are a relatively large tribe, and live on the Gulf of Suez and farther inland as direct neighbours with the much smaller tribe of Ḥamāḍah. Their neighbours to the north are the Taṛābīn of Ṛās Ṣadr.[4] In a dialect-typological sense, their dialect takes up a middle position between the dialects of ṬwA and HnA on the one hand, and group VI on the other (see MDS plots in the appendix). The dialect of the ʿLēgāt, which is concluded to be a separate group (VIII) in this study, will be referred to as ʿLA.

The dialect of the Mzēnah and that of the Baniy Wāṣil are treated separately in chapter II (as group VI).[5]

---

[1] Being the capital of the governorate South Sinai, a large proportion of its inhabitants are mainland Egyptians, who work there as civil servants.

[2] This is not to say that the dialectal varieties found there, or whatever has resulted so far from contact between the different varieties, would be uninteresting. A description of the linguistic dynamics found in this town would however deserve much more space than can be afforded in this study.

[3] Von Oppenheim 1942:156 mentions the tribes of Ṣawālḥah, ʿLēgāt, Ğbāliyyah and Mzēnah as parts of the Ṭuwara. For a brief summary of their history, see Von Oppenheim 1942:156–166. See also Maiberger 1984:139–149 on the different tribal collectives that inhabit the region of southern Sinai. Ibid.:156–157 mentions Baniy Wāṣil as an off-shoot of Baniy ʿUgbah of the Ḥiğāz and as one of the oldest tribes of the Ṭūr area, having arrived there after the Ḥamāḍah.

[4] Although the dīrah of the Taṛābīn of Ṣadr borders directly on that of the ʿLēgāt to their south, the majority of Taṛābīn live in the northern part in and around Ṛās Ṣadr and Abuw Ṣwayrah leaving the southern part of Tuṛbāniy territory (along the coast on the Gulf of Suez) near ʿLēgiy territory virtually uninhabited.

[5] I have concluded on linguistic grounds that the dialects of the southern part of Sinai (i.e. excluding group I dialects) can be assigned to three different groups.

1. Phonology

1.1. *Consonants*

1.1.1. *Inventory of consonants*

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

	bilabial		labdent.		alveolar		intdent.		postalv.		palatal		velar		uvul.		phar.		laryng.	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
plosive		b			t	d							k	g	(q)				(ʾ)	
emph.					ṭ								ḳ*¹							
nasal		m				n														
fricative			f		s	z	ṯ	ḏ	š	(ž)			x	ġ			ḥ	ʿ	h	
emph.					ṣ	(ẓ)		ḏ̣												
affricate												ǧ								
trill					r															
emph.					(ṛ)															
lateral					l															
emph.					ḷ															
glides		w										y								

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

*¹ The greatest difference with the phoneme inventory of group I is the presence of both phonemes /k/ and /ḳ/, which is also a feature of group II in the north (see De Jong 2000:248, 282–285) and of dialects of group VI. Like in MzA (see chapter II), a minimal pair *bētᵘḳ—bētᵉk* (i.e. a strictly phonological representation being /bētḳ/—/bētk/) "your (sg. masc.—sg. fem.) house" isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes in ṬwA and also in HnA and in ʿLA.⁶

1.1.2. *Interdental fricatives /ṯ/, /ḏ/ and /ḏ̣/*

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

Examples of /ṯ/ for *ṯ are: *kṯār* "many (pl.)", *ṯalāṯīn* "thirty", *ṯūm* "garlic".

---

⁶ The conclusion of vowelless personal pronominal suffixes is drawn form the fact that suffixation of these pronominals will result in consonant clusters, which then draw stress onto a directly preceding short vowel, e.g. *wálad + ḳ > waládḳ* "your (sg. masc.) son" and *wálad + k > waládk* "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 Nağdiy dialect of the Dawāġṛah of the north, where a final cluster -Ck will not attract stress onto the directly preceding vowel, e.g. *wáladk* "your son", *ṛabbna yíkrimk* "may our Lord have mercy on you" (see De Jong 2000:434–435 and 450–451).

Examples of /ḏ/ for *ḏ are: *tāxḏin* "you (pl. fem.) take", *bḏāṛ* "seeds" (but see remark below) and *ḏān* "ear".

There are also exceptions: "refrigerator"[7] and "ice; snow" are with plosive *t* (for * ṯ) in ṬwA and ʿLA: *tillāǧah* and *talǧ*.

The reflex for *ṯ may be *s*—mainly so in lexemes which must have been borrowed from or through a dialect whithout interdentals, like Cairene[8]— as in *masalan* "for instance", *masal* "(wise) saying", *ḥādsih* "accident", *mērūs* "inherited" (see also remark in 1.2.4.1.), *yisig bēhuṃ* "he trusts them", *sābtah* "fixed (sg. fem.)" and for *z* for *ḏ, as in *bizr* "seed" and *bizrih* "seed (n.u.)" (though pl. *bḏāṛ*! and *budrah* "seeds (like powder) from a palm tree" (the latter in HnA) and *kaza* "such and so".

Emphatic interdental *ḏ̣* (I.P.A. velarized [ð̣]) is the reflex of both *ḍ and *ḏ̣, e.g. (as the reflex of *ḏ̣ in) *Ramaḏ̣ān* "Ramadan", *itnaḏ̣ḏ̣ifhiʾ* # "you clean it (sg. fem.)", *ḏ̣āf* "guest" and *ʿúriḏ̣ha* "its (sg. fem.) width" and (as a reflex for *ḍ in) *ṯ̣āfiḏ̣ ʿilēh* "you protect it" (but *maḥafūẓ*!), *xuḏ̣riy* "type of green tobacco", *ʿawaḏ̣* "compensation".

Like in group VI, *ẓ* is the current reflex in lexemes like *mwaẓẓaf* "civil servant", *ẓābiṭ* "officer", *b-iẓẓabṭ* "precisely", *binẓabbiṭ* "we do a proper job", *niẓām* "system". Some other examples are: *btiẓhar* "she becomes lucky", *naẓaṛīytuk* "your (critical) vision", *biybawwiẓha* "he ruins it (sg. fem.)", *maẓbūṭ* "precise(ly)" and *maḥafūẓ* "well-kept".[9]

In ṬwA and HnA the sg. masc. demonstrative (*hā-*)*da ~ ḏiʾ* "this (sg. masc.)" is not velarized. Also *hāḏa* (~ less frequent *ḏa* or *ḏiʾ*) in ʿLA 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 ʿLA *ḳ* and *k* are heard and all have a minimal pair showing phonemic opposition *bēt*ᵘ*ḳ* "your (sg. masc.) house"—*bēt*ᶦ*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 *v̄* precedes, e.g. *waṛākiy* "behind you

---

[7] For "freezer" I recorded *flēzaṛ* in ṢwA.

[8] For the following examples in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986.

[9] For ĞbA Nishio 1992 reports *ḏ* for *ḏ in *biḏr* (p. 18 (III-16)), *ḍ* in m(u)waḍḍaf (p. 58 (VIII-40) and *ḥafaḍ, yaḥafaḍ* (p. 96 (XIV-26)). The emphatic plosive *ḍ* (pp. 5–6 (I-42)) is reported in *ḍēḍ, ḍyūḍ* "breast" and in *ġaḍbān* "angry" (p. 116 (XVI-22)).

(sg. fem.)", *fīkiy* "in you (sg. fem.)" and *ʿilēkiy* "on you (sg. fem)" (the latter ~ *ʿilík*). In ʿLA too this allomorph *-kiy* varies with *-k* when v̄ precedes.

In the word "cigarette" we hear *g* rather than *ǧ* (recorded in GrA, ǦbA and BWA): *sgāṛah* (pl. *sagāyir*).

1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/*

The fricative allophone *ž* (I.P.A. [ʒ], i.e. without the initial full closure of [d]) for /ǧ/ is very frequent in ṬwA.[10] It was not heard in HnA or ʿLA.

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/*

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

1.1.6. *Glottal stop (hamzah)*

The reflex for *ʾ in the verb ask is ʿ in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA *saʿal, yasʿal*.[11]

In *raʾs* "head", loss of *ʾ* is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel *rās* in all dialects. The pl. is *ṛūs* in ǦbA, ṢwA, HnA and ʿLA, but pl. *ryūs* 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", *ánxaṛ* "noses"). The *hamzah* that precedes this initial *a-* (e.g. # *ʾanxaṛ*) is dropped when it directly follows a consonant, e.g. (*i*)*lášnaṭ* "the suitcases".

In ǦbA I have only recorded *šnaṭ* as in *hāt iššnáṭ* "get the suitcases!", (*i*)*liʿnáb* "the grapes", (*i*)*liḥgán* "the injections".[12] Similar forms are current in ʿLA.

---

[10] Bernabela 2009 transcribes *ž* throughout his texts for ǦbA.

[11] Also reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992:73–74 (X-9).

[12] For ǦbA 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 hōṣa) (hōṣāt ~) howaṣ, (p. 34 (V-9)) (known in other parts of Sinai as xūṣah) "knife", (pl. of hallɛ) (hallāt ~) helal (p. 34 (V-10) "cooking pot", nogaṭ (pl. of nogṭa) (p. 143 (XX-11)) "point, dot" etc., but lōḍa "room" (with (originally) the article incorporated in the stem as a first radical!) and the pl. form coined on the pattern aCCaC alwaḍ (p. 26 (IV-6)). Of these pl. forms only the last strikes me as proper ǦbA. The other plurals of the pattern CiCaC are likely to be K-forms; such plurals are also current in e.g. Cairene.

1.1.7. *Secondary velarization*

There is a clear lack of velarization in ASA, ṢwA, GrA and HnA forms *rikbih, árkab* (pl. *rkab* in ḤmA and ĞbA) "knee(s)". All dialects discussed in this chapter have a pl. demonstrative *ḏill (-ih)* "these" (although ~ *ḏuṃ* for pl. masc.) and also the sg. masc. demonstrative is without velarization: (*hā-*) *ḏa* ~ *ḏiʾ* "this".

Velarization spreads into the long *ā* in *kuḅḅāyih* in all dialects, except in ĞbA and HnA (there *kubbāyih*) and in all dialects, except ʿLA, the pl. forms of *kiṯīr* "much, many" and *kibīr* "big; old" both lack velarization: forms are *kṯār* and *kbār* (*ā* is just below I.P.A. [ɛ:]) and also *kamān* "also" is not velarized. In ʿLA, however, the pl. for *kibīr* is velarized, while the pl. for *kiṯīr* is not: ʿLA forms are *kḅāṛ* (I.P.A. [kʙɑ:ʀ]) and *kṯǟr* (I.P.A. [kθæ:r]).

Imperatives of the verbs "eat" and "take" are clearly velarized, i.e. and *(u)ḳul, (u)ḳliy*, etc. and similarly so in ʿLA, 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: *yāxuḍ, yāḳul*. In ʿLA velarization is clear in *yāḳul* and *yāḳuḏ* (but also *yākil* and *yāxiḏ* 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: *ištáġaḷ* "he worked", *yištáġluw* "they work", *saḷaxnāh* "we slaughtered it", *gāḷ* "say", *ṛamḷah* "sand", *ġaḷḅān* "poor, wretched", *burdugāḷ* "orange[s]" and *xāḷī* "my uncle". In ʿLA there are forms like *gāḷ, yguḷ* "say", *xaḷḷāha* "he let her", *txaḷḷhin* "you let them (fem.)", *aṛṚamlah* "the Sands (area south of the Tīh escarpment)", *gabiḷ* "before", *naxáḷ* "palm trees", *ġaḷīḍah* "thick (sg. fem.)", *šuġḷ* "genitive marker".

1.1.8. *Liquids ḷ and ṛ*

Generally, like in group I, the sequence *āṛ* will be velarized (I.P.A. [ɑ:ʀ]), unless *i* follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. forms for *kiṯīr* "many" and *kibīr* "big; old" which are unvelarized *kṯǟr* and *kbǟr* in ṬwA and HnA (i.e. ending in I.P.A. [a:r]), but (unvelarized) *kṯǟr* and (velarized) *kḅāṛ* in ʿLA.

Examples with velarized *āṛ* listed for group VI may also be heard in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples are: *ʿfāṛ* "dust", *zwāṛah* "(annual) visit to the tomb of a *wiliy*", *zyāṛah* "visit", *dāṛuh* "his house", *fāṛ* "rats; mice" and *ǧizzāṛ* "butcher", *sgāṛah* "cigarette". Some ʿLA examples are *fāṛ, dāṛ,*

Badāṛah "name of a neighbouring tribe", *ʿamāṛ* "enough (said to politely refuse tea or coffee)", *nāṛ* "fire", *nahāṛ* "daytime".

Like in group VI, velarization is prevented by (even when elided) *i* following an *ār* sequence within morpheme boundaries, e.g.: *wārid* "having watered" and *wārdih* "having watered (sg. fem.)", *šārib*, (pl.) *šuwārib* "lip", *imbāriḥ* "yesterday", *bārdih* "cold (sg. fem.)", *bikāriǧ* "coffee pots". Examples in ʿLA are: *sāriḥ* "having taken the small cattle out to graze, *ʿārif* "knowing", *ḥāriṯ* "ploughing", *šārib* "lip" and *taǧārib* "experiences".

Also sequences *rā* are generally not velarized when (vanished) *i* follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries or precedes. Examples listed for group VI are also heard in ṬwA and HnA. More examples are: *farāšīḥ* "loaves of bread baked on the *šāz* (= *ṣāǧ*)", *zrāʿah* "agriculture", *darāhim* "money", *ḏrāʿ* (< *ḏirāʿ) "arm", *mifṭirāt* or *mifiṭrāt* "having eaten breakfast (pl. fem.)" and also (in ASA) *zērān*, pl. of *zōr* "throat". Examples in ʿLA are: *iǧrān* "feet",[13] *rāʿiy* "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 ʿLA.

1.2. *Vowels*

1.2.1. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

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

short:	*i*	*u*	long:	*ī*	*ū*
				ē	*ō*
	a			*ā*	

---

[13] *iǧr*, pl. *iǧrān* "foot". The root *ʾ-ǧ-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* ī
Unlike in group I dialects, and like in group VI, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ is rare in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

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;[14] low realizations of /ē/ occur after emphatics or back spirants and are then near I.P.A. [ɛː] (indicated here as *ǟ*, e.g. *xǟr* "good", *ḥǟṭ* "walls"), but realizations of /ā/ following emphatics tend to be near [ɑː] 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 *ʿām* "he floated".

1.2.2.2. *Allophones of long vowels* ō *and* ū
Like diphthong **ay*, diphthong **aw* has been monopghthongized 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 ʿLA.

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], e.g. *xɔf* "fear" and *ḥɔːl* "year".

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

1.2.2.3. *Allophones of long vowel* ā
The long vowel *ā* may have a realization as high as somewhere between I.P.A. [æː] and [ɛː]. This occurs in neutral positions and is not dependant on following by *i* or *ī* in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), e.g. *firšāḥah* "loaf of bread from a *ṣāǧ*" and also the realization of /ā/ in *zimān* "in the past", *iyyām* "days", *ḥayāh* "life" and *siyāl* (raised *a* in

---

[14] The word 'avoided' is not intended to imply a conscious choice by speakers.

sayāl) "acacia tree". Realizations of /ā/ are not noticeably different when *i* follows in the next syllable (within morpheme boundaries), as in *ysābig* "he races".

ā in velarized environments is realized near I.P.A. [ɑː], as in *ṛāsī* "my head", *dāṛī* "my house" and *ǧāṛī* "my neighbour".

The difference in realizations of *ā* in *ṛāsī* and *rāsiy* may be explained by recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ạ̄/ as separate phonemes, or /r/ and velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. A similar difference in the realization of *ā* (and *r*) is found in e.g. the pair *fāris* (I.P.A. ['fæːrɪs]) "knight"—*fāṛ* (I.P.A. [fɑːʁ] "mouse; rat".[15]

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 ʿLA 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 ʿLA are listed below. In a number of (near) minimal pairs /i/ and /u/ can be isolated as phonemes, but these are only found in closed syllables:

Xiḍr "male given name"	– *xuḍr* "green (pl. com.)"
xirm "long species of fish"	– *xuṛm* "hole"
guṛb "nearness"	– *girbih* "watersack"
ḥibb "kiss!"	– *ḥubb* "love"
ṣifr "zero"	– *ṣufṛ* "yellow (pl. com.)"
šigguh "his guest section of the tent"	– *šuggah* "fishing net"

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

ḥabb "grain"	– *ḥubb* "love"
ḥaṭṭ "he placed"	– *ḥuṭṭ* "place!"
šadd "he pulled"	– *šidd!* "pull!"

An additional minimal pair is (verbal measure 4) *yinʿim* "bestow favours"—(verbal measure 1) *yunʿum* "become soft".

---

[15] Bernabela 2009:13 gives IPA [ɛː] in neutral environments, [aː] following ʿ and *ḥ*, and [ɑː] in velarized environments.

1.2.3.2. *Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I*

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

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1 u C_2 C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ĞbA both ʿ*imy* and ʿ*umy* were recorded for "blind".[16]

All dialects of group VII (except ASA and ḤmA, see 3.2.2.3.) have only *u* as imperfect vowel of primae hamzah verbs: *yāxuḏ* and *yākul* "he takes" and "he eats". In ʿLA imperfect forms both with *i* as well as *u* were heard.

Also *u* in the sg. masc. imperative: *ḳul* and *xuḏ* "eat!" and "take!" (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the 'vanished' *u*:[17] *xḍiy* and *kḷiy* (sg. fem.), *xḍuw* and *kḷuw* (pl. masc.) and *xḍin* and *kḷin* (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", *yrugg* "flatten", *ybuxx* "spit", *yxuṛṛ* "leak water", *yḥukk* "rub" and (*i* in) *ydizz* "push", *yhiǧǧ* "run away", *yǧizz* "shear (wool of sheep)", *yǧiss* "test", *yʿizz ʿala* "hurt", *yšinn* "sizzle (in hot oil)", *yḥill* "be ḥalāl", *yǧiff* "become dry" and *yšigg* "split".[18]

1.2.3.3. *Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel*

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

The exception to morphological conditioning noticed in group VI is also in group VII found in some forms coloured by the extreme velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -*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*-) *nuxṛút*ᵘ*ḳ* "your nose", *šuġḷút*ᵘ*ḳ* "yours (sg. fem.)", and (colouring of *i* in the act. participle of measure 3) *ana mkāwúnḳ* "I'm fighting you".

---

[16] Nishio 1992:2 (I-9) reports ʿmī (which must be a misprint for mʿī) for ĞbA.

[17] See remarks in Blanc 1970:127–128.

[18] It is not clear why *ydugg* "punch", *ylugg* "hit" is usually with *u*, while *yšigg* is with *i*, but similar variation was noticed for the high vowel in the contiguity of *k* (e.g. *yfikk* and *yfukk* "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 ʿLA:

– preceding stressed Cī: *ǧirīd* "palm leaves", *midīnih* "town", *digīg* "dough", *xifīf* "light", *ʿirīs* "bridegroom", *ḥirīd* "parrot fish", and also *ʿIlíy* "male given name *ʿAlī*" and verb forms *nisīt* "I forgot", *ligīt* "I found" and even 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae *yāʾ* verbs *išīl* "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. *kaṯīr* "much, many", *kabīr* "big; old", *taxīn* "thick", *ṭawīl* "long, tall", *dagīg* "dough", *xamīs* "Thursday", *ḥadīd* "iron".

– no instances were recorded of raised *a* preceding stressed CCī: *baṭṭīx* "watermelon", *sakkīnah* "knife", *barmīl* "drum", *Katrīn* "(St.) Catherine" and also *garnīṭ* "octopus" (similarly in ʿLA).

– (preceding stressed Cē): *ʿilēḵum* "on you (pl. masc.)", *ligēnāh* "we found him", *mišēt* "he walked", *fidēt* "I sacrificed". In ʿLA raising of *a* preceding *ē* in the suffixed preposition *ʿala* was not observed: *ʿalēha* "on her" (but there was raising in *ʿilúh*, see remark *⁴ in 3.1.16.).

– (preceding CCē) *middēt* "I stretched", *suwwēt* "I did/made" and *istamirrēna* "we continued", *istaʿiddēt* "I prepared".[19]

---

[19] Such raising is not consistently reported for ĞbA in Nishio 1992. Among isolated examples there, however, is: *səwwēt* "I made" (p. 99 (XIV-37)).

– (preceding stressed Cā): *midāris* "schools", *misāfih* "distance", *filāyik iṣṣēd* "(small) fishing boats (with sails)", *bihāyim* "cattle (pl.)", *ḏibāyiḥ* "animals for slaughter", *digāyig* "minutes". In ʿLA such raising also takes place (but is less frequent than in ṬwA and HnA): *gibāyil* "tribes", but *manāṭig* "regions", *mašāyix* "sheikhs" and *ǧawālig* "carpets".

– (preceding stressed CCā): *niǧǧāṛ* "carpenter", *tillāǧah* "fridge", *zihgānīn* "fed up (pl. masc.)", *šigrā* "white (sg. fem.)", *ṭuṛmā* "gap-toothed (sg. fem.)", In ʿLA such raising occurs mainly in neutral environments: *kislān* "lazy", *wiǧʿān* "suffering pain" and *suwwāg* "driver", but *ʿaṭšān* "thirsty", *ġalṭān* "wrong", *ġalbān* "poor, destitute", *fallāḥ* "farmer" and also (but without apparent phonetic factors inhibiting raising) *šabʿān* "having eaten one's fill".[20]

– (preceding stressed ū): *buxūr* "incense", *xurūf* "lamb", *ǧinūb ~ ǧunūb* "south" and (with initial **hamzah*) *uḅūy* "my father" and *uxūy* "my brother", and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae *wāw* verbs *ugūm* "I get up", *ugūl* "I say" (see remark * below). Similar examples in ʿLA are *guʿūd* "young male camel", *fuṭūr* "breakfast", *lugūḥ* "pregnant (of a camel)", *ubūh* "his father".

Like raising of *a* preceding *ī*, raising of *a* preceding *ū* is optional; forms like *ʿaǧūz* "old lady", *ǧanūb* "south", *yahūd* "Jews" may also be heard. In ʿLA: *rasūl* "Prophet", *ḥamūlah* "animal led to a party for slaughter as a present".

– (preceding stressed *a*): *ma tiḥatkúmš* "not under you", *ma tiḥáthiš* "not under her", *ʿiláy* "on me", *ǧimálᵘḳ*, "your camel" and in ʿLA *ǧimál* "camel".

– (preceding stressed *u*): *uxušš* "I enter", *uguṣṣ* "I follow tracks" and in ʿLA *ʿilúh* "on him" (see remark **4 in 3.1.16.).

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

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

---

[20] Some examples of such raising reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992 are: *rijjāl* "man" (p. 48 (VII-11)), *fillāḥ* "peasant, farmer" (p. 59 (VIII-44)), *keslān* "lazy" (p. 110 (XV-31)), *defyān* "warm" (p. 123 (XVII-32)), *telfān* "slender" (p. 125 (XX-25)) and *wusxān* "dirty" (p. 152 (XXI-30)), but no raising in *ḥallāg* "barber", *najjār* "carpenter", *ḥaddād* "smith" (p. 58 (VIII-37, 38, 39)), *ṭayyāra* "aeroplane", *barrād* "teapot" (p. 99 (XIV-37)), *ġaḍbān* "angry" (with ḍ!) (p. 116 (XVI-22)) and *makkār* "cunning" (p. 148 (XXI-8)).

In ʿLA stress in verbal measures *n*-1 and 1-*t* is like in group ṬwA and HnA: *inwákal*, *ittáfag*, but in ʿLA the article—like in groups I and VI—is stressable in a sequence alCvCv(+), e.g. *álǧimal* "the camel" and *áddawa* "the medicine".

Again like in groups I and VI, when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is raised in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA, as in imperfects of measures *n*-1 and 1-*t*: *yínḍirib* "he is beaten", *yíttifig* "he agrees".[21]

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

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)

The *a* of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ɪh].[22]

Such raising is basically a pausal phenomenon. Examples are: . *ilkáʿakah ḏiy byaʿaǧinha ʿaǧīn maẕbūṭ xāliṣ* "(for) this kaʿakah he kneads the dough extremely well", *tíšluh šwayyah nihā w šwayyah nihā bitkūn ilʾariḏ . . . 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 bitnaḏḏf ilmiʿdih . . .* "good, good, it (sg. fem.) cleans the stomach" and *lamma btínḥišiy tamir . . . bingūl ʿalēha šannih* "when it is stuffed with dates . . . we call it a basket". Examples in ʿLA: *hāḏa kamān gabīlt iʿLēgāt . . . barḏuḵ faḏākih* "this is also the ʿLēgāt tribe . . . there too" and *ʿirf aḏḏēf min biʿīd, ǧāy min iblād ṯānyih* "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. *ʿa lḥāṭah #* "on the wall", *nǧārah #* "carpentry". *txaḷḷha ġalīḏah #* "you make (lit. let be) it (sg. fem.) thick", *nafs ilgiṣṣah #* "the same story".

---

[21] And like in group VI, in the verb forms *yínḍirib* and *yíttifig*, the raised *a* will again 'surface' as *a* when in closed syllables, e.g. *yindárbuw* and *yittáfguw*, see also 3.2.3.1.1.

[22] Nishio 1992:XV reports ʾimālah up to I.P.A. [ɛ] in ǦbA. My impression was that it could reach up to [ɪ] in ǦbA, and often with a following glottal stop when final [ɛ] represented final -*ā* or –*āʾ*.

In ṬwA and HnA raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and ḥ, e.g. *wāsʿih* # "wide (sg. fem.)", *sabʿih* # "seven", *ilFātḥih* # "the Fātiḥah sūrah", *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 *iysallūh ʿala nnāṛ kiḏiy lamma: yanšaf* "they cook it over the fire like this (all the time) until it dries".

1.2.4. *Long vowels and diphthongs*

1.2.4.1. *Monophthongization of diphthongs* *ay *and* *aw

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

Examples of /ē/ for *ay are: *iṯnēn* "two", *bēn* "between", *lēlih* "evening", *sēl* "flood", *ǧwēl* (dim. of *ǧāl*) "little side" and examples for *ō* for *aw are *mōt* "death", *yōm* "day", *fōg* "above", *sōdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *gōṃah* "(manner of) standing up".

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

Examples are (for /ē/) *ʿǟn* "eye, *ḏʿǟfīn* "little children", *ḥǟṭah* "wall", *xǟr* "good", *ṣǟd* "hunting", *ḏǟf* "guest", *ṭǟr* "birds", and verbs *ḥaṭṭǟna* "we placed" and *ištaṛǟna* "we bought" and (for /ō/) *ḥɔːl* "year", *ʿɔːdah* "male given name ʿŌdah", *xɔːf* "fear", *ṣɔːṭ* "sound; voice", though when *h* precedes, /ē/ or /ō/, it is near I.P.A. [eː] and [oː] (resp.), as in *Aḅuw Hēb* "name of a snake charmer (of the Awlād Saʿīd)" and *hōdaǧ* "camel litter (formerly used for the bride in a wedding procession)".

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

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, *mawǧūd* "present (adj.)", *awʿa* "watch out!"[23] and also *taybīs*

---

[23] In ṢwA, ASA and HnA *awʿa* is conjugated: *awʿa tans!, awʿiy tansiy!,* etc. "don't you forget!" In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. *awʿa tansin* "don't you (pl. fem.) forget".

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

In ʿLA the form *zṛaygān* "dark-coloured thoroughbred camel" was recorded, which is probably a loan from group I type dialects.[24]

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

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

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

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

> *dēr* "monastery"—*dīr* "turn (trans.)!"—*dūr* "turn (intrans.)!"—*dōr* "floor (in a building)"—*dāṛ* "house"
> *ǧībuh* "bring it!"—*ǧēbuh* "his pocket"—*ǧābuh* "he brought it"
> *gōm* "enemy tribe"—*gūm* "get up!"

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

In *law* "if" and *aw* "or" the diphthong has remained intact.

1.2.4.3. *Allophones of ā*

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

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

1.2.4.4. *Reflexes of final* *-ā(ʾ)*

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

---

[24] See Stewart 1990:286 (glossary). A *wḍayḥān* 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:

group VI and ʿLA	group VII	
*šti*ʾ	*íšti*ʾ	"winter"
ṣalāt íliʿšiʾ, ṣalāt iʿšíʾ	*ṣalāt ilíʿšiʾ*	"the evening prayer"

Group VI *ʿišíʾ*, group VII and ʿLA *ʿáši*ʾ* "dinner"
* When *a* directly precedes the reflex of final *-ā(ʾ) in open syllable, it is usually not raised.[25] More often, forms are like *ilʿáša*ʾ, *ilǧáda*ʾ. Forms with raising *ʿáši*ʾ, *ǧáde*ʾ were recorded in pause and only in GrA and ṢwA. Unraised forms *ǧáda*ʾ and *ʿáša*ʾ were heard in sandhi.

Other recorded examples with raised reflexes of final *-ā(ʾ) are: *íf ʿi*ʾ "viper", *Wādiy Ísli*ʾ (stressed on initial *I-*) "Wādiy Isla" *ǧi*ʾ "he came", *ilbunn ḏi*ʾ "these coffeebeans", *tižibhi*ʾ "you get it (sg. fem.)", *ʿala gadd ḥālni*ʾ "as much as we can afford", *ifṭarni*ʾ "we had breakfast". Comparable examples in ʿLA are: *ǧi*ʾ, *(i)líf ʿih* and also *(i)líf ʿiy* "the viper", *álwalad ḏi*ʾ "this boy", *ǧambhi*ʾ "next to her", *biddni*ʾ "we want" and *ilíkrih* "the wages".

Reflexes of final *-ā(ʾ) 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) *xaḍrā(ʾ)* "green", *bēḍā(ʾ)* "white" and (optionally) raised *a* in syllable preceding final *ā* in the examples *ziṛgā(ʾ)* "black (lit. blue)", *ḥimṛā(ʾ)* "red" and *ṣifrā(ʾ)* "yellow". Similarly, sg. fem. forms of physical defects are *ḥamgā(ʾ)* "stupid", *ṯaṛmā(ʾ)* "gap-toothed". Such examples are also available for ʿLA.

When no phonetic factors interfere, raising of final *-ā(ʾ) in sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects will reach (stressed) *-íy*, as in e.g. (colours) *sōdíy* "black; bad", *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured", *ǧabšíy* "dark" and (physical defects) *ḥōlíy* "cross-eyed", *hablíy* "dim-witted", *ʿaṛžíy* "limping (sg. fem.)", *ʿamyíy* "blind" and *šōlíy* "left-handed". Such examples are also found in ʿLA.

N.B. "here" is *nihā(ʾ)* or *nihāniy* in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA, but also *híniy* was recorded in ṢwA, ASA, HnA, (only once in) ḤmA and K-form *hina* or *hínih* in all dialects.

---

[25] In group I raising of final *-ā(ʾ) is also prevented by *a* directly preceding in open syllable, see Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.

In dialects of group I raising (there to final *-íy*) is inhibited by (underlying) *a* preceding in open syllable.[26] In group VII raising to *-iʾ* tends to be prevented by *a* preceding in open syllable (see remark * above in 1.2.4.4.). Examples are: *iddáwaʾ* "the medicine", *issámaʾ* "the sky", (verb forms) *fádaʾ* "he sacrificed", *mášaʾ* "he walked", *sáwaʾ* "together", *istáwaʾ* "it became cooked" and also *ánaʾ* "I".

In ʿLA some examples are: *áddawa* "the medicine", *álʿaša* "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. *iḥna ittaṣalniʾ buh* "we contacted him", *ḥatta lífʿiʾ ma tagdarš tuktulhiʾ* "even the viper you cannot kill".

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

When suffixed, raising in the verb form *ǧiʾ* "he came" will be absent, e.g. *law ǧāᵘḳ dixīl* "if somebody comes to you as a daxīl".[27] Similarly, when *kriʾ* is suffixed, final *-iʾ* will be *-ā+*, e.g. *krāh* "his wages" and *krāᵘḳ* "your wages" (example from ʿLA).

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

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

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

1.2.4.5.2. *Off-glide in* ē *and* ī
The same type of off-glides in /ē/ and /ī/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

---

[26] See Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.
[27] A *daxīl* is someone who seeks refuge (e.g. after having commited a crime) in the house of someone else. The 'host' is then obliged to take care (lodge him, and if necessary, defend him) of his *daxīl* for three days (and one third of a day) and seek legal assistance to have the problem of his *daxīl* resolved.

1.2.4.5.3. *Off-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 ʿLA.

1.2.4.6. *Diphthongs*

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

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

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments

In positions not preceded by or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become *ē* and *ō*, cf. 1.2.4.1.

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

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

Cf. 1.2.4.1

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

Cf. 1.2.4.1

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

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

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

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

Examples of diphthongs *iy* and *uw* created by anaptyxis are: *mašiy* # "walking" and # *iyxāf* "he fears" and *ḥašuw* # "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 *yāʾ* verbs with an *i*-type conjugation in the perfect have adopted—though often only partially—an *a*-type perfect in ṬwA and HnA. Examples are *maša* "he walked" (but *mišyit* "she walked"), *nása* and *násat* (but also *nisyit*) and also *lígiy ~ laga* "he found", *ligyit ~ lagat* "she found", etc. (for further detail, see 3.2.2.5.1.). In ʿLA *maša* was recorded with a regular paradigm of the *a*-type and *ligiy* with a regular *i*-type paradigm.

Final *-iy* may also reflect older final *-*ā*ʾ in the pattern *CaCCā́ʾ for physical defects: ʿarǧíy "limping (sg. fem.)", hablíy "simple-minded (sg. fem.)", ʿamyíy "blind" and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā̇ʾ) sōdíy "black", šaḥabíy "sand-coloured".[28]

Apart from *nihā (-niy)* for "here", the form *híniy* is also often heard (though not recorded in ʿLA).

Final *-iy* reflects final *-*ī* in *bíriy* "innocent", final *-*īy* in *ṣábiy* "boy", *gáwiy* "strong" and *níbiy* "prophet", *-*ay*ʾ in *šiy* "thing" and also the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *Suʿūdiy* "Saudi".

1.2.4.7. *Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs*

Examples of long vowels being lengthened: (expressing great surprise) *yā salā:m* "my goodness!", (expressing an extreme degree) *ḥayāh ṣiʿbah xā:liṣ* "a very difficult life" and in ʿLA *ḍalla nā:yim* "he remained asleep (for a long time)".

2. STRESS AND PHONOTACTICS

2.1. *Stress*

2.1.1. *Rules for word-stress*

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

Verbal gahawah-forms of the *i*-type imperfect, like *yáḥarṭuw* "they plough", receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The rules for ṬwA and HnA are (for ǦBA there are exceptions like *íššti*ʾ "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 ǦbA 1992, see ?arji (sic.) (a misprint for—in my own transcription—ʿarǧíy) on p. 7 (I-61).

3. Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4. The following types of 'heavy' sequences occur: vCC(C) and v̄C(C) (including v̄(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 ʿLA, since such sequences are not resyllabified.

In ḤmA the presumably older stress system is being replaced by the system described above. The older stress system—much (but not totally) like that described for group I—is characterized by the following forms: *wálad*, *náxaḷ*, *kátab*, *kátabat*, *ṛágabah*, *náxaḷah*, *yáḥariṯ*, *yáḥarṯuw*, *álwalad*, *áḷʿašaʾ*, *íliʿšiʾ*, *šnaṯ*, *áššnaṯ*, *ánǵasal*, *yínǵisil*, *inǵásaluw*, *áštaǵal*, *yíštiǵil*, *ištáǵaluw*, *kátabatuh*, *ṛágabatuh* and *yáʿaṛaguw*.

In ʿLA the article is a stressable unit (e.g. *álǵamal*, but forms like *ilǵámal* were also heard, though less regularly), but unlike other dialects that may stress the article, ʿLA does not allow stressing of initial vowels in the perfect of measures *n*-1 and 1-*t*. ʿLA 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: *íššti*ʾ "the winter" (ĞbA), *ilʿáša*ʾ "the dinner, *ilʿíf*ʿi*ʾ* "the viper" (second *i* is originally anaptyctic), *ṣalāt ilʿši*ʾ "evening prayer", *iláʿlab* "the tins", *mádrasah* "school", *ištáǵaḷ* "he worked", *ittáfag* "he agreed", *inǵásal* "he was washed", *ilbáṣal* "the onions", *ilwálad* "the boy/son", *ittáfaguw* "they agreed", *inǵásaluw* "they were washed", *ḥṣíy* "rocks",[29] *šōlíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)" and *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured (sg. fem.)".

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

---

[29] In ʿLA the form *íliḥṣiʾ* "the rocks" was also recorded.

be stressed (being the vowel in the 'underlying' heavy sequence vlCC), the anaptyctic may receive stress instead (see scenario 1 below). When the first C is a 'sunletter' no anaptyctic appears, since the *l* of the article assimilates to this 'sunletter'. The vowel of the article is then stressed (see scenario 2 below). Schematically:

> scenario 1:
> $*C_m iCaC > C_m CaC > vl + C_m CaC > vlC_m CaC > vlv_a C_m CaC$
> $\acute{v}lv_a C_m CaC$ or $vlv_s C_m CaC$
>
> scenario 2:
> $*C_s iCaC > C_s CaC > vl + C_s CaC > vC_s C_s CaC > \acute{v}C_s C_s CaC$
>
> C_s = 'sunletter' consonant   vl = article *il-* or *al-*
> C_m = 'moonletter' consonant $\acute{v}$ = stressed short v: *í* or *á*
> v_a = anaptyctic vowel colouring with the following vowel
> $\acute{v}_s$ = originally anaptyctic vowel, after having become stable and part of the morphophonemic base, and is therefore stressable

When anaptyctics preceding forms with initial C_m have become stable and the anaptyctic has become part of the morphophonemic base as the initial vowel, this new initial vowel will be stressed if it is part of a heavy sequence.

A next, or parallel step in this development is anaptyctics becoming stable base vowels where they precede CC; a cluster # CC or C CC needs to be resolved, so that an anaptyctic will be inserted preceding the last CC of such a cluster. The anaptyctic—colouring with the base vowel of the following noun[30]—can thus become stable, and therefore become part of the morphophonemic base and be stressed,[31] e.g.

origin	elision	cluster	anaptyxis	stress
durah	> *drah*	> C + *drah*	> C v_a *drah*	> *ádrah* (v_s *drah*)

When the article is then prefixed, the resulting form will be *aládrah* "the sorghum", since the new base vowel prevents the prerequisite of contact of *l* and the 'sunletter' *d* for assimilation to take place. Another example is *alángar* "the potholes".

---

[30] Such colouring of the anaptyctic was also reported for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:270.

[31] In fact, this development is also a more rigorous application of the rule that base forms can only have initial C- or (ʾ)v-; there is a phonotactic constraint barring initial CC.

Forms in ʿLA are: *íššti̊ʾ*, *álʿašåʾ*, *ilífʿih*, *íliʿši̊ʾ ~ ilíʿši̊ʾ*, *áligṛab* "the water-sacks" (but *alángaṛ* "the potholes"), *álabaṛ* "the needles" and also *aládṛah* "the sorghum".

Other forms with heavy sequences in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA: *ṭilíʿna* "we rose", *waládḵ* "your (sg. masc.) son", *waládk* "your (sg. fem.) son", *úmmuḵ* "your mother", *štî̊ʾ* "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)v₁Cv(C):[32]

(ʾ)v₁CvC: *úḳul* "eat!", *úgum* "stand up!", *íšil* "carry!", *ánam* "go to sleep!", *ábaṛ* "needles" ("I come" is *īǧiy*). ʿLA forms are: *ḳuḷ, gūḷ, gūm, šīl, nām*.[33]
Cv₁Cv(ʾ): *ʿášåʾ* "dinner", *mášåʾ* "he walked", *dáwåʾ* "medicine" ("stick" was recorded as *ʿaṣā*). The same forms are found in ʿLA.
Cv₁CvC: *ǧámal* "camels", *šáǧaṛ* "trees", *ġáṭas* "he dived"; *wágaf* "he stood up", *wáṛag* "paper" and *ṣábiy* "boy", *bíriy* "innocent", *ṭáriy* "moist; soft" ("he goes" is *yīǧiy*, also in ʿLA). In ʿLA both types of stress are heard: *wa lád* or *wálad*, although the latter stress type is more current.

2.1.1.2.2. *Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)*
(C)vCvCv(C): *xášabah* "piece of firewood", *ḍárabuw* "they hit (perfect)", *báladuh* "his country", *násatuh* "she forgot him", *ma násatuš* "she did not forget him" (the latter two not in ʿLA) and gahawah-forms *áḥamaṛ* "red", *náʿaǧih* "ewe", *áʿaṛag* "I sweat", *áḥariṭ* "I plough", *gáhawah* "coffee".[34]
(C)vCvCvCv(C): *ḍárabatuh* "she hit him", *ma ḍárabatuš* "she did not hit him", *ṛágabatuh* "his neck" and gahawah-forms *gáhawatuh* "his coffee", *táʿaṛagin* "you (pl. fem.) sweat".

ilxášabah "the piece of firewood", *ilbádawiy* "the Bedouin (sg.)", (gaha-wah-form) *innáxaḷah* "the palm tree", *ibtáḥafruw* "they dig", *ištáǧaḷat* "she worked", *inbáṣaṭuw* "they rejoiced", *ittáfagat* "she agreed", *taǧáwwazat* "she got married", *takállamuw* "they spoke".

---

[32] When v₁ in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|.
[33] Forms of the mediae infirmae verbs like *guṃ / úguṃ* or *guṃ / úguṃ* were checked, but were rejected as not proper ʿLA.
[34] Stress reported for ĞbA in Nishio 1992 is the same, see p. 146 (XX-30 and 33). How-ever, ibid. p. 7 (I-61) reports (in my transcription) aʿraǧ "lame" (without gahawah-vowel).

2.1.2. *Exceptions to the stress rule*

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

Like in group VI (and also in group IV, see De Jong 2000:428), reflexes of *-*ā᾽*, 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. *xaḏrā(᾽)* "green (sg. fem.)", *ṣifṛā(᾽)* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *bēḏā(᾽)* "white (sg. fem.)", *girˁā(᾽)* "bald (sg. fem.)", *ˁiwṛā(᾽)* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)". Such stressing is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ˁLA.[35]

In phonetically neutral surroundings, final -*ā᾽* 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. *sōdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *šadfíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlíy* "cross-eyed (sg. fem.)". Notice however stress in *híniy* "here", although more regular for "here" is *nihā*. Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -*ā᾽* receives stress: (*šaḥbā᾽* >) *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured (sg. fem.)". These forms are current in ṬwA, HnA and ˁLA.

Reflexes of final *-*ā(᾽)* that are short -*a᾽* or -*i᾽* are stressed in conformity with the rules in 2.1.1.2. When no heavy sequences precede, e.g. (forms in ṬwA and HnA) *(il)ˁášа᾽* "(the) dinner", *(il)ġáda᾽* "(the) lunch", *(is)sáma᾽* "the sky",[36] but with heavy sequences available: *íššti᾽* "the winter", *ṣalāt illˁši᾽* (base form is *iˁši*) "evening prayer", *ilífˁi᾽* "the viper" and *Wādiy Ísli᾽* (stress on initial I) "Wadi Islah".

Note: there is variation, however: (only) in ĞbA and ḤmA forms with stress on the final vowel like *ṣalāt iliˁšî* "evening prayer", *ilifˁî* "the viper", *wagt išští* "the winter time" and *Ğabal iGnî*[37] "the mountain of canals/water ducts (situated in the Maġārah 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. *šufni᾽* "we saw" and *máša᾽* "he walked". The reflex of final *-*ā(᾽)* will only be stressed if it is the only vowel available, e.g. *ilwálad ḏî* "this boy", *ğî* "he came".

---

[35] Nishio 1992 reports the same in terms of stress and raising for ĞbA, 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 ĞbA, see e.g. p. 119 (XVII-1) *sáma*, but does not indicate stress in *ġadɛ* and *ˁašɛ*.

[37] In Turbāniy dialect this mountain is referred to as *Ğibál iGníy*; *gniy* is a pl. form < **qinā᾽*.

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 rais-
ing the short vowel *a*) CiCiy are stressed on the penultimate, which is in
conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2.

2.1.2.3. *Stress in al/il + *CaCīy*

Prefixing an article to a CaCiy sequence has no consequences for the
assignment of stress in ṬwA and HnA, e.g. *inníbiy* or *innábiy* "the Prophet"
and *iṣṣábiy* "the boy". In ḤmA *ánnibiy* was recorded and in ǦbA *ínnibiy*.

ṣabiy (pl. *ṣibyān*) "boy" with suffixes: *ṣabíyyuḵ* "your boy", *ṣabiyyī* "my
boy", *ṣabíyyhuṃ* "their boy".

2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms*

In ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA stress in gahawah-forms is like in group VI (*naxáḷha*
"her date palms", *gáhawatuh* "his coffee" and (*i*- and *u*-type gahawah-
imperfect verb forms) *yáʿaǧnuh* "he kneads it" and *táxabṭin* "you (pl. fem.)
knock".[38]

Resyllabication of sequences CaCaCatv (> CaCCitv) is not a character-
istic of ṬwA, HnA or ʿLA.

2.1.2.5. *Stress in vCCICv*

Like in group VI, a short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC$_a$C$_{a-}$
IC$_a$v and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *bitǧázzizuh* "you
sow it (of watermellon 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 ʿLA is *biyballilūha* "they make it (sg. fem.) wet". For
active participles of the verb *taʿaknan* "be irritated", see 2.4.4.

2.1.3. *Stress units*

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

Like in group I, the preposition *min* may form one stress unit with the
following word, as in *mín-taḥat* "from below", *mín-kiḏiy* "from this" and
mín-ihniy "from here" (the latter BWA).

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

---

[38] Nishio 1992 lists many gahawah-forms for ǦbA as well, e.g. (p. 19 (III-31) gahawɛ,
(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.

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*mahū́š*	*mahínš*
	fem.	*mahī́š*	*mahúmš*
2.	masc.	*mántiš*	*mantū́š*
	fem.	*mantī́š*	*mantínš*
1.	com.	*manī́š*	*máḥniš*

Negated pronominals recorded in ḤmA are: *māhū, māhī, mintih, mintiy, mānī, miḥna, mintuw, mintin, māhum, māhin.*

In GrA direct elicitation yielded the following forms:[39] *māhū, māhī, mantih, mantiy, mānī, māhuṃ, māhin, mantum, mantin, maḥna.*

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

2.1.3.2. *Enclitically suffixed prepositions* l *and* b

2.1.3.2.1. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition* l
Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition l occurs regularly. Examples are: yugʿúd-luh šaharān ṯalāṯih "it stays (for itself) two or three months" (GrA). ibyāxúḏ-luh btāʿ sāʿtēn "he spends about two hours" (ĞbA), biyrūḥū-luh "they go to him" (ṢwA), aṛawwíḥ-luh giddām ilmīʿād ib yōm aw yōmēn "I go to him one or two days before the appointment" (ASA) and naḥafír-luh "we dig (a hole) for it" (ḤmA).

Such enclitic suffixing was found to be especially current in HnA, e.g.: *ibyibgā-luh mōsim* "there is a season for it" (HnA), *innās bitgūm taḥašā-luh…ḥašiy* "people then stuff it (properly)" (HnA), *imwaẓẓaf byāxud-luh ṯalaṯmīyt iǧnēh* "a civil servant gets (for himself) three hundred pounds" (HnA).

An example in ʿLA is: *biyṭallíʿ-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. mistahtír-buh "making fun of him" (ASA), w inǧammís-buh "and we dip (food) with it", timší-buh "you go with him" (HnA), ibyihtimmū-buh htimām ǧāmid "they attach great importance to it" (HnA). In ʿLA it was not recorded.

---

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

2.2. *Phonotactics*

2.2.1. *The gahawah-syndrome*

2.2.1.1. *The gahawah-syndrome:* a-*insertion in* *aXC *sequences*
Like in many dialects of Sinai, the gahawah-syndrome is active in ṬwA
and HnA. Some of many examples are: *šáḥaṛ* "month", *ṣalāt ilmaġarib*
"prayer at sunset", *báʿad* "after", *byaxaṭibha* "he gets engaged to her", *aḥa-
bal* "stupid", *aḥawal* "cross-eyed", *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured", *taḥat* "under".[40]

In ʿLA we see similar forms, but stress may be on the vowel of the sec-
ond syllable, e.g. *naxáḷ* "palm trees", *Saʿád* "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_2ūC_3) like *maḥafūṛ* "dug", *maxaṛūm* "pierced", *maḥabūs*
"imprisoned", *maḥaṭūṭ* "placed" and *maʿagūl* "reasonable", *maʿadūd* "few,
countable" and *maġaṣūb* "forced, compelled", but also *maxzūn* "stored",
Maḥmūd "male given name" and *maxṭūbah* "engaged (sg. fem.)".

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC_2vC_3(ah): *maġarib*
"time of sunset", *máxazan* "storage place, but also *maġrib*, *maxzan* and
maḥġar "stone quarry".

Examples in ʿLA: *maʿarūfīn* "known (pl. masc.)", *maxaṛūm* "pierced",
maxaṭūbah "engaged (sg. fem.)", *maġarib* "time of sunset", but also *maḥṭūṭ*
"placed".

2.2.1.3. *Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active*
In ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA the gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived ver-
bal measures. Examples are like those listed for group VI.

Examples of the absence of the gahawah-syndrome in elatives are:
aḥsan "better/best", *aḥla* "more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest", *aġḷab*
"more/most" (and also *aġlabiyyah* "majority"), *aġḷa* "more/most expen-
sive" and the name *Aḥmad*.

---

[40] Nishio 1992 cites numerous instances of the gahawah-syndrome for ĞbA too, but
there are also exceptions, such as aʿraǧ "lame" (p. 7 (I-61)), taʿbān "tired" (p. 41 (VI-9)),
laġwɛ "language" (p. 72 (X-1)), raġwɛ "bubble, foam" (p. 125 (XVII-48)), waḥlə "mud"
(p. 127 (XVII-64)) and verbs like ʿawaǧ, yaʿwaǧ "bend" (p. 99 (XIV-41)) and xiliṣ, yaxlaṣ "end"
(p. 103 (XV-4)) and other forms. N.B. the imperfect of a (there measure 1) verb like ʿaṭa, yaʿṭi
"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 ʿayn (in my own transcription this
would be *yiʿṭiy*). A similar example is (also measure 1) ʿazam, yaʿzim "invite" (p. 90 (XIII-21)),
which in my own transcription would be *ʿazam, yiʿzim*.

The gahawah-syndrome also usually remains absent in loans from Standard Arabic like *yaʿniy* "that is, it means", *yaḥṣal* "it happens" and another measure 1 verb *yaʿmal*[41] "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 *naxaḷatī* "my palm tree" and *gáhawatuh* "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 bukaṛa-syndrome*

Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): *az̲aṛag* "dark brown", *tag̲aṛa lFātiḥah* "you recite the Fātiḥah", *dug̲iṛiy* "straight ahead, right away"*,* *tzag̲iṛiṭ* "she ululates", *yg̲ōṯ̲iṛin* "they (fem.) go", *xuḏ̲iṛiy* "type of cheap green tobacco (smoked in rolled cigarettes)".

Examples of the bukaṛa-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are *l āxiṛ innahāṛ* "until the end of the day" and *indawwiṛ ilǧamal* "we look for the camel".

Examples of the 'greater' or 'expanded' bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: *fi lgaṣiṛ*[42] *ibtaxazín-luk* "in the storage you store it for yourself" and *fi lgidiṛ ib ḫāluh* "all of it in the pot" and in ʿLA *Ṣadir ilḤēṭān* "name of a mountain range, south of Umm Iṯlah[43] pass".

2.2.2.2. *Influence of* l

Like *r*, *l* may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) *ibyinz̲il isSwēs* "he goes down to Suez", *hāḏiy btāk̲il ilǧarbūʿ* "this one (fem.) eats jerboa" (though also *ibtākl iṭwēr* "it (fem.) eats small birds") and *f-aww̲il ilwagt* "in the beginning". An example in ʿLA is *gāl yā raǧil ilmasal ḏiʾ* "he said 'oh man, this saying…' ".

Examples of 'expanded' or 'greater' bukaṛa-vowels preceding *l* in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in

---

[41] Much more current for "make, do" is the measure 2 verb *sawwa, ysawwiy*.

[42] *gaṣr*, pl. *gṣūr*: 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 ʾUmm ʾIṯlah pass, on the main road from the Aḥmad Ḥamdi tunnel near Suez to Nixl, is usually indicated on maps as 'Mitla pass', see fn 7, p. 3.

2.3.2.) are ('greater' bukaṛa-vowels underlined): *w iľakil iyyāmha kamān ṣiʿib* "food was also difficult (to get) in those days" and *itḥuṭṭuh fi ssiʿin iw yugʿúd-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* *ʾibil *and* *raǧil
The form bil or ibil was not recorded.

ṛaǧil for "man" was only recorded once in ḤmA and once in ʿLA, but there were numerous instances of *yā ṛāǧil*. riǧǧāl or raǧǧāl (pl. *rǧāl*) is current for "man".

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

Also, an anaptyctic vowel in sandhi is often inserted in positions not covered by the anaptyxis rule (see 2.3. below). Examples are: *assamin aššīḥiy* "the wormwood ghee", and *ibyanfaʿ l albaṭin iw fīh šiǧáṛ l aṣṣadir iw fīh šiǧáṛ l iddišbih* "it is good for the stomach and there are plants (i.e. herbs) for the chest and there are plants for (treating) a cold".[44]

2.2.3. *Articulatory delay of* ʿayn *following geminates*

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

2.3. *Anaptyxis*

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA. For ĞbA Nishio reports several instances of schwa resolving a consonant cluster C$_a$C$_a$C$_b$ (where C$_a$C$_a$ is a geminate), e.g. (p. 196) hī biddəhɛ timši "she wishes to leave (or walk)", biddənɛ "we wish" and biddəken "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] *dišbih* is used for common cold (with coughing), a more severe cold with flu-like symptoms is usually referred to as *ḥabṣah*. Bailey 2009:343 (glossary) lists *dishba* as "the flu".

2.3.1. *Word-medial anaptyxis*

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

yiktib + uw	*> *yiktbuw*	*> yíkitbuw* "they write"
yugʿud + uw	*> *yugʿduw*	*> yúguʿduw* "they sit"[46]

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

tisg[*1] *+ ha*	*> *tisgha*	*> tísigha* "you water it"

[*1] *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):

sabʿ **sn**ī̄n[47] *> sabʿ* i̱*snīn* "seven years".
byasṛaḥ *w* **b**yiḏwiy miʿ *ǧámaluh > #* i̱*byasṛaḥ w* i̱*byiḏwiy miʿ ǧámaluh* "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.:

#CC	>	# i̱CC:	# **b**yasṛaḥ *> #* i̱*byasṛaḥ*
and			
CC#	>	Ci̱C #:	*b irriǧl # > b irriǧi̱l #*

---

[45] For the role of relative sonority, see remarks in De Jong 2000:125–26.

[46] Nishio 1992 gives numerous instances in which word-medial with subsequent anaptyxis does not take place, e.g. imperatives of "write" (sg. fem.) iktibi, (pl. masc.) iktibu and (pl. fem.) iktiben (p. 76 (X-27), imperfect forms (pl. masc.) yoḏrobu, (pl. fem.) yoḏroben, etc. (p. 88 (XIII-11) and also imperf. forms (pl. masc.) yinzəlu and (pl. fem.), yinzələn, etc.

[47] The base form is with initial consonant, which may be concluded from forms preceded by the article (its *l* assimilates to the first consonant), e.g.: *iṣṣ́ǧayyir, isSwēs* and also *issnīn* (not *(i)lisǧayyir, (i)liSwēs* or *(i)lisnīn*).

An example in ʿLA is: *maṭraḥ ma timis̲, iris̲* "wherever you are in the eve-
ning, spend the night there (lit. throw out your anchor)" (a saying advising
not to travel by night); *tims* is an apocopated imperfect (root *m-s-y*), *irs* is
an apocopated imperative (root *r-s-y*).

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

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

> (base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined, stress has already
>   been placed)
> *sámnit̲ ilʿanz >*
> (after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)
> * *sá**mnt** ilʿanz >*
> (after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
> *sámint̲ ilʿanz* "the ghee of the goats"

Another example is:

> (base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined, stress has already
>   been placed)
> *nílh̲ig iššāz >*
> (after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)
> * *níl**h̲g** iššāz >*
> (after anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
> *níli̲h̲g iššāz* "we put the ṣāǧ (on the fire)"

A similar example heard in ʿLA is *úḍrub ilmiʿzih > * úḍ**rb** ilmiʿzih > úḍu̲rb
ilmiʿzih* "hit the goat".

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

Resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g.
yíkitbuw) is compulsary, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC-
CIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. *níli̲h̲g 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 con-
sonant (predominantly stops),[48] e.g.: *kalthiʾ* "I ate it (sg. fem.)", *talgha* "you
will find her", *kāwantnī* "you fought me", *fihimt? #* "did you understand?"

---

[48] For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *gult hēhū ḏiʾ!* "I said 'there he is!'" and *ʿind 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 bāluḵ* "you see?".

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

2.3.3.2. *The role of sonority of consonants invloved in unresolved clusters*
See remarks in De Jong 2000:125–126.

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 ʿLA as well.

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ʿind + C*
The suffixed preposition ʿind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʿíndaha* (*ʿíndihi*) "with her", *ʿinduḵ* "with you (sg. masc.)", *ʿindik* "with you (sg. fem.)", *ʿinduhuw* "with them (pl. masc.)", *ʿindihin* "with them (pl. fem.)", *ʿinduḵum* (~-uḵuw) "with you (pl. masc.)", *ʿindikin* "with you (pl. fem.)" and *ʿindina* "with us". The same forms are heard in ʿLA.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: *ʿind wāḥid* "with some-one" and in ʿLA *ʿind ʿaṛbānuh* "with his family".

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

Examples are *arkáb^uḵ ibyōǧʿinnuḵ* "your knees hurt you (sg. masc.)". *arkáb^ik ibyōǧʿinnik* "your knees hurt you (sg. fem.)". In ʿLA *law aṛwáh^uḵ ibyunguz min ʿinduh* "if he smells you he jumps from his place".

When more than one consonant precedes the personal- pronominal suffixes take allomorphic shapes -uḵ (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. *xalluḵ gāʿid* "remain seated", *ʿinduḵ* "with you".[49]

---

[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 [ɪ], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [ʊ], 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 ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.1.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after* I-*elision*
The situation in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.1.3. *Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of* i *from* T
The situation in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA 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 [ɪ].

Examples listed for group VI also illustrate the situation in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

In ṬwA, HnA imperatives of the verbs *xáḏ* "take" and *kál* "eat" are *úḳuḷ*, # *uḳlíy*, # *uḳlúw*, # *uḳlín* and *úxuḏ*, # *uxḏíy*, # *uxḏúw*, # *uxḏín*.[51]

In ʿLA the sg. masc. is *ḳuḷ* and (velarized) *xuḏ*, 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. [ʊ] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ɪ]. Examples listed for group VI can also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

---

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 3.1.12.3.1.

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

   [51] Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxoḏ ~ xoḏ, oxoḏi ~ xoḏi, oxoḏu ~ xoḏu, oxoḏen ~ xoḏen, but okul ~ kul. okli, oklu and oklen for ĠbA. In the majority of cases Nishio indicates non-elision of the short high vowel reflexes of CiCaC, e.g. zubab "penises" (p. 7 (I-54)), kusas "vulvas" (p. 7 (I-56)), šowak "ploughs (p. 36 (V-25)), šonaṭ "bags" (p. 38 (V-35)), turab "graves" (p. 44 (VI-29)), 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 anaptyctics*

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

Examples are (for the pattern *CICaC) (with initial *a*-) *árkab* "knees", *ášnaṭ* "suitcases, bags", *áštal* "seedlings", *áḥgan* "injections", *ánxaṛ* "noses", *áwṛaš* "workshops", *ángaṛ* "pits, *álmaḏ* "lamps (sg. *lambah*), *ágṛab* "water skins", *áʕlab* "tins; packets", *áṣwar* "pictures", *áxṣaʾ* "testicles" and (with initial *i*-) *íšti ʾ* "winter", *íʾfi ʾ* "viper", *ṣalāt íʿši ʾ* "evening prayer".

Forms recorded in ǦbA are more like those heard in group I (apart from the fact that the article is not stressed in ǦbA) e.g. *hāt iligráb* "bring the waterskins", *(i)liḥgán* "the injections", *iššnáṭ* "the suitcases, bags" and comparable stressing in the form *ṣalāt iliʿší ʾ* "the evening prayer" (though also *ilíʿši ʾ* was heard).[52]

In ʕLA there is a development in progress; in some cases the new pattern aCCaC has already come into use (e.g. *áḥgan*, *ángaṛ*), in other cases the pattern CCaC is still being used (see also remarks in 2.1.1.1.), e.g. *álgṛab* "the waterskins" (not *(a)lágṛab*).

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

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

Examples of plurals with *ʾ as the first radical are *(ʾ)ábaṛ* "needles"[53] and *(ʾ)áwaḏ* "rooms".

Plurals ending in *-īy have reflexes -*iy* like in: *gniy* "bunches of dates",[54] *ḥṣiy* "rocks",[55] *rḥiy* "hand mills" and *ʿṣiy* "sticks".

---

[52] See also remarks in 1.2.4.4. above.
[53] See also Nishio 1992:16.
[54] From the context it is clear that the pl. of "date bunches" is meant here. Compare also differences in stress and pronunciation in *Bīr iGní ʾ* / *Bīr iGníy* / *Bīr Ignah* (the latter stressed on I) (located at appr. 28.51.51 North and 33.43.35 East). Compare this to the different pronunciations of *Wādiy Sli ʾ*, *Wādiy Sliy*, or *Wādiy Islah* / *Aslah* (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
[55] In ʕLA a form *íliḥṣi ʾ* was recorded, which must reflect the coll. *ḥaṣan* (root *ḥ-ṣ-y*). I do not have an explanation for the raising of final *-ā* preceded by the emphatic *ṣād*.

In ṬwA (however, for remarks on ĞbA see 3.1.16.) and HnA the preposition *m(i)ʿ* followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed as follows, e.g. *ímʿuh, ímʿuḳ, ímʿik*, except stress is on the final (long) vowel in *imʿī*. Negated forms are stressed *má-mʿuš, ma míʿḳuš, ma míʿkiš* and (more predictably) *ma mʿíš*.

In ʿLA the suffixed preposition *mʿ* will be stressed on the vowel of a vowel-initial suffix, e.g. *mʿúḳ* "with you" and *mʿúh* "with him" (for more remarks on stress in suffixed prepositions see 3.1.16.).

2.4. *Elision of Short Vowels*

ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are 'différentiels' in terms of short vowel elision.[56] The rule is like that already formulated for group VI. The rules for morphophonemic elision are compulsary.

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 compulsary, 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) *bittalliʿ + ʿyūn > bittalliʿ ʿyūn > bittalliʿ **i**ʿyūn > bittallʿ **i**ʿyūn* "it (sg. fem.) grows flower buds".

In this first example the cluster ʿʿy 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: *urbuṯ ḫzāmuḳ > urbuṯ iḫzāmuḳ > urbṯ iḫzāmuḳ > úruḇṯ iḫzāmuḳ* "fasten your seat belt".

---

[56] See Cantineau 1936:49.

In this second example the cluster *ṭḥz* is resolved, after which the high vowel *u* preceding *ṭ* is in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped, creating a new cluster *rbṭ*, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic *u*.

Such examples are also found in ʿLA.

2.4.4. *Exceptions to the I-elision rule*

When C_a and C_b in $C_a C_a I C_b$ are phonetically close or identical, I is not dropped. An example is *bitǧázzizuh* "you sow it (of watermellon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil)".

Another exception to the high vowel elision rule was found through direct elicitation in ṢwA, ḤmA and HnA with the act. participles (sg. fem.) *mtaʿákninih*, (pl. masc.) *mtaʿakninīn* and (pl. fem.) *mtaʿaknināt* "irritated". In ASA the *i*-elision does take place (with immediate subsequent anaptyxis) *mtaʿakinnih*, *-īn*, *-āt* and in ĞbA and ʿLA both *mtaʿákninih* and *mtaʿákinnih* (and *mitʿakninīn* / *mitʿakinnīn*, *mitʿaknināt* / *mitʿakinnāt*) were recorded.

2.5. *Assimilation*

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

Apart from contact assimilations of *l* of the article *il-* or *al-* to 'sunletters', *l* is also—more regularly so than in group VI—assimilated to following *ǧ*, as in *iǧǧild* "the skin", *iǧǧizzāṛ* "the butcher", *iǧǧism* "the body" and *iǧǧamr* "the live embers" and *iǧǧimʿah ǧǧāyih* "the next Friday". This type of assimilation may be regularly heard in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA. Assimilation of *l* to initial *k* was not recorded.

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

Regressive total:

t + s	> *ss*	*ssūg* "you drive"
t + ṣ	> *ṣṣ*	*ṣṣall* "you pray"
t + ḍ	> *ḍḍ*	*biḍḍall* "you stay/keep on"

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

---

57 For remarks on contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization cf. 1.1.7.

ll + *n* > *nnn* (I.P.A. [nː]) *xannī* "let me"

Instances of regressive partial assimilation were also recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ˁLA.

Progressive total assimilation of initial *h-* of pronominal suffixes to pre-ceding voiceless consonants is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ˁLA, as well as reciprocal total assimilations of the type reported for group VI, e.g. *ˁarīssa* "her bridegroom", *maṣlaḥatta* "her department", *taslaxxa* "you skin it (sg. fem.)".

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. Examples in the dialects discussed here are *ṣāǧ* (or *ṣāž*) > *šāz* "iron baking sheet", *sīǧih* (or *sīžih*) > *šīzih* "game of *sīǧah*". In ĞbA I heard both *šizn* and *siǧn* "prison" and *bitsaǧǧil* and *bitšazzil* "you record", but in ASA I heard only *basaǧǧil* "I record".

Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds in all dia-lects is: *šamš* "sun", but in all dialects *šaǧar* "trees" is current.

3. Morphology

3.1. *Nominal Morphology*

3.1.1. *Raising of a*

3.1.1.1. *Raising of* *a in* $C_1aC_2\bar{\imath}C_3(ah)$
Raising of *a* in the nominal pattern $C_1aC_2\bar{\imath}C_3$(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 ˁLA are: *kaṯīr ~ kiṯīr* "many; much", *kabīr ~ kibīr* "big; old", *garīb ~ girīb* "relative (related person)", *gadīm ~ gidīm* "old", *dagīg ~ digīg* "flour", *ˁarīs ~ ˁirīs* "bridegroom", *ˁaǧīnih ~ ˁiǧīnih* "dough", *baˁīd ~ biˁīd* "far", *taxīn ~ tixīn* "thick, fat", *xafīf ~ xifīf* "light (in weight)", *xamīs ~ ximīs* "Thursday", *ġalīḍ ~ ġilīḍ* "fat", *naḍīf ~ niḍīf* "clean".

---

[58] This situation is the same as what was described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273. Nishio 1992, however, lists several instances of elisions of this vowel, as in e.g. ṯgīl "heavy" (p. 176 (XXIV-74), kṯīr "many, much" (p. 176 (XXIV-74), etc. See also remark *2 on (non-) elision of 'underlying a' in 3.2.2.1. and in verbs like *nisiy* and *ligiy* in 3.2.2.5.1.

Some forms recorded only without raising are: ḥadīd "iron", dalīl "list (of persons)", ṭarīg "road", gaṭīrah "boat", ṣaḥīḥ "correct", raxīṣ "cheap", laʾīm "mean person", (ʾ)akīd "certain".

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

3.1.1.1.2. *Raising of* a *in* *CaCīy (C₃ = y)
Raising of a preceding *CaCīy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well. Examples are: bíriy "innocent", gúwiy "strong", ṭíriy "moist; soft", wíliy ~ wáliy "saint", ʿIliy ~ ʿAliy "name" and níbiy ~ nábiy "Prophet". A form recorded in ʿLA is guwíy.

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

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

3.1.1.4. *Raising of* a *in CaCCāC*
Raising of a in the pattern CaCCāC in ĞbA and GrA is almost without exception when it concerns patterns $C_1aC_2C_2āC_3$ and $C_1aC_2C_3ān$. These patterns have been morphologically restructured as $C_1iC_2C_2āC_3$ and $C_1iC_2C_3ān$.

Examples in ṬwA and HnA: šiǧǧāl[59] "busy, functioning", riǧǧāl "man", siyyāl "acacia tree", millāḥ "salty type of herb", niǧǧāṛ "carpenter", tillāǧah "fridge", willāʿah "lighter", ḥissās "sensitive", ḥiǧǧāriy "pickaxe", milyān "full", siyyāṛah "car", ġilṭān "mistaken", diblān "wrinkled (of skin of fruit)", although also ġalṭān and raǧǧāl were recorded.[60]

In ʿLA comparable forms show that morphological restructuring has not taken place, but that raising is optional: šabʿān "satiated", raddāḥah "roast pit", raggāṣah "dancer (fem.)", ʿaṭšān "thirsty", ġalṭān "mistaken",

---

[59] In ĞbA ġġ 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. tilfān "thin, lean" (p. 41 (VI-8)), wuǧʿān "ill" (p. 41 (VI-11)), riǧǧāl "(adult) man" (p. 48 (VII-11)), but also naǧǧār "carpenter" (p. 58 (VIII-38)) and kaslān "lazy" (p. 149 (XXI-9)). Nishio usually transcribes a in positions influenced by emphatics or back spirants, e.g. baṭṭāniye "blanket" (p. 29 (IV-35)), naḍḍāra "glasses" (p. 33 (V-3)), ʿaryān "naked" (p. 13 (II-4)), ḍamyān and ʿaṭšān (both) "thirsty" (p. 23 (III-53)), šaġġāl "servant" (p. 53 (VII-43)) and also ǧaʿān "hungry" (root ǧ-w-ʿ) (p. 23 (IIII-53)).

ġalbān "poor, destitute", *fallāḥ* "farmer", *Sallām* "male given name", *rawyān* "well-watered" and (raising in) *kislān* "lazy", *wiǧʿān* "suffering pain", *siyyāl* "acacia", *suwwāg* "driver", *tillāǧah* "fridge", *buṛṛād* "kettle" and *wayyāh ~ wiyyāh* "with him".

Also in other patterns *a* is often raised in ṬwA and HnA when it precedes CCā, e.g.: *ḥibbāyāt* "corns, seeds", *miṛṛāt* "times" and also in the pattern for sg. fem. adjectives of colours and physical defects (*CaCCāʾ), as in *ṯirmāʾ* "gap-toothed (sg. fem.)", *girʿāʾ* "bald (sg. fem.)", *ʿiwṛāʾ* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)", *gilbāʾ* "stupid (sg. fem.)" and *ḥimṛāʾ* "red (sg. fem.)", *ṣifṛāʾ* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *zirgāʾ* "black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)" and also *xiḍrāʾ* "green (sg. fem.)". Though forms like *xaḍrāʾ* and *ḥamṛāʾ* were also recorded. In ʿLA examples are: *xaḍrāʾ, ḥamṛāʾ, samṛāʾ*, but also *zirgāʾ, ṯiṛmāʾ* "gap-toothed (sg. fem.)".

Notice that raising of *a* in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final *-ā(ʾ)* has not been raised to *-íy*, e.g. *ʿarǧíy* "limping (sg. fem.)", and also the gahawah-form *šaḥabíy* "light coloured (sg. fem.)".

In ASA, ṢwA, ḤmA and HnA similar raising may take place, but there it is optional and X preceding *a* usually constitutes an inhibiting factor, e.g. *Naṣṣār ~ Niṣṣār* "male given name", *raǧǧāl ~ riǧǧāṛ* "man", *niǧǧāṛ* "carpenter", *Silmān* "male given name", *ṣiyyād* "fisherman" (but *ṣayyādiyyah* "dish with fish"), *biṭṭāniyyah* "blanket", *kislān* "lazy", *wiǧʿān* "suffering pain", *šibʿān* "sated, full", *zihgānīn* "fed up (pl. masc.)".

Variation or no raising in *ġalṭān* "mistaken", *ġalbān* "poor, wretched", *ʿayyān* "ill", *taʿbān* "tired", *malyān* "full", *ʿiṭšān ~ ʿaṭšān* "thirsty" and in sg. fem. adjectives for colours and physical defects: *zirgāʾ ~ zargāʾ* "black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)", *ḥimṛāʾ ~ ḥamṛāʾ* red (sg. fem.)", *raddāḥah ~ riddāḥah* "trap net (used to catch birds)", *ṣafrāʾ* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *ḥamgāʾ* "stupid, silly (sg. fem.)", *maṛṛāt* "times", *ḥabbāt* "corns, bits" and *miʿnāt* + "the meaning of".

The conclusion for ḤmA, ṢwA, ASA and HnA is that, just like in ʿLA, 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", *ǧināyin* "gardens", *zimān* "in the past", *gizāz* "glass", *ṯimānīn* "eighty", *midāris* "schools", *misāfih* "distance", *mišākil* "problems", *filāyik iṣṣēd* "(small) fishing boats (with sails)", *bihāyim* "cattle (pl.)", *ḏibāyiḥ* "animals for slaughter", *digāyig*

"minutes", *šimāl* "north", *kimān* "also", *dirāhim* "money", *ma mišāš* "he did not go", *ilifã̄ʿiy* "the vipers".[61]

In labial environments, raising of *a* may als be towards [u], as in *šuwārib* "lips", *muwāʿīn* "receptacles", *fuwākih* "(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", *ṭamāṭim* "tomatoes".

Here too, raising occurs less when *l* or *r* follows *a*, or X precedes, e.g. *malāyīn* "millions", *ṣalāh* "prayer", *ṯalāṯah* "three", *xalāṣ* "ready", *salām* "peace", *Garāršah* "name if tribe", *farāšīḥ* "thin loaves of bread baked on a *šāz* (i.e. a *ṣāǧ*)", *maṛākib* "boats", *faṛāʿnah* "Faraos", and *ʿašān* "because", *ḥaṣāh* "rock", *xawāǧih* "foreigner", *Ḥamāḏah* "name of tribe", *ḥayāh* "life", *ġazāl* "gazelle". Also when *ʾ* precedes, raising is not regular, e.g. *(ʾ)amākin* "places", *(ʾ)aṣābiʿ* "fingers; toes". Such examples may also be heard in ʿLA.

This raising of *a* in open syllable directly preceding stressed *ā* 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. *ʿiláy* "on me", *ǧimálᵘk̲* "your camel", *tiḥáthiʾ* "under her", *ma tiḥáthiš* "not under her".

Such raising only occurs on a limited scale, however; examples of non-raising are numerous, e.g.: *ḏabáḥtuh* "I slaughtered it", *ṛagabátᵘk̲* "your neck", *katábt* "I wrote" and also *gahawátkum* "your (pl. masc.) coffee".

Since the stress pattern CaCáC is current in ʿLA, many more instances were to be expected of this type of raising. Its occurrence is, however, limited. Examples are: *ǧimál* "camel", *ǧibál* "mountain" and *muṭár* "rain".

3.1.1.7. *Raising of* a *in open syllable preceding stressed A*

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

---

[61] Compare C.A. *afʿaⁿ*, pl. *afāʿiⁿ* (root *f-ʿ-y*).

3.1.1.8. *Raising of* a *in CaCūC(ah)*

Like raising of *a* towards I.P.A. [ɪ] in open syllable preceding Cī, *a* in open syllable is also often raised—usually towards I.P.A. [ʊ]—when it precedes Cū. Examples are: *buxūr* "incense", *xurūf* "lamb", *ǧinūb ~ ǧunūb* "south", *ġumūs* "food dip", *ʿurūs* "bridegroom", *fuṭūr* "breakfast", *yuhūd* "Jews" and (with initial *hamzah*) *uḅūy* "my father" and *uxūy* "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 ʿLA. Some additional ʿLA examples are *lugūḥ* "pregnant (of a she-camel)" and *guʿūd* "young male camel".

Like raising of *a* preceding *ī*, raising of *a* preceding *ū* is optional; forms like *ʿaǧūz* "old lady", *ǧanūb* "south", *ʿarūsah* "bride", *ḥamūlih* "animal led to a party to be slaughtered", *yahūd* "Jews" may also be heard. Such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

Notice also the form (in HnA) *ʿabūr* in the name *madrasat ilʿAbūr* "the Crossing[62] 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 *māʿūn (maʿūn)* "container", *nāmūsiyyih (namūsiyyih)* "mosquito net".

A gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Cū is not raised, e.g. *maxaṭūb* "engaged", *maʿaṛūf* "known", *maḥafūḍ* "well-kept", *maʿadūs* "lentil soup" (such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA).

3.1.1.9. *Raising of* a *in open syllable preceding stressed* u

a in open syllable preceding stressed *ú* is found much less often in group VII than in group VI. Although this may be partly due to differences in stress patterns (CǘCvC in ṬwA and HnA as opposed to CvCǘC), such ʿLA forms (which also stresses CvCǘC) are few.

---

[62] The 'crossing', C.A. *ʿubūr*, refers to the crossing of the Suez Canal of the Eyptian 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 *ġuluḏt* "I grew fat", *ġuluḏtin* "you (pl. fem.) grew fat".

A form quite typical for ʿLA (i.e. it was only heard sporadically in ḤmA and not in the other dialects discussed here) is *ʿilúh*, which also appears without raising as *ʿalúh* "on him" (see remark *4 in 3.1.16.). Notice here that in the absence of velarization or labialization, raising is towards *i*, even though the stressed vowel following is *u*.

3.1.1.10. a-*raising rules combined*

Combining the rules for raising of *a* described in te paragraphs above, we may summerize as follows:

$$a > I \ / \ C_a\_\_C_b\bar{I}C$$

$\bar{I}$ = long vowel ū or ī
I = short high vowel u if Ī is ū; short high vowel i if Ī is ī
C_b = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to u

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

For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded in ṬwA: *badw* "Bedouin", *táḥat* "under" (also ʿLA), *fáḥam* "coal", *waḥdah* (~ *wiḥdih* in ĠbA, ḤmA and ʿLA) "one (sg. fem.)", *naḥyih* "direction", *ṣáʿab* "difficult", *šakl* "shape", *ṣáḥan* "dish, plate" (also ʿLA), *ǧady* "kid goat" (also ʿLA), *ṣadr* "chest", *waḵl* "food" (also ʿLA), *karš* "(fat) belly", *kalb* "dog" and *ǧidd* "grandfather" (also ʿLA) and *ǧifn* "eyelid".

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

wirk "thigh",[63] *kitf* "shoulder", *kilmih* "word", *širkih* "company".

3.1.4. *Reflexes of* $C_1uC_2C_3(ah)$

Some reflexes of $C_1uC_2C_3(ah)$ are: *bunn* "coffee beans", *rizz* "rice", *kull* "all; every" (also ʿLA), *uṃṃ* "mother" (also ʿLA), *uxt* "sister" (also ʿLA), *Ǧimʿih* "male given name" (also ʿLA), *muddih* "period", *ḥuṛmah* "woman" (also

---

[63] For ĠbA *wilk, wlāk* is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (I-58).

ʿLA), *zibdih* "butter" (also ʿLA), *rikbih* "knee", *hinnih* "they (fem.)" (also ʿLA), *šuggah* "a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)".

3.1.5. *Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress*

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

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: *snīn* "years", *ʿyūn* "eyes" and *ǧnēh* "pound (money)", *ǧbāl* "mountains", *gṣayyir* "short". Such forms are regular in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

When V is a short vowel, the anaptyctic vowel which precedes the CC cluster 'on the surface' has become part of the morphological base.[64] The phonetic value of this anaptyctic is steered by the vowel that was already part of the base. Examples with short vowels are: *árkab* "knees", *áḥgan* "injections", *ífʿiʾ* "viper", *íštiʾ* "winter". Such forms are regular in ṬwA and HnA, but in ʿLA forms like *ḥgan*, *šnaṭ* "suitcases" and *ʿnab* "grapes" are predominant, although also forms *ífʿiy ~ ífʿih* are heard.

Exceptions to such elisions are often found in MSA loans, e.g.: *niẓām* (all dialects) "system", *bidāyithiʾ* "its (sg. fem.) beginning", *xumūl* "tiredness" (ǦbA), *nihāʾiy* "final" (ǦbA), *siyāḥah* "tourism" (ḤmA), *ʿibāṛah ʿan* "consisting of" (ṢwA) and *gizāz* "glass" (although perhaps better interpreted as underlying |gazāz|) (ʿLA).

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 *ī*, e.g. *yīǧiy* "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. *gṛayyib* "near", *ṣǧayyir* "small; young", *ṛfayyiʿ* "narrow", *ḍʿayyfih* "weak (sg. fem.)", *gḷayyil* "few; little", *kwayyis* "good", *šwayyih* "a bit" and (as a common dim. used to euphemistically refer to women) *ḥṛayyim* "women".

---

[64] The implication of such elisions is that stress was CICáC, and that it must have shifted in the course of time.

In ṢwA the viper (*ilíf ʿi*) was also referred to as *swēd illēl*, lit. "the (little) blackness of night". Other diminutives are: *rišrēš maṭar*[65] "a few drops of rain", *ibtākl iṭwēr* "it (sg. fem.) eats small birds", *zrēgān* "dark-coloured thoroughbred camel", *yā-ḫuw ṣḥayybī* "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.) $aC_1C_2aC_3$ (e.g. *abyaḍ*) and $aC_1aC_2aC_3$ (e.g. *áḥamaṛ*, stressed on the first syllable) where $C_1 = X$. Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a $C_1aC_2C_3ā$ pattern, with a final *-ā* that has remained long and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. *bēḍāʾ*, *ḥamṛāʾ*). There is an additional *a* following C_2 when it is X and final *-ā* is raised to *-íy* when C_3 is neutral (e.g. *šaḥabíy*). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for coulours and physical defects all dialects (including ʿLA) show $C_1uC_2C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ĞbA both *ʿimy* and *ʿumy* for "blind" were heard.

Plural forms for "black" and "white" are *sūd* ($C_2 = wāw$) and *bīḍ* ($C_2 = yāʾ$).

3.1.8. *The elative patterns aC₁C₂aC₃, aC₁aC₂C₃ and aC₁C₂a*

The elative patterns are like in group VI: $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. *akṯar* "more; most", $aC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. *agaḷḷ* "less; least" and aC_1C_2a (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. *aḥla* "sweeter; sweetest".

---

[65] Notice reduplication of the biconsonantal root *r-š-š* with its general meaning of "spray, spatter, splash" to express. See also EALL 2009 (Vol IV):50–53.

[66] See De Jong 2000:153.

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 *álʿašiʾ ~ ilʿášaʾ* "the dinner", *álgadaʾ ~ ilgáda ʾ* "the lunch", *álganam ~ ilgánam* "the sheep".

Examples in other dialects of ṬwA are: *ilǧámal* "the camel", *táʿaǧn ilʿaǧīnah ḏiyyih* "you knead this dough".

The relative pronoun is *illiy*. Examples are: *fīh amākin ġaṭṣ ḥilwah nihā fi Ḏáhab.w illiy biyṛawwḥ Uḅuw lHōl*[67] "there are beautiful dive sites here in Ḏahab. And there are those (lit. sg.) who go to the Blue Hole" and *ḥasab kimmīyt illaban illiy ʿinduḳ ʿād* "depending on how much milk you have, of course".

An example of how *il-* and *al-* may appear side by side in ḤmA: *naṣṛaḥ b ilgánam w iḥna ṣǧayyrīn. ingōṭir ilbaṛṛ yā salām iyṭubb álmuṭar…* "we used to roam around with the small cattle when we were young, we used to go to the desert, oh my gooodness, and (then) the rain would fall…".

Only in ĞbA and ḤmA *l* of the article assimilates to *štiʾ*, as in *f-íššti ʾ* "in (the) winter". In other dialects one will hear *fi líšti ʾ*. Similarly (in ḤmA) *hāt áššnaṭ* "go get the bags!", where the other dialects have *ilášnaṭ*.[68] An example from ASA is *hatíǧib ilášwar walla tánam ʿilēhin* "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 buʿṛān bitxāf halḥīn law nizilt iššāriʿ, bitxāf mi lʿaṛabiyyih* "there are camels that are afraid, if you would now go out on the street, they would be afraid of a car".

In ʿLA the preference is for *al-* and *alliy*, but *il-* and *illiy* have also been recorded. The article *il-* (with initial *i*) is heard mainly when preceding a noun with a high vowel, as in e.g. *ṣalāt ilmiġrib* "the sunset prayer", *ilíkri(ʾ)* "the wages", but also *álfaras ~ ilfáras* "the horse". When the article is stressed, the vowel is usually *a* (e.g. *álgadaʾ* "lunch", *álʿašaʾ* "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 ĞbA (i.e. spoken near the monastery or in Wādiy aš-Šēx near aṭ-Ṭarfa) see remarks below in 3.1.16.

álg̣rab "the watersacks"), but sometimes colours with the vowel of the noun, as in *ṣalāt íliˊšiˀ* "evening prayer" and *íliḥṣiˀ* "the rocks".

3.1.9.2. *Other instances of initial* a

Forms in ṬwA and HnA are: *uṃṃ* "mother", *uxt* "sister", *iḥna* "we", *(ˀ)ábaṛ* "needles" and *(ˀ)áwaḍ* "rooms". Forms recorded in ˊLA are *uṃṃ*, *uxt*, *álabaṛ* and *álawaḍ*.

For *a*-initial plurals for the *CICaC pattern (e.g. *ág̣rab* "water skins" and *áṣwar* "pictures"; in ˊLA *álg̣rab* 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 Samāˊnah 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:

$$T > at / \ldots CaC\_\_ + gen.$$

C = any consonant
a = any a, including a produced by the gahawah-syndrome

Nishio 1992:XV, however, describes a situation for ĞbA in which the phonetic quality of the T-vowel is basically phonetically conditioned: "[t]he reflex of the Classical Arabic feminine ending *-ah* (*tāˀ marbūṭa*) is -ɛ (cf. in the possessive construction, [-ɛt] ~ [-et] ~ [-t] except when after the emphatic consonants, or /r/, /x/, /ǧ/, /ḥ/, /ˊ/."

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 *ṛagabatuh* "his neck".

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

3.1.10.2. *The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or v̄*

Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme *-ah* becomes *-it* (or *-t* when a long vowel v̄ 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: *gahawatī* "my coffee", *gáhawatuh* "his coffee", *gahawátᵘk* "your coffee" and *naxaḷatī* "my date palm", *naxaḷáthuṃ* "their date palm" and *naxaḷátⁱk* "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 ilⁱ́šⁱ̓* "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 *šuġḷ*, but in ǦbA also *ḥagg* was recorded in spontaneous text. Informants who claimed (when asked) that *ḥagg* was used in their dialects too were speakers of ASA and HnA. *ḥagg* does not appear to be current in GrA, ṢwA and ḤmA.

Apart from *šuġḷ* and *ḥagg*, K-form *btāʿ* is often used.[71]

The paradigms for *šuġḷ* and *ḥagg* are like those listed for group VI, except the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. suffixes, which are *-huw* and *-ḵuw* 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 ǦbA.

72 In Nishio 1992:192–194 (XVII-8) transcribes a as T vowel in closed syllables in šoġlat + C and ḥaggat + C (e.g. šoġlatnɛ and ḥaggatnɛ "our") and ət for T in open syllables: (with T-vowel not elided!) šuġləti and ḥaggəti "my" (though elision of the ə is given as an option in e.g. marr(ə)tēn "twice" (p. 173 (XXIV-49)), but e in e.g. btaʿetnɛ "ours" and the T-vowel elided in open syllables, e.g. in btaʿti "my".

3.1.12. *Personal pronominals*

3.1.12.1. *Independent pronominals*
In ṬwA and HnA the following independent pronominals are used:

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*hū / huwwa*[73]	*huṃ(ṃa)*[74]
	fem.	*hī / hiyya*[75]	*hin(na)*[76]
2.	masc.	*intah*[77] */ intih*	*intuṃ / intuw*[78]
	fem.	*intiy*[79]	*intin*[80]
1.	com.	*ána*[81]	*iḥna*[82]

In ṢwA, HnA, ĞbA and ASA the following negated pronominals are used:

		negated*	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*mahīš*	*mahúṃš*
	fem.	*mahūš*	*mahínš*
2.	masc.	*mántiš*	*mantūš*
	fem.	*mantīš*	*mantínš*
1.	com.	*manīš*	*máḥniš*

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

In ḤmA and (additional forms in) ĞbA the forms recorded are: *mānī, mintih, mintiy, māhū, māhī, miḥna, mintuw / mintuṃ, mintin, māhuṃ, māhin.*

3.1.12.2. *Pronominal suffixes*
In ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*(C)C-u(h), v̄-(h)**¹	*-huṃ**⁵
	fem.	*-ha / -hi(')**²	*-hin**⁵

---

[73] Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-13) gives "hū (~ hūwa cf. < Cl.A or Cairene Ar.)".

[74] Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-17) gives "hummo (~ humma cf. < Cairene Ar. Young people prefer this form.)" for ĞbA.

[75] Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-15) gives "hī (~ hīye ~ hīya < Cl.A or Cairene Ar.)" for ĞbA.

[76] Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-19) gives "henne" for ĞbA.

[77] Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) only gives inta for ĞbA.

[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 ĞbA.

[80] Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-11) gives inten for ĞbA.

[81] Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-1) also gives ana for ĞbA.

[82] Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) also gives iḥna for ĞbA.

2.	masc.	C-^{u}ḵ, CC-uḵ, v̄-^{u}ḵ*³	-ḵuṃ*⁶ ~ -ḵuw
	fem.	C-k, CC-ik, v̄-k*³	-kin*⁶
1.	com.	(C)C-ī, v̄-y (poss.)	-na / -ni(ʾ)*²
		-nī (obj.)*⁴	

Initial *h* of the suffixes (in 3rd sg. fem and 3rd pl. masc. and fem.) often assimilates to a voiceless preceding consonant, e.g. *bēttuṃ* "their house".[83]

For allomorphs used with the preposition *ʿind*, see below 3.1.16.

*¹ Like in group VI, ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA 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: *ṭáʿamuh ḥiluw* "its taste is sweet", *udugguh* "I pound it", *saḷaxnāh* "we skinned it".[84]

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

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

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

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

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

   See also verbal endings in *-ṃ* in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2. below.

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

---

[83] Such assimilations are also reported for ĞbA, see Nishio 1992:180.

[84] For ĞbA Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-14) gives consonant + o and long vowel v̄ + (h).

[85] Nishio 1992:178–179 (XXV-4 and 16) only gives hɛ for the 3rd p. sg. fem. And nɛ for the 1st p. pl.com. in ĞbA.

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

[87] Nishio 1992:178–179 (XXV-8) gives k ~ ek for the 2nd p. sg. fem. and ken for the 2nd p. pl. fem.

[88] Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-10) for ĞbA 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-íkitb-uw and *y-íkitb-in* and (perf.) *katab-uw* and *katab-in*, and (for the second p. pl.) (imperf.) *t-íkitb-uw* and *t-íkitb-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 <u>after</u> 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. *-ḳuw* and pl. fem. *-kin*. 'Subtracting' the reinterpreted new pl. morphemes *-uw* and *-in* (just like in the verbal system) then resulted in second person pronominal suffixes to be used for the sg.: (masc.) *-ḳ* and (fem.) *-k*.

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

Since the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries resulted in a pronominal system that is internally quite logical,[90] even dialects that use a different system may copy this new logical system—wholly or partially—into their own systems.

Notice that in dialects of group VII where we have pronominal suffixes *-huṃ* 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-íkitb-um and (fem.) y-íkitb-in. One of my ʿLēgiy
informants explained that the -uṃ endings are used in more formal set-
tings, 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:

"want need"[91]

		sg.	pl.	negated sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	bidduh	biddhuṃ	ma bídduš*	ma biddhúṃš
	fem.	biddhiʾ	biddhin	ma bíddhiš*	ma biddhínš
2.	masc.	bidduḵ	biddḵuṃ /-ḵuw	ma biddúḵš	ma biddḵúmš /-ḵūš
	fem.	biddik	biddkin	ma biddíkš	ma biddkínš
1.	com.	biddī	biddniʾ	ma biddīš	ma bíddniš*

* 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 -ḵum is the 'original' pron. suffix rather than -ḵuw, since one would
not expect lengthening of a final vowel (-*ū < -u(w)) with affixed -š (i.e. -ūš
as in -ḵūš) in a system where other vowels are not lengthened when they
precede affixed -š. A form comparable to the unlengthened forms in *ma
bídduš*, *ma bíddhiš* and *ma bíddniš* would have been ·ma bíddkuš.

Some examples of negated verb forms are:

		negated
kátabatuh	"she wrote it (sg. masc.)"	ma kátabatuš
katabáttiʾ	"she wrote it (sg. fem.)"	ma katabáttiš
katábtuh	"I wrote it (sg. masc.)"	ma katábtuš
katábttiʾ	"I wrote it (sg. fem.)"	ma katabttiš

---

[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 biddəhɛ timši "she wishes to leave (or walk)" and biddənɛ
"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 ĞbA, it seems,
e.g. Nishio 1992:96 (XIV-27) ydawwəru, ydawwərən "they (masc., fem.) search", etc. Such
forms were not heard in my recordings.

iʿiṭnī yyāh	"give it (sg. masc.) to me"	*ma tiʿiṭnīš iyyāh*
iʿṭūnī yyāh	"give (pl. masc.) it to me"	*ma tiʿṭūnīš iyyāh*
iʿṭīhi yyāh	"give (sg. fem.) it (fem.) to her"	*ma tiʿṭīhiš iyyāh*
iʿṭūha	"give (pl. masc.) it to her"	*ma tiʿṭūhaš iyyāh**
iʿṭinhi’	"give (pl. fem.) it to her"	*ma tiʿṭínhiš iyyāh**
iʿṭínnuh	"give (pl. fem.) it to him"	*ma tiʿṭínnuš iyyāh*

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

Other such examples are: *ukúlhi’* "eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. gem.)", (negated) *ma tākúlhiš* "don't eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. fem.)", *uḳḷīhi’* "eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)" is negated as *ma tāḳḷīhiš* "don't eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)", but *uḳḷūha* "eat (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.)" is negated as *ma tāḳḷūhaš* "don't (pl. masc.) eat it (sg. fem.)".

	negated
išílhi’ "take it (sg. fem.) away"	*ma tišílhiš / ma tšīlhiš*
íšluh "take it (sg. masc.) away"	*ma tíšluš / ma tšīluš*
(i)šílūha "take (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.) away"	*ma tšīlūhaš*
(i)šílinnuh "take (pl. fem.) it away"	*ma tšīlínnuš*
(i)šílūh "take (pl. masc.) it (sg. masc.) away"	*ma tšīlūš**

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

	negated as
(i)šīluw "take (pl. masc.) away"	*ma tšīlūš*

Other such examples are:

uxḏīh "take (sg. fem.) it"	both negated as
úxḏiy "take (sg. fem.)"	*ma tāxḏīš*

and

uxḏūh "take (pl. masc.) it"	both negated as
úxḏuw "take (pl. masc.)"	*ma tāxḏūš*

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

N.B.
This treatment of the pl. com. pronominal suffix -*na* differs from treatment of the verbal suffix -*na*: in contrast to the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the vowel of the verbal suffix is lengthened before -*š*, e.g. *šufna* "we

saw" is negated as *ma šufnāš* "we did not see", and also suffixed *šufnāh* "we saw him" is negated as (homophonous) *ma šufnāš* "we did not see him". Similarly, the negated 3rd p. sg. masc. form of the verb "come" is *ma ǧāš* "he did not come", not ·*ma ǧiš* (cf. 3.2.2.6. below).

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

3.1.13. *Demonstratives*

3.1.13.1. *Near and far deixis*
Near deixis*[1]:

	sg.	pl.*[3]
masc.	*(hā-)ḏah*[2]	*(hā-)ḏill(-ih)*[4]
fem.	*(hā-)ḏiy*	

*[1] Forms without initial *hā-* are much more regular than in group I. In dialects other than ḤmA, the forms with initial *hā-* occur mainly in the sg.
*[2] In pause, and at times also sentence-medially often *ḏiʾ* or *ḏih*.
*[3] In HnA the pl. forms (masc.) *innās ḏuw* and (fem.) *iliḥrayyim ḏinn(-ih)* were also recorded.
*[4] In ḤmA also *hāḏōl(-ah)* can be heard. Forms with prefixed *hā-* (also in far deixis) are more regular in ḤmA.[92]

In ʿLA the form *ḏuṃ* (~ *ḏillih*) was also elicited (but a conceivable ·*ḏin* for the pl. fem was rejected when suggested).

Nishio 1992:181 (XXV-24) gives *ḏell* ~ *ḏōl* (the latter being more used among younger speakers) and *ḏellet* for the fem. in ĞbA.

Notice the absence of velarization in these pl. demonstrative forms. These forms are strongly reminiscent of forms *haḏella* and *haḏelle* reported by Bergsträßer[93] for the ʿAmārīn near Wādiy Mūsa.

Far deixis*[1]

	sg.	pl.
masc.	*ḏāk(-ah)*[2]	*ḏallāk(-ah)*[2]
fem.	*ḏīk(-ih)*	

---

[92] Bernabela 2009:27 reports several instances of *ḏōl* for the pl. masc. and one instance of *ḏillah* for the pl. fem.
[93] Cf. Bergsträßer 1915. Cf. also the remark in Palva 1991:164.

*¹ Like in near deixis, also in far deixis ḤmA tends to have forms with initial *hā-*: *hāḏāḵ(-ah)*, *hāḏīk(-ih)* and *hāḏaḷḷāḵ(-ah)*.

For ǦbA Nishio 1992:181–182 (XVV-25 and 26) lists *ḏāka* ~ *haḏāka* for sg. masc., *ḏīke* ~ *haḏīke* for sg. fem. and *ḏallāka* for pl. masc. and *ḏallāket* for pl. fem. and adds that in the pl. the masc. form is often used "when used as subject".

*² Velarization present in the forms for far deixis, but absent in the forms for near deixis, is likely to be the result of spreading from velarized *ḵ*.

Like in group VI, "there he/she is (lit.: has come)" or "there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)" is *hēhū ǧiʾ*, *hēhī ǧāt*, *hēhuṃ(ṃa) ǧuw* and *hēhin(na) ǧin*.

In ǦbA also the following forms were elicited:

> *iliḥrummah hikín(nih)* "those women (there)"
> *innās hukúṃ(ṃa)* "those people (there)"
> *ilwálad hukúw(wah)* "that boy (there)"
> *ilbint hikíy(yih)* "that girl (there)"

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

> *hukkū ǧiʾ* "there he has come", *hikkī ǧāt* "there she has come", *hukkuṃ(ṃah) ǧuw* "there they have come", *hikkin(nah) ǧin* "there they (fem.) have come".

The origin of these presentatives is probably *hāk* + *hū* or *huwwa*, 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*

Interrogatives for 1) "who?", 2) "what?", 3) "why?", 4) "when?", 5) "where?", 6) "which?", 7) "how?", 8) "how much?", 9) "how many/much?".

1) *mīn*, 2) *ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēš / lēh*, 4) *(i)mtēh* (*mtēn* in ḤmA and ASA and *(i)mtēn ~ mitēn* in ǦbA) and *wagtēš* (less regular *wagtēh*), 5) *wēn*, 6) *iyyāt* + sg., 7) *kēf**, 8) *kam* + sg. "how many?", *kuṯrāš / kuṯrēš* "how much?", 9) *gaddēš / giddēš*.

Nishio 1992 lists the following forms for ǦbA: 1) mīn (p. 183 (XXV-30)), 2) ēš ~ ē (p. 183–184 (XXV-31)), 3) lēš ~ lē (p. 184 (XXV35)), 4) mitēn (~ imta from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-36)), 5) wēn (~ fēn from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-34)), 6) ayyu (p. 184 (XXV-32)), 7) kēf (~ izzay from Cairene

Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-33)), bkam (p. 185 (XXV-38)), 9) kam (XXV-37)) and translates gaddēš ~ gadrēš as "how far" (p. 185 (XXV, 39)).

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

3.1.15. *Adverbs*

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

"Here" is *nihā(ʾ)* or *nihāniy*[*1] (*fi ḏiʾ* is also used) K-form *hínih* also appears and perhaps the original form is *híniy*, "there" is *hnūtiy* or *hnōtiy*[*2] (*fi ḏāḵ(-ah)* is also used, *hnuh* occurs less), *ġād*, sometimes *ġādiy* (both with open *ā*) is used for "over there (far away)" (the opposite being *ǧāy* "nearby"). "Thus" is *kíḏiy* or *kiḏiyyih*, "now" is *halḥīn*, "still" is *lissāʿ* (and K-form *lissa*) and "afterwards, after that" is *baʿadēn*.

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

As a possible origin for the locative adverb *nihā*, one could think of **hinā* or **hunā* followed by the (postpositioned, see 3.1.9.1. of chapter III) deictic element *hā*, producing **hināhā* or **hunāhā* (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 (> **hinihā* or **hunihā*, see 3.1.1.5.) and the first syllable was dropped. On the historical order of these developments it can only be stated with relative certainty that shortening of *ā* and consequent raising of the resulting *a* must have taken place in that order.

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

3.1.15.2. *"maybe"*

For "maybe" no forms based on the root *x-w-f* (e.g. *xōf aḷḷah*) 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 ǦbA only in combination with a negation in the meaning of "at all": *baṭlaʿ mašiy ʾana. bass b ilǧamal ma ṭiliʿtiš. b iṣṣaṛāḥah, miš b ilḥēl ilbuʿṛān ma barīdhinš* "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 *ṛawwaḥt iddēr, iw fataḥna ṣṣubiḥ. issuwwāḥ māš ilǧimʿah 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 ʿLA. 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: *bitsawwha, mumkin itxallha ġalīḏah, bass in tabga ṛfayyʿah tabga ēh? 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 ʿLA (unless explicitely stated otherwise) are: (suffixes *-ha* and *-na* are usually *-hiʾ* and *-niʾ* in neutral environments and in ʿLA 2nd p. pl. masc. final *-uw* varies with final *-uṃ*)

		l+[*1]		*ʿala+*[*4]		*(i)m(i)ʿ +*[*6]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*luh*	*lēhuṃ*	*ʿilēh*	*ʿilēhuṃ*	*ímʿuh*	*miḥḥuṃ*
	fem.	*lēha*	*lēhin*	*ʿilēha*	*ʿilēhin*	*miḥḥa*	*miḥḥin*
2.	masc.	*luḵ*[*2]	*lēᵘkuṃ*	*ʿilēᵘḵ*	*ʿilēᵘkuṃ*	*ímʿuḵ*	*miʿkuṃ*
	fem.	*liḵ*[*2]	*lēkin*	*ʿilēk*	*ʿilēkin*	*ímʿik*	*miʿkin*
1.	com.	*lī*[*3]	*lēna*	*ʿaláy(y)*[*5]	*ʿilēna*	*imʿī*	*miʿna*

[*1] The preposition *l* + suffix may in turn again be enclitically suffixed, e.g. *biyṭallíʿ-luh* "he takes out for himself". This was however only observed with a suffix *-uh*.[94]

[*2] In ḤmA *lēᵘḵ* and *lēk* or *lēkiy*.

---

[94] In forms like *ġāḷ luḵ* or *ġāḷ luh* 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 *gibtū-luh* "I brought it for him" or *ʾalít-lu* "she said to him". Examples of such vowel lengthening or stress shift were not recorded in these dialects.

*³ In ASA and ʿLA *lay.*

*⁴ In ʿLA direct elicitation yielded (sg.) ʿ*luh, ʿlēha, ʿluḵ, ʿlik, ʿlay* and (pl.) ʿ*lēhuṃ, ʿlēhin, ʿlēḵuṃ / -uw, ʿlēkin, ʿlēna* but in spontaneous texts only forms like ʿ*alúh ~ ʿilúh* (and also ʿ*alēh*), ʿ*alēha, ʿalēḵuw / -uṃ* etc. occurred. In ḤmA both ʿ*alēh ~ ʿilēh* and less regularly ʿ*alúh ~ ʿilúh* can be heard.

*⁵ In ĞbA both ʿ*aláy* and ʿ*ilēy* (compare *īdēy* "my hands") were recorded.

*⁶ In GrA full paradigmatic levelling has produced variant forms (for consonant-initial suffixes) *ímiʿha, ímiʿhuṃ, ímiʿhin, ímiʿḵuṃ, ímiʿkin* and *ímiʿna,* leading to the conclusion that the underlying morphological base is |imʿ| in this case.

In ĞbA near the monastery and in ʿLA forms without stressed original anaptyctic are current: (sg.) *mʿuh, mʿuḵ, mʿik* and *mʿī.* In Mrēr (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) ĞbA forms are like those listed in the paradigm above (*ímʿuh,* etc.).

In ḤmA 3rd p. sg. masc. was recorded as *mʿuh,* and 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. as *míʿᵘḵ* and *míʿik* resp.

		fi+		*fōg+**³		*min+*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*fīh*	*fīhuṃ*	*fōguh*	*fōghuṃ*	*minnuh*	*minhuṃ*
	fem.	*fīha*	*fīhin*	*fōgha*	*fōghin*	*minha*	*minhin*
2.	masc.	*fīᵘḵ*	*fīᵘḵuṃ*	*fōguḵ**⁴	*fōgḵuṃ*	*minnuḵ**⁵	*minkuṃ*
	fem.	*fīk**¹	*fīkin*	*fōgik**⁴	*fōgkin*	*minnik**⁵	*minkin*
1.	com.	*fī**²	*fīna*	*fōgī*	*fōgna*	*minnī*	*minna*

*¹ In ʿLA *fīkiy.*

*² In ASA, ĞbA and ʿLA *fīnī.*

*³ For "above" also *min ḥard+* pron. suffix is used: *min ḥardī, min ḥarduḵ* etc.

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

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

		waṛa+		*ʿind+*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*waṛāh*	*waṛāhuṃ*	*ʿinduh*	*ʿínduhuṃ*
	fem.	*waṛāha**¹	*waṛāhin*	*ʿindaha**⁵	*ʿíndihin*
2.	masc.	*waṛāᵘḵ**²	*waṛāḵuṃ*	*ʿinduḵ*	*ʿínduḵuṃ*
	fem.	*waṛāk**²	*waṛākin*	*ʿindik*	*ʿíndikin*
1.	com.	*waṛāy**³	*waṛāna**⁴	*ʿindī*	*ʿíndina*

In the following notes below a few remarks follow on negated suffixed forms. These remarks do not apply to ʿLA, since ʿLA does not use compound negation; negating suffixed prepositions in ʿLA is done with preceding *mā*, e.g. *mā waṛāha*, *mā ʿindī*, etc. (see also remarks in 3.1.12.3. and 4.2.).

*[1] In ASA *waṛāha* (negated *ma waṛāhaš*), but in ĞbA *waṛahiʾ* and (negated *ma waṛāhiš*).

*[2] Negated forms in ṢwA were recorded as (sg. masc.) *ma waṛā*ᵘ*ḳš* and (sg. fem.) *ma waṛākš*. Other dialects have negated forms (sg. masc.) *ma waṛā*ᵘ*ḳuš* and (sg. fem.) *ma waṛākiš* (compare negated *ʿala+* below).

*[3] Negated *ma waṛāyš*.

*[4] Negated *ma waṛāniš*.

*[5] When the final vowel is raised, the vowel preceding *h* will be raised as well: *ʿíndihiʾ*.

Other examples of negated suffixed prepositions in ṬwA and HnA are (not in ʿLA):

negated:

		ʿala+[1]		*fõg+*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ma ʿilēš*	*ma ʿilēhúṃš*	*ma fõguš*	*ma fõghúṃš*
	fem.	*ma ʿilēhiš*	*ma ʿilēhínš*	*ma fõghiš*	*ma fõghínš*
2.	masc.	*ma ʿilē*ᵘ*ḳuš*[2]	*ma ʿilē*ᵘ*kúṃš*	*ma fõgúḳš**[4]	*ma fõgkúmš*
	fem.	*ma ʿilēkiš*[2]	*ma ʿilēkínš*	*ma fõgíkš**[4]	*ma fõgkínš*
1.	com.	*ma ʿaláyš*[3]	*ma ʿilēniš*	*ma fõgīš*	*ma fõgniš*

*[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 *ʿala* and *ʿa* (not only when preceding the article) are current, e.g. *ʿa ǧamb* "aside".

*[2] In ṢwA negated forms are *ma ʿalē*ᵘ*ḳš* and *ma ʿalēkš*.

*[3] In ĞbA *ma ʿilēyš* was also recorded.

*[4] On the status of high vowels *i* and *u* in these forms, see remark *[4] to paradigm *fõg+* above.

		(i)m(i)ʿ+		*min+*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*má-mʿuš*	*ma miḥḥúṃš*	*ma mínnuš*	*ma minhúṃš*
	fem.	*ma míḥḥiš*	*ma miḥḥínš*	*ma mínhiš*	*ma minhínš*
2.	masc.	*ma mʿúḳš*	*ma miʿkúṃš*	*ma minnúḳš*	*ma minkúmš*
	fem.	*ma mʿíkš*	*ma miʿkínš*	*ma minníkš*	*ma minkínš*
1.	com.	*ma mʿīš*	*ma míʿniš*	*ma minnīš*	*ma mínniš*

3.1.17. *Numerals and counted plurals*

3.1.17.1. *Cardinal numbers 1–10*
Independent cardinal numbers in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets):[95] *wāḥid / wiḥdih**1, *ṯnēn / ṯintēn**2, *ṯalāṯih* (*ṯálaṯ*), *arbaʿah* (*arbaʿ*), *xamsih* (*xams*), *sittih* (*sitt*), *sabʿih* (*sabʿ*), *ṯamānyih* (*ṯáman*), *tisʿih* (*tisʿ*), *ʿašarah* (*ʿašaṛ*).

*1 *wāḥid* and *wiḥdih* may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *walad wāḥid* "one boy" and *bint wiḥdih* "one girl".
*2 *ṯnēn* and *ṯintēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn iṯnēn* "two boys" and *īdēy iṯṯintēn* or *īdēy ṯintēnhin* "my two hands".
    Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. *ʿašaṛ t-infāṛ* "ten people", *ṯalaṯ t-iyyām* "three days".

3.1.17.2. *Ordinal numbers 1–10*
Only three ordinals were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA: *awwil*, *ṯāniy*, *ṯāliṯ*.

3.1.17.3. *Numerals: 11 and up*
Numerals recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are:

> *iḥdāšaṛ**1, *iṯnāšaṛ*, *ṯalaṭṭāšaṛ*, *aṛbaʿṭāšaṛ*, *xamisṭāšaṛ*, *sittāšaṛ*, *sabaʿṭāšaṛ*, *ṯamanṭāšaṛ*, *tisaʿṭāšaṛ**2, *ʿišrīn*, *ṯalāṯīn*, *arbaʿīn*, *xamsīn*, *sittīn*, *sabʿīn*, *ṯamānīn*, *tisʿīn*, *miyyih*, *miyytēn*, *ṯuliṯmiyyih*, *ṛubiʿmiyyih*, *xumismiyyih*, *suttmiyyih*, *subiʿmiyyih*, *ṯuminmiyyih*, *tusiʿmiyyih*, *alf*, *alfēn*, *ṯalat t-ālāf*, *xamis t-ālāf*, *arbaʿ t-ālāf*, *sitt t-ālāf*, *sabiʿ t-ālāf*, *ṯaman t-ālāf*, *tisiʿ t-ālāf*, *ʿašaṛ t-ālāf*, *mīt alf*, *miyytēn alf*, *milyōn**3 (and *ṯalaṯ malāyīn*).

*1 In ʿLA *ḥidāšaṛ*
*2 Forms recorded in HnA have endings in *-āṣir*. In ṢwA also shorter forms like *sittāʿiš*, *sabiʿṭāʿiš* and *ṯamanṭāʿiš* were recorded in allegro speech. Informants for ASA claimed endings in *-āʿiš* are more current than those ending in *-āṣir* or *-āšaṛ*.
*3 In HnA and ʿLA *malyōn*.

Some plurals recorded with proclitic *t-* are: *ṯalaṯ t-iškāl* "three shapes", *ṯalaṯ t-ālāf* "three thousand", *ʿašaṛ t-iyyām* "ten days", *xamis t-ušhur* "six

---

months", *aṛbaʿ t-írbiʿ* "four descent groups (of a tribe)", *ṯaman t-infāṛ* "eight persons".

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

3.1.18. *The dual*

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

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. *riǧlēy* "my (two) legs", *riǧlēᵘḵ* "my (two) hands" and *īdēy* "my (two) hands" and *īdēᵘḵ* "your (two) hands".*

* In ǦbA forms with initial *a-* were recorded: *adēy* and *adēᵘḵ* and also *adēhuṃ* "their hands" (pl. *adēn*).[96]

3.2. *Verbal Morphology*

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

3.2.1. *Regular verbs*

3.2.1.1. *Regular verbs perfect*
In ḤmA and also ʿLA the verbal ending of the 2nd p. ending *-tum* is also often heard as a variant.

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

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

---

[96] Nishio 1992:5 (I-36) gives sg. yīd and pl. yīdēn/yɪdēn, e.g. xamsɛ yidēn.
[97] See De Jong 2000:297–298.

co-occurring with *intuw* and *-ḳuw*—in surrounding dialects of group VII GrA, ṢwA, ĞbA, 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: $C_1aC_2aC_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

		a-type perfect[*1]		*i*-type perfect[*2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*kátab*	*kátabuw*[*4]	*šírib*	*šírbuw*[*4]
	fem.	*kátabat*	*kátabin*	*šírbit*[*3]	*šírbin*
2.	masc.	*katábt*	*katábtuw*[*4]	*šíríbt*	*širíbtuw*[*4]
	fem.	*katábtiy*	*katábtin*	*širíbtiy*	*širíbtin*
1.	com.	*katábt*	*katábna*	*širíbt*	*širíbna*

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

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

Nishio 1992, however, almost invariably indicates instances of such high vowel elision from the unstressed first syllable in ĞbA, e.g. smiʿt "I heard" (p. 11 (I-76)), lbist "I got dressed" (p. 13 (II-2)), šribt "I drank" (p. 21 (III-46)) and also ğrīt "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 ʿLA) often *katabtum* and *širibtum*. Notice that similar forms were recorded in the dialect of the Samāʿnah 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. *ḥaṭṭum* "they placed", *ištárum* "they bought", *lāgum* "they found". Notice that also in the dialect of Cairo both *katabu ~ katabum* and *katabtu ~*

---

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

There are three imperfect patterns: $yaC_1C_2CaC_3$, $yuC_1C_2CuC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. The paradigms for ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are identical to those listed for group VI, but for ḤmA and ʿLA the following remarks should be added:

For ḤmA several (spontaneously produced) instances of *-um* (but ~-*uw*) were recorded for the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc., e.g. *yḥuṭṭum* "they place", *tḥuṭṭum* "you (pl. masc.) place", *yíštirum* "they buy", *yafdum* "they sacrifice", *tafdum* "you (pl. masc.) sacrifice", *yrīdum* "they want", *trīdum* "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 ʿLA some instances (but less regularly than in ḤmA) of *-um* endings for 2nd and 3rd pl. masc. imperfect forms were heard. One ʿLēgiy informant explained that *-uw* endings were used in 'faster' speech, while *-um* endings would be used in more formal speech, e.g. by a *gāḍiy* "judge". Notice that similar forms were also recorded in the dialect of the Samāʿnah in the Gaṭyah oasis in the north (cf. De Jong 2000:296–309 and map 54 in the appendix). See also NOTE in 3.1.12.2.

Measure 1 verbs *i*-type (e.g. *yaḥariṯ*) and *a*-type (e.g. *yaʿaṛag*) with C_1 = X have the same paradigms as group VI. Perfects and participles of these verbs *ḥáraṯ* and *ʿírig* are like *kátab* and *šírib* (see 3.2.1.1.).

3.2.1.3. *Reflexes of older* $*C_1aC_2uC_3$, $*yaC_1C_2uC_3$

u-type perfect*1
"grow fat"

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ǵúluḍ*	*ǵulḍuw*
	fem.	*ǵulḍit*	*ǵulḍin*

---

[99] Nishio 1992 reports the possibility of vowel harmony for the first person sg. com. in *i-* and *u*-type imperfects in ǦbA too, e.g. aḍrob ~ oḍrob "I hit" (p. 88 (XIII-11)) and enzil "I descend" (p. 107 (XV-15)).

2. masc.	*ġuluḍt*	*ġuluḍtuw*
fem.	*ġuluḍtiy*	*ġuluḍtin*
1. com.	*ġuluḍt*	*ġuluḍna*

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 *yúḍrub* in MzA and BWA, see 3.2.1.2. in chapter II). This appears to be the case when the perfect is velarized. When velarization is absent, the perfect tends to be $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and the imperfect then $yaC_1C_2aC_3$.

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

In ĞbA, ṢwA, ḤmA, GrA and HnA also *ġuluḍ* (~ *ġiliḍ* in ĞbA) (and imperf. *yuġluḍ*, in ʿLA *ġiliḍ, yuġluḍ*), but *tíxin* (imperfect *yatxan*) and *kibir* (imperfect *yakbaṛ*).

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

3.2.1.4. *Regular verbs participles*

Like in group VI, active participles in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are formed with the patterns $C_1āC_2iC_3$, $C_1āC_2C_3$ah/-ih (sg. fem.), $C_1āC_2C_3$īn (pl. masc.), $C_1āC_2C_3$āt (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *ʿāwiztuh* "she wants/loves him" and (in ʿLA) *ṛāyidtuh* "she wants him". In HnA a form *ʿāríftha* "she knows her" was recorded several times, instead of expected *ʿārfítha*.

3.2.1.5. *Regular verbs imperatives*

Imperatives of regular verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are like in group VI, e.g. *áftaḥ, áftaḥiy, áftaḥuw, áftaḥin* "open!", *úgʿud, úguʿdiy, úguʿduw, úguʿdin* "sit down!" and *ínzil, ínzliy, ínzluw, ínzlin* "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. *yōrid* and *yōgaf*.

In ḤmA "stand" was recorded with an *i*-type imperfect: *yōgif* "he stands", *yōgfuw* "they stand", etc.

In two instances in ASA verbs without the *wāw*, i.e. with an initial short vowel, were recorded: *tálid* "she gives birth" and *yísig bēhuṃ* "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.).

awʿa may in some dialects be left unconjugated and be used more as a general particle of warning, e.g. (in GrA) *awʿa tans*, *awʿa tansiy*, *awʿa tansuw* and *awʿa 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 ʿLA: *awʿa ṛāsuḵ*, *awʿiy ṛāsik*, *awʿuw ryūsḵuṃ*, and *awʿin ryūskin* (although the pl. of *ṛās* in HnA and ʿLA is *rūs*).

In ĞbA: *awʿa ṛāsuḵ*, *awʿa ṛāsik*, *awʿa ṛūsḵum*, *awʿa ṛūskin*.

In ṢwA a particle *awʿ* was also recorded with pronominal suffixes for the person addressed: *awʿuḵ tans*, *awʿik tansiy*, *áwuʿḵuṃ tansuw*, *áwiʿkin tansin* (notice also the insertion of anaptyctics in the last two examples).[100]

Participles:
Active participles have a $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) *wārid*, *wardih*, *wārdīn*, *wārdāt* "having watered".

The passive participle for the root *w-ğ-d* was recorded as *mawğūd* in all dialects, but in ĞbA and ṢwA the form *mēğūd* was also heard, and in ĞbA also the form *mērūs* "inherited" (see remark on root *w-r-t* above).[101]

3.2.2.2. Verbs C_1 = y *(primae* yāʾ*)*
Like in group VI, the only verb recorded with C_1 = *y* is *yibis*, *yēbas* "dry (intransitive)" in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

3.2.2.3. Verbs C_1 = *ʾ (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 *yāḵul* and *yāxuḏ*), but in ḤmA also *i* was elicited, as in *yāḵil* and *yāxiḏ*. In ASA both *yāḵil* and *yāḵul* 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.
[101] Compare also the form *mūğūd* reported in Blanc 1970:25, fn 42 and the form *mayğūd* heard in the dialect of the Masāʿīd in the north of Sinai (see De Jong 2000:194). Henkin in EALL 2008:362 also reports *mawlūd ~ maylūd* "born" in Negev Arabic.

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 *ú-* in all dialects except ḤmA and ʿLA as in *úḵul* and *úxuḏ*, but was also recorded as *ḵul* and *xuḏ* in all dialects, except in ṢwA and ASA (compare with the sg. masc. imperatives of mediae geminatae in 3.2.2.4.2.).

The sg. fem. appears with initial stressed *ú-* (*úḵliy*) in ṢwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ǦbA it is *ḵliy* or *úḵliy* and in ḤmA it is *ḵliy*.

Similarly, plural forms are *úḵluw* (masc.) and *úḵlin* (fem.) in ṢwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ǦbA co-occurring forms are *ḵluw*, *ḵlin* and *úḵluw* and *úḵlin*[102] and in ḤmA forms are only without initial *u-*: *ḵluw* and *ḵlin*. Like in ḤmA, imperatives in ʿLA are *ḵul*, *ḵliy*, *ḵluw*, *ḵlin* and *xuḏ*, *xḏiy*, *xḏuw* and *xḏin*.

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)ʿ* as opposed to its presence in other dialects of this group (see 3.1.16.).

Active participles in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are with initial *m-*: *māxiḏ*, *māxḏih*, *māxḏīn*, *māxḏāt* and *mākil*, *māklih*, *māklīn* and *māklāt*.

The verbal noun in ṬwA and HnA is *waḵl* "eating" (also "food") and the passive verb "be eaten" is *inwákal*, *yínwikil*, but in ǦbA also *intákal*, *yíntikil* was recorded.

3.2.2.4. *Verbs C$_2$ = w or y (mediae infirmae)*

3.2.2.4.1. *Verbs C$_2$ = 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)gúṃ tgūṃ* heard in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA we hear *túguṃ / tgūṃ* and also *tíšil / tšīl* and *tánam / tnām*.

However, during direct elicitation, my ḤmA informants rejected suggested forms like *túgum* and *tánam* and only accepted the form *tíšil* with difficulty. Some of my ǦbA informants rejected *tánam*, but forms like *tíšil*,

---

[102] Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxoḏ ~ xoḏ, oxoḏi ~ xoḏi, oxoḏu ~ xoḏu, oxoḏen ~ xoḏen, but (p. 20–21 (III-43)) okul ~ kul. okli, oklu and oklen for ǦbA.

túguḷ, túguṃ were produced spontaneously, e.g. *túgum tíǧib 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. *tišluh* "you carry it (sg. masc.)", *ma tíšluš* "don't carry it!", *ma tišílhiš* "don't carry it (sg. fem.)", *bitǧíbha* "you bring her" and *btuʕúzha* "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 ʿLA. If ʿLA speakers use such forms, this is attributed (by other ʿLA speakers) to the influence of speakers of other dialects. Forms claimed as proper ʿLA are (imperfect) *tšīl, tnām, tgūḷ* and (imperative) *šīl, nām, gūḷ*. Sg. fem. and pl. masc. and fem. forms are like those described for ṬwA and HnA, e.g. *šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūḷiy, gūḷuw, gūḷin* and also *nāmiy, nāmuw, namin*.

Participles in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are like in group VI, e.g. *šāyil, šāylih, šāylīn, šāylāt*.

The perfect of the verb *šāf, yšūf* was recorded in ṬwA and HnA with short vowel *u* only: *šuft* "I saw" (not recorded in ʿLA).

Verbs C$_2$ = *y* are like in group VI as well, e.g. *šāl, yšīl* (and *šilt*) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb *ṛād, yrīd*, see 3.2.3.7.2.).

3.2.2.4.2. *Verbs C$_2$ = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives*
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels. They may also have an initial short vowel (recorded in ǦbA) *šil ~ íšil* "carry!", *guḷ ~ úguḷ* "say!" and also *nam ~ ánam* "go to sleep!".[103] In ǦbA 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 ǦbA, see 3.2.2.3.

The other imperatives (for sg. fem, pl. masc. and pl. fem. resp.) are: *šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūliy, gūluw, gūlin* and *nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin*.[104]

When the forms for the sg. masc. are suffixed, resulting forms are like: *šíluh* (ǦbA), *íšluh* and *(i)šílhiʾ*. Dialects that have initial *u-* in imperative

---

[103] For ǦbA Nishio 1992:30 (IV-37) for "sleep" gives nām, nām (sic.), nāmu and nāmen and for "say" (p. 72–73 (X-6)) ogol ~ gol ~ gūl, gūli, gūlu and gūlen.
[104] For ǦbA Nishio 1992:31 (IV-41) gives gom ~ gūm ~ ugūm, gūmi ~ ugūmi, but for the pl. only gūmu and gūmen.

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 iššwāl* "carry the sacks!", *išīlīhiʾ ~ šīlīhiʾ* "carry (sg. fem.) them (sg. fem.)!", *išīlūha ~ šīlūhaʾ* "carry (pl. masc.) them (sg. fem.)!" and *išīlinnuh ~ šīlinnuh* "carry (pl. fem.) it (sg. masc.)". In GrA, ASA and HnA imperative forms recorded were *úgum* or *gūm, ugūmiy, ugūmuw, ugūmin* for "stand up!". In these dialects (i.e. GrA, 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 *ǧāb, yǧīb* "bring" are: *hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin*.

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

3.2.2.4.3. *Verbs C_2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles*
Active participles of measure 1 in ṬwA , HnA and ʿLA are formed with the patterns C_1āyiC_3 or C_1āyC_3ih, C_1āyC_3īn and C_1āyC_3āt.

A passive partiple recorded for *gāḷ, ygūḷ* is *magyūḷ* "said, spoken" (in ASA and ṢwA) and for *ṛād, yrīd* is *maryūd* "wanted" (ASA).

3.2.2.5. *Verbs C_3 = y (tertiae infirmae)*

3.2.2.5.1. *Verbs C_3 = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect*
Many informants for ṬwA and HnA produced mixed paradigms for the perfect of tertiae infirmae verbs.

In ʿLA informants kept the *a*-type and *i*-type perfects apart better.

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

perfect	"walk" (ǦbA)[*1]		"find" (ǦbA)[*2]	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*máša ʾ*	*mášuw*	*lígiy*	*ligyuw*
fem.	*mášat*	*mášin*	*ligyit*	*ligyin*
2. masc.	*mišēt*	*mišētuw*	*ligīt*	*ligītuw*
fem.	*mišētiy*	*mišētin*	*ligītiy*	*ligītin*
1. com.	*mišēt*	*mišēna*	*ligīt*	*ligīna*

[*1] The same paradigms were recorded in ṢwA and ʿLA (*maša* is also *a*-type perfect there).

Raising of *a* preceding *ē*, as is reflected in the paradigm above, is current in the *a*-type perfect, e.g. *mišēt* < *mašēt*. Such raising is however optional.[105]

*² Similar paradigms were recorded for *yansa*, *nísiy* "forget", and these were also recorded in ʻLA.

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

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

perfect

		"forget" (ASA)	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*nása*ʾ	*nisyuw*
	fem.	*násat/nisyit*	*nisyin*
2.	masc.	*nisīt*	*nisītuw*
	fem.	*nisītiy*	*nisītin*
1.	com.	*nisīt*	*nisīna*

One of the GrA informants had similar difficulties with the perfect of the verbs *máša*ʾ / *míšiy*. The paradigm he produced was: (sg.) *míšiy* / *máša*, *mášat*, *mišēt*, *mišētiy*, *mišēt* and (pl.) *míšyuw* / *mášuw*, *mášyin* / *mášin*, *mišētuw*, *mišētin*, *mišēna*. He also produced a mixed paradigm for *lígiy* "find" (forms were: (sg.) *lígiy*, *lígyit*, *ligīt*, *ligītiy*, *ligīt* and (pl.) *lígyuw*, *lígyin*, *ligētuw / ligītuw*, *ligītin*, *ligēna*).

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

Paradigms for "find" recorded in ASA and ḤmA were exactly like those listed for ĞbA (above).[106] Also *nisiy* and *mišiy* are clearly *i*-types in ḤmA.

---

[105] Nishio 1992:66 (IX-16) gives final -ɛ (as in mašɛ) in the 3rd p. sg. masc., does not indicate glottalization of final -*a* in this position nor raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *ē*.

[106] Nishio 1992:112 (XVI-5) lists nisi "forget" as an *i*-type perfect.

Notice that perfect conjugations in which *a*- and *i*-types have mixed also occur in groups I and VI.

Nishio 1992, however, does list many forms with such elision in ǦbA, see remark *[2] in 3.2.1.1. above. This was not observed in ǦbA by myself[107] (cf. also remark in fn to 3.1.1.1. on (non-) elision of 'underlying' a in CaCīC).

N.B. Although 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfects and imperatives with short-ened long base vowels (of mediae infirmae verbs) are absent from ʿLA (see 3.2.2.4.1.), apocopated imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae verbs are current in ʿLA. ʿLA thus occupies a middle position between group VII dialects (which show both base vowel shortening and apocopation of tertiae infirmae) and TAṢ (Ṭurbāniy of R̄ās 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 ʿLA are:

imperfect				
	"find"*[1]		"walk"	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*yalga*	*yalguw*	*yimšiy*	*yimšuw*
fem.	*talga*	*yalgin*	*timšiy*	*yimšin*
2. masc.	*talg*[*2]	*talguw*	*timš*[*2]	*timšuw*
fem.	*talgiy*	*talgin*	*timšiy*	*timšin*
1. com.	*alga*	*nalga*	*imšiy*	*nimšiy*

*[1] The type of raising of final -*a* (e.g. *yansiʾ*) heard in group VI is not cur-rent here.

*[2] Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are very regular.[108]

Suffixed examples recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are: *algāᵘḳ* "I find you", (apocopated) *talgnī* "you find me", *hayalgūnī* "they will find me", *hayalgūḳ* "they will find you", *hayalginnuḳ* "they (fem.) will find you". In the lat-ter example, *i* of the verbal ending may colour (towards I.P.A. [u]) with velarization of the pronominal suffix, i.e. *yalgunnuḳ* "they (fem.) find you". Forms with measure 1: (apocopated) *hatalghiʾ* "you (sg. masc.) will find

---

[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 ǦbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. *tagr* "you read" (p. 76 (X-28)), *tiǧr* "you run" (p. 66–67 (IX-17)).

her", *hatilgāhiʾ* (with prefix vowel *a* raised > *i*) "she will find her", *hatalgīhiʾ* "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 currrent in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA, e.g. irm (írim #) "throw", irmuh "throw it (away)" and imš "walk; go!". The other forms are irmiy / imšiy, irmuw / ímšuw and írmin / ímšin.[109]

3.2.2.5.4. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae) participles*

Active participles have the patterns C$_1$āC$_2$iy, C$_1$āC$_2$yih, C$_1$āC$_2$yīn and C$_1$āC$_2$yāt. 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 ʿLA) :

		perfect		imperfect*[4]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	ǧiʾ*[1]	ǧum*[2]	yīǧiy	yīǧuw
	fem.	ǧāt	ǧin*[3]	tīǧiy	yīǧin*[3]
2.	masc.	ǧīt	ǧītum*[2]	tīǧiy*[4]	tīǧuw
	fem.	ǧītiy	ǧītin*[3]	tīǧiy	tīǧin*[3]
1.	com.	ǧīt	ǧīna	īǧiy	nīǧiy

*[1] When suffixes follow, final -*iʾ* will be *ā* as in *ǧāᵘ k̟* "he came to you" and *ma ǧāš* "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*: *ǧuw* and *ǧītuw* (which are also parallel forms in ḤmA).

In ʿLA only *ǧuw* was heard, but given the several instances of 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms with final -*m* (e.g. *kátabum* "they wrote"), it seems safe to assume that the form *ǧum* will also be heard in ʿLA, just as *ǧītuw* co-occurs with *ǧītum* (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 *gum* is also current in Cairene Arabic.

---

[109] Also reported in ĞbA by Nishio 1992, e.g. erʿ "see" (p. 9 (I-73)), aǧr "run" (p. 76 (X-28)), but only imši "go" (p. 66 (IX-16)) and "run" eǧri (p. 67–67 (IX-17)).

*³ When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the final -n is doubled, e.g. *ǧītinnuh* "you (pl. fem.) came to him", (and examples for ṬwA and ʿLA) *ma ǧinnuš* "they (fem.) did not come to him" and *ma tīǧínnuš* "don't (pl. fem.) go to him!".

*⁴ Notice the long vowel *ī* in the imperfect paradigm. In ǦbA both long vowel *ī* and short vowel *i* were recorded in this verb: *yūǧiy ~ yíǧiy, nūǧiy ~ níǧiy, īǧiy ~ íǧiy*, but only *tiǧ* as the apocopated form for the 2nd p. sg. masc.[110]

GrA, ṢwA, ASA and HnA have long *ī* in the imperfect, except in GrA, ṢwA and ASA, where also *tiǧ* occurs as the shortened and apocopated form. In HnA and ʿLA only the apocopated form *tīǧ* was heard.

3.2.2.6.2. *The verb "come" imperatives*
Imperatives used with the verb "come" are: taʿāl, taʿāliy, taʿāluw and taʿālin.[111] In one instance in ḤmA *taʿāluw īǧuw* "come (pl. masc.)" was recorded.

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

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb "come" participles*
Participles of the verb "come" are: *ǧāy, ǧāyih, ǧāyīn, ǧāyāt* in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA.

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 ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA have the following paradigms:

		perfect*¹		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*xašš*	*xaššuw*	*yxušš*	*yxuššuw**²
	fem.	*xaššat*	*xaššin*	*txušš*	*yxuššin*
2.	masc.	*xiššēt*	*xiššētuw*	*txušš*	*txuššuw**²
	fem.	*xiššētiy*	*xiššētin*	*txuššiy*	*txuššin*
1.	com.	*xiššēt*	*xiššēna*	*uxušš*	*nxušš*

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

---

[110] The same paradigms for perfect and imperfect (but only with long base vowel ī) are reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992:62 (IX-2), but parallel to ǧum the forms jū and jow are also listed, and parallel to the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect form tīji the apocopated form listed there is tīj. The 2nd p. pl. masc. perfect form listed there is without final -m: jītu.

[111] The same forms are listed for ǦbA in Nishio 1992:62 (IX-2).

prevented by preceding *x*, although such raising does not take place when *a* is preceded by *ḥ* (see remark below).[112]

When the geminate is velarized, the *ē* of the ending is lowered (indicated here as *ā̊*, near I.P.A. [ɛ:]), but not diphthongal *ay*. E.g. *ḥaṭṭāt* "I placed" and in ḤmA *ḥaṭṭum* "they placed" and *ḥaṭṭātum* "you (pl. masc.) placed" (notice that *a* is not raised, so not *·ḥiṭṭāt* or *·ḥuṭṭāt*, or something similar). In ʿLA *ḥaṭṭātum* was elicited.

*²Forms elicited in ḤmA are (pl. masc.) *yḥuṭṭum* and *ṭḥuṭṭum*. In ʿLA *ṭḥuṭṭum* was elicited.

3.2.2.7.2. *Verbs C$_2$ = C$_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives*
Imperatives of mediae geminatae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are like in group VI, e.g. limm, limmiy, limmuw, limmin "gather!" and with base vowel u: xušš, xuššiy, xuššuw, xuššin "enter!".

3.2.2.7.3. *Verbs C$_2$ = C$_3$ (mediae geminatae)*
Active participles of medial geminate verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are e.g.: lāmm, lāmmih, lāmmīn, lāmmāt "having gathered".

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C$_1$ = X, e.g. *maḥaṭūṭ* "placed", *maxaṛūm* "pierced", *maʿaṛūfah* "known (sg. fem.)", etc.

3.2.3. *Derived measures*

3.2.3.1. *Measure n-1*

3.2.3.1.1. *Measure n-1 sound roots*
In ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA the vowel in the preformative of measure n-1 is not stressable in the perfect, but may be stressed in the imperfect. The underlying patterns are: (i)nC$_1$aC$_2$aC$_3$, yinC$_1$aC$_2$iC$_3$. The a in the imperfect is raised to i in open syllables, but 'reappears' in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

"be beaten"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*(i)nḍárab*	*(i)nḍárabuw*	*yínḍirib*	*yinḍárbuw*
	fem.	*(i)nḍárabat*	*(i)nḍárabin*	*tínḍirib*	*yinḍárbin*
2.	masc.	*(i)nḍarábt*	*(i)nḍarábtuw*	*tínḍirib*	*tinḍárbuw*
	fem.	*(i)nḍarábtiy*	*(i)nḍarábtin*	*tinḍárbiy*	*tinḍárbin*
1.	com.	*(i)nḍarábt*	*(i)nḍarabna*	*ínḍirib*	*nínḍirib*

---

[112] Nishio 1992 does not report comparable raising for ĞbA, e.g. laffēt "I turned around" (p. 65 (IX-10)), addēt "I gave" (p. 82 (XII-1)), zaggēt "I pushed" (p. 94 (XIV-13)), lammēt "I gathered" (p. 98 (XIV-36)), etc.

Participles are: *míndịrib, minḍárbih, minḍarbīn, minḍarbāt*.

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 in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are: (i)$nC_1aC_2C_2$ and $yinC_1aC_2C_2$, e.g. inḥaṭṭ, yinḥaṭṭ "be placed".

3.2.3.1.3. *Measure* n-1 $C_2 =$ y *or* w *(mediae infirmae)*
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: $inC_1āC_3$ and $yinC_1āC_3$. Paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are like those listed for group VI, e.g. inšāl, yinšāl "be carried (away)".

3.2.3.1.4. *Measure* n-1 $C_2 =$ y *or* w *(mediae infirmae) participles*
Participles are shaped on the pattern $minC_1āC_3$ and are like those listed for group VI.

3.2.3.2. *Measure* t-1
Only one instance of measure *t-1* was recorded in 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)$C_1taC_2aC_3$ $yiC_1taC_2iC_3$, with a of the imperfect being raised to i in open syllables (e.g. níǧtimiʿ "we gather"), but 'reappearing' as a in closed syllables (e.g. yiǧtamʿuw "they gather").[113] Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect, e.g.: (i)štáḡal, yíštiḡil "work", (i)ttáfag, yíttifig "agree" and (i)stáwa, yístiwiy "ripen; be cooked (of food)".

Paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are:

"buy"

		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yíštiriy*	*yíštiruw*[*2]	*ištáṛa*	*ištáṛuw*[*2]
	fem.	*tíštiriy*	*tíštirin*	*ištáṛat*	*ištáṛan*
2.	masc.	*tíštir*[*1]	*tíštiruw*[*2]	*ištaṛāt*	*ištaṛātuw*[*2]
	fem.	*tíštiriy*	*tíštirin*	*ištaṛātiy*	*ištaṛātin*
1.	com.	*íštiriy*	*níštiriy*	*ištaṛāt*	*ištaṛāna*

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

_____

[113] Nishio 1992 does not report such 'reappearing' *a* in closed syllables in ǦbA, e.g. (p. 105 (XV-11) yijtimʿu "they gather".

*[2] In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) *yíštirum* and *tíštirum* and (perfect) *ištárum* and *ištaṟātum* were recorded.

Participles are: *míštiriy*, *mištaryih*, *mištaryīn*, *mištaryāt*.
Imperatives are: *ištir* (apocopated),[114] *íštiriy*, *íštiruw*, *íštirin*

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 *ištāg*, *yištāg* (l) "long
(for)".[115]

3.2.3.3.3. *Measure 1-t C_2 = C_3 (mediae geminatae)*
Examples of medial geminate measure 1-t verbs are *iltamm*, *yiltamm* "gather,
assemble (of people)" and *imtadd*, *yimtadd* "stretch out (in surface)".

3.2.3.3.4. *Measure 1-t participles*
Patterns for measure 1-t participles in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$
(underlying $miC_1taC_2iC_3$) $miC_1taC_2C_3$ah/ih, $miC_1taC_2C_3$īn, $miC_1taC_2C_3$āt.

   Examples are: *mištiġil* "working", *miftarsih* "predatory (of animals)",
míštiriy "having bought (sg. masc.)", *mištaryih* "having bought (sg. fem.)",
míttifig "agreed (sg. masc.)", *mittafgāt* "agreed (pl. fem.)".

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

3.2.3.4. *Measure ista-1*

3.2.3.4.1. *Measure ista-1 sound roots*
Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has alternating short vowels: a in the
perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are
like those listed for group VI.[116]

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.

---

[114] Also reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4) (there: eštir).
[115] Nishio 1992:109 (XV-24) reports e.g. xtāt (sic.), yixtār "choose, select".
[116] Alternating vowels are also reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. p. 109 (XV-27) and p.
113 (XVI-11) and p. 95 (XIV-22) staʿmal yistaʿmel "use", but not in e.g. (p. 22 (III-50) stafraġ,
yistafraġ "vomit".

3.2.3.4.3. *Measure* ista-1 C_3 = y *(tertiae infirmae)*

Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA. In ʿLA 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: istaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$, yistaC$_1$iC$_2$C$_2$, e.g. (i)staʿadd, yistaʿidd "prepare oneself".[117] Forms (reflecting optional raising of a preceding stressed ē) recorded in ʿLA are: (sg.) istaʿadd, istaʿaddat, istiʿiddēt, istiʿiddētiy, istaʿiddēt and (pl.) istaʿadduw, istaʿaddin, istaʿiddētuw, istaʿiddētin istiʿiddēneʾ, 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 mistaC$_1$C$_2$iC$_3$, e.g. mistaġrib "finding strange".

For measure *ista*-1 verbs of medial weak roots the pattern is mistaC$_1$īC$_3$: *mistaḥīl* "impossible, absurd" and (a clear MSA loan) *mistaqīmih* "straight".

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC$_1$iC$_2$C$_2$: *mistaʿidd* "having prepared oneself, ready".

3.2.3.5. *Measures 2 and* t-2

In ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA the patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) C$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, (imperfect) yC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$.

Measure *t*-2 has morphologically fixed *a*. The patterns are (perfect) taC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, (imperfect) ytaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$.

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 inital geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of morphophonemic elisions are: biyfaḥḥmuw "they make charcoal", biyḥammsuh ʿa nnār "he roasts it on the fire", txazznuh "you store it".

Examples of sandhi elisions: *twallʿ innāṛ* "you light the fire" and *bitṭallʿ iʿyūn* "it (sg. fem.) grows buds (of a plant)".

r following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. *imwaxxirih* "pushing back (sg. fem.)" and an example in sandhi *biykabbir ilʿaḍim* "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. *bitġázzizuh* "you sow it (of watermellon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil". A similar example from ʿLA is *biyballilūha* "they moisten it (sg. fem.)".

3.2.3.5.2. *Measure 2 tertiae infirmae*
Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are like those listed for group VI.

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*sawwa*	*sawwuw*	*ysawwiy*	*ysawwuw*
	fem.	*sawwat*	*sawwin*	*tsawwiy*	*ysawwin*
2.	masc.	*suwwēt*	*suwwētuw*[1]	*tsaww*[2]*/-iy*	*tsawwuw*
	fem.	*suwwētiy*	*suwwētin*	*tsawwiy*	*tsawwin*
1.	com.	*suwwēt*	*suwwēna*	*asawwiy*	*nsawwiy*

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

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

3.2.3.5.3. *Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah*
The verb "feed" is *wakkal, ywakkil* "give food", e.g. *itwakkl ilġánam* "you feed the sheep" (in ʿLA *itwakkl álġanam*) and *wadda, ywaddiy* "bring, take to", e.g. *ywaddūh Maṣir* "they take him to Egypt (i.e. the mainland)".

3.2.3.5.4. *Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect*
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are taC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, ytaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$.

Like in group VI, the *ta-* prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure *t-2* is stable and is only rarely reduced to *(i)t-*.[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 ĞbA, e.g. p. 105 (XV-8) ṭharrak, yitharrak "move, be in motion", p. 72 (X-3) ṭharraf, yitharraf (maʿ) "speak with" and tballal, yitballal "be(come) wet".

[119] Nishio 1992 does not report such reduction in ĞbA (see also preceding fn), e.g. on p. 113 (XVI-8) titʿallam.

"have dinner"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*taʿašša*	*taʿaššuw*	*ytaʿašša*	*ytaʿaššuw*
	fem.	*taʿaššat*	*taʿaššin*	*taʿašša*	*ytaʿaššin*
2.	masc.	*taʿaššēt*	*taʿaššētuw*	*taʿašš*	*taʿaššuw*
	fem.	*taʿaššētiy*	*taʿaššētin*	*taʿaššiy*	*taʿaššin*
1.	com.	*taʿaššēt*	*taʿaššēna*	*ataʿašša*	*ntaʿašša*

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

3.2.3.5.5. *Measures 2 and* t-2 *verbal nouns*
Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC$_1$C$_2$īC$_3$ pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) taʾǧīl "postponement", taʿlīg "hanging up" and a gahawah-form taʿawīr "wounding" and a form tašnīn "taking aim" in ʿLA.

A C$_3$ = *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 ʿLA active participles of measure 2 have a mC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$ (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$ (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -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 ʿLA!), so that both patterns for *t-2* active participles mtaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) and mit-C$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) occur, e.g. *mtaǧawwiz ~ mitǧawwiz* "married" and for C$_3$ = y) *mtaġaddiy ~ mitġaddiy* "having eaten lunch".

3.2.3.6. *Measures 3 and* t-3
Measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA: *i* in the imperfect and *a* in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C$_1$āC$_2$aC$_3$, yC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$.

Also in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA, 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: taC$_1$āC$_2$aC$_3$, ytaC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$. Like in measure *t-2*, intitial *tt-* in the imperfect is reduced to *t-* (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).[120]

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 C$_3$ = y verb are like those listed for group VI.

---

[120] Nishio 1992:3 (I-23) lists taṯāwab, ytaṯāwab "yawn" without reduction of the *ta-* preformative.

Examples of apocopated imperfects of tertiae infirmae verbs are: *b il‘aṛabiyyah twāṭ ‘ilēh* "with the car you go down on it (to crush it, i.e. a snake)". Another example is: *tlāg ilwalad, itlāguh* "you find the boy, you find him" (the latter example also in ‘LA).[121]

The verb *lāga, ylāgiy* is often used alongside *ligiy, yalga*, without apparent difference in meaning: *hanlāgīhiʾ* or *hanilgāhiʾ* "we'll find her" and *hatlāghin* or *hatalghin* "you (sg. masc.) will find them (fem.)". Other forms recorded through direct elicitation are: (measure 3) *hatlāgīh* "you (sg. fem.) will find him", *hatlāginhin* "you (pl. fem.) will find them (fem.)", *hatlāgūhuṃ* "you (pl. masc.) will find them (masc.)" (for suffixed measure 1 examples, see 3.2.2.5.2.).

Examples for measure *t*-3 are: *iytašāgaluw ššwāl* "they throw the sacks together", *taḍāyag* "he became angry", *tanāwaš* (< *ttanāwaš*) "you pick (of fruit from a tree)", *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 $mC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (-ih / ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mwāfig* "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 $mC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$) is the origin for the loan *mwāṣalāt* "public transport".

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern $mtaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ or $mitC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (-ih / ah, -īn, -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 $tC_1\bar{e}C_2iC_3$ 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 ĞbA.

In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aʿṭa ~ ʿaṭa, yiʿṭiy (and participles miʿṭiy ~ ʿāṭiy, miʿiṭyih ~ ʿāṭyih, etc.) "give". Examples of its use as measure 1 are ʿaṭuw "they gave" and hinnih ʿaṭinnuh "they (fem.) gave him". The paradigm for the perfect ʿaṭa is thus a measure 1 a-type, i.e. like maša in HnA: (sg.) ʿáṭa, ʿáṭat, ʿaṭāt, ʿaṭātiy, ʿaṭāt and (pl.) ʿáṭuw, ʿáṭin, ʿaṭātuw, ʿaṭātin, ʿaṭāna. In ʿLA the verb is still full measure 4: aʿṭa (1st. p. sg. com. aʿṭāt), yiʿṭiy and participles miʿṭiy, miʿiṭyih, miʿiṭyīn, miʿiṭyāt.

Other verbs are fáṭar, yifṭir "have breakfast" (paradigms like kátab, yiktib, see 3.2.1.1.) and ḍáwa, yiḍwiy "return home before sunset with goats and sheep". The measure 1 participles of these verbs co-occur with measure 4 participles: fāṭir ~ mifṭir and ḍāwiy ~ miḍwiy.[122] In ʿLA these verbs are (measure 1) ḍawa, yiḍwiy with participle ḍāwiy, and (measure 4) aftar, yifṭir and participle mifṭir.

The patterns are $aC_1C_2aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI, including raising of unstressed initial a > i, e.g. ifṭárt "I had breakfast". Such raising of unstressed initial a is also heard in ʿLA, e.g. iʿṭāt "I gave".

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

3.2.3.7.2. *Measure 4 C_2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*
In all dialects described here the verb "want" has become measure 1. This is to be concluded from the shape of the participles: ṛāyid, ṛāydih, ṛāydīn, ṛāydāt and passive participles maryūd, -ih, -īn and -āt, e.g. (ʿLA) iza māhī ṛāyidtuh ibtušrud ʿinnuh "if she doesn't want (to marry) him, she flees from him".

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

3.2.3.7.3. *Measure 4 C_3 = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*
Like in group VI, aʿṭa, yiʿṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects (in ASA, GrA, ṢwA and ḤmA). In HnA only measure 1 ʿaṭa was recorded (see remark above) and in ĞbA only idda, yiddiy was heard for "give", e.g. biddik tiddīnī lmiftāḥ "you (sg. fem.) need to give me the key" and (apocopated) bidduk tiddnī lmiftāḥ "you (sg. masc.) need to give me the key".

The perfect and imperfect paradigms for aʿṭa, yiʿṭiy are:

---

[122] In e.g. the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, these verbs are all clearly measure 4: aʿṭa, yiʿṭiy, aftar, yifṭir and aḍwa, yiḍwiy with matching participles miʿṭiy, mifṭir and miḍwiy. Also in ĞbA, ḤmA: ḍawa, yiḍwiy and particples ḍāwiy, ḍāwyih etc.

"give"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	áʿṭa	áʿṭuw	yiʿṭiy	yiʿṭuw
	fem.	áʿṭat	áʿṭin	tiʿṭiy	yiʿṭin
2.	masc.	aʿṭǟt	aʿṭǟtuw	tiʿṭ* / -iy	tiʿṭuw
	fem.	aʿṭǟtiy	aʿṭǟtin	tiʿṭiy	tiʿṭin
1.	com.	aʿṭǟt	aʿṭǟna	iʿṭiy	niʿṭiy

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

3.2.3.7.4. *Measure 4 C$_1$ = w (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect*
A measure 4 prima wāw (and also tertia yāʾ) verb recorded in ĞbA is awfa yūfiy, as in gaḅil ma yūfiy ilarbaʿ sāʿāt "before 4 hours have (fully) passed".[123]

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) iʿṭ, iʿṭiy, iʿṭuw, iʿṭin.

Suffixed examples are: íʿiṭh-iyyāha "give it (sg. fem.) to her", íʿṭuh luh "give it to him".

3.2.3.7.7. *Measure 4 participles*
The particples for sound roots have a miC$_1$C$_2$iC$_3$ pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mífiṭrih, mifiṭrīn, mifiṭrāt "having eaten breakfast".

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type mC$_1$īC$_3$, like mġīr, *-ih, -īn, -āt* "running fast".

3.2.3.8. *Measure 9*
Paradigms for measure 9 in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA 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 ǟ, i.e. I.P.A. [ɛː]) in group VII, e.g. *iḥmaṛṛātuw* "you (pl. masc.) turned red", participles are *miḥmaṛṛ, -ah, -īn, -āt*.

---

[123] The verb *awfa, yūfiy* 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*).[124] The paradigms listed for group VI *zaġraṭ, yzaġriṭ* "ululate" are the same in group VII. Other examples are: *biykarikmūh* "they add curcumin to it", *bitǧáribluh* "she sieves it".

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted *wāw* between C_1 and C_2: $C_1\bar{o}C_2aC_3$, $yC_1\bar{o}C_2iC_3$ has the following paradigms:

"go"

		perfect		imperfect*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*gōṭar*	*gōṭaruw*	*ygōṭir*	*ygōṭᵘruw*
	fem.	*gōṭart*	*gōṭarin*	*tgōṭir*	*ygōṭrin*
2.	masc.	*gōṭart*	*gōṭartuw*	*tgōṭir*	*tgōṭᵘruw*
	fem.	*gōṭartiy*	*gōṭartin*	*tgōṭᵗriy*	*tgōṭᵗrin*
1.	com.	*gōṭart*	*gōṭarna*	*agōṭir*	*ngōṭir*

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

An example of such a verb recorded in ʿLA is (with diphthong!) *biyṛawbʿuw nnās* "people perform the maṛbūʿah".[125]

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

"be irritated, annoyed"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*taʿaknan*	*taʿaknanuw*	*ytaʿaknan*	*ytaʿaknanuw*
	fem.	*taʿaknanat*	*taʿaknanin*	*taʿaknan*	*ytaʿaknanin*
2.	masc.	*taʿaknant*	*taʿaknantum/-uw*	*taʿaknan*	*taʿaknanuw*
	fem.	*taʿaknantiy*	*taʿaknantin*	*taʿaknaniy*	*taʿaknanin*
1.	com.	*taʿaknant*	*taʿaknanna*	*ataʿaknan*	*ntaʿaknan*

Participles: *mtaʿaknin, mtaʿakninih, mtaʿakninīn/mtaʿakinnīn, mtaʿaknināt/ mtaʿakinnāt*. Notice that elision of the the short high vowel *i* does not necessarily take place (compare this to the non-elision of high vowels in measure 2 verbs of mediae geminatae, see 2.1.2.5. and 3.2.3.5.1.).

For the verbal noun *tʿiknin*[126] was recorded.

---

[124] Nishio 1992, however, reports a number of instances with 'fixed' a in perfect and imperfect, e.g. (p. 62 (IX-1) gōṭar, ygōṭar "leave", and also (p. 72 (X-3) dardaš, ydardaš "debate".

[125] During night time festivities older men stand in a square (*maṛbūʿah*) and improvise verse to each other.

[126] See remark in Stewart 1990:8 (text 1), fn 55 on the form *tširriṭ* formed on a pattern for verbal nouns used for both measure 2 and *t*-2 verbs. See also Abul Fadl 1961:286 on

A quadriliteral verb with C$_4$ = *y* is *tagahwa, ytagahwa* and has the following paradigms:

"drink coffee/tea"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*tagahwa*	*tagahwuw*	*ytagahwa*	*ytagahwuw*
	fem.	*tagahwat*	*tagahwin*	*tagahwa*	*ytagahwin*
2.	masc.	*tagahwēt*	*tagahwētuw*	*tagahw**	*tagahwuw*
	fem.	*tagahwētiy*	*tagahwētin*	*tagahwiy*	*tagahwin*
1.	com.	*tagahwēt*	*tagahwēna*	*atagahwa*	*ntagahwa*

* When in pause, *tagáhuw #*.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* "drink tea / coffee!".
Participles are *mtagahwiy, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahiwyīn, mtagahiwyāt*.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. *Nunation*

Tanwīn is not a feature of ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA, but in loans from MSA and in poetry nunation does occur. Recorded examples are: (all loans from MSA) *ṭabʿan* "of course", *masalan* "for instance", *ʿāmmatan* "in general", *dāyman* "always" (< MSA *dāʾiman*), *ḥāliyyan* "currently", *aḥyānan* "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 iza mā ligītiš ʾarğáʿ-luh t̲āniy* "keep looking (for it), (and) if you don't find any, go back to him", *ma bingaṭṭíʿiš siyyāl* "we don't cut down acacia trees", *ma farašáttiš* (< *ma farašat + hiʾ + š*) "she did not spread it out", *ma naʿaṛáfhaš* "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 luḳš daʿawah* "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

---

verbal nouns of measure *t*-2 *tuḥussun* "Besserung", *tuʿuhhud* "Verpflichtung" and *tukubbur* "Hochmut".

negation, often accompanied by *xāliṣ* "at all". Examples are *w Aḷḷāh mā ğāni* "By God, he did not come to us" and *biḍḍakkirna la ḥāğāt mā naʿariffa* "you remind us of things we don't know (i.e. had forgotten about)".

In ʿLA verbs are regularly negated with single preceding *mā* (the compound negation is the exception in ʿLA). Also negated pronominals, prepositions etc. are negated with preceding *mā*. Examples in ʿLA are: *mā ṭallágitheʾ* "I had not divorced her", *fīh nās halḥīn ibyākl-álbalaḥ iw hū ṭāzah mā byaḥašūh* "there are people now who eat the dates while they're fresh (and who) don't stuff them", *iza mā ʿinduh ḥalāl* "if he doesn't have small cattle (for slaughter)", *gāl aḅuw lbint 'māhī maxaṭūbāh'* "the father of the girl said 'she is not engaged'".

4.3. *The b-imperfect*

The originally sedentary feature of the *b*-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA. Some examples in ṬwA are *āywah biyḥuṭṭūh f-ágṛaḅ* "yes, they put it in goat skins", *ma bingaṭṭiʿš siyyāl* "we don't cut down acacia trees", *innāgah biysībūha . . . ibtimšiy l waḥadha fi ṣṣaḥaṛa. iw kull šahaṛ aw šahrēn wāḥid bišuffiʾ* "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 ʿinduh sanah biyğībuh . . . ʿinduh fi lbēt iw huwwa ēš? biyṭabbʿuh. yaʿniy biyrabbīh* "when it is older, it could be a year old, (then) he gets it . . . (and keeps it) with him in his house, while he what? He trains it, that is, he raises it".

Two examples from ʿLA are: *baʿadēn uḅūh . . . biyrawwiḥ l arriğğāl . . . aḅuw lbint . . . iw biyxarrfuh* "after that his father . . . goes to the man . . . the father of the girl . . . and speaks to him", *biyšūf bint ibtíʿiğbuh* "he sees a girl that he likes".

4.4. *Future Marker*

To express "volition" or "need" *bidd* + pron. suffix may be used in ṬwA, HnA and also in ʿLA.

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) *biddī-gūl luḵ ʿala ḥāğih* [. . .] *ilgaṣalah ḏiy . . . halḥīn xallēt Maḥmūd iyğawwiz bintī . . .* "I want to/shall tell you something . . . this twig. . . . I have now (agreed to) let Maḥmūd marry my daughter".

To express futurity. the imperfect form may also have prefixed *ha-*, e.g. *hantaṣarraf lēha fi lğamūs . . .* "we'll make do with it in the (preparation of) food dip" and *iw baʿad kiḏiy btágasluh . . . ġasīl ğāmid xāliṣ. hatlāgīh ṭiriy* "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...*[127] *lamma yulguṭhaʾ. mā yākilha lamma yǧībha la ṣāḥbuh. iygūm ṣāḥbuh ḏābíḥḥeʾ* "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 nāxuḏ minnuh lʿaṛabiyyah nkutt bēha lwādiy* "there is a friend of ours here whose car we can take with which we go down the wadi" and (ʿLA) *fīh nās biyšūffaʾ* "there are people who see her".

The negation is usually *ma fīš*, also in ʿLA (!), e.g. *w Aḷḷah ġār rišrēš maṭar mā fīš* "by God, except for a few drops there hasn't been any rain" and (ʿLA) *aza mā fīš ḥuṛmah fāḏyah lēhin* "if there is not a woman free for them (i.e. to take care of the animmals)".

Also *māš* may be used for negation: *issuwwāḥ māš ilǧimʿah suwwāḥ b ilḥēl* "the tourist, on Friday(s) there are no tourists at all". *māš* was not heard in ʿLA.

4.6. *Some Conjunctions*

4.6.1. *Conjunctions* lamma *and* yōm

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

4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm *used independently*

yōm may be used meaning "when", e.g. *ilʿanz yōm taḥalibha kiḏiy w ithuṭṭuh fi ssiʿin kimān...illaban* "the goat, when you milk it like, and you put it in the goatskin[128] also...the milk", *ṭabʿan illaban yōm iykūn kiṯīr binḥuṭṭuh fīh ēh?* "of course, when there is a lot of milk we put it in what?", *ilmaṭar illiy nāzil ḏiʾ, yōm yinzil ʿala gizāz lʿaṛabiyyah...ṭīn* "this rain that falls, when it comes down on the glass of the car...it is mud" and (from ʿLA) *yōm ṛawwaḥ ʿind ḥúṛumtuh bidduh ynām ǧambhiʾ* "when

---

[127] *yizġatte > yizġat + ha.*

[128] A *siʿn* 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 rawyānah byaṭlaʿ* "when the dam[129] 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 ligīhi* "when he found her…" and (from ʿLA) *aṣṣubiḥ yōmin ma yīǧiy l alfaxx iw lannha 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": *baʿadēn ḥawwalthuṃ híniy yōminnuh iṭṭarrēt iǧiy waṛa liʿyāl ʿašān ilmidāris* "after that I moved them here, when I was forced to come with (lit. after) the children because of the schools" (*ṭṭ* in *iṭṭarrēt* is assimilated < *ḏṭ*). No such example in ʿLA.

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 ilgaṣalah*[130] *xalāṣ* "from the moment that I give the twig, it's done" and (ʿLA) *min yōm aʿṭūh algaṣalah xalāṣ ʿirif hāḏiy ḥúrumtuh, ib sinnt Aḷḷāh w rasūl-aʿṭūh…*[131] *gáṣalatuh* "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 ʿLA: *min yōm ma ʿāyzah tušṛud, maṛṛah maṛṛtēn ṭalāṯah xalāṣ lāzim iyṭalligha… xalāṣ māhī ʿāyiztuh* "from the moment that she wants to flee, once, twice, three times, that's it, he has to divorce her (i.e. grant her her wish for a divorce), (because) she does not want him".

---

[129] The 'dam' is actually the soil behind a dam on which water collects.

[130] A *gaṣalah* "twig" is given to the groom by the father of the prospective bride in betrothal ceremonies. See also Bailey 2009:350 (glossary).

[131] *rasūl-aʿṭūh*: *rasūluh + aʿṭūh*. The phrase *b sinnt Aḷḷāh w rasūluh* is often added to descriptions of practices whose islamic origin(s) are doubtful. See also remark in fn 430, De Jong 2000:219 and Šuqayr 1916:387–388.

4.6.1.2. lamma *and* lumma

lamma is often used for "when" and "until". Also a form like *lam* was recorded (variants *lumma* or *lum* were not heard).

4.6.1.2.1. lamma *"when" used independently*

Examples of lamma used for "when": tiǧb ilʿanz, iw tísigha ṃayyah lamma tkūn ʿaṭšānah walla ḥāǧih, iw baʿad ma tašaṛab. timsikha, wāḥid ibyimsík-luḳ iw wāḥid ibyaḏbaḥ. bitgūl bismillāh Aḷḷāhu ʾakbaṛ iw taḏbaḥ "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 ibyasmaʿuw xabīṭ illibbah kiḏiy, ilkull ibyáʿarf inn fīh wāḥid žiʾ* ... "when people hear such knocking on the loaf,[132] everybody knows that someone has come (as a visitor)...". An example in ʿLA is (both in the meaning of "until" and "when") *bitsawwiy zzibdeh, iw bitxuḏḏ assiʿin ... itxuḏḏuh ... lamma ṭrawwbuh. lamma yrūb bittallʿ azzib-dah minnuh* "she makes butter, and she churns the goat skin ... she churns it ... until she causes it to curdle. When it curdles, she takes the butter out of it (i.e. from the goat skin)".

Another form recorded in GrA is *ānāt*, which is used for "when": *ānāt ma yístiwiy biykūn tamiṛ ḷayyin ṣār* "when it matures it will have become tender (soft) dates".

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in

The only recorded example (in ASA) of lamma + in (lumma + in was not recorded) is budxul ʿād ʿind innās illiy baṛṛa, [kiḏiy] fiḥmāyithuṃ ... lamman inšūf ilmúškilih ḏiy, iw taxlaṣ "so I take refuge with people who are outside (i.e. outside my own community), like that in their protection ... until we see (look into) this problem, and it is resolved".

4.6.1.2.3. lamma *and* lumma *"until"*

lamma (lumma was not recorded) maybe used in combination with laġāyit for "until", e.g. bitduggha dagg fi lhōn ... laġāyat lamma yunʿum kiḏiy "you crush it (sg. fem.) in the mortar ... until it becomes soft" and biyǧīb miṣwāṭ kiḏiy xašab, iw byuḏrubha bēha barḏuh āh? laġāyat lamma taġadiy ... zayy izzibdah fi baʿaḏha "he takes a wooden spoon, like, and stirs it (sg. fem.) with it (sg. fem.) and also what? until it becomes ... like butter mixed together".

---

[132] The *libbah* is a loaf of bread baked in live embers and hot sand. When it is done, the loaf is beaten to get rid of the dust and ashes.

An example of *lamma* used as "until" without *laǧāyit* is *tíǧib ilḥaṭab ḏiʾ, imn issiyyāl, w itwallʿ innāṛ lamma ēh yáḥaǧim yáǧadiy ǧamiṛ* "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 ʿLA: *ana xannnī-ṭawwil bālī lamma ṣṣabāḥ yaṭlaʿ...w aṛawwḥ ilmagʿad w anām fīh* "(addressing himself) let me be patient until the morning comes...and let me go back to the magʿad[133] and sleep there".

4.6.1.3. lōm *(+ in)*

An example of *min lōm* in the meaning of "from the moment that" (in ASA): *biyrawwiʿ ʿind[134] ilAḥēwāt biyrawwiʿ ʿind ilGirārših biyrawwiʿ ʿind iliMzēnih, ana min lōm biyrawwiḥ kiḏiy 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 ǧawwazha* "from the moment he married her" and from ʿLA *lōm tiǧ talgha lannha xāḏḏit issiʿin, w imsawwyah libbah w fāttītta*[135] "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 ʿLA:[136] *iw ḥāl...gām xaḷḷāha w ʿuguḅ sanatēn...ẓabbaṭ álḥaṭab, iw ǧāb aḏḏabāyiḥ, iw ǧāb ibyūt áššaʿaṛ* "and in case...he has then left her and

---

[133] A *magʿad* 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] *ḥ + ʿ* often assimilates to *ʿ*, also in sandhi: *biyrawwiḥ ʿind > biyrawwiʿ ʿind*.

[135] *fattītta = (fāttah) fāttīt + ha* "having made it (sg. fem.) into fattah". When suffixing the obj. pron. suffix to the sg. fem. act. participle the fem. morpheme becomes *-īt* here, instead of *-it*. This appears to be typical of ʿLA (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 ʿLA showed a 3rd p. sg. masc. subject. 'Unconjugated' can therefore not be concluded.

after two years . . . he has prepared the firewood, and brought the animals for slaughter, and has brought the tents".

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

Examples of the use of *ṛāḥ* used as an auxiliary were recorded only in ḤmA: *lamma ṛāḥ kaṛṛaṛha winha manganīz* [. . .] *manganīz nimṛah wāḥid . . . ǧiʾ gāl 'ǧār itwaddīnī ilmakān ḏiʾ' . . .* [. . .] *ṛāḥ iywaddī*[137] *ʿa-skandariyyih gāl '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 lēᵘḵuṃ buʿṛān ʿinduh "and look if you find camels of yours with him", w inguṣṣ inkān ǧuṛṛt ilbuʿṛān fīhi "and we follow the tracks if the camel tracks are in it" and in ʿLA w alfuṭūr baʿadīytta[139] nkān ʿāwz 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 . . . ṣāḥbuh-lliy yǧībuh . . . ʿārif nimṛah-zkān nimṛit baṭāgtuh . . . w áʿarfuh bass "if . . . its owner who brings him . . . you know the number, if

---

[137] *ywaddī ʿa* is assimilated < *ywaddīh ʿa*.
[138] In the area of Uṃṃ Buǧmah manganese deposits have been found. A Google search on the internet with search criteria "Um Bogma" or "Oleikat" (i.e. ʿLēgāt) 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 Baʿbaʿ ("Wadi Baba").
See also Greenwood 1997:35 (figure 3-6) (there transcribed as Um Bogma).
[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 baʿad kiḏiy xamis ʿašaṛ digāyig xamisṭāšaṛ digīgih binṭalliḥḥa-z kān ǧamiṛ ḥiluw "and after like five, ten minutes, fifteen minutes we take it out if it is (a fire of) good embers" and izkān wāḥid ʿayyān walla ḥāǧah biyǧībūh luh "if someone is ill or something, they bring it to him."

Instances of *iz(a)* + *kān* were not recorded in ʿLA. Instead, several instances of *iza* or *iz*, and even more regularly *az(a)* were heard as independent conditionals, e.g. *iza mā ʿinduh ḥalāl* "if he does not have small cattle (for slaughter)", *iz fatt alfattah maẓbūṭ xāliṣ* "if he has prepared the fattah very well…" and *aza gāluw 'laʾ lāzim tuskun ʿindina* "if they say 'No, you have to live with us'…", *aza lugūḥ, bitxallheʾ…imšammalah* "if she is pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you make sure she gets a šamlah."[140]

4.7.3.1.5. kān *as an independent conditional*
kān used independently as conditional "if" was recorded often, but an example is: kān imʿúḵ dirāhim "if you have money". No such examples were recorded in ʿLA.

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

4.7.3.2. *Absence of a conditional particle*
Conditional sentences are often not introduced by a particle. An example is: *huṃṃa kānuw…huṃṃa rrǧāl ʿāyzīn yúguʿduw sáwaʾ, fíh makān…ilmaǧmaʿ baṛṛa* "they were…if they are men who want to sit together, there is a place…the meeting place is outside". Another example from ʿLA is: *māhī lugūḥ, bitbarrik ʿalēha ṯāniy* "if she is not pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you have her covered (i.e. to be impregnated) again".

4.8. *Presentative Particles*

4.8.1. irʿ *or* arʿ

Presentatives *irʿ* or *arʿ* were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ʿLA.

---

[140] A *šamlah* is a piece of cloth covering the vagina of the she-camel. This is used to make sure that she can only have been impregnated by a thoroughbred camel.

4.8.2. hē + suffix

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

This presentative *hē* must have developed from *hāy*, which shortens to *hay* in unstressed positions.[141]

Another possibility recorded in ASA is *hvk* (in which *v* is the short high vowel colouring with the following vowel) followed by a pronominal of which initial *h* assimitaes to *k*, e.g. *hukkuwwa* or *hukkū* "there you have him", *hikkiyyih* "there you have her", *hukkuṃṃa* "there you have them", *hikkinnih* "there you have them (fem.)".

This presentative element *hvk* or must have developed from a presentative *hāk*[142] (< *hā* + *k*) of which the long vowel was shortened, due to its unstresed position in forms like *hāk* + *huṃṃa* or *hāk* + *hiyya*, after which the resulting short *a* (e.g. as in assumed intermediate forms **hakkuṃṃa* and **hakkiyya*) could assume the colour of the following vowel: > *hukkuṃṃa* 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 biṭhuṭṭuh* [...] *fi nnāṛ galiy galiy lamma tḏūb fi baʿaḏha w baʿad kiḏiy biṭhuṭṭha w innha samin šīḥiy* "and you put it on (lit. in) the fire to boil and boil until it melts together, and there you have wormwood ghee".

Another example is *ndawwir iNmēr iw linn ǧuṛṛit ǧamal hēhī giddāmna ḥimṛāʾ* "we went to Nmēr and there were the tracks of a camel and there she was in front of us, red (colour)" and *baʿad ṯalaṯ sāʿāt kiḏiy w linnī b xēr. ana banabbiṭ tanbīṭ fi lblād* "after three hours or so I was alright again. (and) I was jumping about on the ground".

In ASA a similar *iw lannuh hū b nafṣuh* "and there he was himself" was also recorded (see remark in next paragraph).

---

[141] For remarks on *hāy* and *hay* (< *hā* + *y*) see De Jong 2000:235–236.
[142] On the difference in deictic function between *hay* or *hāy* and *hāk,* see De Jong 2000:236.

w lin | lan was also recorded in ʿLA, often in combination with *hā-* or *hē-* + pron. suffix and not necessarily with preceding *w*: *lan hāhū lfaras* "there was the horse", *iw lan hēhū issēl ǧāy* "and there is the flood coming" and a suffixed example *yōm yīǧiy luh linnuh, linnuh lāgiṯhaʾ* "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 ʿLA the presentative *lan* co-occurs with *lin*, of which the former is probably the result of *lā* + *in* (see examples in 4.8.3.).

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action,[143] e.g. *hāḏa ġār niǧǧāṛ inǧībuh lēhin w Aḷḷah...* "this we have to get a carpenter for them (pl. fem.), by God...".

Also in ʿLA several examples of *ġēr* were heard, e.g.: *gāl hū ġēr iǧīb issēf w agṭaʿ ṛágabatuh* "he said 'I have to get the sword and decapitate him". Instances of reduced *ġayr* were recorded as *ir*, e.g.: *law kalátᵘḵ bidduḵ, ir kān daktūr walla bidduḵ, iza f-albaṛṛ kamān mā ḥāwalāᵘḵ daktūr ir kān insān ḥāwiy* "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 *ibyídirsuw b álǧimal, iw ġā̆r insān ʿārif iysawwīh* "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 ĞbA), but in ḤmA suffixed *widd* was also heard. Exam-

---

[143] See Hopkins 1990.

ples for "need" or "want" are: *biddna nkutt fi lwādiy* "we want to go down the wadi", *bidduh ygōṭir* "he wants to go (away)".

An example of *bidd* expressing futurity, rather than "want" or "need" is *iḥna zayy ibtāʿ ṯalaṯ maṛṛāt biddna nḍīʿ fi lbaḥaṛ* "something like three times we were going to get lost at sea" (HnA).

bidd is also used in ʿLA, e.g. *iḥna biddniʾ…nirsiy ʿādiy* "so we'll anchor (here) (i.e. make camp for the night)" and *ana biddī-tagaddam…māšiy* "I shall / want to continue walking".

4.12. ʿād

The particle *ʿād* is current to express "so, thus, then". Examples are: *bitmaddid fi liblād. iw btaṭlaʿ baṭṭīxah…iḏʿayyfah kiḏiy ssāʿ, ʾawwil ma yaṭlaʿ, iw byakbaṛ iw baʿád-ma yakbaṛ, túkun iṯḥāfiḏ ʿilēh ʿād intih…ʿan ḍarb iššamš ilguwiyyih.*" 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 *hāḏa biykaḏḏib ʿād* "so this man is lying".

An example of *ʿād* in ʿLA is *iw ʿuguḅ kiḏiy ʿād waddāha dāṛuh* "so after that he took her home", but often the forms *ʿādiy* or *ʿādīyit* also occur: *hū ʿādīyt ʿind aḍḍēf mistagṛa* "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)".[144]

4.13. yabga

Like in group VI, *yabga* is not very current in ṬwA, HnA or ʿLA, but may be heard at times meaning "so, then", as in *w iṭṭaʿam illiy fiha bardagān. yabga ṣārat bitǧīb xēr akṯar* "and its taste is oranges, so then it brings more good (i.e. it is even better)".

---

[144] A proper meal fit to be served to a respected guest is called *gṛáʾ* (n.u. *gaṛwah*) 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*.

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 ʿLA.[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 inğīb ilMansiy min Aḅuw Rdēs* "we used to get ilMansiy from Abuw Rdēs", *kān binḥuṭṭ ġēr izzētūn* "we used to plant olive trees only".

   However, *kān* was more frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, e.g. *kānat iliğnēnah ḏiy kullha kānat milyānih. kān milyān ēh? baṭāṭis w ixḍāṛ. innās kānat ēh? kānat ibtīğiy hina ʿa 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 ʿLA were similar.

4.14.3. *Dativus ethicus*

Some instances of the ethical dative are: *w itwiğğ innāṛ minnuh w iyṣīr luḵ tamām xāliṣ* "and you light the fire with it (i.e. firewood) and it becomes perfect for you", *iw baʿad kiḏiy bitğīb maṣfa ʿimāmah-w ayyi ḥāğih, iw bitṣaff ʿilēh iw biṭṭallʿ izzēt iw bitsaww luḵ imṛaggagah ʿilēh aw bissaww luḵ ayyi ḥāğih* "and after that you get the cloth-sieve or anything, and you sieve with it and you get the oil out and you make *mṛaggagah*[146] for yourself with it or you make anything for yourself" and *mumkin yākul luḵ faṭīsih, yākul luḵ bahīmah mayytih, yākul luḵ ayyi ḥāğah 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]

---

[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 *ḥaṛām*—will ruin his special gift.

An example in ʿLA is: *gāḷ luḳ hāḏa krāḳ ʿindī b xamisṭāšar sanah* "he says (lit. said) to you, here is your pay[148] 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—xḏār* "vegetables" (HnA), *nuxṛāt—ánxaṛ* "noses" (GrA), *banāt—bnittih* "girls", *šuggāt— šgāg* "woven lengths of a tent", *ḥabbāṭ—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) *ʿāwzīn iṛṛakkb iššabābīk w ilbībān…* (B) *lā lā ḏillih šuǵḷithin ḏill ṭawīlah ʿilēne…* (A) *walla nǧīb lēna niǧǧāṛ?* (B) *hāḏa ǵaṛ niǧǧāṛ inǧībuh lēhin w Aḷḷah* "(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 *illiy žāb luh sittīn išwāl walla ḥāǧah biywaddīhin ilmaṭḥanih, lākin išwāl wāḥid biywaddīh ilbēt ibyaṭḥan ʿa rrḥā…* "he who has harvested (lit. brought) sixty sacks or something for himself, takes them to the mill, but (if it is just) one sack he takes (it) home and grinds (it) on the hand mill" and *fīh amākin igṣūr[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 Aḷḷah w ṭabbēna lGāʿ ilʿaṣir, w Aḷḷah w iḥna nnām luḳ ʿilēhin… išṛād išṛād išṛād išṛād lamma ǧīna Bīr Mūs-Aḅuw ʿAṭwa* "By God, and we went to *ilGāʿ*[150] in the afternoon, by God, while we lay flat on them (for you),[151] fleeing, fleeing, fleeing, fleeing until we came to Bīr Mūsa Aḅuw ʿAṭwa".

Some examples in ʿLA are: *fīh igṣūr iligṣūr ḏill biyḥuṭṭuw algirbah fīhin* "there are storage caves. They put the girbah (a goat skin sack) in these

---

[148] Root *k-r-y*, I have also recorded *íkrih* and *krāh* "his pay".

[149] *gṣūr* (sg. *gaṣr*), see fn 42, p. 47.

[150] The (largely empty) sandy coastal plain near aṭ-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 ḏillah mā biyṭīḥin fi lwāṭiy, ġār fi ǧǧbāl, fi ǧǧbāl albiʿīdeh* "these gazelles don't come down in low areas, (you'll find them) only in the mountains, in the far mountains" and *ibtasṛaḥ ib biʿṛānuḵ, iw tīǧiy ʿa nayyt álġada … itgayyidhin w itxaḷḷhin … fi ǧāl ʿan alḥalāl* "you go out grazing with your camels, and you come by lunch time, you hobble them and leave them … away (lit. aside) from the small cattle".

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

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

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE MZĒNAH AND BANIY WĀṢIL

INTRODUCTION

The largest tribe of the central, south and southeastern Sinai are the Mzēnah (or Muzaynah). The much smaller tribe of Baniy Wāṣil live near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai, where they are neighbours of the Awlād Saʿīd[1] 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,[2] where they are direct neighbours of the Ǧbāliyyah. The coastal plain of the dīrah of the Awlād Saʿīd is in fact empty land (the sandy coastal plain al-Gāʿ), and hence the Baniy Wāṣil are—more or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

---

[1] Although the *dīrah* of Awlād Saʿīd is indicated on the map as bordering the Gulf of Suez, members of this tribe actually do not live in this deserted coastal plain (known as *Gāʿ ašŠarm* or simply *alGāʿ*), but are found more up in the mountains to the east. In effect, the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil (who do inhabit the coastal area on the Gulf of Suez near aṭ-Ṭūr) are direct neighbours.

[2] The coordinates are appr. 28.32.35 North and 33.43.55 East, see Google Earth.

In the following chapter a decription of the characteristics of both dia-
lects 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:

	bilabial		labdent.		alveolar		intdent.		postalv.		palatal		velar		uvul.		phar.		laryng.	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
plosive	b				t	d							k	g	(q)				(ʾ)	
emph.					ṭ								ḳ*¹							
nasal	m					n														
fricative			f		s	z	ṯ	ḏ	š	(ž)			x	ġ			ḥ	ʿ	h	
emph.					ṣ	(ẓ)		ḏ̣												
affricate											ǧ									
trill						r														
emph.						(ṛ)														
lateral						l														
emph.						ḷ														
glides	w													y						

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 *xuḏ bāluḳ—xḏiy 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 /ṯ/, /ḏ/ and /ḏ̣/*

The reflexes of *ṯ and *ḏ are interdentals *ṯ* and *ḏ* (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respec-
tively).
     Examples for *ṯ are: *naḥariṯ* "we plough" (MzA), *ṯāniy* "second" (both),
ṯyāb "clothes" (BWA), (ʾ)*aṯarhuw* "their tracks" (BWA).
     For *ḏ: *nāxiḏ* "we take" (both), *migḏāf* "oar" (MzA), *mnaḏbaḥuh* "we
slaughter him" (MzA), *iḏn* "ear" (MzA), *ḏikr* "mention" (BWA), *ḏimīmih*
"ugly" (BWA), *xuḏ 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 *ṯ is *s*, e.g. *ḥadīs* "modern" (BWA) and also *ḥaras* (!)[3] "he ploughed" (BWA), *masalan* "for instance" (both) and for *ḏ it is sometimes *z*, as in *bizr* "seed" (BWA) and *kizāluk*[4] "as well".

Emphatic ḏ̣ (I.P.A. velarized [ð̣]) is the interdental reflex of *ḍ and *ḏ̣, e.g. (as reflex of *ḍ in) *ṛawḏ̣* (pl. *rīḏ̣ān*) "small wadi between low mountains" (BWA), *uḏ̣fuṛ*, pl. *aḏ̣āfir* "finger" (MzA), *ḏ̣ayf* "guest" (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ̣ in) *yḏ̣all* "he remains" (both) and *ḏ̣áharuh* "his back" (BWA) and *álġaḏ̣aʾ* "(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 *mwaẓẓafīn* "civil servants", *ẓubbāṭ* "officers" (both BWA), *b-iẓẓabṭ* "precisely" (both), *binẓabbiṭ* "we do a proper job", *niẓām* "system" (both MzA), etc.

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (*hā-*)ḏ*a* "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 *ḳ* and *k* are heard, only in MzA we find a true phonemic opposition in a minimal pair like *īduḳ* "your (sg. masc.) hand"— *īdik* "your (sg. fem.) hand"; in BWA (sg. fem.) pronominal suffixes *-ik* and *-ki*y are used as parallel forms[5] (i.e. *īdik*, as well as *īdkiy*, the latter of which is the original BWA form and which is normally used). A true phonemic opposition between /ḳ/ 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 v̄-*k*) parallel to the (sg. masc.) pronominal suffix -*ḳ* in BWA.

In MzA "cigarette" is *sigāṛah* (not like in many other dialects *siǧāṛah*).

---

[3] A sibilant *s* for interdental *ṯ* in the verb *ḥaraṯ, yaḥariṯ* "plough" is usually (i.e. in other dialects of Sinai) not one of the exceptions.

[4] Compare MSA *ka-ḏālik*, of which morpheme boundaries were reinterpreted as *kaḏā-l-ik*, after which *l-ik* "to you (sg. fem.)" was adapted as *l-uk* (for sg. masc.).

[5] For the notion of 'parallel forms' as a characteristic of a transitional stage in dialect change due to dialect contact, see Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and remarks in De Jong 2000:28, 596–597.

[6] 'True' in the sense that the two phonemes can be isolated in a minimal pair.

1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/*

The allophone *ž* (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is particularly frequent in MzA. It was not recorded in BWA.

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/*

In all dialects of group I of the south, and also in group VI, a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the *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 ʿ: *saʿal, yasʿal*.
   In *raʾs* "head", loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel > *ṛās* (pl. *ṛūs*).

1.1.7. *Secondary velarization*

What strikes the ear first of all when one hears MzA is the lack of velarization in positions where neighbouring group I dialects in Sinai appear to have it almost as a matter of natural fact. It is a feature of which one of my Mzēniy informants was quite aware; when asked to mention a few differences of his own dialect with that of the Ṭaṛābīn (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned *kibbāyih* "(drinking) glass", pl. *kibāḅiy*, where a Turḅāniy would say *kuḅḅāyih* and *kuḅāḅiy*. MzA *rikbih* (pl. *rkab*) "knee" is pronounced *ṛukḅah* (pl. *ṛkaḅ*) 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) *yāxiḏ* and *yākil*, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) *ḳul* and *xuḏ*.
   Compared to TAN, long *ā* in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced bij velarization, e.g. *ṣiyyād* "fisherman", *riǧǧāl* "man", *kiššǟf* "flashlight", *ʿiṭšǟn* "thirsty" (*ǟ* is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æ:] and [ɛ:]). In TAN the long *ā* is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [a:]): *ṣiyyād, ṛaǧǧāl, kaššāf, ʿaṭšān*.
   Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative *hāḏa* (~ *ḏah* / *ḏiʾ* #), where TAN has *hāḏa*, and the pl. form (*hā-*) *ḏil* (*-ih*) or *ḏillēl* (*-ih*) (~ *hāḏōl* in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms

like *ḥāḏōḷ* (*-ah*) or *hōḏāḷ* (*-ḷah*).[7] Another difference is (MzA) *kimān(-iy)*—(TAN) *ḵumān* "also".

1.1.8. *Liquids ḷ and ṛ*

On the other hand, MzA and BWA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TAN), have strong velarization[8] in *xāf* "he feared" (and also *xāyif* "afraid" in MzA), *ġāb* "he was absent", *ruġfān* "loaves (of bread)", (in the first syllable of) *xfayyif* "light", *nāṛ* "fire", *xyāṛ* "gherkins" and (*i*)*nfāṛ* "persons" and *ḥimṛā* "red (sg. fem.)", *ʿiwṛā* "one eyed (sg. fem.)", *biʿrān* "camels" and *ṛās* "head" (but no velarization in *frāš* "blanket").

Uvulars followed by *l* or *r* are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature,[9] e.g. *aġḷabiyyah* "majority", *šuġḷ* "genitive exponent", *naxaḷ* "palm trees", *xaḷḷ* "let! (imperative)", *nuxṛah* (pl. *nxaṛ*) "nose", *baxaṛṛif* "I speak", *nugṛah* (pl. *ngaṛ*) "pit, pothole", *bagṛa* "I read (i.e. study)", *gaṛāṛ* "decision", *gṛayyib* "near", *gaḷb* "heart", *gāḷat* "she said", *gḷayyil* "few, little" (*gḷāḷ* "few (pl.)" and *agaḷḷ* "less") and *Ṛās Aḅuw Gaḷḷūm* "name of a cape between Ḏahab and Nwēbiʿ".

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 *kiṯīr* "many", which is *kṯār* in MzA and BWA (with a long *ā* almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛː]), but velarized *kṯāṛ* in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized *kḅāṛ* as the pl. for *kibūr* "old, big". There are many examples of velarized *āṛ*, of which some are: *miṭmāṛah* "(cylindrically shaped) grain silo",[10] *xyāṛ* "gherkins" (BWA), *sinnāṛah* "fishing hook", *nāṛ* "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.: *mizāriʿ* "lands for cultivation", *midāris* "schools", *šāriʿ* "street" and *ʿārif* "knowing (sg. masc.)".

---

[7] See De Jong 2000:170–172.

[8] Combinations of a velar (*g, x* or *ġ*) with *l, r* or *b* will often produce velarization, especiallly 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] *miṭmāṛah* 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 *Ǧabal Maṭāmīr*.

Also sequences *rā* are generally not velarized when (vanished) *i* pre-cedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g. *marākib* "boats", *grāyah* (cf. MSA *qirāʾah*) "studying (lit. reading)", *frāš* "blanket" (cf. MSA *firāš*), *Garāršah* "name of tribe" (compare with MSA *Qarārišah*) and *rākib* "riding (sg. masc.)", but there is velarization in forms like *ṛās* "head", *baṛṛād* "teapot" and *ḥaṛāṛah* "heat".

1.1.9. *Nasal n*

No remarks.

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

Devoicing of voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause is regular in MzA and BWA.

One of my informants claimed that one feature of MzA is the type of glottalization of *ā* in a final sequence -āC in pause, by which the final consonant is no longer produced (compare the situation described in remarks on TyA in 1.1.10. of chapter III). I have not been able to verify his claim.

1.2. *Vowels*

1.2.1. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

The inventory for vowel phonemes contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:	*i*		*u*	long:	*ī*		*ū*
						ē	*ō*
		a				*ā*	

1.2.2. *Long vowels*

1.2.2.1. *Allophones of long vowels ē and ī*

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

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

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

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_1 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-ʿ-y* "pay attention, take heed" has an initial diphthong: *awʿin ṛūskin* "mind (pl. fem.) your heads!".[11]

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. [ʊ]) in velarized and/or labial environment, otherwise *i* (i.e. near I.P.A. [ɪ]).

The pl. com. of *ašdaf* "left-handed" was recorded as *šidf* in BWA, but as *šudf* in MzA. Similarly, the pl. com. of *aʿaraǧ* "lame, limping" has the high

---

[11] The imperative *awʿa* is often not inflected for number or gender, e.g. *awʿa rūskuw!* or *awʿa ṛāsik!* (instead of *awʿuw* and *awʿiy* respectively). Apocopated imperative forms of this verb have not been recorded, thus e.g. *awʿa tans!* "don't you forget!".

vowel *i* in *ʿirǧ* in BWA, but *u* in *ʿurǧ* in MzA and that of *aʿama* "blind" is *ʿimy* in BWA, but *ʿumy* in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$, used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a $C_1uC_2C_3$ pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. *aḥamaṛ*) *ḥumṛ* "red", (sg. masc. *azṛag*) *zuṛg* "black",[12] (sg. masc. *axaḏar*)[13] *xuḏr* "green", (sg. masc. *aṣfar*) *ṣufr* "yellow" and (sg. masc. *ahabal*) *hubl* "dim-witted" (where labialization of the *b* triggers the appearance of *u*), (sg. masc. *agraʿ*) *guṛʿ* "bald", *ṯuṛm* (sg. masc. *aṯram*) "gap-toothed".

Both dialects have *i* in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: *yāxiḏ* and *yākil* "he takes" and "he eats", but *u* in the sg. masc. imperative: *kuḷ* and *xuḏ* "eat!" and "take!" (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the 'vanished' *u*:[14] *xḏiy* and *kḷiy* (sg. fem.), *xḏuw* and *kḷuw* (pl. masc.) and *xḏin* and *kḷin* (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:

MzA: *yḥuṭṭ* "place", *yṛudd* "answer", *ydugg* "inject (with a needle)", *yṣunn* "wait", *yxuḏḏ* "churn", *yxušš* "enter", *ykutt* "go down a wadi", *yṭubb* "go on a journey to", *ylugg* "hit",[15] *yḏurr* "damage", *yṣubb* "pour out", *yfikk* "loosen", *ywišš* "swing a fishing net over one's head",[16] *ymidd* "stretch", *ytiff* "spit", *yliff* "wrap", *yʿidd* "count", *yfitt* "prepare *fatītah*".

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 $yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure 2), $yC_1āC_2iC_3$ (measure 3), $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure 4),

---

[12] *azṛag* lit. "blue" is often used euphemistically for "black".

[13] In MzA *axaḏar* was also recorded in the meaning of "wet", as in *iw hū yǵíy mǵīr kiḏiyyih b iʿdāduh . . . iw ǧilduh ʿilēh, l issāʿ axaḏaṛ hū* "and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear . . . with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was . . .".

[14] See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!

[15] *lagg, ylugg* is listed as "snatch, grab" in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like "hit, strike", as in [*alǧaṛṛah byirikdūha ēh?*] *fi ššamš, itlugg fīha ššams* "[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 *wašš, ywišš* is onomatopaeic.

$yinC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure n-1) and $yiC_1tiC_2iC_3$[17] (measure 1-t) and $yistaC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure $ista$-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure 1), $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure 2), $mC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure 3) and $miC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure 4), $mtaC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure ta-2), $mtaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure ta-3), $minC_1iC_2iC_3$ (measure n-1), $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$ (measure 1-t)[18] and $mistaC_1C_2iC_3$ (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 *tušġúlḳ* "she occupies you/keeps you busy" and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in *nuxṛút*ᵘ*ḳ* "your (sg. masc.) nose", contrasting with *nuxṛít*ⁱ*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. [ɪ] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes *y*, e.g. *židd* [ʒɪdː] "grandfather", *nirmiy* [ˈnɪrmiʸ] "we throw" and *dišbih* [ˈdɪʃbɪʰ] "cold (disease)".

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ɨ], e.g. *ṭibb* "(practicing) medicine" [tɨbː].

When laryngeals precede, they usually have a lowering effect on /i/, resulting in [e] or slightly higher, e.g. *ḥiluw* # [ˈħeluʷ] "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. [ʊ], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes *w*, e.g. *yuskun* [ˈjʊskʊn] "he lives (inhabits)", *nāmuw* "they slept" [ˈnæːmuʷ].[19]

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. *ġumsih* [ˈɣoмsɪʰ] "food dip", *ḥuṛmah* [ˈħoмɑʰ] "woman", *xuṭwah* [ˈxotwɑʰ] "step".

---

[17] See following fn.

[18] When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C_2 will be *a* in measures *n*-1 and 1-*t* (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. *yinḍarbuw* "they are beaten" and *minḍarbah* "having been beaten (sg. fem.)" and *yištaġlin* "they (fem.) work" and *mištaġlīn* "working (pl. masc.)".

[19] On the articulatory position of [æ] see remark in De Jong 2000:59–60, fn 10.

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. *tánam* [ˈtɐnɐm] "you sleep", *maddat* [ˈmɐdːɐt] "she stretched out".

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. *ḥarīm* [ħaˈriːm] "womenfolk", *ʿarǧíy* [ʕarˈdʒiy] "lame, limping (sg. fem.)" and also with *h* preceding, as in *šahabíy* [ʃahaˈbiy] "gray-coloured (sg. fem.)".

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [ɑ], e.g. *baḥaṛ* [ˈbɑħɑʀ] "sea" and *nugṭah* [ˈnogtɑh] "police post" and *ḥabṣah* [ˈħɑbsɑh] "severe cold (disease)".

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ preceding long stressed vowels
The short vowel /a/ is raised in a variety of positions preceding stress:

– preceding stressed Cī: *kibīr* "large; old", *šidīd* "strong", *ġilīḏ* "fat, thick", *xifīf* "light", *ʿirīs* "bridegroom", *ḥirīd* "parrot fish", and also *ʿIlíy* "male given name *ʿAlī*" and verb forms *nisīt* "I forgot", *ligīt* "I found". Instances of *a* preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: *battīx* "watermelon", *sabʿīn* "seventy".
– (preceding stressed Cē): *ʿilēh* "on him", *ligēna* "we found", *mišēt* "I walked", *bidēna* "we started", (preceding CCē) *middēt* "I stretched", *suwwēt* "I did/made" and *istinnēniʾ(#)* "we waited" (but *istanna* "he waited").
– (preceding stressed Cā): *ʿisākir* "soldiers", *zimān* "in the old days (used as adverb)", *ṭimānyih* "eight"; (preceding stressed CCā): *riǧǧāl* "man", *ṣiyyād* "fisherman", *kiššāf* "search light", *biṭṭāriyyih* "flashlight", *zirgā* "blue (sg. fem.)". *miṛṛāt* "times", *miʿnāt* (*ḥāǧih*) "the meaning (of sth)".
– (preceding stressed ū): *ʿurūs* "groom", *isSuʿūdiyyih* "Saudi Arabia", *šuʿūr* "emperor (fish species)".[20]
– (preceding stressed *a*): *ǧimál* "camels", *giʿadna* "we sat down", *xuḅáṛ* "information", *niháb*ᵘ*ḵ*, "he plundered you".
– (preceding stressed *u*): *kubúr* "he grew", *ġulúḏ* "he grew fat".
– (preceding stressed *i*): *širíb* "he drank", *biríy* "innocent", *guwíy* "strong".

---

[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", *ánnixaḷ* "the palmtrees", *álhiwiʾ* "the wind", *álʿišiʾ* "the dinner" and *ádduwaʾ* "the medicine".

Also when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is raised, as in *yínḍirib* "he is beaten", *yíttifig* "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. [ɪh]. This is not only a pausal phenomenon, but occurs sentence-medial as well. Examples are *kull wāḥid ʿinduh xuṛṛāfah ḥilwih biyǧībhiʾ* "everyone has a nice story which he tells", *lamma llēlih gōṭarat* "until the evening has passed", *ṭallaʿ giṣīdih fi wiḥdih ṛāyidhiʾ* "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 ḥuṛmah #* "a woman stood up", (a mock rhyme) *binǧīb lēna faṛxah simīnih, iw līhiy simīnih bi lmaṛṛah* "we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all". Other examples are: *bisīṭah* "simple", *ġilīḍah* "fat", *xuṭwah* "step", *ʿigāṃah* "snake-like species of sea fish", *ṛamḷah* "sand".

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals *ʿ* and *ḥ*, e.g. *ṛfayyʿih* "thin", *sāmʿih* "hearing (sg. fem.)", *Ṣuwālḥih* "name of a tribe", *mirǧēḥih* "swing", *ṣafīḥih* "cannister (of 20 litres)".

1.2.3.5. *Prosodic lengthening of short vowels*

To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short (but also long, see 1.2.4.7.) vowels. Examples are *bti:ġluh ʿala lṃayyih* "you boil it (for a long time) in water", *iw binġaṭṭiy lḥaṭab buh ku:llī:tuh* "we cover a:ll the firewood with it".

1.2.4. *Long vowels and diphthongs*

1.2.4.1. *Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw*

In positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs **ay* and **aw* have in most cases become monophthongal *ē* and *ō*.

---

[21] In verb forms like *hawǧisat* and *yínḍirib* and *yíttifig*, the raised *a* will again surface as *a* when it is in closed syllables, e.g. *hawǧast* "I improvised song", *yinḍarbuw* "they are beaten" and *yittafguw* "they agree" (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).

Examples for **ay* are: *iṯnēn* "two", *bēn* "between", *lēlih* "evening", *sēl* "flood", *ǧwēl* (dim. to *ǧāl*) "little side" and examples for *ō*: *mōt* "death", *yōm* "day", *fōg* "above", *sōdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *gōmah* "(manner of) standing up".

In some cases such monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, *mawǧūd* "present (adj.)", *awʿa* "watch out!"[22] and also *taybīs* "drying".

In forms like *bʿayṭarān* velarization has also spread backwards, preserving *ay* as a diphthong. Diphtongal **aw* is preserved by spread of velarization as *aw* or *ow* in e.g. *gowṭaruw* "they went".

In MzA (of *ʿAyn Ḥuḍrah*[23] and of a family in *Wādiy ʿAṛādah*) forms like *mēǧūd* "present" and *mēlūd* "born" have also been recorded.

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

In many dialects of group I phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments occurs. Such is not the case in MzA and BWA. Finding (near) minimal pairs to isolate these phonemes is not a problem:

> *dēr* "monastery"—*dīr* "turn (trans.)!"—*dūr* "turn (intrans.)!"—*dōr* "floor (in a building)"—*dāṛ* "house"
> *ǧībih* "bringing"—*ǧēbuh* "his pocket"—*ǧābuh* "he brought it"
> *gōm* "enemy tribe"—*gūm* "get up!"

Suffixed prepositions *lay* "to me", *ʿaláy* "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. [ɛ:]. Unlike Turbāniy, however, *ā* in open syllable and neutral surroundings does not need Ci following within morpheme boundaries for such I.P.A. values to be reached.

In MzA this [ɛ:] for *ā* is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. *kṯāṛ* "many (pl. com.)", *šǧāg* "compartments of the tent", *ḥbāl* "ropes", *šāših* "screen" and also *wāḥid* "one", *sāṛḥih* "out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)", *nāgtī* "my she-camel".

---

[22] *awʿa* is often left unconjugated, and has thus developed into a general particle of warning or admonition, as in *awʿa tans!* "don't you forget!"

[23] Von Oppenheim 1942:159 mentions ʿAyn Ḥuḍrah as ʿLēgiy territory (in his transcription: ʿOlēḵāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.

1.2.4.4. *Reflexes of final* *-ā(ʾ)

Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north,[24] the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in MzA and BWA is often -*î*. Examples are: *Wādiy Slî* "Wadi Isla",[25] *štî* "winter" and verb form *ǧi* (< *ǧā) "he came".[26]

Final -*iʾ* will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. *áššifi* "the curing", (*wāḥid*) *mínni* "(one) of us", *táfdi* "you sacrifice" and *yánsi* "he forgets".

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCCāʾ) that come with the (sg. masc.) aCCaC pattern for physical defects and colours, we do find raising like in group I, e.g.: *šadfíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlíy* "cross-eyed" and *hablíy* "stupid", unless such raising is prevented by phonetic factors, such as velarization, as in e.g. (colours) *samṛā* "brown", *xaḍrā* "green", *ḥamṛā* "red", *zaṛgā* "black; blue" and (physical defects) *ʿiwṛā* "one-eyed", *girʿā* "bald" and *doṛā* "absent minded". The final stressed -*ā* may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. *xaḍrāʾ* #.

N.B. "here" is *nihā(ʾ)* in MzA and BWA.

In dialects of group I raising (there to final -*íy*) is inhibited by (underlying) *a* preceding in open syllable.[27] Such is not the case in MzA and BWA, e.g. *hiwî* "wind", *ʿišî* "dinner", *diwî* "medicine" (in MzA), *simî* "heaven" and also verb forms like *mišî* (< *mašā) "he went", *ligî* (< *lagā) "he found" and *tawaffi* "he died".

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-ā(ʾ) is not raised, while reflexes of *-āʾ have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: *ġṭá* "covers", *ʿaṣá* "stick", *fiḍá* "free time", *ṛḥā* "hand mill", *Wādiy ṭTarfā* "name of a wadi",[28] *bēḏā* "white (sg. fem.)", *ḥamṛā* "red (sg. fem.)", *xaḍrā* "green (sg. fem.)", *ġawá* "flirting", *duwá* "medicine" (in BWA, but in MzA *diwî*), *ragṭā* "speckled (sg. fem.)", *zaṛgā* "black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)", *samṛā* "brown (sg. fem.)".

In BWA *álma(ʾ)* "the water" and in MzA *álmi* were recorded for "the water" (~ in both with much more frequent *mayyih*).

---

[24] See De Jong 2000:81.

[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 aṭ-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.

[27] See Blanc 1970:12 [123] and De Jong 2000:82.

[28] The wadi is situated at the far high end of Wādiy Fēṛān in central Sinai and is Ǧbāliy territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.

Final *-ā is not raised in the elative *aḥla* "sweeter; more beautiful".

Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final -ā, although preceded by *a* in open syllable, does take place,[29] e.g. *duwáʾ* or *diwíʾ* and verb forms like *mišíʾ* and *ligíʾ*.

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.

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 *ğānī* "he came to me" were heard, but also forms with lengthened [ɪ], as in *hū ği:ᵘk̠* "he came to you (sg. masc.)": not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [ɪ]: [dʒɪːᵘk̠]) "he came to you (sg. masc.)" and also *hū ği:k* (IPA [dʒɪːk]) "he came to you (sg. fem.)". In BWA such lengthened [ɪ:] was not heard.

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

1.2.4.5.1. *Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on* ī *and* ū

Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following *ī* and *ū* towards (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following *ū*; with following *ī* it is less clear, but an on-glide is apparent.

Like in group I, reflexes of *ay and *aw following emphatics have remained diphthongal, which prevents homophonic clash with lowered *ī* and *ū* in positions preceded by emphatics.

1.2.4.5.2. *Off-glide in* ē *and* ī

An off-glide in the realisation of *ē* and *ī* is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) *gēḏ* (I.P.A. [ge:ᵃð] "chain", (a less clearly audible off-glide in) *Fēṛān* [fe:ᵃʳɑːn] "Wadi Fēṛān", *bīḏ* (I.P.A. [biːᵃð]) "white (pl. com.)", *zilīṭ* (I.P.A. [zɪˈliːᵃt̠]) "young goat or gazelle" and *mšēṭah* [# ʔəmˈʃeːᵃt̠ɑʰ] "type of herb".

Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when *ḥ* or *ʿ* follow *ē* or *ī*, e.g. *ğinnēḥih* I.P.A. [dʒɪˈneːᵃħeʰ] "brown surgeonfish",[30] *bēʿ* I.P.A. [beːᵃʕ] "selling", *tasrīḥ* I.P.A. [tɐsˈriːᵃħ] "permission", *šīḥ* [ʃiːᵃħ] "white

---

[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"[31] and *itbīʿ* I.P.A. [#ʔətˈbiːˤ] "you sell", but less clearly audible in *Nfẽ ʿāt* [#ʔənfeːᵃˈʕɐːt] "name of a family of Baniy Wāṣil".

1.2.4.5.3. *Off-glide in ō and ū*

Like in group I off-glides towards I.P.A. [ɑ] are audible in *ō* and *ū* when these are followed by emphatics, e.g. *gōṭarat* [ˈgoːᵃʈɑɾɑt] "she went".

Off-glides in *ō* and *ū* towards I.P.A. [a] are clear when ʿ or *ḥ* follow, e.g. *nōʿ* [noːᵃʕ] "type, sort", *ǧūʿ* I.P.A. [dʒuːᵃʕ] "famine", *misūḥ* [məˈsuːᵃħ] "milk camel" (there were no instances recorded with *ō* followed by *ḥ*, but e.g. *lōḥ* "(wooden) board, panel" would thus be [loːᵃħ]).

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, ḥ,* ʿ and *h*. For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in *sanatayn* "two years" (MzA).

Examples with *X* preceding **ay* are: *xayṭ* "thread", *ġayrī* "(someone) other than I", *b ilḥayl* "very", *ʿayn* "eye", but the only form with preceding *h* recorded is *nhēdih* "a type of herb (used to treat kidney disease)".[32]

Examples with *X* preceding **aw* are: *xawf* "fear", *ḥawl* "year", *ʿAwdih* "male given name" and a Bedouin verb[33] *hawǧas, yhawǧis* "improvise singing", *ḥawmal, yḥawmil* "bring a *ḥamūlah*[34] for a feast".

---

[31] Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare *samn šīḥiy* "ghee".

[32] Perhaps the reference was to the Eyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.

[33] Verbs of the type CawCaC, yCawCiC (with inserted *wāw*) are considered to be typically Bedouin, see Palva 1991:155.

[34] A *ḥamūlah* is an "animal led to a party to be slaughtered as a present".

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants
Examples of *ay with a velarized consonant preceding: ṣayf "summer",
ḍayf "guest", ḥaṭṭayt "I put (perfect)". Examples with the secondarily
velarized consonants preceding are: ištaṛayt "I bought", iḥmaṛṛayt "I
turned red", taḥaṛṛaynāᵘḵ "we waited for you", kiṯṛayš? "how much?",
ḍallayna "we remained" and also ṣannayt[35] "I kept quiet", ḍawayt[36] "I
returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)" and ṭaṛabayzih "table".[37]

   Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: ṣawm
"fasting", ṭawr (pl. ṭīṛān) "overhanging cliff" and ṛawḍ (pl. ṛīḍān) "small
wadi".

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw
The diphthong in ġayr is often reduced to a and then complementary
lengthened. Examples are: ġār ánnaxaḷ, mā fīh izrāʿah zamān "only palm
trees, there was no agriculture in the past" and ʿašān law daggat wāḥid
minniʾ, ġār kān iyṛawwiḥ l ittaktūr[38] "because if it would sting one of us, he
would have to go to the doctor".

   Diphthongs are much less regularly than in group I reduced to a or ā.

   'Systemzwang' has preserved diphthongs in e.g. taybīs "drying (measure 2
verbal noun)" (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 yēbas "it (masc.)
dries"), šawlíy "left-handed (sg. fem.)" and mawǧūd "present (adj.)". Another
instance may be awʿa "beware, watch out!" (other imperatives
of primae wāw verbs are with initial ō: ōgaf! "stand still!", ōrid! "fetch water!").

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

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

   In verbs the ending -uw has developed as a morpheme signalling pl.
masc., but also in pronominal suffixes. Examples are: (verbal perfect)

---

[35] In this example, velarization caused by ṣād is carried through the word by nn, which
then causes the dipthongal realization in the final syllable.
[36] ḍawá, yiḍwiy is a measure 1 verb in MzA and BWA. In several group I dialects it is
measure 4 aḍwa, yiḍwiy.
[37] The latter does not reflect Older Arabic ay, but is a loan—perhaps via Cairene—from
Greek τράπεζα. In e.g. TAṢ the diphthong is not present: there ṭarabēzah.
[38] taktūr "doctor" (cf. Cairene daktūr, see Hinds and Badawi 1986) was also recorded in
TyA, see Shawarbah 2007:419. A comparable example there is taftar "notebook" (cf. Cairene
daftaṛ, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).

katab-uw "they wrote", *katabt-uw* "you (pl. masc.) wrote", (verbal imperfect) *yíkitb-uw* "they (pl. masc.) write", *tíkitb-uw* "you (pl. masc.) write" and in pronominal suffixes *bēth-uw* "their (pl. masc.) house" and *bētk̭-uw* "your (pl. masc.) house".[39]

Anaptyxis may also create final *-uw* to eliminate final *-CC* clusters, e.g. *ḥiluw #* "pretty, beautiful" (morphological base *ḥilw*) 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 *yiǧíy* "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. *nisíˁ* "he forgot".[40] Final *-iy* may also reflect older final **-āˀ*, as in (MzA) *miy* "water", (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern **CaCCāˀ* for physical defects) *ˁarǧíy* "limping (sg. fem.)", *hablíy* "simple-minded (sg. fem.)", *ˁamyíy* "blind" and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also **CaCCāˀ*) *sawdíy* "black", *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured". Although a regular reflex for final **-ā* is stressed *-iˀ*, *-iy* reflects **-ā* in *hniy*[41] "here" (in BWA only; "here" is *nihā(-niy)* in MzA). Final *-iy* reflects final **-ī̆* in *biríy* "innocent", final **-ȳy* in *ṣibíy* "boy", **-ayˀ* in *šiy* "thing" and is of course also the nisba ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *Maṣriy* "Egyptian".

Anaptyxis may also create final (but unstressed) *-iy* sequences, as in e.g. *ˁimiy #* "(pl. com.) blind" (morphological base *ˁimy*) and *ǧidiy #* "billy goat" (morphological base *ǧidy*).

1.2.4.7. *Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs*

The first element of the diphthong *ay* is often lengthened,[42] e.g. *ˁa:yš* "bread", *ˁa:yb* "disgraceful act", *xa:yṭniˀ* "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 *nisíˁ* as an *a*-type perfect may look like a contradiction, the interpretation of *nisíˁ* < **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 *-íy* for **-ā* is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same *-iˀ* reflex was recorded for **-ā* and also **-āˀ*, 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 *yáḥarṯuw* "they plough", receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

Rules for word-stress are:

1) Speech pause does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule.
2) The domain of stress is formed by:
   a.) either the last three syllables of a word, including the article *al-* or *il-* and the verbal *an-* prefix of measure *n-*1 and the syllable preceding the *t*-infix of measure 1-*t* and suffixes, if these are part of the last three syllables,
   b.) or, in the absence of an article, infix or prefix, the last four syllables.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4) The following types of 'heavy' sequences occur: vCC(C) and v̄C(C) (including v̄(h)).
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.).
6) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left if more than two syllables are available, otherwise stress the last syllable.

An exception may be made when of four syllables the first three syllables are open and contain *a*, and the last syllable is not heavy, i.e. CaCaCaCv(C). In that case the sequence maybe resyllabified as CaCCiCv(C) and is stressed on the first syllable: CáCCiCv(C), e.g. *ḍárbituh* "she hit him" and *ṛágbituh* "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. *ḍárabatuh* and *ṛágabatuh*.

2.1.1.1. *Stress in words with heavy sequences*

Examples of stress in words with 'heavy' sequences are: *mádrasih* "school", *áštaġaḷ* "he worked", *áttifag* "he agreed", *ánġasal* "he was washed", *álbuṣal*

"the onions", *álwalad* "the boy/son", *íššti'* "the winter", *íl'iši'* "the dinner",[44] *árrkab* "the knees", *áliǧṃaṃ* "the Moray eels", *álibkal*[45] "the jerrycans", *ílịḥṣiy* "the rocks" (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and *šawlíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured (sg. fem.)", *ṭilí'na* "we rose", *waládk̲* "your (sg. masc.) son", *waládk* "your (sg. fem.) son", *áṃṃuk̲* "your mother" (MzA), *ští'* "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)v₁Cv(C)[46] is placed thus:

(')v₁CvC: *akál* "he ate", *axád̲* "he took", *ugúm* "stand up!", *iǧíy* "I come" Cv₁Cv('): *'aṣá'* "stick", *'iší'* "dinner", *miší'* "he walked", *duwá'* "medicine" (~ *diwí'*).

Cv₁CvC: *ǧimál* "camels", *šiǧár̲* "trees", *ġiṭás* "he dived"; *wugáf* "he stood up", *waṛág* "paper" and *yiǧíy* "he goes", *ṣibíy* "boy", *biríy* "innocent", *ṭiríy* "moist; soft".

2.1.1.2.2. *Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)*
Examples of stress in (C)vCvCv(C) sequences are:

(C)vCvCv(C): *ákalat* "she ate", (gahawah-form) *áḥamaṛ* "red", *xášabih* "piece of firewood", *d̲árabuw* "they hit (perfect)", *báladuh* "his country", *násatuh* "she forgot him" and gahawah-forms *gáhawah* "coffee", *ná'aǧih* "ewe", *áḥarit̲* "I plough" and *yáġaṭis* "he dives".

(C)vCvCvCv(C): *ákalatuh* "she ate it" (or MzA *áklituh*), *d̲árabatuh* "she hit him" (or MzA *d̲árbituh*), *fárašatuh* "she spread it (sg. masc.) out" (or MzA *fáršituh*), *ṛágabatuh* "his neck" (or MzA *ṛágbituh*) and gahawah-forms *gáhawatuh* "his coffee" (or MzA *gáhwituh*), *láḥamatuh* "his (piece of) meat" (or MzA *láḥmituh*), *tá'aṛagin* "you (pl. fem.) sweat", *yá'aṛaguw* "they sweat".

alxášabih "the piece of firewood", *albádawiy* "the Bedouin (sg.)", (gahawah-form) *annáxaḷah* "the palm tree", (gahawah-form) *ibtáḥafruw* "they dig", *ištáġaḷat* "she worked", *inbáṣaṭuw* "they rejoiced", *ittáfagat* "she agreed", *tiǧáwwazat* "she got married", *takállamuw* "they spoke".

---

[44] But notice *a* in the article in *áššifi'* "the healing".
[45] The word *buklah* (pl. *bkal*) is used for a plastic jerrycan in MzA.
[46] When v₁ 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.)", *ṣifṛā* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *bēḍā* "white (sg. fem.)", *girʿā* "bald (sg. fem.)", *ʿiwṛā* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)".

In positions not influenced by velarization, -āʾ is raised to -*iy* (see 1.2.4.4.) Such raised -*iy* reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. *sōdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *šadfíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlíy* "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* >) *šaḥabíy* "sand coloured (sg. fem.)".

Reflexes of final *-ā in neutral environments are final -*iʾ*. The resulting forms are then stressed in conformity to the rules in 2.1.1.2. Examples are *štiʾ* "winter; rain", *miʾ* "water", *wādiy Sliʾ* "wadi Isla", *simíʾ* "sky", *diwíʾ* "medicine", *ʿišíʾ* "lunch", *sifíʾ* "healing", *mášti* "winter".

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are *tanshiʾ!* "forget her!", *giṭʿah minhiʾ* "a piece of it (sg. fem.)", *ǧdūdniʾ* "our forefathers", *baʿaḍniʾ* "(we) each other" and of the sg. masc. demonstrative *álwalad ḏiʾ* "this boy". When velarization has spread, *a* in pronominal suffixes is not raised, e.g. *uxūha* "her brother", *binẓabbiṭha* "we do it (sg. fem.) properly".

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C_3 = *y* are (perfect) *mišíʾ* "he walked", *ligíʾ* "he found", *sawwiʾ* "he did" and *ǧiʾ* "he came". Examples of imperfect forms are *yansiʾ* "he forgets", *ytaǧaddiʾ* "he has lunch".

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are *álǧaḍaʾ* "type of wood (does not burn like embers)", *baṛṛaʾ* "outside", verb forms (imperfect) *yarḍaʾ* "he agrees happily" and *ṣaḷḷaʾ* "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 CaCīy, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. *ínnibiy* "the Prophet" and *íṣṣibiy* "the boy".

2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms*

In forms with consonant-initial suffixes closing the syllable with the gaha-wah-vowel, this vowel is stressed, e.g. *baʿáḍhin* "each other (pl. fem.)", *saḥánha*[47] "her plate".

With the fem. morpheme becoming *-at* in construct state, stress is placed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *gáhawatuh* "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. *yáḥarṯuw* "they plough", *táʿaǧnuh* "you knead it (sg. masc.)", *yáxabṭuw* "they knock".

Resyllabified MzA forms of the type CaCaCatv > CaCCitv are stressed on the first syllable; resyllabification of such forms cancels the high-vowel elision rule and the resulting form is stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *xášbituh*[48] "his piece of wood" (contrast e.g. *wákiltuh* "eating it (sg. masc.)" and *ríkibtuh* "his knee").

2.1.2.5. *Stress in vCCICv*

A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence in which the conso-nant 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. *ṯḥálliluh* "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 *mín-taḥat* "from below", *mín-kiḏiy* "from this" and *mín-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 suffixation of the preposition *l* occurs only sporadically.[49] The examples (all from MzA) are *ǧā-luḳ* "he came to you", *gult-ílhiʾ* "I said to

---

[47] I hear *sīn*, rather than *ṣād*.

[48] Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence *xášbituh*, not *xášibtuh* (contrasting with a form like *ʿílibtuh* "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*), *aḥsál-luḳ* "it is best for you" (assimilated *aḥsan+luḳ*) and *aʿmíl-luḳ* "I'll make for you".[50]

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:

$$\varnothing > \text{a} \ / \ \text{(C)aX\_\_C(V)}$$

X = any of the back spirants *h, ḥ, ʿ, x, ġ*

The resulting vowel may be stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2. Exceptions to these rules with regard to stress in gahawah-forms are described in 2.1.2.4. Examples of gahawah-forms are: (*naxl) *naxáḷ* "palm trees", (*sahl) *sahál* "easy", (*axḍar) *áxaḍar* "green", (*ahṭal) *áhaṭal* "stupid", (*šaḥbāʾ) *šaḥabíy* "sand coloured (sg. fem.)", (*ǧahlān) *ǧahalān* "ignorant", (*mahmūl) *mahamūl* "neglected", (*maxrūm) *maxarūm* "pierced", (*maḥṭūṭ) *maḥaṭūṭ* "placed", (*maxfiy) *máxafiy* "hidden" and verb forms (*yaxṭib) *yáxaṭib* "he proposes (for marriage)", (*yaḥšūh) *yaḥašūh* "they fill it", (*taʿraguw) *taʿaraguw* "you (pl. masc.) sweat".

2.2.1.2. *Morphological categories showing variation*
Although the gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where C_1 = X: maXC_2ūC_3) like *maxarūm* "pierced", *mahamūl* "neglegted" and *maʿagūḷ* "reasonable", it was not recorded in *maxṣūṣ* "specialized" and *maḥsūb ʿala* "reckoned with".

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC_2aC_3(ah): *maʿrakah* "battle", *maḥkamah* "court of justice", *maġrib* "time of sunset".

---

from a form *gult+luh*, since stress does not shift (as in e.g. *gāḷát-luh*) and no vowel is lengthened (as in e.g. *gāḷūluh* "they said to him").

[50] The verb form must be a loan (an indication is also the initial vowel: *aʿmil* instead of *iʿmil*), 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) *aʿṭa* "he gave", (measure *ista*-1) *istaḥmal, yistaḥmil* "bear, endure", *istaġrab, yistaġrib* "wonder, be amazed", *istaʿmal, yistaʿmil* "use". Quadriliteral verbs *gahwa, yigahwiy* "serve coffee or tea to", *zaġraṭ, yzaġriṭ* "ululate" and a passive participle *mgaʿṭal* "handicapped in the legs" and *ta*-quadriliteral *tagahwa, ytagahwa* "be served coffee or tea".

Examples of elatives are *aḥsan* "better", *aḥla* "more beautiful, sweetest", *axṭar* "most dangerous", but *áġalaḏ* "thicker".

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like *maḥkamah* (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: *raġma ʾann* "although", *aġlabiyya* "majority", *taḥliyyih* "analysis", *mayyah maʿdaniyyih* "mineral water", *yaʿniy* "that is, it means", *yaḥṣal* "it happens" and another measure 1 verb *yaʿmal*[51] "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 *gáhwituh* "his coffee". When such resyllabification does not take place, the resulting forms are of the type CaXaCatv, as in e.g. *laḥamatī* "my piece of meat" and *dáxanatuh* "its (sg. masc.) smoke" (for further details, see 2.1.1.).

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

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

Often the 'simple' bukaṛa-syndrome[52] 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:

$$\varnothing > v_b \ / \ \text{-C\_\_Rv}_a$$

$v_b = v_a$ or $v_b \approx v_a$

R = *r* or *ṛ*   C = any consonant

Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): *zaǧaraṭat* "she ululated", *tzaǧiriṭ* "she ululates", *tušurud* "she flees", *gaṭarah* "drop (noun)", *kuburuw* "they grew old", *tufurukha* "you rub it (sg. fem.)".

Examples of the bukaṛa-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are: *tkassir isnūnᵘḵ* "it (sg. fem.) breaks your teeth", *miš gādir iyǧīb* "he is not able to bring".

Examples of the 'greater' or 'expanded' bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: *mitir iw nuṣṣ* "a meter and a half", *ǧamir issiyyāl* "the embers of the acacia tree".

2.2.2.2. *Influence of* l

Like *r, l* may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) *tākil imn álbaḥaṛ* "you eat from the sea", *yinzil išwayyih* "it comes down a little", *ʿayyil iṣǧayyir* "a young child", *biyḥawmil alḥamāyil* "he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)".

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): *šuǧul iǧdūdna* "of our forefathers", *áṣil ana ǧíbit* "because I brought", *gaḅil irḍiy nafsī* "before I please myself", *gaḅil ilʿUṯmāniyyīn* "before the Ottomans".

2.2.2.2.1. *The high vowel preceding* l *in* *ʾibil *and* *raǧil

One of the forms for she-camels is *bil*, and with article *álbil* (BWA, not recorded in MzA). *ṛaǧil* for "man" was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of *yā ṛāǧil*). In MzA *riǧǧāl* (pl. *rǧāl*) is current for "man".

2.2.2.3. *Articulatory delay in the realization of* n

The realization of *n* is often delayed, which leads to an intrusive vowel being realized with an I.P.A. value around [ə], e.g. (here indicated in superscript) *fōgᵊna* "above us", *ittafagᵊna* "we agreed", *axáḏᵊniʾ* "we took", *yibᵊnīh* "he builds it". An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) *bitḥuṭṭuh fi ssiʿin 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. *binḥuṭṭᵊ ʿalēh* "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:

$$\varnothing > I \ / \ (C_a)C_b\_\_C_cC_d$$

   I = anapyctic 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	> **yurbṭuw*	> *yúrubṭuw* "they tie"
tuḍrub + uh	> **tuḍrbuh*	> *túḍurbuh* "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):

   ʿ*ind Rǧūm Zwayyid*[53] > ʿ*ind iRǧūm iZwayyid* "near Zwayyid's rock piles".

---

[53] *rǧūm*, sg. *riǧm* 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:

> # *btiṯw + ha w btiḥš + ha tamr #* > # ***btiṯwh**a **w btiḥšh**a ta**mr** #* > # *i̱btíṯu̱wha
> w i̱btíḥi̱ša tami̱r #* "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):
 # + ḫǧāṛ kirīmah > * *# **ḫǧāṛ** kirīmah > # i̱ḫǧāṛ kirīmah* "precious stones" and
Maṣr + # > * *Ma**ṣr** # > # Maṣi̱r #* "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 anap-
tyxis (intermediate forms with clusters are marked with *):

> (base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
> *w btilḫig iddagīg w btaʿaǧnuh >*
> (after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)
> * *w **bt**i̱**lḫg** iddagīg w **bt**aʿaǧnuh >*
> (after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctics underlined: surface forms)
> *w i̱btíli̱ḫg iddagīg w i̱btáʿaǧnuh* "and you take the dough and knead it".

Another example is:

> (base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
> *yimsi̱k alfanāǧīl >*
> (after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)
> * *yi**msk** alfanāǧīl >*
> (after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
> *yími̱sk alfanāǧīl* "he takes the cups"

2.3.2.4. *Resyllabication of word-medial CVCCICV, and of CVCCIC VC sequences in sandhi*
The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g.
yíkitbuw) is compulsary, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC-
CIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. *yímisk alfanāǧīl*) is optional.

2.3.3. *Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule*

2.3.3.1. *Unresolved consonant clusters*
Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which
the first consonant is a semi-vowel, a nasal or a liquid followed by a voice-

less second consonant,[54] e.g.: *ilḥalb hāḏa* "this milking", *alGlāʿiyyih* "location where water from šarafat ilGāʿ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān", *ʿamaltha* "I did it (sg. fem.)", *álgṛab* "the water skins", *tušǵúl̥ḳ #*[55] "it (sg. fem.) occupies you", *tanshiʾ* "forget her!", *fihimt lay kēh?* "do you understand what I mean?" and (with semi vowels) *mīyt kīluh* "a hundred kilometres", *ištaṛaytha* "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 *yinzluw* "they go down".

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: *int ʿārif* "you know", *yā bint! #* "hey, girl!" and *ʿind Biniy Wāṣil* "with the Baniy Wāṣil" (see 2.3.3.3.2.) and *gult lēhuw* "I said to them".

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (*axaḏtha >*) *axattha* "I took it (sg. fem.)".

2.3.3.2. *The role of sonority of consonants involved in unresolved clusters*
See remarks in De Jong 2000:125–126.

2.3.3.3. *Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis*

2.3.3.3.1. *Consonant clusters with initial geminates*
When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) *biddna* "we want, need", *nmiddhin* "we stretch them (fem.) out", *ṭḥuṭṭha* "you place it (fem.)" *iṯḥammṣ ilbunn* "you roast the coffeebeans", *tǧammr išwayyih* "it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little". Sandhi examples are: *nxušš fi* "we enter into", *nuṣṣ kīluh* "half a kilo", *biḏḏall*[56] *ṭūl yōmuḳ* "you stay the (lit. your) whole day", *sinn #* "tooth" and *ḥaṭṭ #* "he placed", *nšidd #* "we pull tight".

When a cluster contains a geminate and two other consonants, it is resolved, e.g. *bass igrūš* "but sharks", *ṭābb iNwēbiʿ* "going to (sg. masc.) Nwēbiʿ", *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", *ʿinduḳ* "with you (sg. masc.)", *ʿindik* "with you (sg. fem.)", *ʿinduhuw* "with them (pl. masc.)", *ʿindihin* "with them (pl. fem.)", *ʿinduḳuw* "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 *yišǧil*) to *u*.
[56] *biḏḏall*: assimilated *bitḏall*.

Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): *ʿind Biniy Wāṣil* "with the Baniy Wāṣil", *la ʿind šulbuk* "(submerged in water) up to your waist", *ʿind ǧidditī rḥāʾ* "my grandmother has a hand mill".

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

Like in group II of the north (the dialects of Samāʿnah and ʿAgāylah), 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 anptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following *ḳ* (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. *illiy yaṭlaʿ min ḏimmítḳ iʿiṭnī yyāh* "whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me". Other examples are: *ḥuṛmít*ᵘ*ḳ* # "your wife", *awṣúf*ᵘ*ḳ* # "I'll describe to you". *nāgít*ᵘ*ḳ* "your (sg. masc.) she-camel", *maṭṛáḥ*ᵘ*ḳ* # "your place" and *nuxṛút*ᵘ*ḳ* # "your (sg. masc.) nose", contrasting with *nuxṛít*ⁱ*k* # "your (sg. fem.) nose".

When assimilation takes place, an anaptyctic is absent, e.g. *saṛákḳ* (< *saṛág+ḳ*) "he robbed you".

When more than one consonant directly precede, the personal pronominal suffixes take allomorphs *-uḳ* (for sg. masc.) and *-ik* (for sg. fem.) e.g. *xalluḳ gāʿid* "remain seated", *ʿinduḳ* "with you", *ṣadruḳ* "your chest", *nafsuḳ* "yourself", *ʿumṛuḳ* "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 **minḳ* or **min*ᵘ*ḳ*).

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

2.3.4.1.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form "colliding" base forms*

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

---

[57] This is the same as what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.

irm + *ha* > *irmha > *írimha* "throw it (sg. fem.)"
šuǵḷ + *ha* > *šuǵḷha > *šúǵuḷha* "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*:

	base form	elision	anaptyxis	
yisrig+uw	>*yisriguw	>*yisrguw	>*yísirguw*	"they steal"

Example with *u*:

tuktul+uw	>*tuktuluw	>*tuktluw	>*túkutluw*	"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*): *xíligtuh* "his ugly mug", *ʿílibtuh* "his packet" and (examples of *u*) *ḥúrumtuh* "his wife" and *šuǵuḷtī* "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 [ɪ].

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics (underlined): # *itkūn irfayyʿih* "it (sg. fem.) will be thin", *zilīṭ isǵayyir* "a young goat or gazelle", # *iymūṣ išwayyih* "it becomes a little soft/moist", *aḥád imn isḥābuḵ* # "one of your friends".

Imperatives of the verbs *axáḏ* "take" and *akál* "eat" are *ḵuḷ*, # *uḵḷíy*, # *uḵḷúw*, # *uḵḷín* and *xuḏ*, # *uxḏíy*, # *uxḏúw*, # *uxḏín* (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. [ʊ] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: *baduw* # "Bedouin", *ḥiluw* # "sweet, beautiful", *daluw* # "pail", *šuǵuḷ* # "of (genitive exponent)", *ṭuhuṛ* # "circumcision", *ḥumuṛ* "red (pl. com.)", *zuṛug* "black (pl. com.; lit. "blue")", *īduḵ* # "your (sg. masc.)

hand", *bētuḳ* # "your (sg. masc.) house", *min gabuḷ* # (~ *min gabiḷ* #) "before (adv.)", *ǧamuṛ* # (~ *ǧamiṛ* #) "live embers", *ṛubuʿ* # (~ *ṛubiʿ* #) "quarter".

Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı], e.g. *ṣiʿib* # "difficult", *mitir* # "metre", *giriš* # "shark", *Ṣadir* # "Ṛās Ṣadr", *wagit* # "time", *xašim* # "long nose".

2.3.5. *Stressed original anaptyctics*

Instances of stressed original anaptyctics—like those found in intitial positions in other dialects such as *írḳab* or *árḳab* "knees", *íhna* "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.; # *ilhá* or # *ilhíʾ* "to her", # *ilḳúw* "to you (pl. masc.)", # *ilkín* "to you (pl. fem.)", etc. Forms in MzA are *lēha* or *lēhiʾ*, *lēḳuw* and *lēkin*.

In MzA and BWA the preposition *m(i)ʿ* followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed on the vowel of that suffix, e.g. *mʿúh*, *mʿúḳ*, *mʿík* and also *mʿī* (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type *ímʿuh*, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type *maʿáh*, *maʿúḳ* and *maʿík* (~ *maʿkiy*) 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:

$$I > \varnothing \: / \: (V)C_a(C_b)\_\_C_cV$$

    I = short high vowel *i* or *u*   V = any vowel
    C = any consonant

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsary.

---

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

[59] The regular reflex for the pl. pattern *CICaC in MzA and BWA is CCaC. Examples are: *ġmaṃ* "Morray eels", *rkab* "knees" (MzA), etc, cf. 3.1.9.2.

[60] See Cantineau 1936:49.

2.4.1. *Morphophonemic I-elision*

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

$$I > \varnothing \; / \; VC_a\underline{\quad}C_bV$$

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): *nizil + uw > *niziluw > nizluw* "they descended", *simiʿ + at > *simiʿat > simʿat* "she heard", *kubuṛ + at > *kubuṛat > kubṛat* "she grew older", *tāxiḏ + in > *tāxiḏin > tāxḏin* "you (pl. fem.) take", *mištiġil* (= underlying |mištaġil|) + *ah > *mištaġilih > mištáġlih* "working (sg. fem.)" and *taḥariṯ + uw > *taḥariṯuw > táḥarṯuw* "you (pl. masc.) plough".

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

$$I > \varnothing \; / \; VC_aC_b\underline{\quad}C_cV$$

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision: *tufruš + iy > *tufrušiy > túfuršiy* "you (sg. fem.) spread out", *yiktib + in > *yiktibin > yíkitbin* "they (pl. fem.) write".

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

$$I > \varnothing \; / \; VC_aC_a\underline{\quad}C_bV$$

   VC_aC_a = geminate

Examples are: *ynaḍḍif + uw > # iynaḍḍfuw* "they clean", *tḏayyif > uw + nī > # iḏḏayyfūnī* (< *itḏayyfūnī*) "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): *btílḥig iddagīg > btílḥg iddagīg > # ibtíliḥg iddagīg* "you take the dough", *byímsik issiʿn > byímsk issiʿn > # ibyímisk issiʿin #* "he takes the goatskin (used for churning butter)".

2.4.3. *Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi*

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

1) *twakkil* + *ʿyālḳ* > *twakkil̥ ʿyālḳ* > *twakkil iʿyālḳ* > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # *itwakkl iʿyāluḳ* # "you feed your children".

In this first example the cluster *l̥y* 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 <u>re</u>-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis,[61] as in the example:

2) *nílbis* + *ğlūdniʾ* > *nílbis̥ ğ̥lūdniʾ* > *nilbis iğlūdniʾ* > *nílbs iğlūdniʾ* > *nílibs iğlūdniʾ* "we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)".

In this second example the cluster *sğ̥l* is resolved, after which the high vowel preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped, creating a new cluster *lbs*, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic vowel.

2.4.4. *Exceptions to the I-elision rule*

When C_a and C_b in $C_a C_a I C_b$ are phonetically close or identical, I (underlined in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: *ğiddiṭī* "my grandmother", *ṭḥálliluh* "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 *ğ* or *k*, as in *iğğibneh* "the cheese". *alxayṭ b áğğ̥ʿlab* "the line with the hooks (used for fishing)" and also *ikkīs* "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:

n + r	*> rr*	*birraǧǧid* "we pile"
t + š	*> tš*	*ššīliy* "you carry"
t + z	*> zz*	*zzīd* "it (sg. fem.) increases"
t + d	*> dd*	*ddīr* "you turn (fem.)"
ḏ + t	*> tt*	*axatt* "I took"
t + š	*> šš*	*ššidd* "you pull"

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

t + z	*> dz*	*dzīd* "it (sg. fem.) increases"
t + ǧ	*> dǧ*	*dǧīb* "you bring"
b + n	*> mn*	*mnaḏbaḥuh* "we slaughter him"
n + g	*> ŋg*	*maŋgad* "fireplace"

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

aġlabiyyit + hin	*> aġlabiyyíttin* "the majority of them (fem.)"
ǧimāˁat + huw	*> ǧimāˁáttuw* "their group of people"
tuṭbux + ha	*> tuṭbúxxa* "you cook it (sg. fem.)"
naftaḥ + ha	*> naftáḥḥa* "we open it (sg. fem.)"

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

zaġraṭ + tiy	*> zaġráṭṭiy* "you (sg. fem.) ululated"

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

baraǧǧiˁ + ha	*> baraǧíḥḥe* "I return it (sg. fem.)"
mablaġ + hin	*> mibláxxin* "their (fem.) price"

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is *sīǧih* (or *sīžih*) *> šīzih* "game of *sīǧah*", in MzA *šāz* (< *ṣāǧ/sāǧ* or *ṣāǧ/sāž*), but in BWA *ṣāǧ* "iron baking sheet". Additional examples in MzA are *šizn* (< *siǧn* or *sižn*) "prison", *mšazzil* (> *saǧǧil* or *sažžil*) "recorder" and *našz* (> *nasǧ* or *nasž*) "weaving", but in BWA *siǧn* and *tasǧīl* "recording".
Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds is MzA is *šamš* (> *šams*) "sun", but BWA *šams*, and in both dialects *šaǧaṛ* "trees" is current.

3. Morphology

3.1. *Nominal Morphology*

3.1.1. *Raising of a*

3.1.1.1. *Raising of* a *in* $C_1aC_2īC_3(ah)$
Raising of *a* in the nominal pattern $C_1aC_2īC_3$(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional. Such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors.

Examples are: *šidīd* "intense, strong", *kitīr* "many, much", *kibūr* "large, old", *ǧilīḏ* "fat, thick", *ʿifīg*, *ʿirīs* "groom", *xifīf* "light". But also forms without raising have been recorded: *katīr*, *kabūr*, *ʿafīg*, *xafīf*, etc.

3.1.1.2. *Raising of* a *in open syllable preceding stressed* í
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 CaCCīC(-ah)*
Raising of *a* in CaCCīC(-ah) was not recorded, e.g. *baṭṭīx* "water melon", *xamsīn* "fifty", *sabʿīn* "seventy" and a verbal noun *taǧlīb* "throwing out (of a fishing line)".

3.1.1.4. *Raising of* a *in CaCCāC*
Raising of a in CaCCāC(+) is regular. Examples are: *riǧǧāl* "man", *ṣiyyād* "fisherman", *siyyāl*[62] "acacia tree", *kiššāf* "search light", *biṭṭāriyyih* "flashlight", *zirgā* "blue (sg. fem.)", *ṣifṛā* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *ḥimṛā* "red (sg. fem.)", *girʿā* "bald (sg. fem.)", *miṛṛāt* "times", *miʿnāt* (*ḥāǧih*) "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 ʾ, unstressed *a* preceding *ā* may be raised to *i* or *u*. Examples are: (*i* in) *gizāyiz* "bottles", *mišāyix* "sheikhs", *digāyig* "minutes", *dināgiy*[63] "small boats" (BWA), *gibāyil* "tribes", *tikātrih* "doctors" and (*u* in) *Ṣuwālḥih* "name of tribe Ṣawālḥah", *buwāṣiy*

---

[62] *sayyāl* is likely to be a folk etymology for *sayāl*. The connotation must be with 'a tree growing by a *sēl* ("flood, watercourse")'.

[63] The sg. *dingiy* is a loan from English dingy, which must have come through one of the Egyptian dialects where the reflex for *ǧ is *g* and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of *g* in Egyptian *ginēh* (a loan from English guinea), where [g] was replaced by [dʒ] by speakers of *ǧīm*-speaking dialects, who pronounce *ǧ(i)nēh*. Other such examples are *sīgāṛah* "cigarette" and *grām* "gram", which became *sīǧāṛah* and *ǧrām* in many *ǧīm*-speaking dialects (though in MzA *sigāṛah* is current).

"a type of fish (pl. form)", *min muwālīd Ḏaháb* "born in Ḏahab" and also (as an exception) *duṛāhim* "money" (but see remark below) and verb forms *nisāh* "he forgot him" and *ligāh* "he found him".

Such raising is however optional, since there are also many instances in which it is absent, e.g. *masākinhuw* "their dwellings", *ʿAzāzmih* "name of a tribe (living partly in Sinai and partly in the Negev)", *Ḥamāḏah* "name of a tribe", *zamān* "in the past", *gabāyil* "tribes" and also verb forms *ytawāǧad* "it (sg. masc.) exists" and *ytaʿālaǧ* "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.: *ṯalāṯih* "three", *Taṛābīn* "name of a tribe", *waṛāᵘḵ* "behind you", *marākib* "boats" and (with ʾ preceding) *ʾasāsāthuw* "their origins". *ʾažānib* "foreigners", *ʾaṣābiʿ* "fingers" and *ʾaḏāfírk* "your (sg. fem.) nails". Examples in which X precedes *a* are: *ʿašān* "because", *ḥawāliy* "about, approximately", *ḥaṛāṛah* "heat", *xalāṣ* "that's it!", *ġazāl* "gazelle" and *hawāᵘḵ* "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,[64] e.g.: *sináh* "year", *šiǧáṛ* "trees", *libán* "milk", *ǧimál* "camel", *fiḏáʾ* "free time", *Ḏiháb* "name of the town Ḏahab", a gahawah-form *šiháṛ* "month" and verb forms *ligát* "she found", *kitáb* "he wrote".

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: *mā mʿuḵ duwáʾ* "medicine", *wuṛág* "paper" (though more regularly *waṛág*).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ʾ or X precedes, e.g.: (ʾ)*aḥád* "anyone" and verb forms (ʾ)*akál* "he ate" and (ʾ)*axáḏ* "he took" and (with X preceding) *ḥaṭáb* "firewood", *ġanám* "small cattle", *ʿadád* "number", *ʿaṛág* "sweat" and *xalág* "He created", but also *ġiṭás* "he dived" and *mā mʿuḵ xubáṛ* "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):

$$a > I / C_a\_\_C_bA$$

$C_a \neq$ *ʾ or X	A = stressed *a* or *ā*
$C_b \neq l.$	I = high short vowel *i* or *u*

---

[64] See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: $a > I / C_a\_\_C_b\acute{a}$, where $C_a \neq$ *ʾ or X and $C_b \neq l.$

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.: *ǧibābīl* "mountains", *min muwālīd Ḏiháb* "born in Ḏahab", *mikānī* "my place" and *ánwikal* "it was eaten", *háwǧisat* "she improvised song", *ánnixaḷ* "the palmtrees" and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -*ā*(*ʾ*), such as *áddiwiʾ* "the medicine" and *ássimiʾ* "the sky".

3.1.1.8. *Raising of* a *in CaCūC(ah)*
Like in the pattern CaCīC(ah), *a* is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are *lugūnih* "a child with keen intelligence",[65] *yuhūd* "Jews", *Suʿūdiyyih ~ Saʿūdiyyih* "Saudi Arabia", *guʿūd* "young male camel", *ġumūs* "food dip", *xurūf* "lamb", but also *ǧanūb* "south", *ʿaǧūz* "old woman", *ʿarūs ~ ʿurūs* "bridegroom", *šaʿūr ~ šuʿūr* "emperor (fish species)" and also *ḥakūmah* "government".[66]

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

3.1.1.9. *Raising of* a *in open syllable preceding stressed* u
Like raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *í*, *a* in similar positions preceding stressed *ú* is also raised, e.g.: *kubúr* "he grew", *ġulúḍ* "he grew fat".

3.1.1.10. a-*raising rules combined*
If we combine the different possibilities of raising in one rule, this rule is:

$$a > I \: / \: C\_\_C\acute{I}(C)$$

   I = short high vowel *u* if Í = *ú* or *ū*, *i* if Í = *í* or *ī*
   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 *ḥāwiy* "snake charmer". It is related to the root *l-q-n* "learn; have keen intelligence" and must mean "endowed with intelligence" and/or "(to be) taught through instruction".

[66] See also fn 18, Chapter Two in De Jong 2000:149.

[67] Such raising following *ʾ* is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).

3.1.2. *Reflexes of* *$C_1aC_2C_3(ah)$

Examples of reflexes of *$C_1aC_2C_3$(ah) are: *badw* "Bedouin (pl.)", *ǧady* (BWA) "kid goat", *taḥát ~ tiḥát* "under", *faḥám* "coal", *šikl* "shape", *ṣaḥán ~ ṣiḥán* "dish", *kalb* "dog".

Also: *wiǧh* "face", *wiḥdih* "one (fem.)", *naḥyih* "direction", *ṣiʿb ~ ṣaʿb* (the latter perhaps a K-form; notice the absence of a gahawah-vowel), *ṣadr* "chest", *wakl* "food" and *ǧidd* "grandfather".

3.1.3. *Reflexes of* *CaCiC(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *CaCiC(ah) are: *kilmih* "word", *širkih* "company", *kitf* "shoulder".

3.1.4. *Reflexes of* $C_1uC_2C_3(ah)$

Examples of reflexes of *$C_1uC_2C_3$(ah) are: *bunn* "coffee beans", *rizz* (~ *ruzz* in MzA) "rice", *kull* "all; every", *aṃṃ* "mother" (~ *uṃṃ* in BWA), *uxt* "sister".

Also: *Ǧimʿih* "male given name", *sinnih* "usage" (BWA), *middih* "period", *hinnih* "they (pl. fem.)", *zibdih* "butter".

Forms with sufficient backing show *u*, as in *šuggah* "fishing net" (MzA), *xuṭwah* "step", *nugṭah* "police checkpoint", *ǧumsih* "food dip", *ṛukbah* "knee" (BWA) (but *rikbih* (MzA)), *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 CIC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped, resulting in initial CC clusters. Examples are: *ǧlūd* "skins", *ʿyūnī* "my eyes", *xšēšāt* "little huts", *Ḥmēd* "male given name", *byēt šaʿáṛ* "little tent", *blād* "land", *ǧbāl* "mountains", *snūn* "years", *glayyil* "little; few", *gḷāḷ* "few (pl.)" and *štiy* "winter". Examples with stressed short vowels are: *gmam* "Morray eels", *rkab* "knees" (MzA).

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) *šuʾūn iǧtimāʿiyyih* "social affairs", *niẓām* "system".[68] Another exception is *ṣayd furūsiyyih* "hunting on horseback" (in BWA), where the influence of *r* may have prevented elision of *u* in *furūsiyyih* (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other 'surface' forms with initial sequences of the type CiCā... or

---

[68] Notice also *ẓ* here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental *ḍ*.

CuCā…, CiCī…or CuCī…and CuCū…or CiCū…see 3.1.1.7.–3.1.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. *ygūl* "he says", *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. *tiǧíy* "you come", *yiǧíy* "he comes" (contrast with forms *tǧiy* and *yǧiy* 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 *gḷayyil* "few", *gṣayyir* "short", *rfayyiʿ* "thin", *ṣġayyir* "small; young", *kwayyis* "good" and *šwayyih* "a bit", etc., other recorded examples are: *ṣraybih* "small group (of people)", *byēt šaʿár* "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 $aC_1C_2aC_3$*

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is $aC_1C_2aC_3$ and $aC_1aC_2aC_3$ (stressed on the first syllable) where C_1 = X. Examples are: *abyaḍ* "white", *azrag* (euphemistically; the word *aswad* is avoided) "black; dark coloured", *ašḥab* "light coloured, pale" (and with C_1 = X) *áḥamaṛ* "red", *áxaḍar* "green", *áḥawal* "cross-eyed", *áhabal* "stupid", *áʿama* "blind" and *áxaraṣ* "mute", *áʿaraǧ* "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. *bēḍāʾ*, *ḥamrāʾ*. There is an added *a* following C_2 when it is X and final *ā* is raised (to *-íy*) when C_3 is neutral, e.g. *ʿarǧíy* and *šaḥabíy*.

Most pl. com. forms have a $C_1uC_2C_3$ pattern, e.g. *zurg, sumr, xuḍr, ḥumṛ* and *hubl*, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a $C_1iC_2C_3$ pattern, e.g. *ʿirǧ, šiḥb*. Plural forms for "black" and "white" are *sūd* (C_2 = *wāw*) and *bīḍ* (C_2 = *yāʾ*).

---

[69] See De Jong 2000:203–204.

3.1.8. *The elative patterns aC₁C₂aC₃, aC₁aC₂C₃ and aC₁C₂a*

The elative pattern is aC₁C₂aC₃, e.g. *akṯar* "more/most", *akbaṛ* "bigger/biggest; older/oldest", *ashal* "easier/easiest", *aṣʿab* "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 *aġlabiyyih* "majority"), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in *axaṭar* "more dangerous/most dangerous" (though also *axṭar*). *aġalaḍ* "thicker" and also *aḥala* in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern aC₁aC₂C₃ (where C₂ = C₃), e.g. *agaḷḷ* "less/least" and *ahamm* "more important/most important".

3.1.9. *Initial a*

3.1.9.1. *The article and the relative pronoun*
The article may be *al-* or *il-*; *al-* is mainly used when the following nominal has Ca as its initial sequence, but this is in no way regularly so. When the article is stressed, however, the article tends to be *ál-* when (underlying) Ca or CCaC follows, and *íl-* when other sequences follow. Examples with (underlying) Ca following are: *álbaḥaṛ* "the sea", *álǧimal* "the camel", *áddiwiʾ* "the medicine", *ássimi* "the sky", *áṣṣaḥan* "the plate", but (when preceding sequences other than Ca) *íliḥṣiy* "the rocks" and *ílif ʿi* "the viper", *íššti* "the winter", but *íṣṣibiy* "the boy" (underlying form is |ṣabiy|). With CCaC following: *árrkab* "the knees", *ánnxaṛ* "the noses", *állʿaf* "the bait (pl.)", *áššnaṭ* "the suitcases".

When *ī* or *iy* precedes the article *al-*, it is dropped, as in, e.g. *f-aṭṬūr* "in aṭ-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 *-ī* was not dropped against initial *a-* of a following verb, but an intrusive (voiced?) *h* was inserted instead, e.g. *widdī -h-aṣalliy* "I want / am going to pray", *widdī -h-anām* "I want to (go to) sleep". This not only occurred with following initial *a-*, but also in directly elicited instances like *widdī-h-uḍrub* "I want to hit", *widdī-h-ugūm* "I want to get up", *widdī-h-ōgaf* "I want to stop", *widdī-h-ākil* "I want to eat" and also with initial *i-* following, as in *widdī-h-išīl* "I want to carry".

The relative pronoun is *illiy*, e.g. *illiy ʿāyiz luh kīlu, w illiy ʿāyiz luh nuṣṣ kīlu* "(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want half a kilo".

'Specifying' *ha-* was heard used only in adverbial *halḥīn* (often *halḥīnit* in MzA) "now".

3.1.9.2. *Other instances of initial a*

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

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. *ġmaṃ* "Morray eels", *rkab* "knees" (MzA), *rxaṣ* "licences", *ʿnab* "grapes" (BWA), *ḥgan* "injections", *šnaṭ* "suitcases", *lʿaf* "bait (pl.)", although the pl. for (ʾ)*ibrih* is (ʾ)*abáṛ* "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", *xašabát*ᵘ*ḳ* "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 CaCCitv sequences will not be resyllabified to (after applying stress and anaptyxis rules) become CáCiCtv, but the sequence is stressed and appears on the surface as CáCCitv. Examples of such sequences are *ṛágbituh* "his neck", *xášbituh* "his piece of wood".

Verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. fem. *a*-type perfect + vowel are resyllabified analogous to the suffixed nominals; the rule was generalized to cover all (including verbal) sequences: CaCaCat + v > CaCCitv, e.g. (*farašat + uh* >) *fáršituh* "she spread it out" and *katabat + uh* >) *kátbituh* "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 v̄*

When not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme *-ah* becomes *-it* (or *-t* when a long vowel v̄ 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.: *ʿílịbtuh* "his packet", *ʿilbít͡ᵘ̱ḳ* "your packet", *fátrit arbaʿ snīn* (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) *fátịrt arbaʿ ịsnīn* "a period of four years", *nāgtuh* "his she-camel", *nāgít͡ᵘ̱ḳ* "your (sg. masc.) she-camel". In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as *-ut*, as in *nuxrút͡ᵘ̱ḳ* "your (sg. masc.) nose", contrasting with *nuxrít͡ⁱk* "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 *gahwitī* and *gáhwitu* (and similar forms like *laḥmitī* and *láḥmituh*) show that the gahawah-syndrome has created fully-fledged syllables in these nominals, for if the gahawah-vowel *a* would have been a mere anaptyctic vowel (i.e. more like in verb forms, cf. 2.1.2.4.), one might have expected forms like *gahawtī* and *gáhawtu*. The fact that the gahawah-vowel *a* is dropped from (intermediate) forms like **gahawatī* and **gahawatuh* thus illustrates that we are dealing with a full short vowel *a* (produced by the gahawah-syndrome), since only CaCaCT + v sequences are affected by the special provision made in the short vowel elision rule (as described above).

3.1.10.4. *T following* ā

T preceded by *ā* yields *-āh*, e.g. *ḥamātuh* "his mother-in-law",

In one instance **maʿnā* (spelled in Arabic with *ʾalif maqṣūrah*: معنى) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): *miʿnāt ilkilmih* "the meaning of the word".

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

The high vowel *i* of the nominal ending *-it* is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. *nāgtuh* "his she-camel", *ġaṭṭāytuh* "its (sg. masc.) cover".

The low vowel *a* in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. *šāfatuh* "she saw him" and *lāgatuh* "she found him", *kāwanatuh* "she fought him".

3.1.11. *Genitive marker*

The genitive marker is *šuġḷ*, but in more isolated areas (away from the coast) *ḥagg* is more current in MzA. In BWA *šuġḷ* is the current form, although *ḥagg* may also be heard. Though not as regularly as *šuġḷ*, the K-form *btāʿ* may also be heard. The form *tabaʿ* was heard only once in MzA.

The paradigms for suffixed *šuġḷ(ah)* and *ḥagg(ah)* are as follows:

e.g.	*ilbēt* +		*ilʿilbih* +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*šuġḷuh*	*šúġuḷhuw*	*šúġuḷtuh*	*šuġḷíthuw*
fem.	*šúġuḷha*	*šúġuḷhin*	*šuġḷítha*	*šuġḷíthin*
2. masc.	*šuġḷuḵ*	*šúġuḷkuw*	*šuġḷítᵘḵ*	*šuġḷítḵuw*
fem.	*šuġḷik*	*šúġuḷkin*	*šuġḷítⁱk*	*šuġḷítkin*
1. com.	*šuġḷī*	*šúġuḷna*	*šuġuḷtī*	*šuġḷítna*

Pl. forms used for humans are *šuġḷīn* and *šuġḷāt*: e.g. *iliwlād šuġḷīn ilmádrasih* "the boys of the school" and *ilbanāt šuġḷāt ilmádrasih* "the girls of the school". Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: *iṯṯalāṯah ǧinēhāt ḏillih šuġḷātᵘḵ* "these three pounds are yours".

e.g.	*ilbēt* +		*ilʿilbih* +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*ḥagguh*	*ḥagghuw*	*ḥaggtuh*	*ḥaggíthuw*
fem.	*ḥaggha*	*ḥagghin*	*ḥaggítha*	*ḥaggíthin*
2. masc.	*ḥagguḵ*	*ḥaggḵuw*	*ḥaggítᵘḵ*	*ḥaggítḵuw*
fem.	*ḥaggik*	*ḥaggkin*	*ḥaggítⁱk*	*ḥaggítkin*
1. com.	*ḥaggī*	*ḥaggna*	*ḥaggtī*	*ḥaggítna*

Pl. forms for humans are *ḥaggīn* and *ḥaggāt*: e.g. *iliwlād ḥaggīn ilmádrasih* and *ilbanāt ḥaggāt ilmádrasih*. Like in the case of *šuġḷāt*, the pl. fem. *ḥaggāt* is often used for smaller numbers: *iṯṯalāṯah ǧinēhāt ḏillih ḥaggātᵘḵ*.

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:

		sg.	pl.	negated: sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*hū*	*huwwa(h)*	*mūhū**	*mūhuwwa(h)*
	fem.	*hī*	*hinnah*	*mīhī**	*mīhinnih*
2.	masc.	*int(ah)*	*intuw*	*mint(ah)*	*mintuw*
	fem.	*intiy*	*intin*	*mintiy*	*mintin*
1.	com.	*ana*	*iḥna*	*mānī**	*míḥna*

Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: *māhū**, *māhī**, *mintah, mintiy, mānī**, *māhuṃma, māhinnah, mintuw, mintin, miḥna.*

* In these forms stress is on the vowel of the first syllable.

For a likely development of the pl. masc. form *huwwa*—in which reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries must have played an important role—see 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter and also De Jong 2000:163.

3.1.12.2. *Pronominal suffixes*

In MzA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	(C)C-*u(h)**¹, v̄-*(h)*	-*huw**⁴
	fem.	-*ha*	-*hin*
2.	masc.	C-*ᵘḳ*, CC-*uḳ*, v̄-*ᵘḳ**²	-*ḳuw*
	fem.	C-*ⁱk*, CC-*ik*, v̄-*k**²	-*kin*
1.	com.	(C)C-*ī*, v̄-*y* (poss.)	-*na*
		-*nī* (obj.)*³	

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

*¹ Notice the -*u(h)* suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc., instead of -*ah*/ -*ih* which we find in group I.

*² The superscript vowel *ᵘ* serves to indicate a considerable degree of velarization (accompanied by lip rounding); it is not to be interpreted as a vowel, which may be concluded from stress placement and (lack of) short high vowel elisions in forms like *ḥuṛmítᵘḳ* "your (sg. masc.) wife" and *nāgítᵘḳ* "your (sg. masc.) she-camel". Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ʿ*ilbítⁱk* "your (sg. fem.) pack", *nāgítⁱk*.

When -*ᵘḳ* is suffixed to v̄, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before *ḳ* is released, e.g.: ʿ*ilēᵘḳ* "on you", *fīᵘḳ* "in you", *gifāᵘḳ* "your neck". Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ʿ*ilēk, fīk* and *gifāk*.

When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of *uḅūḳ* "your (sg. masc.) father" and *uḅūk*

"your (sg. fem.) father"; the long vowel *ū* preceding *ḳ* is more tense than *ū* preceding *k*.[71]

*3 Like most in Bedouin dialects of Sinai[72] we find stressed suffixes *-ī* and *-nī* 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 *-ḳ* 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:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	(*hā*)*ḏah*[*1]	(*hā*)*ḏill*(*ih*)[*2]
fem.	(*hā*)*ḏiy*	(*hā*)*ḏillih / ḏillēl*(*ih*)[*2]

Forms without initial *hā-* are much more regular than in group I.
Far deixis*2:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	(*hā*)*ḏāḳ*(*ah*)	(*hā*)*ḏállaḳ*(*ah*)[*2]
fem.	(*hā*)*ḏīk*(*ah*)	

*1 In pause often *ḏih* or *ḏiʾ*.
*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 *hāḏēlah*. 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 ǧiʾ!* "there he is!", *hēhī ǧāt* "there she is!", *hēhuwwa ǧuw* "there they (masc.) are!", *hēhinnah ǧin* "there they (fem.) are!".

---

[71] These remarks are based on mere impressions, not on precise machine-aided measurements.
[72] See De Jong (2000:3.1.12.2. of ch. I–III) and (2003:163).

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*

mīn is used independently for "who?", but another possibility to enquire after someone's identity is *min* (with a short vowel) in combination with a pron. suff., as in *min hū-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 *nihā(ʾ)* or *nihāniy** in MzA and *hniy* in BWA (*fi hāda* is also used), "there" is *hnuh* or *hnūtiy* (*fi hāḏāk* is also used), *ġād* (with open *ā*) is used for "over there (far away)". "Thus" is *kíḏiy* or often *kiḏiyyih* (and less often *kiḏiyyāniy*), "now" is *halḥīn* (~ *halḥīnit* in MzA), "still" is *l issāʿ* and "afterwards, after that" is *baʿadēn.*

 * When *min* precedes *nihāʾ*, one syllable is haplologically dropped, e.g. *ímšin mi-nhāʾ* or *mi-nhāniy* "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 *yimkin*.

3.1.15.3. bilḥayl *"very, extremely"*

b ilḥayl "very, extremely" is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. *iw ḥāliyyan fi liyyām hāḏiy fi Sīnah māhuw kaṯīrīn* […] *miš kaṯīrīn b ilḥayl*…"And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai […] They are not very many…". Another example is […] *iw zayy kiḏiy b īdēᵘk, bitgaṭṭiʿ*…*alkáʿakih w tufᵘrukha w bitḥuṭṭ ʿālēha lēha*…*issamin iwlāha ḥilwih 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 ~ fīkiy* "in you (sg. fem)". and also *lik ~ lkiy* "to you (sg. fem.)".

In direct elicitation, the *-aḵ* suffix was also recorded for the 2nd p. sg. masc., though in spontaneous texts only *-ᵘḵ* or *-uḵ* was heard.

Suffixed prepositions in MzA are:

li + *[1]		ʿala + *[2]		m(i)ʿ + *[3]	
luh	lēhuw	ʿilēh	ʿilēhuw	mʿuh	miḥḥuw
lēha	lēhin	ʿilēha	ʿilēhin	miḥḥa	miḥḥin
luḵ	lēᵘḵuw	ʿilēᵘḵ	ʿilēᵘḵuw	mʿuḵ	miʿkuw
lik	lēkin	ʿilēk	ʿilēkin	mʿik	miʿkin
lay(y)*[4]	lēna	ʿalay(y)*[4]	ʿilēna	mʿī	miʿna

*[1] The paradigm is mixed; forms like *lēᵘḵ* and *lēh* are much less frequently used than *luḵ* and *luh*. A similar paradigm is used for *b +*. The suffixed proposition *l+* may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. *ǧāluḵ* "he came to you", *gultílhiʾ* "I said to her" (notice that the form is not *lēha*), *aḥsál-luḵ* "it is best for you" (assimilated *aḥsan + luḵ*), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. *gāḷat luh* "she said to him", *tfakkir luh* "you look at him" (i.e. these examples are not stressed *gāḷát-luh* and *tfakkír-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, lḵuw, 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 *ʿala* and *ʿa* (not only when preceding the article) are current.

*[3] The short vowel *i* is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes follow (including *-uḵ* and *-ik*), but stressed when consonant-initial suffixes are involved and *ʿ* and *h* reciprocally assimilate to become *ḥḥ*.

*[4] For a remark on *lay* and *ʿaláy*, see 1.2.4.1.

In BWA forms are the same.

fi +		*fōg* +*[1]		*min* +*[2]	
fíh	*fíhuw*	*fṓguh*	*fṓghuw*	*mínnuh*	*mínhuw*
fíha	*fíhin*	*fṓgha*	*fṓghin*	*mínha*	*mínhin*
fíᵘḵ	*fíᵘkuw*	*fṓgᵘḵ*	*fṓgkuw*	*mínnuḵ*	*mínkuw*
fík	*fíkin*	*fṓgⁱk*	*fṓgkin*	*mínnik*	*mínkin*
fay(y)*[3]	*fína*	*fṓgī*	*fṓgna*	*mínnī*	*mínna*

*[1] Alternatively one can say *min ḥardī* "above me" *min ḥarduḵ* "above you (sg. masc.)", etc.[73]

*[2] Notice here that the *n* is doubled preceding the short vowels in the suffixes -*uḵ* 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 *ʿaláy*, see remark above.

The preposition *min* is usually stressed in the compounds *mín-taḥat* "from below", *mín-kiḏiy* "from this".

waṛa +		*ʿind* +	
waṛāh	*waṛāhuw*	*ʿínduh*	*ʿínduhuw**[2]
waṛāha	*waṛāhin*	*ʿíndaha**[2]	*ʿíndihin**[2]
waṛāᵘḵ	*waṛākuw*	*ʿínduḵ*	*ʿíndukuw**[2]
waṛāk*[1]	*waṛākin**[1]	*ʿíndik*	*ʿíndikin**[2]
waṛāy	*waṛāna*	*ʿíndī*	*ʿíndina**[2]

*[1] In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding *ṛ* is gradually lost during articulation of the following *ā*. Thus an opposition between *waṛāᵘḵ* and *waṛāk* 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], *tnēn / tintēn**[2], *talātih* (*tálat* or *talát*), *arbaʿah* (*arbaʿ*), *xamsih* (*xams*), *sittih* (*sitt*), *sabʿih* (*sabʿ*), *tamānyih* (*táman* or *tamán*), *tisʿih* (*tisʿ*), *ʿašaṛah* (*ʿašaṛ*).

---

73 Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists *ḥard* in the meaning of *bi ǧānib* "beside".

*¹ *wāḥid* and *wiḥdih* may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *walad wāḥid* "one boy" and *bint wiḥdih* "one girl".

*² *ṯnēn* and *ṯintēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn iṯnēn* "two boys" and *īdēy iṯṯintēn* or *īdēy ṯintēnhin* "my two hands".

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ʿ*ašaṛ t-infāṛ* "ten people", *ṯalaṯ t-iyyām* "three days".

3.1.17.2. *Ordinal numbers 1–10*
Only three ordinals were recorded: *awwil*, *ṯāniy*, *ṯāliṯ*.

3.1.17.3. *Numerals: 11 and up*
hidāšiṛ, iṯnāšiṛ, ṯalaṭṭāšir, aṛbaʿṭāšir, xamisṭāšir, siṭṭāšir, sabaʿṭāšir, ṯamanṭāšir, tisiʿṭāšir, ʿišrīn, ṯalāṯīn, aṛbiʿīn, xamsīn, sittīn, sabʿīn, ṯamānīn, tisʿīn, miyyih, miyytēn, ṯulṯmiyyih, ṛubiʿmiyyih, xumsmiyyih, suttmiyyih, subiʿmiyyih, ṯuminmiyyih, tusiʿmiyyih, alf, alfēn, ṯalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, aṛbaʿ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabiʿ t-ālāf, ṯaman t-ālāf, tisiʿ t-ālāf, ʿašaṛ t-ālāf, miyyit alf, miyytēn alf, malyūn.

3.1.18. *The dual*

Suffixing *-ēn* or *-ayn* to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *šaḥaṛayn* "two months", *sbūʿayn* "two weeks", *nōʿayn* "two kinds" and *-ēn* (in neutral environments) ʿ*aṛabiyytēn* "two cars", *miyytēn* "two hundred", *rikibtēn* "two knees", *sanatēn* "two years", *bintēn* "two girls".

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. *riǧlēy* "my (two) legs" and *riǧlēᵘḵ* "my (two) hands" and *īdēy* "my (two) hands" and *īdēᵘḵ* "your (two) hands".

3.2. *Verbal Morphology*

3.2.1. *Regular verbs*

3.2.1.1. *Regular verbs perfect*
In all vowel-types of the perfect and imperfect, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. ending is *-uw*, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is *-in* (including the *a-* and *i-* types of the tertiae infirmae) and the ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is *-at* (except in the verb 'come', see below).[74]

---

[74] These are differences with group I dialects (see De Jong 2000: several paragraphs under 3.2. in chapter I).

Perfects of measure 1 verbs come in three types: $C_1aC_2aC_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

		a-type perfect*¹		*i*-type perfect*³	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*kitáb*	*kátabuw*	*širíb*	*šírbuw*
	fem.	*kátabat*²	*kátabin*	*šírbat*⁴	*šírbin*
2.	masc.	*kitábt*	*kitábtuw*	*širíbt*	*širíbtuw*⁵
	fem.	*kitábtiy*	*kitábtin*	*širíbtiy*	*širíbtin*
1.	com.	*kitábt*	*kitábna*	*širíbt*	*širíbna*

*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 *wugáft* "I stopped" and *wugáftin* "you (pl. fem.) stopped", but *wágafat* "she stopped" and *wágafin* "they (pl. fem.) stopped".

*² When suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix forms are: *kátbitu* or *kátabatu* "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' *širíbtum*: one of my informants had a tendency to almost close his lips (approximating I.P.A. [m]) when articulating *w* of pl. verbal endings; one had to look carefully to see that he was not actually producing *m*, because it often sounded as such, also because of the high degree of nasalisation which accompanied his realisation of such final *wāw*⁷⁵ (see also remarks on the situation in ḤmA (of group VII) and ʿLA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. *Regular verbs imperfect*

Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Another interesting feature is that this vowel harmony has spread through the entire paradigm and that it includes the 1st. p. com. sg. This accounts for the absence of initial *a-* in

---

⁷⁵ This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.

the 1st. p. sg. com. of *i-* and *u*-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: $yaC_1C_2CaC_3$, $yuC_1C_2CuC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$, all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

		a-type imperfect*[1]		*i*-type imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yášṛab*	*yášṛabuw*	*yiktib*	*yíkitbuw*
	fem.	*tášṛab*	*yášṛabin*	*tiktib*	*yíkitbin*
2.	masc.	*tášṛab*	*tášṛabuw*	*tiktib*	*tíkitbuw*
	fem.	*tášṛabiy*	*tášṛabin*	*tíkitbiy*	*tíkitbin*
1.	com.	*ášṛab*	*nášṛab*	*iktib*	*niktib*

		u-type imperfect*[2]	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yuḍrub*	*yúḍurbuw*
	fem.	*tuḍrub*	*yúḍurbin*
2.	masc.	*tuḍrub*	*túḍurbuw*
	fem.	*túḍurbiy*	*túḍurbin*
1.	com.	*uḍrub*	*nuḍrub*

*[1] Notice the lack of vowel harmony in the endings of 2 sg. fem., 2 pl. masc. and fem. and 3 pl. masc. and fem. (in contrast with group I).[76]

*[2] In the *u*-type—provided velarization is lacking—the anaptyctic vowel in the imperfect forms tends to vary, i.e. either *i* or *u*. One may hear e.g. *túguʿduw* as well as *túgiʿduw* for "you (pl. masc.) sit", but in velarized forms the anaptyctic *u* is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with C_1 = X have the following paradigms:

		i-type*[1] imperfect*[2]		*a*-type imperfect*[2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yáḥariṯ*	*yáḥarṯuw*	*yáʿaṛag*	*yáʿaṛaguw*
	fem.	*táḥariṯ*	*yáḥarṯin*	*táʿaṛag*	*yáʿaṛagin*
2.	masc.	*táḥariṯ*	*táḥarṯuw*	*táʿaṛag*	*táʿaṛaguw*
	fem.	*táḥarṯiy*	*táḥarṯin*	*táʿaragiy*	*táʿaṛagin*
1.	com.	*áḥariṯ*	*náḥariṯ*	*áʿaṛag*	*náʿaṛag*

*[1] Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in *i*-type imperfects like *yaḥariṯ* 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. ·*yiḥriṯ* are not heard in these dialects).

---

[76] See De Jong 2000:190–191.

*[2] Perfect *ḥaráṯ* like *katáb* (see 3.2.1.1.). My BWA informant articulated *sīn* instead of *ṯāʾ*, e.g. *yáḥaris* and *yáḥarsuw*, etc.

*[3] Perfect *ʿiríg* like *simíʿ* (see 3.2.1.1.).

Active participles are: *ḥāriṯ, ḥārṯih, ḥārṯīn, ḥārṯāt*.

Active participles of the type $C_1āC_2iC_3$ (etc.) for the verb *ʿiríg, yáʿarag* are not really used, instead for "sweating" one may hear: *ʿargān, ʿargānih, ʿargānīn, ʿargānāt*.

3.2.1.3. *Reflexes of older* $*C_1aC_2uC_3$, $*yaC_1C_2uC_3$

		u-type perfect*[1]	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*kubur*	*kubruw*
	fem.	*kubrat**[2]	*kubrun**[3]
2.	masc.	*kuburt*	*kuburtuw*
	fem.	*kuburtiy*	*kuburtin*
1.	com.	*kuburt*	*kuburna*

*[1] The Classical Arabic 'Eigenschafts' verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) $C_1aC_2uC_3a$, $yaC_1C_2uC_3u$ 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. $*C_1aC_2iC_3a$ (such as, e.g., *širib*), the high vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is not dropped in unstressed positions (so not e.g. ·*kburt* for "I grew"). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of $C_1uC_2uC_3$ perfects, the *u* of the first syllable is actually underlying |a| (i.e. like *i* in the first syllable of $C_1iC_2iC_3$ perfects, see *[3] in 3.2.1.1.).

Other *u*-type perfects are: *tuxunt* "I became fat", *hī ġulḍat* "she became fat", *hinnih ġulḍin* "they (fem.) became fat", *iddinyah sux^u nat* "the weather became hot" (for superscript *[u]*, see 2.2.2.3.) and *innās kuṯruw* "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 $C_1āC_2iC_3$ (sg. masc.) $C_1āC_2C_3ah/-ih$ (sg. fem.), $C_1āC_2C_3īn$ (pl. masc.) $C_1āC_2C_3āt$ (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:2000:191.

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *bānīytuh* "having built it (sg. masc.)", *hī mīhī ʿāyiztuh* "she does not want/love him".

3.2.1.5. *Regular verbs imperatives*
Imperatives of regular verbs have a harmonized initial vowel, while endings are like those in the imperfect paradigm, e.g. *ásmaʿ, ásmaʿiy, ásmaʿuw, ásmaʿin* "listen!", *úḍrub, úḍurbiy, úḍurbuw, úḍurbin* "hit!" and *íktib, íkitbiy, íkitbuw, íkitbin* "write!".

3.2.2. *Irregular and other verbs*

3.2.2.1. *Verbs C₁ = w (primae wāw)*
Imperfect paradigms of verbs with *wāw* as C₁ are:

		i-type*		*a*-type	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yōrid*	*yōrduw*	*yōgaf*	*yōgafuw*
	fem.	*tōrid*	*yōrdin*	*tōgaf*	*yōgafin*
2.	masc.	*tōrid*	*tōrduw*	*tōgaf*	*tōgafuw*
	fem.	*tōrdiy*	*tōrdin*	*tōgafiy*	*tōgafin*
1.	com.	*ōrid*	*nōrid*	*ōgaf*	*nōgaf*

* 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:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*ōrid*	*ōrduw*	*ōgaf*	*ōgafuw*
fem.	*ōrdiy*	*ōrdin*	*ōgafiy*	*ōgafin*

The imperative *áwʿa* was said to occur in that form only (i.e. uninflected for number or gender): "mind your head(s)!" is thus:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	*áwʿa ṛāsᵘḵ*	*áwʿa ṛūsḵuw*
fem.	*áwʿa ṛāsⁱk*	*áwʿa ṛūskin*

Participles:

Active participles have a C₁āC₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) *wāgif, wāgfih, wāgfīn, 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 (*primae* yāʾ)
The only verb recorded with C_1 = y is *yibis, yēbas* "dry (intrans.)".

3.2.2.3. Verbs C_1 = ʾ (*primae* hamzah)
The two verbs "eat" and "take" have similar conjugations. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for "eat" are:

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*akál*	*ákaluw*	*yākil*	*yākluw*
	fem.	*ákalat*	*ákalin*	*tākil*	*yāklin*
2.	masc.	*akalt*	*akaltuw*	*tākil*	*tākluw*
	fem.	*akaltiy*	*akaltin*	*tākliy*	*tāklin*
1.	com.	*akalt*	*akalne*	*ākil*	*nākil*

Active participles are: *mākil, māklih, māklīn, māklāt*. Past participles are *māxūḏ, -ah, -āt, -īn*, which is also used meaning "daft".

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): *xuḏ, xḏiy, xḏuw* and *xḏin*. Also *kul, kliy, kluw, klin*. Notice the absence of stressed initial *u-* in these forms; an unstressed *u-* may precede in forms like (here in superscript) *ᵘxḏiy* and *ᵘkluw*, but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is *wakl* "eating" and the passive verb "be eaten" is *ánwikal, yínwikil*.

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"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*gāṃ*	*gāṃuw*	*ygūṃ*	*ygūṃuw*
	fem.	*gāṃat*	*gāṃin*	*tgūṃ*	*ygūṃin*
2.	masc.	*guṃt*	*guṃtuw*	*tgūṃ / t(u)gúṃ*	*tgūṃuw*
	fem.	*guṃtiy*	*guṃtin*	*tgūṃiy*	*tgūṃin*
1.	com.	*guṃt*	*guṃna*	*ugūṃ*	*ngūṃ*

Participles are: *gāyim, gāymih, gāymīn, gāymāt* (no velarization).

The verb *šāf, yšūf* was recorded in MzA with short vowel *u*, as in *šuft*, as well as with *i*, as in *šift* "I saw".

		"sleep"			
		perfect*		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*nām*	*nāmuw*	*ynām*	*ynāmuw*
	fem.	*nāmat*	*nāmin*	*tnām*	*ynāmin*
2.	masc.	*nimt*	*nimtuw*	*tnām / t(a)nám*	*tnāmuw*
	fem.	*nimtiy*	*nimtin*	*tnāmiy*	*tnāmin*
1.	com.	*nimt*	*nimne*	*anām*	*nnām*

Participles: *nāyim, nāymih, nāymīn, nāymāt*.

$C_2 = y$

		"carry"			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*šāl*	*šāluw*	*yšīl*	*yšīluw*
	fem.	*šālat*	*šālin*	*tšīl*	*yšīlin*
2.	masc.	*šilt*	*šiltuw*	*tšīl / t(i)šíl*	*tšīluw*
	fem.	*šiltiy*	*šiltin*	*tšīliy*	*tšīlin*
1.	com.	*šilt*	*šilna*	*išīl*	*nšīl*

N.B. Where there is variation in group I dialects between the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms *biyšīl* and *bišīl*, both meaning "he carries" (see De Jong 2000:199), in group VI a form like *bišīl* "he carries" (after reduction of the diphthong *iy > i*) has become homophonous with the form for the 1st p. sg. com. "I carry".

3.2.2.4.2. *Verbs C_2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives*
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels and may have a short vowel preceding, as in *šil* "carry!", *ugúṃ* "get up!". Examples are: *nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin, gūṃ / ugúṃ, gūṃiy, gūṃuw, gūṃin*.

Imperatives used with the verb *ğāb, yğīb* are: *hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin*.

3.2.2.4.3. *Verbs C_2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles*
Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns $C_1āyiC_3$, $C_1āyC_3ih$, $C_1āyC_3īn$ and $C_1āyC_3āt$.

A passive partiple is *mašyūl* etc.

3.2.2.5. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)*

3.2.2.5.1. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect*
Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of tertiae infirma verbs that are actually mixed; some forms originate from the *a*-type perfect, while other forms in the same paradigm are originally *i*-type forms:
In MzA the following paradigms were elicited:

		"forget" *i*-type perfect		"go, walk" *a*-type perfect*[2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*nisíˀ*	*nisyuw*[1]	*mišíˀ*	*mišyuw*
	fem.	*nisyat*[1]	*nisyin*[1]	*mišyat*	*mišyin*
2.	masc.	*nisīt*	*nisītuw*	*mišēt*	*mišētuw*
	fem.	*nisītiy*	*nisītin*	*mišētiy*	*mišētin*
1.	com.	*nisīt*	*nisīna*	*mišēt*	*mišēna*

*[1] Another informant, however, claimed that forms like *ligyuw* and *ligyin* are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are *ligúw* (< *laguw*) (a suffixed example is *ligūh*) and *ligín* (< *lagin*) (a suffixed example is *ligín-nuh*) and by analogy one would then also expect *ligát* for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagat*). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form *nisíˀ* (< *nasā*)—instead of *nisíy*—must then have crossed over from the *a*-type perfect (compare *mišíˀ*, 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 *mišíˀ* must have developed from *mašā*, and endings in -*ē* + clearly belong to the *a*-type (for raising of the *a* preceding the stressed *ē* see 1.2.3.4.3.2.), but the endings of the 3rd p. pl. and 3rd p. sg. fem. (i.e. those with *y*) are identical with the *i*-type endings. For similar *a*-type forms recorded in the dialect of Biliy of group I in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:201. The forms of the *a*-type perfect in BWA are the same as in MzA.

Suffixed forms are, e.g.: *nisītuh* "I forgot him" and *nisīnāh* "we forgot him", which are quite straight forward *i*-type, but forms like *nisāh* "he forgot him" and *ligāh* "he found him" point to the *a*-type. Similarly: *hī nísyituh* or *násatuh* "she forgot him" and *ligyituh* or (less current) *lágatuh* "she found him". Other examples (with doubling of *n*) in *nisītinnuh* "you (pl. fem.) forgot him" and *nisyinnuh* or (alternatively) *nisinnuh* "they (f.) forgot him" and alternatives like *ligyūh* / *lagūh* (after raising *ligūh*) "they found him".

Imperatives of tertiae *yāˀ* verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs *yirmiy* "throw" and *yimšiy*:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	*irm* / imš*	*irmuw / ímšuw*
fem.	*írmiy / ímšiy*	*irmin / ímšin*

* When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears,
e.g. (underlined): *írim #!* "throw!" and *írimha* "throw it (fem.) away!".

The paradigm of the *i*-type perfect recorded from BWA informants is
almost identical to that of group I, however (De Jong 2000:201).

		"forget"	
		perfect	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*nisíy*	*nisyuw*
	fem.	*nisyat*	*nisyin*
2.	masc.	*nisīt*	*nisītuw*
	fem.	*nisītiy*	*nisītin*
1.	com.	*nisīt*	*nisīna*

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

3.2.2.5.2. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect*

		"forget"		"go, walk"	
		a-type imperfect*		*i*-type imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	SG	PL
3.	masc.	*yansiʾ*	*yansuw*	*yimšiy*	*yimšuw*
	fem.	*tansiʾ*	*yansin*	*timšiy*	*yimšin*
2.	masc.	*tans*	*tansuw*	*timš /-iy*	*timšuw*
	fem.	*tansiy*	*tansin*	*timšiy*	*timšin*
1.	com.	*ansiʾ*	*nansiʾ*	*imšiy*	*nimšiy*

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed,
iʾ > ā, as in e.g. *yansāhiʾ* "he forgets her" (contrast with remark in *[2] on
treatment of final *-iʾ* in *ǧiʾ* "he came" in 3.2.2.6.1.).

N.B. Apocopated tertiae infirmae 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms are
very regular in group VI. Other examples are *aġḷabiyyah lliy btalghuw
sakanuw fi wiǧih gibil aṣṢaʿīd* "the majority of those you find settled down
in the south in Upper Egypt", *hatlāguh* "you'll find him", *awʿa tans!* "don't
you forget!" and *iw biti:ġluh* "and you boil it (a long time)".

3.2.2.5.3. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives*
Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated
imperative forms for sg. masc. are currrent, e.g. *írimhiʾ* "throw it (sg. fem.)
away!", *ansuh* "forget him!".

3.2.2.5.4. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae) participles*

Active participles have the patterns C$_1$āC$_2$iy, C$_1$āC$_2$yih, C$_1$āC$_2$yīn and C$_1$āC$_2$yāt. 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*

"come"

		perfect[*1]		imperfect[*1]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	ǧiʾ[*2]	ǧuw	yiǧíy[*4]	yiǧúw
	fem.	ǧāt	ǧin[*3]	tiǧíy	yiǧín
2.	masc.	ǧīt	ǧītuw	tiǧ[*5]	tiǧúw
	fem.	ǧītiy	ǧītin[*3]	tiǧíy	tiǧín
1.	com.	ǧīt	ǧīneʾ	iǧíy[*6]	niǧíy

[*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 ǧāᵘ*ḵ* and *hū ǧīᵘ*ḵ* (i.e. not with IPA [iː], but with lengthened [ɪ]: [dʒɪːᵘk]) were heard for "he came to you (sg. masc.)" and also *hū ǧiːk* (IPA [dʒɪːk]) "he came to you (sg. fem.)".

[*3] *n* is doubled when followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix, as in *tiǧínnu fi dāṛuh* and *ǧītínnu fi dāṛuh*, and also doubling of the *n* when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, including those of the 2nd p. sg.: *ǧinnuḵ / ǧinnik* "they (fem.) came to you sg. masc. / sg. fem.".

[*4] In rapid speech *byiǧíy* may be realized as *biǧíy*, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. *fi ṣṣayf biǧíy rīḥ kiṯīr, iw fīh fi lmaštiʾ byiǧíy rīḥ kiṯīr* "in summer a lot of wind comes, and there are (times also) in winter that a lot of wind comes".

[*5] Notice the apocopated imperfect form for the 2nd. p. sg. masc., which is in complete conformity with the treatment of tertia yāʾ verbs.

[*6] The form *aǧíy* came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form *iǧíy* 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: *taʿāl, taʿāliy, taʿāluw, taʿālin.*

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb "come" participles*

Participles of the verb "come" are: *ǧāy, ǧāyih, ǧāyīn, ǧāyāt.*

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*

"stretch"

		perfect*		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*madd*	*madduw*	*ymidd*	*ymidduw*
	fem.	*maddat*	*maddin*	*tmidd*	*ymiddin*
2.	masc.	*middēt*	*middētuw*	*tmidd*	*tmidduw*
	fem.	*middētiy*	*middētin*	*tmiddiy*	*tmiddin*
1.	com.	*middēt*	*middēna*	*imidd*	*nmidd*

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

When the geminate is velarized, the *ē* of the ending is diphthongal *ay*, as in e.g. *ḥaṭṭayt* "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 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives*

Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. *šidd, šiddiy, šidduw, šiddin* "pull!" and with base vowel *u*: *ḥuṭṭ, ḥuṭṭiy, ḥuṭṭṭuw, ḥuṭṭin* "place!".

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

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *mādd, māddih, māddīn, māddāt.*

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C_1 = X, e.g. *maḥaṭūṭ* "placed", but this was not heard in *maxṣūṣ* "special".

3.2.3. *Derived measures*

3.2.3.1. *Measure* n-*1*

3.2.3.1.1. *Measure* n-*1 sound roots*

Measure *n*-1 is used to express the passive. The underlying patterns are $anC_1aC_2aC_3$, $yinC_1aC_2iC_3$. The vowel of the preformative (in both perfect and imperfect) may be stressed in positions eligible for stress and surface

---

[78] For the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:205. For group II, see ibid.:309.

forms often show raised *a*, e.g. *ángiṭaʿ, yíngiṭiʿ* "be cut", *ánwikal, yínwikil* "be eaten". The paradigms are:

"rejoice"

		perfect		imperfect*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ánbiṣaṭ*	*inbáṣaṭuw*	*yínbiṣiṭ*	*yinbáṣṭuw*
	fem.	*inbáṣaṭat*	*inbáṣaṭin*	*tínbiṣiṭ*	*yinbáṣṭin*
2.	masc.	*inbaṣáṭṭ*	*inbaṣáṭṭuw*	*tínbiṣiṭ*	*tinbáṣṭuw*
	fem.	*inbaṣáṭṭiy*	*inbaṣáṭṭin*	*tinbáṣṭiy*	*tinbáṣṭin*
1.	com.	*inbaṣáṭṭ*	*inbaṣáṭna*	*ínbiṣiṭ*	*nínbiṣiṭ*

* 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 *yinbiṣiṭ* (i.e. the form is not *yín(i)bṣiṭ*; a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like *yíkitbuw*). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern minC$_1$aC$_2$iC$_3$, e.g. *mínbiṣiṭ, minbaṣṭah, minbaṣṭīn, minbaṣṭāt* "rejoicing".

The inflectional base of the verb has been reinterpreted as underlying |inbaṣiṭ|, instead of |nbaṣiṭ|; verbal prefixes are then vowelless (i.e. *y-*, *t-* and *n-*) and for the 1st p. sg. com. the prefix is ∅ (see also below *inšāl* in 3.2.3.1.3.).

3.2.3.1.2. *Measure* n-*1* C$_2$ = C$_3$ *(mediae geminatae)*
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n*-1 of medial geminate verbs are: inC$_1$aC$_2$C$_3$ and yinC$_1$aC$_2$C$_3$, e.g. *inḥaṭṭ, yinḥaṭṭ* "be placed" and *inṣabb, yinṣabb* "be poured".[79]

3.2.3.1.3. *Measure* n-*1* C$_2$ = y *or* w *(mediae infirmae)*
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n*-1 of medial weak verbs are: inC$_1$āC$_3$ and yinC$_1$āC$_3$, e.g.

"be carried"

		perfect		imperfect*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*inšāl*	*inšāluw*	*yinšāl*	*yinšāluw*
	fem.	*inšālat*	*inšālin*	*tinšāl*	*yinšālin*
2.	masc.	*inšilt*	*inšiltuw*	*tinšāl*	*tinšāluw*
	fem.	*inšiltiy*	*inšiltin*	*tinšāliy*	*tinšālin*
1.	com.	*inšilt*	*inšilne*	*inšāl**	*ninšāl*

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

---

[79] It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is *a*- (i.e. *anḥaṭṭ*) or *i*-.

3.2.3.1.4. *Measure n-1 C_2 = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles*

Participles are shaped on the pattern $minC_1\bar{a}C_3$: *minšāl, 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 1-t*

3.2.3.3.1. *Measure 1-t sound roots*

Underlying patterns for measure 1-*t* are: $aC_1taC_2aC_3$ $yiC_1taC_2iC_3$. Like in measure *n-1*, raised *a* is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: *áštiǧal, yíštiǧil* "work", *áttifag, yíttifig* "agree" and *ástuwa, yístiwiy* "ripen; be cooked (of food)". Paradigms for C_3 = *y* are:

"buy"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*áštaṛa*	*áštaṛuw*	*yíštiriy*	*yíštiruw*
	fem.	*áštaṛat*	*áštaṛin*	*tíštiriy*	*yíštirin*
2.	masc.	*ištaṛayt*	*ištaṛaytuw*	*tíštiriy*	*tíštiruw*
	fem.	*ištaṛaytiy*	*ištaṛaytin*	*tíštiriy*	*tíštirin*
1.	com.	*ištaṛayt*	*ištaṛayna*	*íštiriy*	*níštiriy*

3.2.3.3.2. *Measure 1-t C_2 = w or y (mediae infirmae)*

An example of a medial weak measure 1-*t* verb is *iḥtāǧ, yiḥtāǧ* "need".

3.2.3.3.3. *Measure 1-t C_2 = C_3 (mediae geminatae)*

An example of a medial geminate measure 1-*t* verb is *iʿtazz, yiʿtazz* (*bi*) "be proud (of)".

3.2.3.3.4. *Measure 1-t participles*

Patterns for measure 1-*t* participles are $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$ (underlying $miC_1taC_2iC_3$), $miC_1taC_2C_3ah/ih$, $miC_1taC_2C_3\bar{\imath}n$, $miC_1taC_2C_3\bar{a}t$.

Examples are: *míštiǧil* "working", *miftársih* "predatory (of animals)", *místiwiy* "ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)", *mistáwyih* "ripe cooked (sg. fem.)". *míttifig* "agreed (sg. masc.)", *mittafgāt* "agreed (pl. fem.)" and *míʿtiniy* "taking care of, providing for".

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: *miḥtāǧ* "in need", *miltammīn* "having gathered (pl. masc.)".

One example of a passive 1-*t* participle is *mittahamīn* "accused (pl. masc.)" (cf. C.A. root *w-h-m*).

3.2.3.4. *Measure* ista-*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:

		"ask for information" perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*istafham*	*istafhamuw*	*yistafhim*	*yistáfihmuw*
	fem.	*istafhamat*	*istafhamin*	*tistafhim*	*yistáfihmin*
2.	masc.	*istafhamt*	*istafhamtuw*	*tistafhim*	*tistáfihmuw*
	fem.	*istafhamtiy*	*istafhamtin*	*tistáfihmiy*	*tistáfihmin*
1.	com.	*istafhamt*	*istafhamna*	*astafhim*	*nistafhim*

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: $\text{istaC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_3$, $\text{yistaC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{C}_3$, an example is (*i*)*staʿadd*, *yistaʿidd* "prepare oneself".

Short *a* in the perfect preceding stressed *ē* may be raised (e.g. *istaʿaddēt > istaʿiddēt*), 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 $\text{mistaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3$, e.g. *mistaʿǧil* "in a hurry".

For mediae geminatae the pattern is $\text{mistaC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{C}_3$: *mistaʿidd* "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: $\text{C}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$, $\text{yC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3$.

Measure *t*-2 has morphologically fixed *a*. The patterns are $\text{taC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$, $\text{ytaC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$.

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 inital geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: *yẓabbṭuw* "they do a proper job", *bitṭallʿuw giṣāyid* "you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems", *biybarrkuw ʾaṣīl* "they let a throughbred cover", the latter in I.P.A. [bɪ'ʲbarkʊʷ ʔɑ'sᵉiːl].

Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in *ṭhammṣ ilbunn* "you roast the coffee beans" and *w itxalliy tǧammr išwayyih* "and you let it (burn) a little (to) become glowing embers".

r or *l* following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. *itfassiruh* "you explain it" and *biyʾassirin imʿúḳ išwayyih* "they (pl. fem.) have some influence on you".

When $C_2 = C_3$, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *ṭhálliluh* "you analyze it" (I.P.A. [ətˈħalıloʰ]).

3.2.3.5.2. *Measure 2 tertiae infirmae*
Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

		perfect[*1]		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	sawwiʾ[*2]	sawwuw	ysawwiy	ysawwuw
	fem.	sawwat	sawwin	tsawwiy	ysawwin
2.	masc.	suwwēt	suwwētuw	tsaww/-iy	tsawwuw
	fem.	suwwētiy	suwwētin	tsawwiy	tsawwin
1.	com.	suwwēt	suwwēniʾ	asawwiy	nsawwiy

[*1] For raising of *a* in closed syllable preceding stressed *ē* see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

[*2] Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final -*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", *giʿadna šaḥaṛayn, fi lǧbāl hāḏiy binḥūm. innās kānat bitxāf itwakkilne* "we stayed two months in these mountains as we moved around. People were afraid to give us food".

3.2.3.5.4. *Measure* t-2 *imperfect and perfect*
In measure *t*-2 the vowel *a* is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are $taC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

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"

		perfect*¹		imperfect*¹	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*taġaddiʾ*	*taġadduw*	*ytaġaddiʾ*	*ytaġadduw*
	fem.	*taġaddat*	*taġaddin*	*taġaddiʾ*	*ytaġaddin*
2.	masc.	*taġaddēt*	*taġaddētuw*	*taġadd**²	*taġadduw*
	fem.	*taġaddētiy*	*taġaddētin*	*taġaddiy*	*taġaddin*
1.	com.	*taġaddēt*	*taġaddēniʾ*	*ataġaddiʾ*	*ntaġaddiʾ*

*¹ With a verb like *taʿašša, ytaʿašša* "have dinner" raising of *a* in the *ta-* prefix is regular, e.g. (perfect) *tiʿaššat, tiʿaššēt* and (imperfect) 2nd p. sg. masc. *tiʿašš.*

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 *-iʾ*, but phonetic values may also be slightly lower (i.e. nearer to I.P.A. [eʾ]).

*² Notice also apocopation.

3.2.3.5.5. *Measures 2 and* t-2 *verbal nouns*

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a $taC_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ pattern, e.g. *taġlīb* "throwing out (of a fish line)", *taybī*s "drying (trans.)", *tadrīb* "training (trans.)" and a gahawah-form *taḥadīr* "coming down".

A $C_3 = y$ verbal noun is found in *tirbāt álǧimal* "training the camel".

Verbal nouns for measure *t-2* were not recorded. For the quadriliteral verb *taʿaknan, ytaʿaknan* "be annoyed", however, the verbal noun *tʿiknin* was recorded.

3.2.3.5.6. *Measures 2 and* t-2 *participles*

Active participles of measure 2 have a $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern, e.g. *mʿaggid* "travelling", *mʿallig* "keeping suspended", for $C_3 = y$ *msawwiy, msawwyih* etc., "making, doing" and for $C_2 = C_3$ *mǧaddid, mǧaddidih* (without elision of the short vowel *i*), etc. "renewing".

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is $mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -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$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), but in participles often the *ta-* prefix has been reduced to *t-* (pattern mitC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mitʾaṣṣil* "deep-rooted", *mitḥaddir* (*min*) "originating (from)", *mitǧawwiz* "married" and for C$_3$ = *y*) *mtaġaddiy*, *mtaġaddyih* etc. "having eaten lunch" and also *mitḥarriy*, *mitḥarryih* etc. "striving for, aspiring".

3.2.3.6. *Measures 3 and* t-*3*

Like measure 2, measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels: *i* in the imperfect and *a* in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C$_1$āC$_2$aC$_3$, yC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$.

Measure *t-3* has morphologically fixed *a* in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure *t-2*, the *ta-*preformative is not often reduced to *t-*. Patterns for measure *t-3* are: taC$_1$āC$_2$aC$_3$, ytaC$_1$āC$_2$iC$_3$.

Also like in measure *t-2*, the *ta-* preformative of measure *t-3* in the perfect is usually not reduced to (*i*)*t-*.

3.2.3.6.1. *Examples of measures 3 and* t-*3*

Paradigms for measure 3 are:

"quarrel"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*kāwan*	*kāwanuw*	*ykāwin*	*ykāwnuw*
	fem.	*kāwanat*	*kāwanin*	*tkāwin*	*ykāwnin*
2.	masc.	*kāwant*	*kāwantin*	*tkāwin*	*tkāwnuw*
	fem.	*kāwantiy*	*kāwantuw*	*tkāwniy*	*tkāwnin*
1.	com.	*kāwant*	*kāwanna*	*akāwin*	*nkāwin*

Some suffixed examples are: suffixed: *kāwanatuh* (stressed on first syllable) "she quarrelled with him", *kāwannāh* "we quarrelled with him", *kāwantinnuh* "you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him" and (imperfect) *tkāwnīh* "you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him", *ykāwninnuh* "they (fem.) quarrel with him", *ykāwnūh* "they (masc.) quarrel with him".

A C$_3$ = *y* verb has the following paradigms:

"meet"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*lāga*	*lāguw*[*1]	*ylāgiy*	*ylāguw*
	fem.	*lāgat*	*lāgin*[*1]	*tlāgiy*	*ylāgin*
2.	masc.	*lāgēt*	*lāgētuw*	*tlāg*[*2]/-*iy*	*tlāguw*
	fem.	*lāgētiy*	*lāgētin*	*tlāgiy*	*tlāgin*
1.	com.	*lāgēt*	*lāgēna*	*alāgiy*	*nlāgiy*

*[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: *hū lāgāh* "he met/found him", *hī lāgátʷḳ* "she met/found you (sg. masc.)", *hī lāgatuh* "she met/found him" (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and *hinnah biylāginnuḳ /-innik* "they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.)".

Examples for measure *t*-3 are: [*kān*] *bintaṛāfag iw bintasābag* "we used to travel together and race together" and (for $C_3 = y$) *buḳrah hantalāga* "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 *ytiʿālaǧ* "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 $mC_1āC_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mǧāhdīn* "fighting (pl. masc.) in a *ǧihād*", *mkāfʾih* "compensating (sg. fem.)".

A passive participle (pattern $mC_1āC_2aC_3$) is *mṭāradīn* "having been pushed back (in a fight)".

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern $mtaC_1āC_2iC_3$ or $mitC_1āC_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -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-ʾ).

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 *msāʿadah* "help, assistance". Verbal nouns of the type $tC_1ēC_2iC_3$ were not recorded.[81]

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.

---

[81] 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 $aC_1C_2aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. The paradigms are:

"have breakfast"

		perfect		imperfect*[2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*áfṭar*	*áfṭaruw*[1]	*yifṭir*	*yífiṭruw*
	fem.	*áfṭarat*	*áfṭarin*[1]	*tifṭir*	*yífiṭrin*
2.	masc.	*ifṭart*	*ifṭartuw*	*tifṭir*	*tífiṭruw*
	fem.	*ifṭartiy*	*ifṭartin*	*tífiṭriy*	*tífiṭrin*
1.	com.	*ifṭart*	*ifṭarna*	*ifṭir*	*nifṭir*

*[1] Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings
*[2] The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) *tífiṭruw* and *yífiṭrin* 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: $C_1āC_3$ (C_1iC_3t) $yC_1īC_3$, e.g. *ṛād* "he wanted", *ridt* (I.P.A. [rɪt:]) "I wanted", *yrīd* "he wants". The paradigms are like those of *šāl*, *yšīl* (see 3.2.2.4.).
    Some examples of suffixed forms are: *ṛādatih* "she wanted him", *ridnāh* "we wanted him", *intuw ridtūh* "you (pl. masc.) wanted him", *intin ridtin-nuh* "you (pl. fem.) wanted him" and *ṛādinnuh* "they (fem.) wanted him".

3.2.3.7.3. *Measure 4 C_3 = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*
The patterns for measure 4 C_3 = *y* (tertiae infirmae) are aC_1C_2a (perfect) and yiC_1C_2iy (imperfect). The paradigms are:

"give"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*áʿṭa*	*áʿṭuw*[1]	*yíʿṭuw*	*yíʿṭuw*
	fem.	*áʿṭat*	*áʿṭin*[1]	*yíʿṭin*	*yíʿṭin*
2.	masc.	*aʿṭáyt*	*aʿṭaytuw*	*tiʿṭ*[2]/-iy	*tíʿṭuw*
	fem.	*aʿṭáytiy*	*aʿṭaytin*	*tíʿṭiy*	*tíʿṭin*
1.	com.	*aʿṭáyt*	*aʿṭayna*	*íʿṭiy*	*níʿṭiy*

*[1] Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings in tertiae yāʾ per-fects 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 mea-sure 4 as well.

Some suffixed examples are: *hinnah aʿṭinnuh* "they (fem.) gave him" and *hinnah aʿṭínnuh 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 C_1 = *w* (primae *wāw*) verb is *awǧaʿ, yūǧiʿ* "hurt, cause pain to", e.g. *ibtūǧʿuh* "it (sg. fem.) hurts him" and *ʾiḏnī awǧaʿatnī* "my ear hurt me".

3.2.3.7.5. *Measure 4 C₂ = C₃ (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: *iʿṭ* (apocopated), *iʿṭiy, iʿṭuw, iʿṭin*. Suffixed examples are: *iʿiṭh-iyyāha* "give it (sg. fem.) to her", *iʿṭuh 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, mífiṭrih, mifiṭrīn, mifiṭrāt* "having eaten breakfast".

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type *mrīd, -ih, -īn, -āt* "wanting".[82] Another example is *mġīr* "running".

3.2.3.8. *Measure 9*
Paradigms for measure 9 are:

"turn red"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*iḥmaṛṛ*	*iḥmaṛṛuw*	*yiḥmaṛṛ*	*yiḥmaṛṛuw*
	fem.	*iḥmaṛṛat*	*iḥmaṛṛin*	*tiḥmaṛṛ*	*yiḥmaṛṛin*
2.	masc.	*iḥmaṛṛayt*	*iḥmaṛṛaytuw*	*tiḥmaṛṛ*	*tiḥmaṛṛuw*
	fem.	*iḥmaṛṛaytiy*	*iḥmaṛṛaytin*	*tiḥmaṛṛiy*	*tiḥmaṛṛin*
1.	com.	*iḥmaṛṛayt*	*iḥmaṛṛayne*	*aḥmaṛṛ*	*niḥmaṛṛ*

Particples are: *miḥmaṛṛ, -ah, -īn, 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 *ṛāyid, -ih* etc. were also accepted by my informants.

"ululate"

		perfect*[1]		imperfect*[2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*zaġraṭ*	*záġraṭuw*	*yzáġriṭ*	*yzáġirṭuw*
	fem.	*záġraṭat*	*zaġraṭin*	*tzaġriṭ*	*yzáġirṭin*
2.	masc.	*zaġraṭṭ*	*zaġraṭṭuw*	*tzaġriṭ*	*tzáġirṭuw*
	fem.	*zaġraṭṭiy*	*zaġraṭṭin*	*tzáġirṭiy*	*tzáġirṭin*
1.	com.	*zaġraṭṭ*	*zaġraṭne*	*azaġriṭ*	*nzaġriṭ*

*[1] *ṭt* is assimilated to *ṭṭ*, e.g. *zaġraṭṭiy*.
*[2] Initial *tz* is assimilated to *dz* or *zz*, e.g. (partially) # *idzaġriṭ* or (totally) # *izzaġriṭ*.

"improvise rhymed song"

		perfect*		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*hawǧas*	*háwǧisuw*	*yhawǧis*	*yhawǧsuw*
	fem.	*háwǧisat*	*háwǧasin*	*thawǧis*	*yhawǧsin*
2.	masc.	*hawǧast*	*hawǧastuw*	*thawǧis*	*thawǧsuw*
	fem.	*hawǧastiy*	*hawǧastin*	*thawǧsiy*	*thawǧsin*
1.	com.	*hawǧast*	*hawǧasna*	*ahawǧis*	*nhawǧis*

* Forms like *hawǧisat* and *hawǧisuw* show raising of *a > i* (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is *hǧēsiy* or *thīǧis*. Similarly, the verb *hawǧan, yhawǧin* "improvise rhymed song in public" has verbal nouns *hǧēniy* or *thīǧin*.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. *Nunation*

Tanwīn is not a feature of MzA or BWA.

Of course, there are the loans from MSA, which may have come via other dialects, such as *masalan* "for instance"; the *s* for *ṭ (in a ṭā*-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: *ṭabʿan* "of course", *tagrīban* "approximately", *ʾaṣlan* "in origin", *fiʿlan* "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 *xāliṣ* "at all") and the compound negation for 'normal' negation. Another informant, who actually speaks the 'original' dialect better, used the single negation, and only the compound negation by way of exception.

Examples are *iw biytaraǧǧuw lmašāyix illiy kān ḥīnha mawǧūdīn mā ywaddūhuw Falaṣṭīn iywaddūhuw Maṣir #* "and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…" and *hāḏ-illiy yaʿniy btākluh, law mā liḥág daktūr aw ḥāwiy biymūt* "and this (person) that he (i.e. a snake) bites, if he doesn't (quickly) get to a doctor or a snake charmer, he dies".

4.3. *The* b-*imperfect*

The originally sedentary feature of the *b*-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is widespread in Sinai.[83]

Some examples are *iw biddugg bi ʾīd ilhōn ingūl ʿalēh ʾīd ilhōn, iw baʿad kiḏiyyih … ilbaṛṛād hū ibyiġliy binḥuṭṭ ēh?* "and you pound it with the pestle, we call it the pestle, and after that… (when the water in) the teapot is boiling and we put what?" and *hū mūhū fāhim kiḏiy, hū mūhū ʿārif … innha mā bitrīduh* "he did not understand this, he did not know… that she did not want him" *w Aḷḷah btugʿud kiḏiyyih w bitgahwiy nnās*[84] *iw btaxaṛṛaf iw bitǧīb … bithawǧis ilkalām illiy 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)

---

[83] It is current in all dialects of Sinai, except in that of the Dawāġrah, see De Jong 2000: 224–226, 318–319, 394, 478, 527 and 691 (map 69).
[84] *bitgahwiy nnās* or *bitgahw innās* (the latter with 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-āxḏ iššuggah w uxušš…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. *yaʿniy halḥīnit álwalad iʾaṣīl illiy hū ʿíndina nihā̄ʾ…hatlāguh ibyasmaʿ kilām uḇūh* "that is, the true son that we have here with us, you will find that he listens to what his father says". In the instances recorded, this *ha-* was invariably used to express inevitability connected to stating a general truth. *law istagduw ʿa lḥikāyah ḏiy, hayagṭaʿ-áššiǧaṛ,*[87] *hayagṭaʿūh* "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 gaʿatt bukṛah hinih, ašūfluḳ wāḥid iygūlluḳ ēh? ʿal-ēh? ʿala ttadrīb ḏih.* "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 iʿšāb fi lbaṛṛ bitdāwiy ssukkaṛ* "and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes".

The negation is usually *mā fīh* (or K-form *ma fīš*), e.g. *ǧār ánnaxaḷ, mā fīh izrāʿah 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): *gaḇḷ ilfaṣil kān yaʿniy ḥwēl alfēn iṯṯalā…yaʿniy māš kaṯīr* "before the seperation there was, that is, around two thousand, three…that is, there was not much" and *w Aḷḷāhiy māš isdūd fihe…iblādna hāḏiy* "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] *hayagṭaʿuw + aššiǧaṛ*.

[88] *fīh* 'functions as a prepositional predicate of a nominal sentence', cf. Grotzfeld 1964:87.

[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 waṛ-álbil, ṣār ilkōn…yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw miʿ 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[90] divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid". Another example is *yaʿniy kīlu … iṯnēn kīlu yōm ma fiš hawa xāliṣ* "(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all" and *fīh ṃayyih, halḥīn ilǧbāl yōm tiǧhiʾ, subḥān Aḷḷāh ṛabbna míʿtiniy kull šiy* "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: *yaʿniy kunna šabāb ʿala zzamil w intasābag w insābig yōmin nǧ-áĺaṛab,*[91] *fihimt 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 ilǧbālāt hāḍōlah ʿala ʿyūnī w aná fi Maṭariyyih law-ddūnī min yōmin fakkat Sīnih, law kull yōm alf iǧnēh mānī gāʿid* "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 addāᵘḵ gaṣalatha ḥuṛmítᵘḵ* "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 + ál-ʿaṛab.*

[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.

4.6.1.1.2.4. 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 luh ana Mzēniy* "now, when he says to you 'Where are you from?' You say to him 'I am a Mzēniy'", *inhuṃ gōṭaruw hnúh aṣil lamma tfakkir Sīna zamān alblād hēḏiy maḥál* "they went there because when you would see (as it was) before this land was dry".

An example of *lumma* (current in MzA, but not in BWA) *inta lḥīn aḏḏayf lumma biyǧī"ḵ, lumma byiǧíy ḏḏayf, taʿmal luh gahwah*[94] "Now when the guest comes to you, when the guest comes, you make coffee for him".

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in. *lamma* or *lumma* + *in* was not recorded

4.6.1.2.3. lamma *and* lumma *"until"*
lumma (see also remark below in 4.6.1.3.) or *lamma* may be used in combination with *laġāyit* for "until", e.g. (prosodically lengthened *a* in the first syllable) *la:ġāyit lumma ddaxanah btabga bēḏāʾ* "until (when) the smoke becomes white". But also without *laġāyit*, as in *iw byinḥaṭṭ luh šwayyih zayy ma tgūl fi ššamis lamma yṛūb* "and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles" and *bitḥuṭṭ...ǧamir issiyyāl nāṛ lamma táhaǧam* "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 ǧīna Ḏiháb nihāniy lōmma midāris fátaḥin...* "and we came to Ḏahab 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 *taʿmal luh gahwah*, proper MzA would be more something like *itsaww luh gáhawah* 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-ǧ-m* is in some way related to the root *ǧ-m-r*, as in *ǧamriyyih* "glowing ember".

4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta *"until", "so that"*

ḥatta "until" was recorded in *bitdugguh iw biti:ġluh*[96] *ʿala lṃayyih aw mā ḥatta tiġḷuh ʿa lṃayyih* "you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water".

ḥatta was also recorded meaning "so that": *yaʿniy halḥīnit álwalad iḷʾaṣīl illiy hū ʿíndina nihāʾ…hatlāguh ibyasmaʿ kilām aḅūh. ibyarḍaʾ…yaʿniy ḥatta ʾaḅūk ibyarḍa ʿalē^uḳ w aṃṃuk ibtarḍa ʿalē^uḳ…* "that is, the decent son that we have here (in our community)…you'll find that he listens to (the words of) his father. He is pleased…. that is, so that your father is pleased with you and your mother is pleased with you".

4.7. *Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles*

4.7.1. gām

Unconjugated *gām* used as a 'marker of consequent action' was not recorded in these dialects. In only one instance (but conjugated) *gāṃuw* was used in a narration of events: *yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw yōm liḥguw waṛálbil, ṣār ilkōn…yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw miʿ iZwayyid innuṣṣ* "when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid".

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

ṛāḥ was not recorded as an auxiliary or particle in MzA or BWA.

4.7.3. *Conditional particles*

4.7.3.1. *Variations on* kān *as a conditional particle*

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of *in + kān* "if": *min zilīṭ iṣġayyir zayy zilīṭ ṣa:yd aw zilīṭ ġanám mā yḏurr bass inkān min zilīṭ iṣṣa:yd aḥala l iḷʿukkah…* "(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) *w izkān intuw bitliffūh ʿala miyyih* "and if you're going to be around here a hundred (counts)" and *ṛaʿāníy[yih]...alimsimmih ḏiyyih. ḏiy iz kān nilgāha fi šgāgniʾ...ġār nagṭaʿ aššuggah kiḏiy...w inṭuššhiʾ* "a scorpion fish, this venemous 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": *iḥna bníftixir bēha ḥatta kān biygūluw 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 žin ib tafkīr, kān iddaṛāhim ḏillih...masalan alḥīnit ʿašaṛ t-ālāf...ixlāl aṛbaʿ t-ušhur xamis t-ušhur...ilʿašaṛ t-alāf ḏillih talghin ʿišrīn 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 ʿalēhuw b sinih ṭarid...min Sīnih b ilmaṛṛah ḥatta mā ywakklūne...kān wālidtī w uxtī w uxūyw...yaʿniy nāsī...* "they sentenced them to a year of total exile...from Sinai, so that they would not (be able to) feed us, be it my mother and my sister and my brother and...(all) my family, that is".

Another example is: *w inḥuṭṭuh fīha. kān ġilīḏ aw irfayyiʿ lāzm iykūn miš yaʿniy nōʿayn* "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 ákalat ib sínnaha, hū ytiff kiḏiy f-īdu, iw yaxabaṭha kiḏiy* "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 *ligaṭnāh fi lxēṭ. iw mnā...mnimšiy šwayyah zayy ʿašaṛah mitir, iw binunšur ṯāniy* "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 ǧiʾ!* "there he is!", *hēhī ǧāt* "there she is!", *hēhuwwa ǧuw* "there they (masc.) are!", *hēhinnah ǧin* "there they (fem.) are!" (lit. "has/have come").

4.8.3. *Particle* wlin ~ wilin, win

The particle *wlin* is used mainly to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration,[99] but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: *ʿašaṛ dagāyig iw tiglibha ma fiš dig . . . kam digīgih w tiglibha ʿa lǧāl iṯṯāniy w linnhī yōm ástuwat . . . bitṭalliḥḥa* "ten minutes and you flip it over after less than a min . . . a few minutes and you turn it on its other side and there it is, when it has become cooked . . . you take it out".

Another example is with the variant particle *ilin* + suffix: *w fi lxaṛṛāfah ḏiyyih . . . ilinnih irkāb ǧin*[100] "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 ṣṣāǧ gaḷibtēn ṯalāṯih wlāha mistawyih* "and you put it on the ṣāǧ and flip it two or three times, and there it is: cooked!" (recorded in BWA).

---

[98] The fishing technique described is with nets (sg. *šuggah*, pl. *šgāg*) on a line (*xayṭ*; here *xēṭ*) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (*ʿala ḥarf ilbāḥah*) and throw out their nets on the deep side.

[99] See Blanc 1970:34 (145).

[100] *rkāb* is pl. (of small numbers) of *irkābih*. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see 'concord' in 4.16.

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the neces-
sity of the action, e.g. *ilimḥilliy ġār iyxaddim ʿa ḍḍayf* "the host should
serve the guest" and *ṛawwaḥna luh, ana gult ēh? ġār aṛawwiḥ luh. awaddīh
l alḥuṛmah ḏiy, yimkin áššifiʾ ʿal-īdhiʰ* "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.[101] Examples for "need" or "want" are:
widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Sliʾ[102] "we want to go to Wadiy Islah" (BWA), *ēš
bidduḳ?* "what do you want?", *bidduh yāxiḏ šiǧáṛ mi-nhāniy iyḥálliluh* "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-āxḏ 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 ilGāʿ ibyinṣabb ġād fi sēl Wādiy Fēṛān* "so when you
look out at the highest point of alGāʿ it flows there into the flood course
of Wadi Fēṛān" and *ʿād wēn lagga?* "so where did he go?".

4.13. yabga

yabga is not very current, but may be heard at times meaning "so, then",
as in *yabga ṭaʿámhin ḥiluw* "so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet".

---

[101] In group I *widd* is current.
[102] Wādiy Isla (as it is usually indicated on maps) runs from almost due east of aṭ-Ṭūr
into the mountains. In group I the name of this wadi is pronounced Sliy (cf. 1.2.4.4. and
3.1.5.).

4.14. *Characteristics of the Narrative Style*

4.14.1. *Imperative of narration*

The narrative imperative is one of the characteristics of the narrative style. An example is *w asḥabuw syūf. zimān ġār b isyūf.* […] *iw ṭaxx ṭaxx ṭaxx w aslaʿuw kitif wāḥid, iw hū yušrud, úšurduw ṛawwḥuw tTaṛābīn...* "and they drew (their) swords. In the old days it was only with swords […] And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody's shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛābīn". Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) *innās ǧuw ʿilēh dammuh kulluh fi ddagʿah, nāzil...zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuh, iw ḥuṭṭuw ʿa lbiʿīr iw yimšuw* "people came to him, all his blood had run on the ground...like a flood. They gathered it together and buried his blood and put him on a camel and they went away".

4.14.2. *kān as a temporal marker*

As another characteristic of the narrative style, unconjugated *kān* can be used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *bass zimān fi sSuʿūdiyyah hnūtiy kān innās mā btalga tākil* "but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat", *ilmayyah kān bitganniy fi lwādiy hāḏa* "water used to flow through (narrow) canals in this wadi". In most cases, however, *kān* is conjugated for number and gender.

4.14.3. *Dativus ethicus*

Several instances of the ethical dative were recorded. Examples are: *kān ʿíndin-ayw-marākib...maṛākib bass isġayyrāt yaʿniy...isġayyrāt ...ṯálāṯah mitir aw arbáʿah mitir yaʿniy timšiy bēhin min baʿad áššaʿab timš luḵ iṯnēn 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 luḵ ṯalāṯ arbaʿ mitir baʿīd ʿan iššaʿab ma biyǧīᵘḵ xāliṣ. lākin law mišēt ʿá-ššaʿab byimšiy waṛāᵘḵ* "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: *ṯamān faṭīrāt ʿašar 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 itḥuṭṭ ʿalēhin ēh? gadd ʿašar iǧṛāmāt minhin* "and you put what on them? About (the quantity of) ten grams of these (lit. them (pl. fem.)" (see remark in fn 63, p. 148) and *ʿašaṛ kīlāt* (~ *ʿašaṛah 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 aṛṛuǧfān iw birraǧǧidhin f-áṣṣaḥan* "we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate" and *ilʿašaṛ t-alāf ḏillih talghin ʿišrīn alf* "these ten thousand (pounds), you'll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand". Other examples are: *halḥīn ilwidyān...aǧlabīyttin la Biniy Wāṣil...ka milkiyyih, tawǧad lēhin waṛág fi ddēr, tawǧad lēhin waṛág kiḏiy...yaʿniy...aǧlabīyt ilwidyān inNabig...išŠarim...* "nowadays most of the wadis belong to the Baniy Wāṣil...as property, you'll find a piece of paper on them in the monastery, you'll find a piece of paper on them like that...that is...most of the wadis near Nabg, Šarm...". Also plurals of animals are referred to in pl. fem., e.g. *iw fīh ḥūt kiṭīr f-álbiḥaṛ iw fīh igṛūš, bass igṛūš ḏiy mā-ḥadd yaʿniy mā-ḥadd ibyākilhin.bass yaʿniy ibniṣṭādhin baṛḏuh b ilxayṭ biyǧín fi lxayṭ baṛḏuh* "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]

---

[103] I merely conclude the absence of this feature in my material. I do not exclude the possibility of its existence in this group.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE TAṚĀBĪN,
ḤWĒṬĀT, ĞARĀĞRAH, TAYĀHA, BADĀṚAH,
DBŪR AND MALĀLḤAH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the Bedouin dialects of the Taṛābīn[1] (of Ṛās Ṣadr on the Gulf of Suez, abbreviated as TAṢ, and of Nwēbiʿ on the Gulf of ʿAqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ğidy in Sinai,[2] abbreviated as ḤwA), Ğarāğrah (of Malbad, some 40 km to the southeast of Ṛās Ṣadr,[3] abbreviated as ĞrA), Tayāha (on the Tīh plateau of central Sinai, abbreviated as TyA), Badāṛah (in aṛ-Ṛamlah,[4] abbreviated as BdA), Dbūr (some kilometres south of Qalʿat al-Ğindiy,[5] abbreviated as DbA) and Malālḥah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,[6] abbreviated as MlA) are described as forming the southern continuation of group I.[7] This is also the dialect type spoken in the northern Sinai by the tribes Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Masāʿīd, ʿAyāydah, (farther into eastern central Sinai) Aḥaywāt (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 Ḍullām 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 Ḥiğāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).

[2] Geographical coordinates of Ğabal al-Ğidy are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddī).

[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 sesion 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 Qalʿat al-Ğindy 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 ʿAzāzmah 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,[8] DbA, BdA, TyA, ǦrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA)[9] will be collectively referred to here as 'southern group I dialects'.

1. Phonology

1.1. *Consonants*

1.1.1. *Inventory of consonants*

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ǦrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA (in the northeast) is identical to that of group I in De Jong 2000:[10]

	bilabial		labdent.		alveolar		intdent.		postalv.		palatal		velar		uvul.		phar.		laryng.	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
plosive	b				t	d							k	g	(q)				(ʾ)	
emph.					ṭ															
nasal	m					n														
fricative			f		s	z	ṭ	ḏ	š	(ž)			x	ġ			ḥ	ʿ	h	
emph.					ṣ	(ẓ)		ḍ												
affricate											ǧ									
trill						r														
emph.						(ṛ)														
lateral						l														
emph.						ḷ														
glides	w										y									

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

Of consonants listed here, those in brackets are heard in loans, such as q and ʾ in the word *qurʾān* "Koran". They are marginal as a phoneme, such as ẓ in *ẓabbaṭ, yẓabbiṭ* "do properly", or are allophone, such as ž for ǧ; in

---

[8] The triangular area in the central north of Sinai which is indicated on the map as Ḥwēṭiy territory (between the dīrahs of ʿAyA, nTA and AḥA) was not visited during this research. For the maps in the appendix I have simply followed the findings for ḤwA as spoken by Ḥwēṭāt to the southwest of this area to colour in this area as well.

[9] See remark in fn 7, p. 193.

[10] Cf. De Jong 2000:59.

some of the dialects ž is highly regular, while in other dialects it is rare. The phonemic status of ṛ is sometimes disputed, and therefore ṛ is bracketed in this inventory.[11]

1.1.2. *Interdental fricatives /ṯ/, /ḏ/ and /ḍ/*

Reflexes of *ṯ and *ḏ are interdentals ṯ and ḏ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð]) respectively. Emphatic ḍ (I.P.A. velarized [ð̣]) is the interdental reflex of both *ḍ and *ḏ̣, e.g. (as reflex of *ḍ in) ṛawḍ (pl. rīḍān) "small watercourse between low mountains" (DbA), ḥāmiḍ "sour" (BdA), ḍayf "guest" (TyA) and (as a reflex for *ḏ̣ in) yḍall "he remains" (TAN) and ḍaharah "his back" and ḍimy "thirst" (both ǦrA).

In a number of lexemes ẓ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in ẓābiṭ "officer", b aẓẓabṭ "precisely", maẓbūṭ "correct", muḥāfiẓ "governor", niẓām "system", ẓurūf "circumstances" (TyA) (notice that in the latter three examples short high vowels have not been dropped from the open initial syllables, which is another indication of their status as loans), naẓẓam, ynaẓẓim "organize", ḥāwūz (pl. ḥawāwīz) "large storage tank for oil" (in ḤwA and TAṢ), ḥāǧih fiẓī'ah "a disgusting thing" (DbA), etc.[12]

In all dialects both hāḏa and velarized hāḏ̣a "this (sg. masc.)" may be heard, except in ḤwA, where such velarization as in the latter form is not current.

The reflexes for *ṯ and *ḏ are interdentals ṯ and ḏ. Examples for *ṯ are: naḥariṯ "we plough" (ǦrA), ṯillāǧah "refrigerator" (BdA and ṯallāǧah and ṯalǧ "ice, snow" in TAṢ),[13] biyṯannuw lha "they come back to her" (ḤwA).

For *ḏ: nubḏur "we sow" (ḤwA), kiḏb "lying" (BdA) and aḏbaḥah "I slaughter it (masc.)" and miḏrāḥ[14] "winnowing fork" (both ǦrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA *ṯ in "refrigerator" and "ice; snow" has a reflex t:[15] tillāǧah, talǧ and also ḥaddūtih "story; fairy tale" (BdA, TAṢ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *ṯ is s, e.g. ta'sīr "influence" (TAN), bit'assir 'alēh "it (fem.) has an

---

[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 mḥāfiḍ 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 ǦrA is actually digrān, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.

[15] t for *ṯ in lexemes talǧ and tillāǧah is also regular in dialects of groups VI and VII in 1.1.2. of chapters I and II.

influence on him" (TyA), *tuṛās* "legacy" (ḤwA), *ḫādsih* "accident", *bi ḥays* (cf. MSA *bi ḥayṯu*) "so as to…" (TAṢ) and *masalan* "for instance" (all dialects), and for *ḏ it is *z*, as in *zakālak*[16] "likewise" (DbA) or *kazālak* (TAṢ), *bala mʾāxza* "no offense intended" (DbA) and *bizr* "seed" and *bizrih* "seed (n.u.)", but *hū byubḏur ibḏāṛ* "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 /ḵ/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/*

A regular realisation of /ǧ/ in southern group I dialects is [dʒ] (with varying degrees of the plosive onset [d] of this affricate; also [ᵈʒ]). The fricative allophone *ž* (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is more regular in southern group I dialects than in those of the north and it is particularly frequent in ḤwA.

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/*

In all southern dialects of group I a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the *ṭ*, is not very clear. Much more clearly audible is the complete lack of aspiration in the release of *ṭ*—resulting from the total closure of the vocal cords—and the immediate onset of voicing for the following vowel, which coincides with the release of *ṭ*.

In one case the reflex for *ṭ was *t*: *tiʿmih* "bait", which must be related to the root *ṭ-ʿ-m* (DbA). The form *talʿah* "(a usually rocky) watercourse between two mountains used to climb through (i.e. a pass)" is presumably related to the root *ṭ-l-ʿ* "ascend" (TAṢ).

1.1.6. *Glottal stop* (*hamzah*)

Like in many other groups in Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb "ask" is *ʿ*: *saʿal, yasʿal*. Also the presentative *arʿ* or *irʿ* "behold!" shows *ʿ* for *ʾ (< root *r-ʾ-y).[17]

---

[16] Compare MSA *ka-ḏālik*, after metathesis > *ḏakālik*, and after reinterpreting morpheme boundaries of *ḏa-kālik* as *ḏakā-lik*, after which *-lik* could be interpreted as the suffixed preposition *l* used as a presentative. See also remark on *kizāluḵ* in fn 4, p. 117.

[17] Also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:418.

In *raʾs "head", loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel ṛās in all dialects. The pl. is ṛūs in TyA, ḤwA, DbA, BdA, ĞrA, but pl. ryūs in TAṢ and TAN.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern *CiCaC (or *CuCaC) are often CCaC in these group I dialects, e.g. ṛkab "knees", šnaṭ "suitcases", ḥgan "injections", nxaṛ "noses", etc.

1.1.7. *Secondary velarization*

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:63–65), secondary velarization is a feature typical of southern group I dialects as well. In many cases a combination of a velar (*g, x* or *ġ*) with *l, r* or *b* wil produce velarization, especiallly with *u, ū* or *a, ā* in its vicinity. Some of many examples are: *xuḷḷah,* (pl.) *xḷaḷ* "screened off private section of a tent" (TAṢ), *mxaḷḷaḷ* "pickled" (ĞrA), *ánnaxaḷ* "the palm tree" (ĞrA), *ġṛāb* "crow" (ĞrA), *ġaḷḷah* "grain, cereals" (ĞrA), *ġūḷah* "desert giant" (ĞrA), *šuġḷ albaṛṛ* "of the desert" (ĞrA), *ʿugbah* "after him" (DbA), *gaḷḅ* "heart" (DbA), *gáḅiḷha* "before her" (ĞrA), *xaḷḷāhuṃ* "he let them" and *xaḷḷah ytagaḷḷaʿ* "let him go free" (both BdA), *gḷayyil* "little", *agaḷḷ* "less; least" (both TAṢ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between *guḷḷah*, pl. *gḷaḷ* "pitcher, jug" and *gillih* "lack, paucity".[18]

1.1.8. *Liquids ḷ 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 *āṛ* will be velarized, unless *i* follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). There are many examples, of which some are: *miṭmāṛah* "storage for grain", *škāṛah* "sack

---

[18] There is a phonemic difference, but to identify the different phonemes causing this difference in meaning is problematic.

A *guḷḷah* "waterjar" (pl. *gḷaḷ*) is referred to as *bittiyyih* (pl. *batātiy*) in TAṢ, while older people refer to the waterjug as *zimzimiyyih* (which reflects underlying *a* in the second syllable, hence not •*zimizmiyyih*), cf. the well *Zamzam* in Mecca. The word *guḷḷah* is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. *karniffah* (pl. *karānīf*), originally refers to the thick part of the palm leaf where it attaches to the stem, but is now also used metaphorically for the head of a tank-fired shell.

for grain" (ḤwA), *faxxāṛ* "pottery", *nāṛ* "fire", *nahāṛ* "day(-light)", *ǧṛāṛ* "jar (pl.)" and *kṭāṛ* "many (pl. com.)", *kbāṛ* "old (pl. com.)". Also: *mixšāṛ* "large wooden fork used to stir food", *zwāṛah* "visit to (the tomb of) a saint" (DbA), *xuwwāṛ* "inferior type of camel, bred for meat", *byāṛ* "wells", *Badāṛah* "name of the tribe Badāṛah", *ḥwāṛ* "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.)", *ʿagārib* "scorpions", *sāriḥ* "taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)" and (elided) *ʿārfīn* "knowing (pl.)", *Bšāriy* "of the tribe *Bišāriyyah* (referring to a type of camel)", *šāriʿ* "street, *xarārīf* "stories" and *tārīx* "history".

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in *bindāṛǧih mdāṛaǧih* "we take it (in travel) in stages" and in the plural form in *Sēl liXbāṛ* "the Wādiy (lit. Stream) of the fields", but the other pl. form *xibāriy* "agricultural (plots of) land fed by rainwater".

1.1.9. *Nasal n*

No remarks.

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

A feature noticed in TyA is the glottalization of (especially) the *ā* in an ending -*āC* in pause > -*āʾ*, after which the C (in all recorded instances this was an alveolar) is no longer pronounced. Examples are (the dropped final consonant is indicated in square brackets): *Fēṛāʾ* # [*n*] "Wādiy Fērān", *kattāʾ* # [*l*] "killer", *Nṣayṛāʾ* # [*t*] "(a sub tribe) Nṣayrāt", *blāʾ* # [*d*] "land".

1.2. *Vowels*

1.2.1. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

Like northern group I dialects, southern group I dialects have three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:	*i*		*u*	long:		*ī*			*ū*
							ē	*ō*	
		a					*ā*		

1.2.2. *Long vowels*

1.2.2.1. *Allophones of long vowels ē and ī*
Like in group I dialects of the north, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ occurs in most southern group I dialects as well. However, in TAṢ, ĠrA 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, ĠrA, 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 monopthongization in *tōgid* "you light" (both in DbA and ḤwA) and *tawṣafnī* "you describe to me" and *tōzin* "you weigh" (both in TAṢ). But in TyA both *yawṣal* "he arrives" and *yawrid* "he gives water" have diphthongs. In ĠrA there appears to be a tendency to monophthongize *aw* in closed syllables, e.g. *yawrid* "he waters", but *yōrduw* "they water". Examples in BdA: *yowgaf* "he stands" and *yōkīha* "he ties it (fem.) closed".

Some C$_1$ = *w* verbs in ḤwA also have imperfect forms occurring without incorporated *wāw*,[19] e.g. *tigíf* "she stands", *tagfin* "they (pl. fem.) stand", *yiríd* "he waters" and *tardiy* "you (sg. fem.) water", but a form like *tizín* for "you weigh" was not accepted during direct elicitation.

---

[19] Shawarbah 2007:432 also reports *yír(i)d* and *yíṣil* for TyA.

Notice that in the forms *tigíf* and *yiríd* the vowel of the first syllable is actually underlying *a*, hence it is not dropped in open unstressed syllable (which would have resulted in forms like •*tgif* and •*yrid*) and 'reappears' as *a* in closed syllables (cf. the sg. fem. forms quoted).

1.2.2.3. *Allophones of long vowel* ā

The long vowel *ā* may have a realization as high as I.P.A. [ɛː], mainly in neutral positions and when followed by *i* or *ī* in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), as in *nāsiy* "having forgotten (act. part. sg. masc.)". *nāyim* "asleep (act. part. sg. masc.)", *rāsiy* "anchored (act. part. sg. masc.)", *dāriy* "knowing (act. part. sg. masc.)" and *ǧāriy* "running (act. part. sg. masc.)".

But *ā* is realized nearer to I.P.A. [aː] in positions like *nās* "people", and also in *nāsī* "my people" (contrast *nāsiy* above).

Also in ḤwA the phonetic difference between *ā* in *mākil* "having (sg. masc.) eaten" and *nāyim* "sleeping (sg. masc.)" (both near I.P.A. [ɛː]) and in *nākil* "we eat" and *nām* "he slept" (both nearer to I.P.A. [aː]) is clear. Another example is /ā/ (near I.P.A. [aː]) in *šāl* "he carried" and *šāyil* "carrying", where /ā/ is nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː].

In velarized environments, *ā* is realized near I.P.A. [ɑː], as in *ṛāsī* "my head", *dāṛī* "my house" and *ǧāṛī* "my neighbour".

The difference in realizations of *ā* in *ṛāsī* and *rāsiy* may be explained by recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ạ̄/, or /r/ and velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. In the case of differences in a near minimal pair like *nāsiy* and *nāsī*, absence or presence of velarization is irrelevant. We could isolate /ɛː/ and /ā/ as separate phonemes.[20]

However, since *nāsī* is stressed on the final syllable, whereas *nāsiy* is stressed on the first, concluding stress as being phonemic would be equally justified, if we would choose to regard [ɛː] and [aː] as allomorphs of /ā/.

1.2.2.4. *Shortening of long vowels*

Like in northern group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a feature of allegro style in southern group I dialects as well.[21]

---

[20] The problem of identifying phonemes in cases such as described here was discussed before in De Jong 2000:65–67.

[21] Shawarbah 2007:421 reports for TyA of the Negev that shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions only occurs in open syllables; in closed syllables their length is retained.

1.2.3. *Short vowels*

1.2.3.1. *Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/*
In a number of minimal pairs short high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be isolated as phonemes:

Xiḍr "male given name"	– *xuḍr* "green (pl. com.)"
xirm "elongated species of fish"	– *xuṛm* "hole"
ʿigb "offspring"	– *ʿugb* "after"
girbih "watersack"	– *guṛb* "nearness"
ḥibb "kiss!"	– *ḥubb* "love"
ṣifr "zero"	– *ṣufṛ* "yellow (pl. com.)"
šiggah "his guest section of the tent"	– *šuggah* "fishing net"

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

ḥabb "grain"	– *ḥubb* "love"
ḥaṭṭ "he placed"	– *ḥuṭṭ!* "place!"
šadd "he pulled"	– *šidd!* "pull!"

1.2.3.2. *Phonetic factors influencing the quality of* I
The subject of phonetic factors influencing the phonetic quality of *I* has been discussed at some length in De Jong 2000:70–74.

In the pl. com. form for colours or physical defects *i* tends to show up in neutral environments, and *u* in velarized or labial environments, but different dialects show different short vowels. Forms recorded are:

šidf in ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but *šudf* in TAṢ "left-handed (pl. com.)"; *ʿimy* in ĞrA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but *ʿumy* in TyA and TAṢ "blind (pl. com.)"; *ʿirǧ* in ĞrA and BdA, but *ʿurǧ* in TyA, ḤwA and TAṢ "limping (pl. com.)"; *ziṛg* in ĞrA, TyA and ḤwA, but *zuṛg* in TAṢ, BdA and DbA "blue; black (pl. com.)"; *hibl* in BdA, but *hubl* in DbA "dim-witted (pl. com.)".

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, *u* is regular in *ḥumṛ* "red (pl. com.)", *xuḍr* "green (pl. com.)" and *ṣufr* "yellow (pl. com.)" in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are *ṭurš* "deaf" (TyA), *ḥumg* "stupid, silly" and *xuṛs* "dumb" (both ḤwA and TyA).

The short vowel in the imperfect of the verbs "eat" and "take" is *i* in all dialects discussed here: *yākil* and *yāxiḏ*. Imperatives of these verbs tend to have *u* in the velarized forms of the sg. masc.: *xuḏ* and *kuḷ* (velarization is

indicated here with a subscript dot in *ḍ* and *l̤*).[22] In the other forms *u* is dropped, but velarization remains, as in (sg. fem.) *xḍiy, kl̤iy*, (pl. masc.) *xḍuw, kl̤uw* and (pl. fem.) *xḍin kl̤in*. When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ʊ] is regular: *yā nās ukl̤úw* "eat, people!" and *yā ḥṛayym ukl̤ín* "eat, women!" (examples from TAṢ).

Like in other dialects of Sinai, medial geminate verbs tend to show *i* in neutral environments, and *u* elsewhere. Some of many examples are (for all dialects, unless indicated otherwise), *u* in: *ydugg* "hit, pound", *yḍurr* "be harmful to", *yxuḍḍ* "churn", *ykuḍḍ* "bite", *ymuṣṣ* "suck", *yṣubb* "pour", *yṭubb* "find, encounter; go to", *yxušš* "enter", *yṭušš* "throw", *yḥuṭṭ* "place", *yrudd* "be related to; answer", *yṭuxx* "shoot, fire", *yluxx* "be soaked in", *yrušš* "sprinkle", *yǧukk* "churn, shake" and *ykutt ~ ykitt* "go downstream in a wadi" (ḤwA, BdA, but ~ *ykitt* in TAṢ).[23]

i is heard in: *yšidd* "pull, tighten", *yfikk* "loosen", *yliff* "go around, turn", *ymidd* "stretch out", *yṭiff* "spit", *yširr* "let dry (of dates) in a *mašaṛṛah*", *yriff* "flutter (of tent cloth)", *yǧiff* "dry", *ytimm* "take place", *yhimm* "be important for".

1.2.3.3. *Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel*
Since a separate phoneme /ḳ/ is not found in group I, exceptions like those noted for groups VI–VIII (and in group II)[24] are not found in group I.

1.2.3.4. *Allophones of short vowels*
Allophones of short vowels *i, u* and *a* are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–76, which are in turn also like those in group VI.

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

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

---

[22] A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in *x* or *k*, e.g. *xuḏ* and *kul*, or throughout, e.g. *x̤uḏ* and *k̤ul̤*, but since velarization spreads, marking it in one location may be sufficient.

[23] Again we see variation of the high vowel in the contiguity of *k*, see remark in fn 18, p. 30 above.

[24] See De Jong 2000:253.

1.2.3.4.3. *Allophones of /a/*

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

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ preceding long stressed vowels
Although raising of *a* in the pattern CaCīC has been characterized as regular and therefore morphophonemic in dialects of group I of the north, such raising is optional in most southern group I dialects, except in ḤwA, where it is also concluded to be morphophonemic. In DbA raising of *a* tends to be inhibited by preceding *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *x* or *ġ* (with preceding *h* was not recorded in DbA).

Except when *a* is preceded by *ʾ*, 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", *alˁArīš ~ alˁIrīš* "name of the town al-Arish", *xalīǧ ~ xilīǧ* "gulf", *ˁarīs ~ ˁirīs* "bridegroom", *raḥīl* "travelers", *dagīg ~ digīg* "flour", *rafīg ~ rifīg* "companion", *raḥīf* "thin", *ġalīḏ ~ ġilīḏ* "thick", *ragīg* "thin", *xafīf ~ xifīf* "light" and also *ġanīy* "rich".

Forms only recorded with raised *a* are: *gibīlah* "tribe", *kiṯīr* "much, many", *ǧimīˁ* "all", *biˁīr* "camel", *kibīr* "big; old", *ṣiġīr* "small; young", *gidīm* "old", *ˁirīs* "bridegroom", *ˁiǧīn* "dough", *ḥizīn* "sad", *dixīl* "guest taking refuge", *šigīg* "brother", *širīf* "honourable", *riġīf* "loaf of flat round bread", *bixīl* "stingy", *ˁIlīy* "male given name ˁAliy" and *ṭirīy* "moist, soft".

In most group I dialects of central and southern Sinai preceding hamzah blocks such raising, e.g. *ʾaṣīl* "thoroughbred" and *ʾatīm* "orphan" and also in verb forms *(ʾ)aǧīb* "I bring", *(ʾ)ašīl* "I carry", *(ʾ)aǧīk* "I come to you", *(ʾ)arīd* "I want" and *(ʾ)abīˁ* "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. *babīˁ, barīd* (raising of *a* in mediae *yāʾ* verbs of the type *(b)ibīˁ* or *(b)irīd* for the 1st p. com. sg. is rare in the dialects discussed here, see also remarks in 3.2.1.2.).

– No instances were recorded of raised *a* preceding stressed CCī, examples are: *baṭṭīx* "watermelon", *baddīˁ* "improvisor of rhyme", *xarrīǧ* "alumnus", *sakkīnah* "knife", *garnīṯ* "octopus", *sabˁīn* "seventy", *xamsīn* "fifty", *Katrīn* "(St.) Catherine", *kabrīt* "matches", *xanzīr* "extra growth of twigs (to be removed) on lower stem of the grafted almond plant (lit. pig)", *ǧarǧīrih* "watercress (n.u.) (?)" and many more.
– Instances of raising of *a* preceding stressed Cē: in TyA, ḤwA and DbA one will hear e.g. *ˁilēha ~ ˁalēha* "on him"). Such raising in the suffixed

preposition ʿala (e.g. ʿalēh > ʿilēh) was not observed in TAṢ, TAN, ĞrA, MlA or BdA.

In verb forms we find optional raising in ḤwA, TyA, ĞrA like mašēt ~ mišēt "I walked" (~ mišīt in ḤwA), lagēt ~ ligēt "I found" (~ ligīt in ḤwA, TyA), fadēt ~ fidēt "I sacrificed", though in MlA, TAṢ and BdA such raising was absent; forms there are e.g. mašēt, fadēt (ligīt only appears as i-type). Notice that in verb forms of the a-type imperfect raising of a may take place when it precedes ē, but not in forms with diphthongs (i.e. when it precedes ay), so e.g. ṛamayt "I threw", ḍawayt "I went home before sunset".

– raising of a preceding CCē is not current in MlA, TAṢ, TAN (though once suwwēt), BdA or TyA. Forms with raised a, though optionally so, like middēt, šiddēt etc. are however current in ĞrA, ḤwA and somewhat less so in DbA.

– raising of a preceding stressed Cā is regular in all dialects discussed here, but optional, e.g.: Tayāha ~ Tiyāha "name of tribe Tayāha", Ğamāl ~ Ğimāl "Ğamāl (ʿAbd anNāṣir)", ṛibāʿ "camel in its sixth year",[25] gināh "small irrigation canal", ğarādil ~ ğirādil "buckets", bahāyim ~ bihāyim "cattle (pl.)", gazāzih ~ gizāzih "bottle", Sawārkih ~ Suwārkih "name of tribe Sawārkah".

– raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: fissāy "expert farter", giṣṣāṣ "tracker", billāṣ "thief; extortionist", biṛṛād "teapot", ṯillāğih "fridge" and wiğʿān "suffering pain", milyān "full", hiğğān "camel rider". Such raising was heard mainly in BdA, ḤwA, ĞrA and TyA, but was found to be much less current in MlA, TAN, TAṢ and DbA.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -á(ʾ) (if not raised).

– raising of a preceding stressed ū is optional: ġumūs ~ ġamūs "food dip", xurūf ~ xarūf "lamb", ğunūb ~ ğanūb "south" and yuhūd ~ yahūd "Jews". With initial hamzah such raising remains absent (contrast with groups VI–VIII): (ʾ)aḅūy "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 CaCáC stress-type) ğimál "camel", libán "milk", šiğáṛ "trees", (a gahawah-form) šiháṛ "month", sibág "race", miʿáh "with him" and verb forms mišáʾ "he walked", kitáb "he wrote" and (gahawah-form) yixázin "he stores". Here

---

[25]   See Stewart 1990:255 (glossary).

too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (ʾ)*adáb* "good man-
ners", a verb form (ʾ)*axáḏ* "he took" (TyA) and gahawah-forms like
(ʾ)*ahál* "people", (ʾ)*aʿáma* "blind, (ʾ)*aʿáṛaǧ* "limping, lame" and (ʾ)*axáḏar*
"green".

– raising of *a* preceding stressed *u* does not occur when *hamzah pre-
cedes the *a:* (ʾ)*axušš* "I enter", (ʾ)*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:* (ʾ)*ašidd* "I pull tight", (ʾ)*amidd* "I stretch out" (in contrast to such
forms as *išidd* and *imidd* etc. heard in groups VI–VIII).

Stress in perfect forms of verbal measures *n-1* and *1-t* is *ánwikal*, *áttifag*,
etc. (see 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.3.3.). The article is stressed in a sequence *álCvCv(+)*
(see 2.1.1.1.), e.g. *álǧimal* "the camel", *álbuṣal* "the onions".

Like in groups VI–VIII, when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is
raised, as in *yínḏirib* "he is beaten", *yíttifig* "he agrees".[26]

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)

The *a* of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments
and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ɪ[h]].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less
regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: *ǧibál aʿIǧmih baʿád atTīh*
"The ʿIǧmah mountain lies behind the Tīh", (first word in) *kilmih magyūḷah*
"a spoken word", *baʿád kiḏiy aǧaṭṭīha b almallih xāliṣ* "after that I cover it
completely with hot sand",[27] *tíṭilʿ 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. *šurṭah*
"police", *ġilīḏah šwayyih* "a little thick", (second word in) *kilmih magyūḷah*
"a spoken word", *algiṣṣah* "the story", *baxūṛah* "incense", *xūxah* (velarized
throughout) "peach", *ʿaḍmah* "bone", *māsk alxūṣah f-īdī* "holding the knife
in my hand".

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and *ḥ*, e.g. *mā tukfuṛha
ʿašān mā tiʿaffan itxallha fātḥih* "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 *yínḏirib* and *yíttifig*, the raised *a* will
again 'reappear' as *a* when in closed syllables, e.g. *yinḏárbuw* and *yittáfguw*, 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 minnih āh? iysawwlūh yōm yabṛa::d fi māʿūn naḏīf* "and after that what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container", *maḥál mā biyǧíy maṭár wala kān ligīt alḥamād hāḏa axaḍa:r* "barren, no rain comes (to it) nor did I ever see (lit. find) this flat stony land[28] 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. [e:] and [o:].

Examples listed for group VI for *ay* may also be heard in group I. Some additional examples are: *ǧēšna* "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, *nōʿ* "type, sort", *ǧōz* "husband", *gōltak* "what you said (lit. your saying)", *lōnah* "its (sg. masc.) colour", *gōm* "enemy tribe", *gōz* "sandy hill, dune", and *lōz* "almonds".

When *ay* and *aw* are preceded by X or velarized consonants, they have not been monophthongized, but have remained diphthongal.

Examples are (for *ay*) *ʿayn* "eye", *ʿayš* "food", *xayr* "goodness", *xayl* "horses", *ḥayṭ* "walls", *ṣayd* "hunting", *ḍayf* "guest", and examples of verbs are *ḥaṭṭayna* "we placed", *xaḍḍayna* "we churned", *ištaṛayna* "we bought", *ḍaḷḷayt* "I stayed" and (for *aw*) *ḥawl* "year", *ʿAwdih* "given name ʿAwdah", *xawf* "fear", *ṣawt* "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, ĞrA and BdA. Examples are *ʿa:yš* "food", *ʿa:yn* "eye", *ʿa:yb* "disgrace", *xa:yṭ* "thread", *xa:ynih* "severe cold (as a disease)", *ḥa:yl* "strength", *ṣa:yf* "summer", *ṣa:yd* "hunting", *Fṛa:yǧ* "male given

---

[28] Stewart 1990:232 (glossary) lists *ḥamādih* "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 Fṛayǧ". Similar lengthening of *aw* was heard in *tga:wṭir* "you go" and *bya:wṭuw* "they travel (on foot?)".

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, *mawǧūd* "present (adj.)", *awʿa* "watch out!"[30] and also *šawlíy* "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 aC_1C_2aC_3 (as in *awgaf* instead of *ōgaf*, compare e.g. *ašṛab* "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 (~ *fīnī* 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 *sīf* "sword", *šīx* "sheikh", *bīt* "house", *iṯnīn* "two", *sanatīn* "two years", *zīn* "good", *ḏʿayfīn iftītāt* (< *ftētāt*) "tiny children". In such examples the *ē* is not quite full *ī*, but it is very near [i:].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MlA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and ǦrA but none were heard in TAN, TAṢ and BdA.[31] 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)"—*dāṛ* "house"
> *ǧībih/-ah* "bring it!"—*ǧēbih/-ah* "his pocket"—*ǧābih/-ah* "he brought it", *gōm* "enemy tribe"—*gūm* "get up!"

1.2.4.3. *Allophones of ā*
In the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, *ā* in neutral surroundings is realized near I.P.A. [ɛ:], but this is the case usually only when *i* follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. *ʿāṛif* "knowing" and *mizāriʿ* "fields for agriculture", but *ṛāyib* "curdled (of milk)"), or 'vanished' *i* disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. *drās* "threshing". In other

---

[30] In ḤwA, ASA and HnA *awʿa* is conjugated: *awʿa tans!, awʿiy tansiy!*, etc. "don't you forget!". In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. *awʿa tansin* "don't you (pl. fem.) forget".

[31] My Tuṛbāniy informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmēlāt and Sawārkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).

(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æ:],[32] as in for instance in *šāyī* "my tea". Thus also the phonetic difference in /ā/ in the examples *šāl* (near I.P.A. [æ:]) "he carried" and *šāyil* (nearer to I.P.A. [ɛ:]) "carrying".[33]

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ɑ:] as in *dāṛ* "house", *xalāṣ* "and that's it!", *ḍāṛūbah* "thoroughbred (fem.) camel", etc.

Minimal pairs, or near minimal pairs like *ğāṛī* "my neighbour" and *ğā̌riy* "running" thus become possible. Similarly *dāṛī* "my house" and *dāriy* "knowing" (both with [ɑ:] and [ɛ:] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.[34]

1.2.4.4. *Reflexes of final* *-ā(ʾ)*

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: *štiy / ášštiy* "(the) winter", *ʿšiy / áliʿšiy* "(the) evening", *hniy* "here", *griy* "villages",[36] *miy / álmiy* "(the) water". Colours are: *sawdíy* or *sōdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", (a gahawah-form) *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured", *ḥamšíy* "a darker shade than *šaḥabiy* (sg. fem.)". Physical defects: *ʿarğíy* "limping (sg. fem.)", *ḥamgíy* "stupid (sg. fem.)", *xarsíy* "dumb, mute (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlíy* "cross-eyed (sg. fem.)", *šadfíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ʿamyíy* "blind (sg. fem.)" and a diminutive form *ğrayʿíy* "little bald (dim., sg. fem.)".

Raising was also heard in the forms *ʿílyiy* (compare CA *ʿulyā*) "upper grinding stone of a hand mill" and *dinyiy* "world", *aṯTrayyíy* "the Pleiades" (in TAṢ, but in BdA *aṯTrayyih*), *Ğawzíy* "Gemini" in BdA and *ġniy* "singing" in TyA.

In the perfect verb form *ğaʾ* "he came" such raising is absent (contrast the DwA form *ğiy*, 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 imʿaggid f-alwādiy w aššāyib, Aḷḷāh yarḥamih, [mā] ʿindina ḥmāṛ nāgl igṛayybih fi ḍaḥárih ilnáʾ* "and he was going in the wadi, and the old man—God rest his soul—

---

[32] Similar remarks on the phonetic quality of /ā/ were made for nTA in De Jong 2000:69 (there abbreviated as TA).

[33] Shawarbah 2007:423–424 reports a high degree of *imālah* for medial *ā* in specified neutral environments in the speech of the Qdīrāt sub-confederation of the Tiyāha of the Negev, e.g. *wēdiy* "wadi", *Sēlim* "male name *Sālim*", *ʿēyiš* "alive" and *ḥēmiy* "hot", etc.

[34] See also remarks in De Jong 2000:65–66.

[35] Such extreme *imālah* is also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

[36] *griy* (as a pl. of *garyih*) was recorded in ḤwA. However, Blanc 1970:125 [14] gives *gíriy* as a pl. for *garyih* and glosses *griy* as "hospitality". If the ancestral form would be *qurā* (i.e. like in Classical Arabic), the pl. reflex *griy* instead of *gíriy* makes better sense. See also fn 144, p. 111 for *griy* in the meaning of "proper food served to a respected guest".

(and) we did not have a donkey, was carrying a small waterskin on his back to us" (TyA).

In MlA and TyA final *-ā of the pron. suffix of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is raised, e.g. *ṛabbayttiy*[37] *w māt aḇūhiy w hī mā ṛabʿanat, wala ḥatt-áddriy ǧaʾ ʿalēhiy. iw fi ǧīzittiy…maʿiṭ…yamʿaṭawhiy mn ihníy min-hāḏa. w iykāwnūhiy lā tǧiy ʿindī* "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 iṭṭaʿʿimhiy*[38] *b xūxah…itǧīb min ǧuṣn alxūxah w itraggi-dhiy fīhiy…* "you then go and graft it with a peach tree…you get one of the twigs of the peach tree and you tuck it (sg. fem.) into it (sg. fem.)"[39] (MlA). The form *ykāwnūhiy* in the former example also shows that preceding *ū* does not inhibit raising of the final *a* in *-ha*.[40]

In the other dialects (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ǦrA, 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 baǧībhaʾ #* "by the dozen I get it (sg. fem.)" (TAṢ), *yaʿniy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīnhaʾ…ifwāǧ ʿa ṯalaṯ t-iyyām..* "that is, we used to organize it (sg. fem.)…in heats over three days…" (talking about camel racing) (ḤwA).

When back spirants ḥ, x, ġ or velarized consonants directly precede final *-ā*, it is not raised, but in most cases has a *-aʾ* (with glottal stop, also in sandhi, and usually stressed) reflex. Examples are: *mín-ihniy bnáxaṭir*[41] *aššaṭṭ…ʿala zzamil* […] *iw binǧīb ʿalēhin iḏráʾ* "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 ʿindak ṣafráʾ…áṣṣafraʾ hēḏiy mānī ʿārifha biygūluw ʿalēha ēš…* "if you have jaundice…this jaundice I don't know (it) what they call it…". Other examples are: *bēḏáʾ*[42] "white (sg. fem.)",

---

[37] Assimilated *ṛabbayt + hiy*, see 2.5. of this chapter.

[38] Assimilated *t + ṭaʿʿimhiy*, see 2.5. of this chapter.

[39] *raggad, yraggid* would literally mean "cause to lie down/sleep", but here it refers to inserting (i.e. grafting) the twig into the incision in the stem and then cover it (usually with tape). Compare to "abdecken (bei Tomatenanbau, d.h. die Pflanze in eine Grube drücken und mit Erde überdecken)" in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:168.

[40] Contrast with remarks on group I dialects in northern Sinai in De Jong 2000:166.

[41] For the verb *xaṭar, yaxaṭir* see Stewart 1990:283 (glossary): "to go to get supplies of corn and the like".

[42] In ḤwA and DbA reduction of *ē* in this form was observed: *biḏáʾ*.

zargáʾ ~ zirgáʾ "blue" (in all dialects)[43] (often as a euphemism for "black"), *xaḏráʾ* "green (sg. fem.)", *ʿawṛáʾ* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)", *gaṛʿáʾ* "bald (sg. fem.)" (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by *y*—in the diminutive form *gṛayʿíy*).[44]

N.B. In MlA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final *-ā*, *ṣafrā*, *zaṛgā*, *xaḏrā* and also *ḏaḥā* "morning".

When historical *a* in open syllable directly precedes, raising of final *-ā(ʾ)* remains absent, e.g. *gifáʾ* "neck", *anáʾ* "I", *ġaṭáʾ* "cover, lid", *ġadáʾ* "lunch", *ʿašáʾ* "dinner", *dawáʾ* "medicine", *samáʾ* "sky", *sawáʾ* "together", *ṭanáʾ* "young boy".

In a form like *ṛaxáʾ* "abundance", *ḏaḥáʾ* "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(ʾ)* is not inhibited, e.g. *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured (sg. fem.)", *kaḥalíy* "variety of blueweed".

In TAṢ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives *ḥawlíy* and *ḥáwliy*: *saxaḷah ḥawlíy* "a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb"— *ǧídiy ḥáwliy* "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. *ʿašáʾ* "dinner", *ġadáʾ* "lunch", *nidáʾ* "moistness, dew", *gifáʾ* "nape of the neck",[45] *anáʾ* "I" and also in velarized forms like *ṭaṛáʾ* "moist ground", *waṛáʾ* "behind", *ḏaráʾ* "windscreen", *gaḏáʾ* "law".

Final *-a* in verb forms of the perfect of tertiae infirmae is not raised, e.g. *fadáʾ* "he sacrificed", *mašáʾ* "he walked" and also velarized forms like *ṛamáʾ* "he threw", *waṭáʾ* "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.)", *kaḥalíy* "variety of blueweed".

These reflexes of final *-ā*, whether raised or not, are usually stressed, even when a heavy sequence precedes within morpheme boundaries, e.g.

---

[43] Contrast *zargíy* in ḌA, 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. *biḍáʾ* "white (fem.)" and *ʿoṛáʾ* "one-eyed (fem.)", see Shawarbah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.
[45] The vowel *i* in the forms *nidáʾ* and *gifáʾ* is raised (underlying) *a*.

sōdíy or *sawdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *ʿarǧíy* "limping (sg. fem.)" and *xaḍráʾ* "green (sg. fem.)", *ṯaṛmáʾ* "gap-toothed (sg. fem.)".

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. *ášštiy* "the winter", *álifʾiy* (*al* + *fʾiy*) "the viper", *álǧadaʾ* "the lunch", *ánnidaʾ* "the moistness, dew" and *gillt álḥaya ʾ* "impudence".

N.B. "here" is *hniy* in all dialects (although in MlA ~ *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) *wāǧib al-ḥisníy ʿala griy wa driy* (3 instances of raising) "he who's received benefaction must feed and shelter", but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in *man adʿa li ḥisnāh yāxiḏ garāh* "he who's invited his benefactor will feed him".[46]

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

1.2.4.5.1. *Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on* ī *and* ū
Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following *ī* and *ū* towards (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

1.2.4.5.2. *Off-glide in* ē *and* 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 "Tayāhā" (Ḥusayn bin ʿĪd bin Ḥamad bin Miṣliḥ bin ʿĀmir at-Tayāhā) and the Tuṛbāniy poet "ʿUnayz" (ʿUnayz Aḅuw Sālim Swaylim al-ʿUrḍī) in Holes and Abu Athera 2009[47] does not reflect dipthongal reflexes of **ay* and **aw* when preceded

---

[46] Such reappearance of *ā* in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. *miʿziy*, but *miʿzāna* "our goats", see Shawarbah 2007:424.

[47] See pp. 47–62 for "ʿUnayz" and pp. 67–81 for "Tayāhā". Examples in ʿUnayz's poetry are: *ǧēr* (p. 53, l. 6), *ʿēbin* (p. 53, l. 8), *raḍēna* (p. 56, l. 10), *ʿēn* (p. 57, l. 21), *ḥōl* (p. 60, l. 19), *ḥēṯ* (p. 61, l.4), *ǧēbat* (p. 61, l. 9) though *gaḍḍaynāhin* (p. 54). In Tayāhā's poetry: *al-guṣēma* (p. 69, l. 5), *firʿōn* (p. 69, l. 13), *xēš* (p. 72, l. 11), *ʿōn* (p. 77, l. 5), *ʿēnah* (p. 79, l. 3), *ḍēf* (p. 79, l. 10), *xēr* (ibid.), *ǧēnah* (p. 80, l.11), but also *ḍallaw* (p. 80, l. 21).

by X or in velarized environments,[48] my own findings for the dialects TyA and TAN described here are quite conclusive: in such positions reflexes tend to be diphthongal in these dialects of group I.[49]

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

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments

In positions not preceded by X (i.e. back spirants *ḥ, ʿ, x, ġ* or *h*) or velarized consonants **ay* and **aw* have usually become *ē* and *ō*, cf. 1.2.4.1.

In final positions, verbal endings *ay* and *aw* have also remained diphthongal, as in e.g. *tansay* "you (sg. fem.) forget", *yansaw* "they forget", *ḥaraṯaw* "they ploughed" and also *ğaw* "they came".[50]

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, which has preserved morphological transparancy, e.g. *taybīs* "drying (transitive verbal noun of measure 2 verb root *y-b-s*)", *sawdíy* (~ *sōdíy*) "black (sg. fem.)", *mawğūd* "present", and also initial sequences of prima *wāw* verbs often show diphthongs, e.g. *awgaf* "I stand up", *nawrid* "we give water", although such forms co-occur with monophthongized forms (in this case *ōgaf* and *nōrid*). The prima *yāʾ* verb (perfect) *yibis* "dry (intrans.)" also shows a diphthong in the imperfect *yaybas*, although the form with the monophthong *yēbas* also occurs.

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

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

Reflexes of **ay* and **aw* preceded by X have remained diphthongal. Phonetic values range between [ai] and [ei] for **ay* and between [au] and [ou] for **aw*. Some examples are: (for *ay*) *xayl* "horses", *ġayṯ* "rain", *Aḥaywāt* "name of tribe (dim.)", *ʿayb* "disgrace" and *min yōm ṭulūʿ iShayl, iyxall-attamir hayl* "when the rising of Canopus[51] (is there), it causes the dates to fall" (recorded in BdA), (for *aw*) *hawğal* "wooden threshing board", *ḥawlíy* "cross-eyed", *ḥawl* "year", *ʿawṛá* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)", *xawf* "fear" (an

---

[48] Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of **ay* and **aw* (> *ē* or *ī* and *ō* resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.

[49] One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late ʿNēz.

[50] Although I recorded a few instances of endings *-iy* and *-uw* in TAN and TyA in *a*-type imperfects (as in e.g. *tášṛabiy* and *yášṛabuw*), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. *tášṛabay* and *yášṛabaw*.

[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 yixallī ar-ruṭab hayl* (in my own transcription this would be *iShayl iyxall-árrṭab hayl*) "Canopus makes the ripe dates fall". Dates are said to be ripe for harvest as early as July in Nwēbiʿ, then two months later in Fēṛān, another month later in Ṛās Ṣadr and again a month later in the Delta.

example of *ġ* preceding *aw* was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are *yaḏbaḥaw* [ˈyɛðbɐħau] "they slaughter", *tázraʿaw* [ˈtɛzrɐʕau] "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: [ɛi] 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*) *ṭʾayr* IPA [tʾɛir] "birds", *ḏayf* [ðɛif] "guest", *ṣayf* [sɛif] "summer" and (for *aw*) *ṣawm* [soum] "fasting", *ṭawr* [tʾour] "overhanging cliff".

Other diphthongs were heard in *ṭawṛ* "bull" and *ṭawḅ* "garment", where velarization has spread backwards (i.e. from right to left) through the word.

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

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final **-ī* and **-ū*
Like in other dialects of Sinai, the diphthongs *iy* and *uw* occur in a variety of positions.

Unlike the situation in group VI, *i*-type perfect forms of the tertia *yāʾ* verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CiCiy (underlying |CaCiy|) commonly occur in group I. Examples are: *ligíy* "he found", *fihíy* "he was surprised", *diríy* (*b*) "he became aware (of)", *nisíy* "he forgot", *ġilíy* "it became expensive".

Final *-iy* may also reflect older final **-āʾ*, as in *miy* "water", in the saying *alḥisniy tnazzl algidir ʿan 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) *ʿarġíy* "limping (sg. fem.)", *hablíy* "simple-minded (sg. fem.)", *ʿamyíy* "blind" and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also **CaCCāʾ*) *sawdíy* "black", *šahabíy* "sand-coloured". *-iy* may also reflect **-ā*, as in *hniy*[53] "here", *miʿziy* "goats".[54] In groups VI–VIII the reflex for **-ā(ʾ)* is often *-i*, except in patterns for sg. fem. forms for colour or physical defects. The regular reflex then, like in group I, is *-íy*.

---

[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 *-íy* for **-ā* is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same *-íʾ* reflex was recorded for **-ā* and also **-āʾ*, see De Jong 2000:89.

[54] See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root *m-ʿ-z*.

Like in group VI, final *-iy* may reflect final *-ī̛* in *biríy* "innocent", final *-ȳ* in *ṣibíy* "boy", *ġaníy* "rich", *ṭiríy* "moist; soft", *-ayʾ* in *šiy* "thing" and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *ʿAbbādiy* "(member) of the ʿAbābdah".[55]

Instances of final (but unstressed) *-iy* sequences created by anaptyxis are: *ḥákiy* # "telling" and *ǧídiy* # "billy goat" (the morphological bases are *ḥaky* and *ǧidy* resp.).

Instances of final *-uw* or *-iw* sequences created by word-final anaptyxis are: *baduw* # "Bedouin (pl.)", *ḥiluw* # "sweet; beautiful".

Examples of diphthongs created by word-medial anaptyxis are: *biyšūf* "he sees", *káwiyha* "its (sg. fem.) cauterization" and *aliwlād* "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 *-ī̛* in *biríy* "innocent", final *-ȳ* in *nibíy* "Prophet", *ṣibíy* "boy", *giwíy* "strong", final *-ayʾ* 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 yalʿaba:w lamma yítilfuw* "and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired", (expressing an extreme degree) *aliḥṛayyim haḍaḷḷāk ibʿā:d* "those women faaar away", *ṃayyitta bā:rdih* "its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold".

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĠrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. *ʿa:yš* "bread; food", *ḥa:yṭ* "walls", *ʿa:yn* "eye", *xa:yṭ* "thread". Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

---

[55] The ʿAbābdah are an Arabic speaking (though originally speakers of Beja, a Cushitic language) African tribe living in the eastern desert of Egypt (and across the border in northeastern Sudan), to the south of the Maʿāzah.

2. Stress and Phonotactics

2.1. *Stress*

2.1.1. *Rules for word-stress*

Stress in group I is of the máktabah-type. Rule order is the same as in group VI: elision—stress—anaptyxis.[56]

Verbal gahawah-forms of the *i*-type imperfect, like *yáḥalbuw* "they milk", receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The stress rules for central and southern group I dialects are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:91–92. The rules can be summerized as follows:

1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (contrast # for anaptyxis rule below in 2.3.)
2) The domain of stress is formed by
   a.) the last three syllables of a word, including the article *al-* and the verbal *an-* prefix (and the suffixes), the vowel preceding the *t*-infix (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 v̄C(C) (including v̄(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: *faʿál, fiʿíl/fuʿúl/faʿíl* or *faʿúl, faʿálah/-ih, faʿálatih, faʿá(ʾ)/fiʿíy, yúfʿiy/yáfʿa* (tertiae inf.), *álfaʿal* (stressed article), *ánfaʿal, yínfaʿil* (surface form *yínfiʿil*), *anfaʿálat* (verb measure *n*-1), *áftaʿal, yíftaʿil* (surface form *yíftiʿil*), *aftaʿálat* (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", *álʿaša* "the dinner, *álifˈiy* "the viper" (first *i* is anaptyctic), *ṣalāt áliˈˈšiy* (first *i* is anaptyctic) "evening prayer", *áliˈlab* (first *i* is anaptyctic) "the tins", *mádrasah* "school", *áštaġaḷ* "he worked", *áttafag* "he agreed", *ánġasal* "he was washed", *álbaṣal* "the onions", *álwalad* "the boy/ son", *ḏarábt* "I hit (perfect)", *ṭiliˈˈna* "we rose", *ḏarábtih* "I hit (perfect) him", *waládkiy* "your (sg. fem.) son", *zēnīn* (*ī* stressed) "good (pl.masc.)".

For forms like *líbsitih* "she wore it", *libístih* "I wore it" and *šírbitih* "she drank it", *širíbtih* "I drank it" recorded in ǦrA, see remarks in 2.4.4.

2.1.1.2. *Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences*

2.1.1.2.1. *Stress in CvCvC(v)*
Examples of stress in (C)v₁Cv(C)[57] are:

(ʾ)v₁CvC: in all dialects*: abáṛ* "needles", *ahál* "people, family", *akál* "he ate" (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; *kal* in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ǦrA), ("I come" is *aǧíy* in all dialects of group I).

Cv₁Cv(ʾ): *ʿašáʾ* "dinner", *mašáʾ* "he walked", *dawáʾ* "medicine", *ḥayáʾ* "shame, bashfulness".

Cv₁CvC: *ḥanáš* "spider", *malág* "hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)", *ġaṭás* "he dived"; *wagáf* "he stood up", *waṛág* "paper" and *ṣibíy* "boy", *biríy* "innocent", *ṭiríy* "moist; soft" ("he comes" is *yǧiy*) and gahawah-forms *ṣaḥán* "plate", *šaháṛ* "month" and *baˈád* "after".

2.1.1.2.2. *Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)*
In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

(C)v₁CvCv(C): stress in TAṢ is only on the initial syllable: *xášabah* "piece of firewood", *fárašat* "she spread out", (and gahawah-forms) *gáhawah* "coffee", *áxaḏar* "green", *áḥariṯ* "I plough", *áˈaṛag* "I sweat", *táḥariṯ* "he ploughs", *yáˈaṛag* "he sweats", *ḏárabaw* "they beat (perf.)". Also when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v₁CvCv(C) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: *inwákalat* "she was eaten", *ištáġaḷat* "she worked", *ittáfagaw* "they

---

[57] When v₁ in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|.

agreed", *alʿáṛabiy* "Arabic", *albádawiy* "the Bedouin", and also (*i*)*byáḥafruw* "they dig" (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) and *aláḥamaṛ* "the red" and *aláxaḍar* "the green".[58]

Stress in TAN, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MlA see *¹ below) is on the second syllable: *xašábah, farášat, ḏarábaw, Tawáṛah* or (with raised pre-stress *a*) *Tuwáṛah* "Tawarah (tribes)", *akálat* "she ate" (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA) and (gahawah-forms) *gaháwah, axáḍar, aḥáriṯ, aʿáṛag, taḥáriṯ, yaʿáṛag*

When (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)vᵢCvCv(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", *annaḥášal* "the (big black) ant", *ingaḷábat* "she overturned", *ixtaláfat* "she was different", *ištaǧáḷat* "she worked", *aššaǧáṛah* "the tree; bush", *alwaṛágah* "the paper (n.u.)", *azzaʿátar* "the thyme", *annaxáḷah* "the palm tree", *ištaǧáḷaw* "they worked", *inḏarában* "they (fem.) were beaten", *azzalámah* "the man", *inḏarábat* "she was beaten", *assabágah* "the race", *aʿǧabátih* "she pleased him", but also (gaha-wah-forms) *alaxáḍar* "the green" and *alaḥámaṛ* "the red"[59] and also *azZaǧáṛah* "Wādiy Zaǧaṛah (a tributary of Wādiy Ḏahab)".

When the heavy sequence preceding (C)vCvCv(C) is created by a long vowel, stress is usually also on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *kāwanátih* "she fought him" (recorded in TyA, ḤwA, BdA, ǦrA), but *kāwanatih* in DbA and also *mgāḇalatak* "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: *ṛagábatih, naxáḷatih, yaʿáṛagaw, yaʿáṛagan, yaḥártuw*, etc.

Stress in such sequences in TAṢ and MlA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *ṛágabatah, náxaḷatah, yáʿaṛagaw, yáʿaṛagan, yáḥartuw*, etc. (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) (for a remark on ǦrA see *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) *záǧaṛaṭat* "she ululated".

---

[58] The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *alʾaxaḍar* and *alʾaḥamaṛ*.

[59] See preceding fn.

*¹ In MlA stress varies in ((C)(v)C) (C)vCvCv(C); both (*al*)*gaṣálah* and (*al*) *gáṣalah*, (*al*)*gaháwah* and (*al*)*gáhawah*, *sákanaw* and *sakánaw* "they settled", etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v₁CvCv(C): *aššáǧaṛah* "the tree; bush" *algáṣalah* "the twig", *minṭáʿamah* "grafted (sg. fem.)", but also *maṣlaḥátak* "your interest".⁶⁰

*² TyA however shows variation, since also forms with stress on the first open syllable from the left were recorded, like *azzálamah* "the man", *ingáḷabat* "she overturned", *ingáṭaʿan* "they (pl. fem.) were cut off", *inḥášaraw* "they were crammed together".

*³ Stress in ĞrA is placed thus: *ragábatih, farášatih, naxáḷatak, naxáḷatih*, but in elicited verb forms the gahawah-vowel was ignored and stress was placed accordingly: *yáʿaṛagaw* "they sweat", *táʿaṛagan* "you (pl. fem.) sweat", *táʿaṛagay* "you (sg. fem. sweat)" (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are *yaʿṛagaw, taʿṛagan, taʿṛagay* resp., which are therefore concluded to be the underlying base forms).

2.1.2. *Exceptions to the stress rule*

2.1.2.1. *Stress on reflexes of* *-āʾ *and* *-ā
Reflexes of *-āʾ* in the sg. fem. of colours and physical defects, whether raised or not, will be stressed, although they have been reduced to short vowels, e.g. *xaḍrá(ʾ)* "green (sg. fem.)", *ṣafṛá(ʾ)* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *bēḍá(ʾ)* "white (sg. fem.)", *garʿá(ʾ)* "bald (sg. fem.)", *ʿawṛá(ʾ)* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)".

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final *-iy*, see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. *sōdíy ~ sawdíy* "black (sg. fem.)", *šadfíy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlíy* "cross-eyed (sg. fem.)" and also with a gahawah-form *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured (sg. fem.) (i.e. yellowish light brown)".

Notice that stress in forms like *ʿašáʾ, dawáʾ*, pronominal *anáʾ* and also a verb form *mašáʾ* etc. is in conformity with the stress rules, and also when the article precedes and receives stress, this is according to stress rules, e.g. *álʿašaʾ, áddawaʾ* and also *miy* "water", *štiy* "winter", *ʿšiy* "evening" and *álmiy* "the water", *ášštiy* "the winter" and *ṣalāt áliʿšiy* (where the first *i* is anaptyctic) "the evening prayer".

Reflexes of *-ā* in pronominal suffixes, whether raised or not, will not be stressed (unless they are part of the only syllable available for stress, e.g.

---

⁶⁰ Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Taṛābīn, Sawārkah and Rmēlāt, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).

lná᾿ "to us"), e.g. ᾿índina(᾿) "with us", yǧína(᾿) "he comes to us" and mínha(᾿) or mínhiy "from her".

The pair saxaḷah ḥawlíy "a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb"—ǧídiy ḥáwliy "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 *CaCīy

In group I, 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., e.g. wilíy "holy man", nabíy ~ nibíy "prophet", ṣibíy "boy".

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCīy

When the article precedes a CaCiy sequence it is stressed, e.g. ánnibiy or ánnibiy "the Prophet", áṣṣabiy or áṣṣibiy "the boy" and álwiliy "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: baʕáḍhuṃ "each other", naxáḷha "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. yáḥalbin "they (fem.) milk", táḥarṯuw "you (pl. masc.) plough", táxabṭah "you beat it" (these latter three in TAṢ and MlA) or yaḥálbin, taḥárṯuw, taxábṭah (other dialects).

Resyllabication of sequences CaCaCatv > CaCCitv is not a characteristic of group I dialects.

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv

A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence $vC_aC_aIC_aV$ and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. biyḥálliluw "they make heaps" and biyǧaffifūhin "they dry them (fem.)" and saddití "my dam". The geminate is in these cases reduced.[61]

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAṢ is sg. fem. mʕayyyih, pl. masc. mʕayyyīn and pl. fem. mʕayyyāt (sg. masc. mʕayyiy) (i.e. the forms are not •mʕayyiyih, •mʕayyiyīn and •mʕayyiyāt) for "feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)".

For active participles of the verb taʕaknan "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 pronominals*

Like in group VI, the preposition *min* may form one stress unit with the following word, as in *mín-taḥat* "from below", *mín-kiḏiy* "from this", *mín-ihniy* "from here", *mín-ihnuh* "from there", *mín-waṛaʾ* "from behind".

In negated pronominals stress is on the first syllable: *mānī, minta, mintiy, miḥna, mintuw, mintin mūhū, mīha* (also *mīhī*), *mūhuṃ, mīhin* or *māhin* (in forms like *mūhúṃṃa* and *mīhínna* stress is on the second syllable).

2.1.3.2. *Enclitically suffixed prepositions* l *and* b

2.1.3.2.1. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition* l

Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition *l* is less regular than in group VII, but does occur. An example (in ĠrA) is *ʿala ḥittah ygūl-ilháʾ, iygūl-ilh-Aṃṃ Saʿīd* "to an area he calls, he calls (it) Aṃṃ Saʿīd". Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form *lha* is used instead of the independant form *lēha*.

2.1.3.2.2. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition* b

Enclitic suffixing of suffixed preposition *b* was not recorded.

2.2. *Phonotactics*

2.2.1. *The gahawah-syndrome*

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

The gahawah-syndrome is active in all dialects discussed here. Some of many examples are: *ḏahár* "back", *saxáḷah* "lamb", *šaḥaṛayn* "two months", *yaḥalbūha* "they milk her", *Zaġáṛah* "name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy Ḏahab some 10 km northwest of the town Ḏahab", *aḥáwal* "cross-eyed", *šaḥabíy* "sand-coloured", *taḥát* "under".

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: $maXC_2\bar{u}C_3$) like *maʿaṛūf* "known", *maʿazūl* "separated, isolated", *maʿagūḷ* "reasonable", *maḥaṛūṯ* "ploughed", *maḥaṛūg* "burnt", *maḥaṭūṭ* "placed" and *maxaṛūm* "pierced", but also *maxlūṭ* "mixed", *maxṣūṣ* "special", *mahyūn* "insulted".

Exceptions are also found with the pattern $maXC_2vC_3$(ah): *maġarib* "time of sunset", *maḥawiy* "treated by a ḥāwiy (i.e. a snake charmer)", *maxazan* "storage place", but also (a loan) *mahraġān* "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 MlA *taġarīb* "going north",[62] in ǦrA *taḥawīš* "collecting", *taʿašīb* "removing weeds", *taḥabīš faḥám* "making (by controlled burning) of charcoal". But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. *taḥwīlna* "our transfer", *taʿḏīb* "punishment" and *taḥbīš faḥám* (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 ʿLA are also found in our group I dialects discussed here: *aḥsan* "better/best", *aḥla* "more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest", *aġḷab* "more/most" (and also a loan *aġḷabiyyah* "majority") and *aġla* "more/most expensive".

In loans (from Standard Arabic or Cairene) the gahawah-syndrome is usually absent, e.g. *baḥs* "research"[63] and *ahlan!* "welcome!" and also *yaʿniy* "that is; it means", and *yaʿmal*[64] "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 *gáhawatak* (TAṢ and MlA) or *gaháwatak* "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): *ḫiǧiṛih* "his lap", *yašaṛaban* "they (fem.) drink", *zaġaṛaṭat* "she ululated", *kaṯuṛuw*[65] "they became many".

---

[62] On the system of orientation of tribes in the north of Sinai, see De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.

[63] *baḥs* instead of MSA *baḥt*: *s* for *t* is an indication that the loan came via a sedentary dialect such as Cairene, which lacks interdentals in its phoneme inventory.

[64] See remark in fn 51, p. 137.

[65] Since *a* of the first syllable only appears in closed syllables (e.g. *kuṯúr,* but *kaṯrit*), 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 tafātị̄r aliṣģāṛ* "old people are the records of young people"[66] and *ykassịr albikāriǧ* "he smashes the coffee pots".

Examples of the 'greater' or 'expanded' bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: *Ṣadir alḤayṭān* "Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān; name of the mountain range between Ṛās Ṣadr and Nixl".

The form *núbuḏur alʿayš* "we sow the (seeds for making) bread" is comparable to the form *yúḏukur ánnibiy* 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):

	base form	sandi elision	anaptyxis	bukaṛa-insertion
yuḏkur + v	*yuḏkur v*	*yuḏkr v*	*yúḏukr v*	*yuḏukur v*
nubḏur + v	*nubḏur v*	*nubḏr v*	*núbuḏr v*	*núbuḏur v*

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. *záģaraṭan* "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 gibāyịl alliy hinnih…alliy huṃṃa Badāṛah* "of the oldest tribes, which are…who are Badāṛah", *nizịl alxawāǧih* "the foreigner got out (of the car)" and *min awwịl alʿumṛ* "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): *aṣịl alwādiy fīh imlūḥih barḏak* "because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi", *aṛṛamịl assạ̄xin* "the hot sand".

2.2.2.2.1. *The high vowel preceding* l *in* *ʾibil *and* *raǧil

The forms *bil* "camels" and *álbil* "the camels" and *bílha* "her camels" were recorded several times in ḤwA (not in the other dialects).

---

[66] *tafātir*, cf. MSA *daftar, dafātir*. The saying stresses the importance of oral tradition: young people should use the experience of older people by consulting them. More or less like the African (Senegalese?) saying "when an old man dies, a library burns down".

Like in group VII, *ṛāǧil*, mainly in in the exclamation *yā ṛāǧil* can be heard regularly. In one instance (in TAṢ) a woman was addressed with the fem. form *ṛāǧlih: ṭab w Aḷḷāhiy yā ṛāǧlih, úguʿdiy ʾindihin* "okay, by God, woman, (go) stay with them (i.e. your children)".

ṛaǧil 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. *baʿaǧin aná* "I knead", *biyšūfin aḷʿayš* "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 >*) *fōgǝna* "above us" was also recorded several times.

2.2.3. *Articulatory delay of ʿayn following geminates*

Instances of articulatory delay of ʿayn following geminates were not noticed.

2.3. *Anaptyxis*

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for group I dialects.

2.3.1. *Word-medial anaptyxis*

Word-medial anaptyxis takes place like in group VI.

2.3.2. *Anaptyxis in sandhi*

2.3.2.1. *Anaptyxis in clusters resulting from 'colliding' morphological base forms*

In group I dialects sandhi clusters of four consonants caused by the collision of morphological base forms are resolved through anaptyxis like in group VI.

2.3.2.2. *Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#*

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved like in group VI.

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

One example of clusters in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis (the intermediate form with cluster is marked here with a preceding *):

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
   mihnit alḥuṛmah >
(after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)
   * *mihnt alḥuṛmah* >
(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
   míhint alḥuṛmah "the woman's job".

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

Like in group VI, the resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. *yiktibuw* > *yíkitbuw*) is compulsary, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. *mihnit alḥuṛmah* > *míhint alḥuṛmah*) is optional (see 2.3.2.3.).

2.3.3. *Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule*

2.3.3.1. *Unresolved consonant clusters*

Not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is nasal or a liquid followed by a voiceless second consonant are left intact,[67] e.g.: *saʿaltha* "I asked her", *taʿallamtha* "I learned them (pl. fem.)", *bintha* "her daughter", *aftakart* # "I thought".

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *ištaġaḻt fi Šarm aššĒx* "I worked in Šarm aššĒx", *gult ʿanha* "I said about her" and *ʿind baʿaḏhuṃ* "with each other", *gāmat albint maḥḥa* "the girl got up with her", *ṣirt baxlaṭ* "I started to be confused".

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (in sandhi) *istafatt kiṯīr* "I gained a lot" (< *istafadt*).

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

See remarks in De Jong 2000:125–126.

2.3.3.3. *Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis*

2.3.3.3.1. *Consonant clusters with initial geminates*

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) *widdna* "we want, need", *gillt alʿilm* "lack of science" and *lih aḏḏwēw ʿād* "so it (sg. masc.) had the little light". Examples of such reduction listed for group VI may be heard in group I as well.

---

[67] For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ʿind + C*
The suffixed preposition ʿ*ind* takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʿ*índaha* "with her", ʿ*indak* "with you (sg. masc.)", ʿ*indikiy* "with you (sg. fem.)", ʿ*índuhuw* "with them (pl. masc.)", ʿ*índihin* "with them (pl. fem.)", ʿ*índukuw* "with you (pl. masc.)", ʿ*índikin* "with you (pl. fem.)" and ʿ*índina* "with us".

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ʿ*ind* ʿ*ammih* "with his uncle".

2.3.3.3.3. *The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters*
The 2nd p. sg. masc. pronominal suffixes C-*ak* / v̄-*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 [ɪ], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [ʊ], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.[68]

2.3.4.1.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form "colliding" base forms*
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:128).

2.3.4.1.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after* I-*elision*
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:129).

2.3.4.1.3. *Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of* 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 [ɪ].

Examples listed for group VI (and also for group I in De Jong 2000:130) also illustrate the situation in ṬwA and HnA.

Imperatives of the verbs (*a*)*xaḏ* "take" and (*a*)*kal* "eat" are *xuḏ, xḏiy, xḏuw, xḏin* and *ḳuḷ, ḳḷíy, ḳḷúw, ḳḷín*.[69] When a speech pause precedes, the

---

[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. [ʊ], e.g. #
uḵḷíy, # uḵḷúw, # uḵḷín (not recorded in MlA).

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. [ʊ] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in
neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ɪ]. 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): # *əǧṛáb, áləǧrab* "waterskins",
əḥgán, áləḥgan "injections", # *əwṛáš, áləwṛaš* "workshops". But when
assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis
will not take place, e.g. # *əṣwar, áṣṣwar* (pronounced *áṣwar*) "pictures",
ənxáṛ, ánnxaṛ (pronounced *ánxaṛ*) "noses". These anaptyctic vowels
are not stressed in the group I dialects discussed here.

Plurals include: *ʿṣiy, áləʿṣiy* "sticks", *ḥṣiy, áləḥṣiy* "stones", but there are
no anaptyctic vowels in forms with an assimilated preceding article like
(*al + rḥiy >*) *árrḥiy* "hand mills", and also (*al + lḥiy >*) *állḥiy* "beards".

N.B. Of these dialects some have short forms like *lhaʾ* or *lhiy, lnáʾ* etc.,
or longer forms like *lēha, lēna* etc. Forms of the suffixed preposition *l* with
initial stressed *í-* were not recorded in these group I dialects in the centre
and south of Sinai (for more remarks on suffixed prepositions see 3.1.16.).

2.4. *Elision of Short Vowels*

All group I dialects are 'différentiels' in terms of short vowel elision.[70] 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.

---

⁷⁰ The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.

2.4.2. *I-elision in sandhi*

Like in group VI, morphophonemic elisions of short high vowels *i* and *u* in group I are compulsary, but comparable elisions in sandhi are optional.

2.4.3. *Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi*

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

> *yrawwiḥ + lhin > yrawwiḫ lhin > yrawwiḥ ilhin > yrawwḥ ilhín* "he goes to them (fem.)".

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

Like in group VI, the I-elision rule may also be *re*-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example: *túḍrub ḏ̣ʿūfak > túḍrub iḍʿūfak > túḍrb iḍʿūfak > túḍurb iḍʿūfak* "you beat your children".

In this second example the cluster *bḍʿ* 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 *ḍrb*, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic vowel, in this case *u*.

2.4.4. *Exceptions to the I-elision rule*

When C_a and C_b in $C_aC_aIC_b$ are phonetically close or identical, the short high vowel I is not dropped. Examples are (a suffixed noun) *saddití* "my dam (where crops are grown)", (a verb form) *yḥálliluw* "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 alḥarāṛah* "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.) *mtaʿákninih*, (pl. masc.) *mtaʿakninīn* and (pl. fem.) *mtaʿaknināt* "irritated". This was the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, but in ĞrA direct elicitation produced the forms *mtaʿaknin, mtaʿakinnih, mtaʿakinnīn, mtaʿakinnāt* (the forms were not recorded in the other dialects).

As another exception to this I-elision rule, forms recorded in ĠrA like (preserved high vowel is underlined) *líbsiṯih* or *lábsiṯih* "she wore it" and *šírbiṯih* or *šárbiṯih* "she drank it" should be mentioned; the forms recorded were *not* (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyctics in bold print) *líbistih* or *lábistih* and *šíribtih* or *šáribtih*, wich one might have expected.

Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: *šíribtah* "she drank it" as opposed to *širíbtah* "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 *ǧ*, as in e.g. *aǧǧamr* "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:

$\underline{t}$ + h > $\underline{tt}$ as in *bnaḥaríttiy* (< *bnaḥariṯhiy*) "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 *ṣāǧ* "iron baking sheet", *sūǧih* "game of *sūǧah*", *siǧn* "prison" and *tasǧīl* "recording", etc. are current.

In these central and southern group I dialects *šams* is current for "sun" and *šaǧaṛ* for "trees".

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. *Nominal Morphology*

3.1.1. *Raising of* a

3.1.1.1. *Raising of* a *in* $C_1 a C_2 \bar{\imath} C_3 (ah)$
Raising of *a* in the nominal pattern $C_1 a C_2 \bar{\imath} C_3$(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in ḤwA, see remark below). Such raising is only inhibited by preceding ʾ and is less regular when X

precedes or follows *a*, although it may take place in such positions (especially when following ʿ, see examples below). The resulting high 'surface' vowel *i* is not elided.[71] In ḤwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when ʿ, *ġ, ḥ* or *x* precedes, e.g. *aḍīm* "enormous", *ġalīḏ* "fat, bulky", *ġarīb* "strange", *xalīṭah* "mixture", *ḥagīgiy* "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* *CaCīy (C₃ = y)

Raising of *a* preceding *CaCīy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. *biríy* "innocent", (reflecting final *-īy) in *ṣibíy* "boy", *ġaníy* "rich", *ṭiríy* "moist; soft", *nibíy ~ nábíy* "Prophet", *guwíy* "strong", *wilíy ~ walíy* "saint", *ʿIlíy ~ ʿAlíy* "male given name".

3.1.1.2. *Raising of* a *in open syllable preceding stressed* í

For raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *í* 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* CaCCīC(-ah)

The short vowel *a* preceding stressed CCī is not raised. Examples are: *baṭṭīx* "watermelon", *baddīʿ* "improvisor of rhyme", *xarrīǧ* "alumnus", *sakkīnah* "knife", *garnīṭ* "octopus", *sabʿīn* "seventy", *xamsīn* "fifty", *Katrīn* "(St.) Catherine", *kabrīt* "matches". Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. *targīʿ* "grafting", *tašǧīl* "putting in operation" and also in a gahawah-form like *taġarīb* "going north" (see for other examples 2.2.1.2. above).

3.1.1.4. *Raising of* a *in* CaCCāC

Raising of *a* preceding stressed CCā is optional: *giṣṣāṣ* "tracker", *billāṣ* "thief; extortionist", *fissāy* "expert farter", *birrād* "teapot", *ṭillāǧih* "fridge" and *wiǧʿān* "suffering pain", *milyān ~ malyān* "full", *ġalṭān ~ ġilṭān* "mistaken", *Silmān* "male given name Salmān", *mirḍān* "ill", *fihyān* "surprised", *kislān* "lazy", *hiǧǧān* "camel rider", *siyyāl ~ sayyāl* "acacia trees (coll.)", but also *ʿaṭšān* "thirsty", *ʿaṭlān* "broken, not functioning" and *bakkākah* "lighter".[72] Although such raising was heard in all dialects, it is less current in TAN and TAṢ.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -*á(ʾ)* (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 *giddāḥah*.

The *a* in closed syllable may then be raised, but this is optional, e.g. *ḥimṛáʾ* "red (sg. fem.)", *ḥimgáʾ* "stupid (sg. fem.)", but also *zargáʾ* "black; blue (sg. fem.)", *ṣafráʾ* "yellow", etc.

Like in group VI, raising of *a* in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final *-ā(ʾ)* has *not* been raised to *-íy*.

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", *bikāriğ* "coffee pots", *Tiyāha* "name of a tribe Tayāha", *ğināyin* "gardens".

In labial environments, raising may also be towards [u], as in *muwārik* "cushions supporting the camel rider's leg" (pl. of *mēṛakah* or *mōṛakah*, see also remarks in 1.2.4.1. and in fn 101, p. 83) and *zuwāyir* "annual visits to sheikhs' tombs (pl. of *zwāṛah*)", *Ṣuwālḥih* "name of the tribe Ṣawālḥah".

Examples without raising are: *ṭalāṭīn* "thirty", *nahāṛ* "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", *xalāṣ* "ready", *salām* "peace", *Garārših* "name of a tribe", *farāšīḥ* "thin loaves of bread baked on a ṣāğ", *maṛāğīḥ* "swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)", *ḥalāl* "small cattle", *axawāt* "sisters", *ʿašān* "because", *ḥayātak* "your life", *ḥamādih* "flat barren land", *ġaṛāyir* "large sack (pl. of *ġaṛāṛah*)",[73] Also when *ʾ* precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. *(ʾ)aṣāyil* "thoroughbreds", *(ʾ)asāsih* "his origin".

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

a in open syllable preceding stressed *á* is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [ɪ]) *ğimál* "camel", *risán* "halter", *libán* "milk", *sibágah* "race" (*sábagah* in TAṢ), *šiğáṛah* "tree" (*šáğaṛah* in TAṢ), a verb form *misák* "he took" and (towards [ʊ] in labial and/or velarized environment) *muṭár* "rain", *duwáʾ* "medicine". And also in gaha-wah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. *tiḥát* "under", *šiháṛ* "month" and in verb forms like *yiʿárif* "he knows".

---

[73] *ġaṛāyir*: see *ġaṛāṛa* in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:334–335 (glossary).

Such raising is generally absent when the *a* is preceded by *ʾ, e.g. *(ʾ)abáṛ* "needles" and *(ʾ)axáḏ* "he took".

Also, when *a* is followed by *l*, such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. *gaḷám* "pen", *malág* "hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)", *zalámah* "man", or when X precedes, e.g. *ḥaǧáṛ* "rock, stone", *ġanám* "goats and sheep", *xašáb* "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]

$$a > I \ / \ C_a\_\_C_bA$$

$C_a \neq$ *ʾ or X   A = stressed *a* or *ā*
$C_b \neq l$ I = high vowel *i* or *u*

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 *muwālīd* "births", *muwāzīn* "weighing scales (pl. of *mīzān*)".

3.1.1.8. *Raising of* a *in CaCūC(ah)*
Raising of *a* preceding *ū* is optional, e.g. *ġumūs ~ ġamūs* "food dip", *xurūf ~ xarūf* "lamb", *ǧunūb ~ ǧanūb* "south" and *yuhūd ~ yahūd* "Jews", *ḏurūbah ~ ḏarūbah* "beautiful young camel",[75] *ʿurūs ~ ʿarūs* "bride", *ʿuǧūz ~ ʿaǧūz* "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 *uḅūh ~ aḅūh* "father" (TAN), *uxūk ~ axūk* "your brother", *ugūm ~ agūm* "I rise" (both ḤwA), Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in TAṢ, ǦrA, BdA, DbA or MlA.

Underlying CāCūC with reduced *ā; maʿūn* "container", *babūr* "tractor", *ganūn* "law", *baʿūḏah* "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", *maʿagūd* "tied", *maḥabūs* "locked up", *maxanūg* "constricted; suffocated".

---

[74] See also De Jong 2000:147.
[75] *ḏarūbah ~ ḏurūbah* 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. *ḏurūbtī*.

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. *kubúr* "he grew", *kuṯúr* "he became many", *tuxún* "he became thick", *ġulúḏ̣* "he became fat".

The raised *a* has remained underlying |a| however. It (as a surface *u*) is therefore not dropped in unstressed open syllables. In addition, in many dialects the vowel 're-surfaces' as *a* in closed syllables, e.g. *kabrit* "she grew", *ġalḏ̣it* "she became fat".[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:

$$a > I \: / \: C_a\_\_C_b\bar{I}C$$

Ī   = long vowel *ū* or *ī*
I   = short high vowel *u* if Ī is *ū*; short high vowel *i* if Ī is *ī*
C_a ≠ *ʾ (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 ≠ *ʾ 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 ~ agūl* "I say".

3.1.2. *Reflexes of* $^*C_1aC_2C_3(ah)$

For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *badw* "Bedouin", *taḥát* "under", *faḥám* "charcoal", *waḥdih* (but ~ *wiḥdih* in ĞrA) "one (sg. fem.)", *naḥyih* "direction", *ṣaʿáb* "difficult", *šakl* "shape", *ṣáḥan* "dish, plate", *ǧidy* "billy goat" (TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, MlA, ĞrA), *ǧady* (BdA), *ṣadr* "chest", *(ʾ)akl* (TAṢ, TAN, DbA, MlA), *waḳl* "food" (BdA), *kirš* (TAṢ) "(fat) belly", *kalb* "dog", *ǧidd* "grandfather" and *ǧifn* "eyelid" (TAṢ).

---

[76] Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like *tuxnit* "she became thick" in ĞrA, *ġulḏ̣in* "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 *tuxún* (not •*txun*) and *ġulúḏ̣* (not •*ġluḏ̣*).

3.1.3. *Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)*

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: *wirk* "thigh" (TAṢ), *kitf* "shoulder" (ḤwA, ǦrA, TAṢ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), *kilmih* "word", *širkih* "company".

    xášin in TyA, *xíšin* in TAṢ

3.1.4. *Reflexes of $C_1uC_2C_3(ah)$*

Some reflexes of $C_1uC_2C_3$(ah) are (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *bunn* "coffee beans", *rizz* "rice", *kull* "all; every", *aṃṃ* (all except BdA;[77] ~ *uṃṃ* in ǦrA), *uṃṃ* "mother" (BdA), *uxt* "sister", *Ǧimˁih* "male given name" (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), *muddih* "period", *ḥuṛmah* "woman", *zibdih* "butter", *ṛukbah* "knee" (ḤwA, TyA, TAṢ, ǦrA, 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", *ˁyūn* "eyes" and *ǧnēh* "pound (money)", *ǧbāl* "mountains", *drās* "threshing".

    Also when V is a short vowel, an initial cluster CC will result, e.g. *ṛkab* "knees", *šnaṭ* "suitcases", *grab* "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), *ṣināˁiy* "artificial" (TAṢ), *tiǧāṛah* "trade" (MlA), *ǧirāḥah* "surgery" (MlA), (2 instances in) *ẓurūf ḥukūmiyyah* "government circumstances" (TyA), *bidāyt albaṭṭīx* "the beginning of the watermelon (i.e. the season for growing watermelon)" (TyA), *ˁumūman* "in general" TyA) and *tuṛās* "legacy" (ḤwA).

    Notice that in the instances *niẓām* and *ẓurūf* the sibilant *ẓ* is heard instead of more typically Bedouin *ḍ*. In the example *tuṛās* we have sibilant

---

[77] Also *aṃṃ* in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.

s instead of more typically Bedouin *ṯ* (compare MSA *turāṯ*). These are additional indications that we are dealing with loans.

Other instances of non-elision include: *ṭulūḥḥin* "their (fem.) rising (of stars)" (BdA) and all dialects have *gizāzih* (after raising of *a* in the first syllable of *gazāzah*) for "bottle".

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in our group I dialects and the verb "come" has the imperfect form *yǧiy* "he comes".

3.1.6. *Diminutive patterns*

The usual diminutives expressing 'littleness', 'shortness', 'narrowness' etc. were also recorded in our group I dialects (see examples listed in 3.1.6. for group VI) and also *ḥrayyim* is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāha, e.g. *ḍʿayfin iftētāt* "tiny children", *swēkin* "living (more or less)", *wlēdī* "my little son", *ġrayʿíy* "bald (sg. fem.)".

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is $C_1C_2ayC_3\bar{u}C_3$ (i.e. C_3 is reduplicated) in *baṭṭīx isġayrūr* "small watermellons".[78] The same pattern is used in TAṢ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) *ṣġarūrah*, *ṣġarūrīn*, *ṣġarūrāt* and also *ġraybūb* "nearish". Another diminutive heard in TAṢ is *ōḍah sganṭūṭah* is a "tiny house/room",[79] *iʿlēǧān, iygaṣigṣūh gṣaygṣāt isġayyrāt* "they cut it up into little pieces".

A lexical item coined on the CaCCūC(-ah) pattern in *karṛūsah* "wheel chair" (TyA).

The hypochoristic *-ān* suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I in the north,[80] was also heard in TAN, but not in the other dialects. Examples in TAN are: *hniyyān* "here" and *kiḏiyyān* "thus" and alternatively *hniyyāniy* and *kiḏiyyāniy* (see 3.1.15.1.).[81]

3.1.7. *Pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$*

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is (for sg. masc.) $aC_1C_2aC_3$ (e.g. *abyaḍ*) and $aC_1aC_2aC_3$ (e.g. *áḥamaṛ*, stressed

---

[78] Diminutive patterns are reported to be very common in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427.

[79] *ōḍah* 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 $C_1aC_2C_3\acute{a}$ pattern, with a final *-$\bar{a}$ that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. *bēḏáʾ*, *ḥamráʾ*; in MlA some forms were recorded with long final -$\bar{a}$).[82] There is an additional *a* following C_2 when it is X and final *-$\bar{a}$ is raised to -*íy* when C_3 is neutral (e.g. *šaḥabíy*). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1IC_2C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. $C_1iC_2C_3$ or $C_1uC_2C_3$ (see 1.2.3.2.). Plural forms for "black" and "white" are *sūd* (C_2 = *wāw*) and *bīḏ* (C_2 = *yāʾ*).

3.1.8. *The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1aC_2C_3$ and aC_1C_2a*

Elative patterns in group I are like in group VI: $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. *akṯar* "more; most", $aC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. *agaḷḷ* "less; least" and aC_1C_2a (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. *aḥla* "sweeter; sweetest".

3.1.9. *Initial a*

3.1.9.1. *The article and the relative pronoun*
The article is *al-* in all dialects of group I and the relative pronoun is *alliy*.[83] The article is a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.).

Examples are: *yōm iyṭīḥ álmaṭar* […] *biyḥuṭṭuw bḏāṛhuṃ* "when the rain falls, they plant their seeds".

The relative pronoun is *alliy*. Examples are: *alliy byašṛab imn alḥāmiḏ hāḏa w 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-ášštiy* "in the winter" and *f-álǧibal* "in the desert (lit. the mountains)" and also with unstressed *a* of the article, as in *f-alwādiy* "in the wadi".

Prepositioned *ha-* was heard used predominantly in adverbial *halḥīn* "now".

---

[82] Like in the dialect of the Dawāǧrah, see De Jong 2000:446 and 661 (map 9).

[83] Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214 also report *al-* and *alliy* as the current forms in their corpus of Bedouin poetry; the exception is their poet Šbaylāt (of Baniy Ḥasan in northern Jordan), who uses *il-* and *illi* thus "aligning himself […] with the 'sedentary' dialects".

[84] *alliy* is often elliptically used for something like *fīh* (*min an-*)*nās alliy*…

Only in a few instances *ha-* was used in its 'specifying' function: *fi ha-ddikmih ʿa ṭūl lā šilēhāt wala ġayrih f-áddkam* "there are no chalets in (i.e. near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills" (ḤwA), *šuft miy . . . ṭāfiḥ fi ha-lgiḏḏāf* "I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat" (TyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned *ha*, e.g. *alliy ʿāwiz iy . . . iynawwiʿ f-álbil ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddīh imn álǧimal ha* "there are those who want to vary in (sending) camels from one race to this other race (and) who will send from these camels" (for more detail, see 3.1.13.2.).

3.1.9.2. *Other instances of initial* a

Other instances of initial *a-* are: *aṃṃ* (except *uṃṃ* in BdA and *aṃṃ ~ uṃṃ* in ǦrA) "mother", *uxt* "sister" in all dialects, *aḥna* is "we" in ḤwA and *aḥna ~ iḥna* in ǦrA (in the other dialects only *iḥna*) and the pl. for *(ʾ)ibrah* "needles is *(ʾ)abáṛ*. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCaC are current, e.g. *ṣwar* "pictures" and *ġrab* "waterskins".

yā yuṃṃa is used in many group I dialects (also those that have *aṃṃ* for "mother") for "oh mother".

3.1.10. *The feminine morpheme (*T*) in genitive construction*

T in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samāʿnah 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 aCT + suffix: (dual) *sanatēn* "two years" and *ṛagabatih* "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. *ḏ̣arabatih* "she hit him" and *ṛagabatih* "his neck".

---

[85] See De Jong 2000:279–281.
[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 v̄*

Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme *-ah* becomes *-it* (or *-t* when a long vowel v̄ directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in construct state.

The *i* of the ending *-it* may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which resulting clusters are often eliminated by insertion of an anaptyctic. Examples listed for group VI may also illustrate the situation in our southern group I dialects discussed here.

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

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel *a* directly precedes T in open syllable are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding *a* is 'historical'. Examples are: *gahawatī* "my coffee", *gahawatah* "his coffee" and *gahawatak* "your coffee" (for stress in these forms see 2.1.1.2.2.) (treatment of T preceded by the gahawah-vowel *a* could not be checked in MlA).[87]

3.1.10.4. *T following* ā

T preceded by *ā* yields *-āh*, e.g. *ḥamāh* "mother-in-law" and when in construction, T > *-t*, as in *ḥamātak* "your mother-in-law".

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

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

The low vowel *a* in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. *lāgatah* "she found him".

3.1.11. *Genitive marker*

The genitive marker is *šuǵḷ* for sg. masc., *šuǵlah* (sg. fem.), *šuǵlīn* (pl. masc.) and *šuǵḷāt* (pl. fem.) in our group I dialects discussed here; *ḥagg(ah)* is not used. Sometimes the K-form *btāʿ* is used.

Paradigms in these dialects are:

e.g.	*ilbēt +*		*ilʿilbih +*	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*šuǵlah*	*šúǵuḷhuṃ/-w*[*2]	*šúǵuḷtah*	*šuǵlíthuṃ/-w*[*1*2]
fem.	*šúǵuḷha*	*šúǵuḷhin*	*šuǵlítha*[*1]	*šuǵlíthin*[*1]
2. masc.	*šuǵḷak*	*šúǵuḷkuw*	*šúǵuḷtak*	*šuǵlítkuw*
fem.	*šúǵuḷkiy*	*šúǵuḷkin*	*šuǵlítkiy*	*šuǵlítkin*
1. com.	*šuǵḷī*	*šúǵuḷna*	*šuǵuḷtī*	*šuǵlítna*

---

[87] In TyA of the Negev T preceded by gahawah-vowel *a* > *-it*, e.g. *ṛaʿáwit ǵanám* "grazing small cattle", see Shawarbah 2007:244.

*¹ *t* + *h* will often assimilate to *tt*, e.g. *šuġlittuw*, see 2.5.
*² For a remark on the suffix -*huw*, see 3.1.12.2.

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

3.1.12. *Personal pronominals*

3.1.12.1. *Independent pronominals*
In group I dialects of the central and southern Sinai the following independent pronominals are used:[88]

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*hū*	*hum(ma) / huwwa**¹
	fem.	*hī*	*hin(na)*
2.	masc.	*int(ih)*	*intuw*
	fem.	*intiy*	*intin*
1.	com.	*aná*	*iḥna**²

*¹ *huwwa* was also heard used for the pl. masc. in TAN, MlA, but not in the other dialects of group I discussed here.[89]
*² In ḤwA *aḥna*; in ĞrA *iḥna* ~ *aḥna*.

Negated[90] (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in *mūhúṃṃa* and *mīhínna*)*¹:

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*mūhū**²	*mūhuṃ(ṃa)**⁴
	fem.	*mīhī*	*mīhin(na)**⁵
2.	masc.	*mint(ih)*	*mintuw*
	fem.	*mintiy*	*mintin*
1.	com.	*mānī**³	*maḥna**⁶

*¹ In ĞrA direct elicitation yielded 'double' forms like *aná mānī*, *int(ih) mint(ih)*, *intiy mintiy*, *hū mūhū*. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.
*² *mūhū* ~ *māhū* in ḤwA

---

[88] Independent pronominals in TyA of the Negev are: *anā(h)*, *íntih* (*int*)*, *íntiy*, *hū(h)*, *hī* (*h*)*, *áḥna*, *íntuw*, *íntin*, *húm(ṃah)* 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 2000:163 (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 *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, ĞrA

3.1.12.2. *Pronominal suffixes*

In group I the following pronominal suffixes are used:

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	C-*ah* / C-*ih* *¹, v̄-(*h*)	-*huṃ**⁶
	fem.	-*ha**²	-*hin*
2.	masc.	C-*ak*, v̄-*k**³	-*kuw**⁷
	fem.	-*kiy**⁴	-*kin*
1.	com.	(C)C-*ī*, v̄-*y* (poss.)	-*na*
		-*nī* (obj.)**⁵	

Assimilation of initial *h* to preceding voiceless consonants is current in our group I dialects, e.g. *simiʿtta* "I heard her", *tbuxxxa* "you spray it (sg. fem.)", *ḥisssa* "her noise".[91]

For allomorphs used in combination with the preposition *ʿind*, 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).[92] 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 *ū* calling for the appearance of -*ha* there instead of -*hiy*),[93] is concluded not to be operative in MlA and TyA. Examples in MlA are: *iw minnih biyṭaʿʿmūhiy, iw yagṭaʿaw w iyguṣṣūhiy* "and then they graft it (sg. fem.), and they cut and clip it (sg. fem.)" and *aḅūhiy* "her father".

*³ Contrast C-*ak* and v̄-*k* with heavily velarized -*ᵘḳ*/ -*uḳ* 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 -*ī* and -*nī* for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed -*i* and -*ni* also occur.

---

[91] The spelling with 3 identical consonants is for reasons of morphological transparency. These forms are not different from *tbuxxa* and *ḥissa*.

[92] For -*ha* or -*hiy* among sub-confederations of Tiyāha in Negev see Shawarbah 2007:426.

[93] See De Jong 2000:164–166 and 674 (appendix), map 35.

*[6] -huw ~ -huṃ in ḤwA, MlA, ĞrA and TAN. Also a lengthened suffix -huwwa was also heard (in TAN). Such forms were also heard in group VI (see also De Jong 2000: 169, remark *[3]).

*[7] -kum is reported in poetry texts (by a speaker of TAN) recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009:234 as an alternative form (in a more formal register) for -ku(w) in two poems addressed to the late King Hussein of Jordan, "perhaps as a token of respect for the king".

3.1.12.3. *Pronominal suffixes and negation*

In group I the negation is formed with single (preceding) *mā*, which leaves pronominal suffixes unaffected.

3.1.13. *Demonstratives*

3.1.13.1. *Near and far deixis*

Demonstratives in TAṢ and TAN are:

Near deixis*[1]			Far deixis		
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*hāḏa**[2]	com. *hāḏōl**[3]	*hāḏāk(ah)**[4]	com. *hōḏaḷḷāk(ah)*	
fem.	*hēḏiy*		*hēḏīk(ih)**[4]		

*[1] The same forms were heard in TAN.

*[2] Unvelarized *hāḏa* is sporadic in TAṢ, but *hāḏa ~ hāḏa* in TAN.

*[3] *hōḏal* was also elicited in TAṢ, but did not occur in spontaneous speech.

*[4] The same forms were heard in TAN.

"There ... is/are!" *hayhū ǧaʾ, hayhī ǧat, hayhuṃ ǧaw, hayhin ǧan.*
   Demonstratives in TyA are:

Near deixis			
	sg.		pl.
masc.	*hāḏa ~ hāḏa*	com.	*hāḏaḷ ~ hāḏōḷ ~ hōḏaḷ*
fem.	*hēḏiy*		

Far deixis*			
	sg.		pl.
masc.	*hāḏāk(ah)*	com.	*hāḏoḷḷāk(ah)~ hōḏaḷḷāk(ah)*
fem.	*hēḏīk(ih)*		

* Forms without initial *hā-, hē-* or *hō-* are rare.

During direct elicitation, the existence of forms like *hēhū* or *hayhū* in TyA was denied. Instead, forms like *arʿih ǧaʾ* "there he has come", *áriḥḥiy ǧat*

"there she has come!", *annās áriḥḥuṃ ǧaw* "there the people have come!" were said to be current (see 4.8.1.).

Demonstratives in ḤwA are:

	Near deixis			Far deixis*		
	sg.		pl.	sg.		pl.
masc.	*hāḏa*	com.	*hāḏaḷ(ḷah)*	*hāḏāk(ah)*	com.	*hāḏoḷḷāk(ah)~*
fem.	*hēḏiy**			*hēḏīk(ih)*		*hāḏaḷḷāk*

* *hāḏiy* was heard three times, but with an exceptionally high *ā*, (slightly higher than I.P.A. [ɛː], but not fully [eː]).

As a feature considered (by several informants of different tribes) to be very typical of ḤwA, Ḥwēṭiy speakers often use postpositioned *ha* (undifferentiated for gender and number). Examples are: *w alliy ʿāwiz yašṛab minnih ā ... alḥāmiḏ ha* "and there are those who want to drink from it, what ... (from) this sour (milk)" (for a remark on the elliptic use of *alliy*, see fn 84, p. 235). Another example is *aṣṣġayyrāt ha* "these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)".[94]

"There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!" is *hayhū ǧaʾ, hayhī ǧat, hayhuṃ ǧaw* and *hayhin ǧan*.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

	Near deixis		
	sg.		pl.
masc.	*hāḏa ~ hāḏa*	com.	*hāḏaḷ(ḷah)**
fem.	*hēḏiy*		

* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

	Far deixis*		
	sg.		pl.
masc.	*hāḏāk(ah)~hāḏāk(ah)*	com.	*hāḏaḷḷāk(ah)*
fem.	*hēḏīk(ih)*		

hayhū ... "there he ..." was recorded once.

---

[94] For a discussion on attributive *hā*, see Fischer 1959:56.

Demonstratives in MlA are:

Near deixis				Far deixis*	
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*hāḏa ~ hāḏa*	com.	*hāḏōl*	*hāḏāk(ah)*	com. *hāḏōllāk(ah)*
fem.	*hēḏiy ~ hāḏiy*		*~ hōḏal*	*hāḏīk(ih)*	*~ hēḏīk(ih)**

* *hēḏīkt 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 *ḏillih* must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Ṣawālḥah (group VII) and ʿLēgāt (group VIII).
   Demonstratives in BdA are:

Near deixis			Far deixis		
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*hāḏa ~ hāḏa**¹	com.	*ḏillih**³	*(hā)ḏāk(ah)**⁴	com. *(hā) ḏallāk(ah)*
fem.	*hēḏiy**²			*hēḏīk(ih)*	

*¹ Sentence-final *ḏiʾ* was recorded twice.
*² Sentence-final *ḏiy* was recorded three times and also *hāḏiy* was heard twice.
*³ *hā*-initial demonstratives for pl. com. were not recorded, whereas *ḏillih* was recorded five times.[95]
*⁴ *hāḏāk* was recorded twice, and once *ḏākah*.

arʿih was recorded for "there he is!"
   Demonstratives in ǦrA are:

Near deixis			Far deixis		
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*hāḏa ~ hāḏa*	com.	*hāḏaḷ**²	*hāḏāk(ah)*	com. *hāḏaḷḷāk(ah)*
fem.	*hēḏiy**¹			*hēḏīk(ih)*	

*¹ *ḏiy* was recorded three times.
*² In one instance a separate demonstrative for the pl. fem. was recorded during direct elicitation: *aliḥṛayyim hāḏan* "these women". This dem. was however not heard in spontaneous text.

---

   [95] For a demonstrative *dillā* in combination with a noun in older texts (Nuzhat an-nufūs), see Zack 2009:103.

"There he/she/they is/are (lit. has/have come)" is *hēhū ǧaʾ*, *hēhī ǧat*, *hēhumma ǧaw* and *hēhinnah ǧan*. Alternatively *irʿ* + pron. suffix is used: *írʿih ǧaʾ*, *íriḥḥa ǧat*, *íriḥḥum ǧaw* and *íriḥḥin ǧan* (see 4.8.1.).

3.1.13.2. *Specifying* ha-

Specifying[96] *ha-* is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are *binfitt halfattih ʿa ṭūl* "we immediately make this fattah" (DbA), *bitǧībha min hassūg* "you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market" (MlA), *w alliy msawwiy…miṭmāṛah f-alblād—bingūl ʿalēha miṭmāṛah— halmiṭmāṛah hēḏiy byiliḥgūha ttibin…* "and there are those who have made…an underground grain storage in the ground—we call it (sg. fem.) a *miṭmāṛah*—this *miṭmāṛah* they add the straw to it (sg. fem.)" (ḤwA), and in all dialects *halḥīn* is current for "now".

3.1.14. *Interrogatives*

Interrogatives recorded in southern group I dialects for

1) "who?", 2) "what?", 3) "why?", 4) "when?", 5) "where?", 6) "which?", 7) "how?", 8) "how much?", 9) "how many/much?":

in ḤwA and DbA: 1) *min*, 2) *wiš, ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēh*, 4) *matān / mitān, wagtēh*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṯrayh, gaddēh*.

in TAṢ (marked with * were also recorded in TAN): 1) *min**, 2) *ēš* / ēh**, 3) *lēš* / lēh**, 4) *matá(ʾ) / matā, wagtēš*, 5) *wēn**, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf**, 8) *kam** + sg., 9) *gaddēš / giddēš*.

in ǦrA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēh, ēš* (the latter much less), 3) *lēh*, 4) *matā / mitā*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kām**[*1] + sg., 9) *kuṯrayh, gaddēh*.

*[*1] *kām* (with long *ā*) was elicited, *kam* (with short vowel) was not recorded.

in TyA: 1) *min*, 2) *ayš / ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēš*, 4) ?, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṯrayš*.

in BdA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēš / lēh*, 4) *matā*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṯrayš, gaddēš*.

in MlA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēš / lēh*, 4) ?, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf / kīf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) ?

---

[96] See Blau 1960:20 and Grotzfeld 1964:46–47.

3.1.15. *Adverbs*

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

Adverbs recorded are:

"there"	*hnuh*[*1] (all dialects)	
"there"	*fi hāḏāk* (MlA, ĞrA, TyA, DbA, BdA)	
	fi hāḏākah (DbA)	
"over there (far away)"	*ġād* (all dialects)	
	ġādiy (TyA, TAṢ, TAN)	
"here"	*hniy*[*1] (all dialects)	
	hniyyih (all dialects)	
	hniyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)[*2]	
"here"	*fi ḥāḏa* (MlA, TyA, DbA)	
"thus"	*kiḏíy* (all dialects)	
	kiḏiyyih (all dialects)	
	kiḏiyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)[*2]	
"now"	*halḥīn* (all dialects)	
"still"	*lissāʿ* (ĞrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ, TAN, ḤwA)	
	assāʿ (TyA, ḤwA)	
"afterwards, after that"	*minnih* (all dialects)	
	ʿuguḇ kiḏíy (all dialects)	
	baʿadēn (all dialects)	

[*1] *mín-ihniy* "from here; this way", *mín-ihnuh* "from there" are treated as one unit for stress assignment.

[*2] The hypochoristic *-ān(iy)* suffix is typical for group I dialects in the (north-)east of Sinai. It was also recorded in the dialects of the Sawārkah, Rmēlāt and Aḥaywāt, see De Jong 2000:153.[97]

The connector *ʿuguḇ ma* (*ʿugḇ* + *ma*) is sometimes shortened to *ʿugma*, e.g. *ʿugma ḥaláfaw ʿalēhuṃ 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: *álǧimal kūdinnah zēn* "maybe (let's hope) the camels are good", *arraǧāǧīl*

---

[97] See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.
[98] See also Holes and Abu Athera 2009:226 and De Jong 2000:177–178.

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". *xāf* (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. *xāfinnah mūhū ṭayyib* "perhaps he is no good", *xāfinkin mintin ṭayybāt* "perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good" and an unsuffixed form *xāfin*,[99] as in *xāfin mā nalgāha* "perhaps we won't find it (sg. fem.)".

3.1.15.3. balḥayl *"very, extremely"*

balḥayl for "very, extremely" was recorded twice, but only in MlA: (A) *iw tākil . . . (X) ḥāǧih . . . (A) ḥāǧah ḥilwah xāliṣ . . . (X) balḥäyl! w Aḷḷah balḥayl . . .* "(A) and you eat . . . (X) A thing . . . (A) something very tasty . . . (X) Very! By God, very (tasty) . . ."

3.1.15.4. bišwēš *"slowly, carefully"*

The adverb *bišwēš* was not recorded in any of the group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.15.5. min xawf *"lest"*

min xawf in the sense of "lest" (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.

3.1.16. *Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes*

Suffixed prepositions *l* "for", *ʿala* "on" and *maʿ* "with" in TAŞ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise)[100] are:

		l+[*1]		*ʿala+*[*6]		*maʿ+*[*10]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*lah/lih*[*2]	*lēhuṃ*[*5]	*ʿaláh*[*7]	*ʿalēhuṃ*[*5]	*maʿáh*	*maḥḥuṃ*[*5]
	fem.	*lēha*[*3]	*lēhin*	*ʿalēha*[*8]	*ʿalēhin*	*maḥḥa*[*8]	*maḥḥin*
2.	masc.	*lak*[*4]	*lēkuw*	*ʿalák*[*9]	*ʿalēkuw*	*maʿák*	*maʿkuw*
	fem.	*lēkiy*	*lēkin*	*ʿalēkiy*	*ʿalēkin*	*maʿkiy*	*maʿkin*
1.	com.	*lay*(*y*)	*lēna*	*ʿaláy*(*y*)	*ʿalēna*	*maʿáy*	*maʿna*

[*1] For the paradigm of *l+* in TAN, TyA, DbA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is *l ~ li*.

For an alternative paradigm in BdA, see below.

[*2] The vowel in TAŞ and ĞrA is usually *a*, in BdA *i*. In MlA *lah ~ lēh*.

[*3] The suffix *-ha ~ -hiy* in MlA.

---

*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: *ʿilēk*, *ʿilēhum* etc.,¹⁰¹ but usually absence of raising in *ʿaláy*. The independent preposition is *ʿala* ~ *ʿa*.

*⁷ In TAN, BdA, MlA *ʿalēh*. In TyA, ḤwA and DbA *ʿilēh* ~ *ʿalēh*. In ĞrA *ʿalíh*.

*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 *ʿalēk*. In ḤwA and DbA *ʿilēk*.

*¹⁰ For the paradigm in TAN, see below.

The vowel of the first syllable is *i* in BdA, also in closed (and stressed) syllables: *miʿáh*, *miḥḥa* etc. Raising of *a* in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. *miʿáh* (but *a* in stressed closed syllable, e.g. *máʿkuw*).

		The prep. *l+* in TAN, TyA, DbA, ḤwA (and as alternative in BdA):		The prep. *m(i)ʿ+* in TAN*⁴	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*lah**¹	*lhuṃ**⁵	*mʿah*	*miʿhuṃ**⁵*⁶
	fem.	*lha**²	*lhin**³	*miʿha**⁶	*miʿhin**⁶
2.	masc.	*lak*	*lkuw*	*mʿak*	*miʿkuw*
	fem.	*lkiy*	*lkin**³	*miʿkiy*	*miʿkin*
1.	com.	*lay(y)*	*lna(ʾ)*	*mʿay*	*miʿna*

*¹ In TyA *lih*.

*² In TyA *lhiy*.

*³ In ḤwA *lhin* and *lkin* ~ *lhinnih* and *lkinnih*.

*⁴ The independent preposition is *mʿ*, e.g.: *tāxḏ imʿák libbtak fi ğēbtak…f-īdak* "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 *ʿ + h* often assimilates to *ḥḥ*: *miḥḥa*, *miḥḥum*, *miḥḥin*.

¹⁰¹ Notice that such raising remains absent when the short *a* is the product of reduction of *ā* in pre-stress position, as in *magʿad šasēh* (< *šāsēh*) "a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as magʿad in Malbad (Ğarāğrah)" (ĞrA).

Suffixed prepositions *fi* "in", *min* "from" and *waṛa* "behind" in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

		fi+		*min+*		*waṛa+*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*fah*[*1]	*fihuṃ*[*5]	*minnih*	*minhuṃ*[*5]	*waṛāh*	*waṛāhuṃ*[*5]
	fem.	*fiha*[*2]	*fihin*	*minha*[*2]	*minhin*	*waṛāha*[*2]	*waṛāhin*
2.	masc.	*fak*[*3]	*fikuw*	*minnak*	*minkuw*	*waṛāk*	*waṛākuw*
	fem.	*fikiy*	*fikin*	*minkiy*	*minkin*	*waṛākiy*	*waṛākin*
1.	com.	*fay(y)*[*4]	*fina*	*minnī*	*minna*	*waṛāy*	*waṛāna*

[*1] *fih* (with short *i*) in MlA, *fīh* (with long *ī*) in TAN, BdA, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA. In all dialects: *fīh* (with long *ī*) is used for "there is/are".
[*2] *-hiy* in TyA.
[*3] *fīk* in TAN, BdA, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA.
[*4] *fīnī* in ǦrA.
[*5] *-huw* in ǦrA and *-huṃ ~ -huw* in ḤwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions *ʿind* "with", *ḥawāla* "around" and *fōg/fawg* "over" in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

		ʿind+		*ḥawāla+*[*3]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ʿindah*	*ʿinduhuṃ*[*2]	*ḥawalāh*[*4]	*ḥawalāhuṃ*
	fem.	*ʿindaha*[*1]	*ʿindihin*	*ḥawalāha*[*1]	*ḥawalāhin*
2.	masc.	*ʿindak*	*ʿindukuw*	*ḥawalāk*	*ḥawalākuw*
	fem.	*ʿindikiy*	*ʿindikin*	*ḥawalākiy*	*ḥawalākin*
1.	com.	*ʿindī*	*ʿindina*	*ḥawalāy*	*ḥawalāna*

		fōg+[*5]	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*fōgah*	*fōghuṃ*[*2]
	fem.	*fōgha*[*1]	*fōghin*
2.	masc.	*fōgak*	*fōgkuw*
	fem.	*fōgkiy*	*fōgkin*
1.	com.	*fōgī*	*fōgna*

[*1] *-hiy* in TyA.
[*2] *-huw* in ǦrA and *-huṃ ~ -huw* in ḤwA and TAN.
[*3] This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ǦrA and MlA.
[*4] An alternative *ḥawālah* was recorded in TAṢ and *ḥawēlah* in TAN.
[*5] In ḤwA the preposition is diphthongal: *fawgah, fawgha*, etc.

An interesting grammaticalisation recorded in DbA is *byākluw min iǧnūbāha* "they eat from all sides (around them)".

Suffixed prepositions are negated with single preceding *mā*, e.g. *mā ʿindī* "not with me", *mā fōgak* "not above you".

3.1.17. *Numerals and counted plurals*

3.1.17.1. *Cardinal numbers 1–10*
Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): *wāḥid / wiḥdih*[*1], *tnēn / tintēn*[*2], *talātih* (*tálat*), *arbaʿah* (*arbaʿ*), *xamsih* (*xams*), *sittih* (*sitt*), *sabʿih* (*sabʿ*), *tamānyih* (*tamán*), *tisʿih* (*tisʿ*), *ʿašaṛah* (*ʿašáṛ*).

[*1] *wāḥid* and *wiḥdih* may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *walad wāḥid* "one boy" and *bint wiḥdih* "one girl".
[*2] *tnēn* and *tintēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn itnēn* "two boys" and *īdāy attintēn* "my two hands" and *riǧlāy attintēn* "my two legs" (TyA, TAṢ, ĞrA, ḤwA). The form *adāy* "my hands" was recorded in DbA. Direct elicitation in ḤwA yielded *īdānī* instead of *īdāy* for "my hands".[102]

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. *aṛbaʿ t-infāṛ* "four people", *xamis t-iyyām* "five days".

3.1.17.2. *Ordinal numbers 1–10*
Only three ordinals were recorded: *awwil*, *tāniy*, *tālit*.

3.1.17.3. *Numerals: 11 and up*
Numerals 11–19 recorded are: *ḥdāšaṛ, tnāšaṛ / itnāšaṛ, talattāšaṛ, aṛbaʿtāšaṛ, xamistāšaṛ, sittāšaṛ, sabaʿtāšaṛ, tamantāšaṛ, tisiʿtāšaṛ* in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in -*āšaṛ* co-occurred with forms ending in -*ā̱ʿiš*, e.g. *talattā̱ʿiš, aṛbaʿtā̱ʿiš, xamistā̱ʿiš*,[103] etc. In MlA the months of November and December were referred to as *šaháṛ iḥdā̱ʿiš* and *šaháṛ itnā̱ʿiš* (resp.).

---

[102] This is perhaps a hybrid form of *īdāy* "my hands" (like in other dialects) and *aḏānī* "my ears", or the pl. *īdān* was directly suffixed with the pron.: *īdānī* "my hands".
[103] In the forms ending in -*āšaṛ* velarization is indicated in *ṛ*, in the forms ending in -*ā̱ʿiš*, it is indicated in the long: *ā̱*.

Numerals 20–90:

> *ʿišrīn, ṯalāṯīn, arbaʿīn, xamsīn, sittīn, sabʿīn, ṯamānīn, tisʿīn.*

Numerals 100–900:

> *miyyih, mīytēn, ṯuliṯmiyyih, ṛubiʿmiyyih, xumismiyyih, suttmiyyih, subiʿmiyyih, ṯuminmiyyih, tusiʿmiyyih.*

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

> *alf, alfēn, ṯalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arbaʿ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabiʿ t-ālāf, ṯaman t-ālāf, tisiʿ t-ālāf, ʿašaṛ t-ālāf.*

Long *ā* of the first syllable is usually reduced to short *a*, e.g. *ṯalat t-alāf* "three thousand".

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

> *ḥdāšaṛ alf, mīt alf, miyytēn alf, milyōn / malyōn* (and *ṯalat malāyīn*).

Some plurals recorded with proclitic *t-* are: *tisiʿ t-ālāf* "nine thousand", *ʿašaṛ t-iyyām* "ten days", *sitt t-ušhur* "six months",[104] *sabiʿ t-infāṛ* "seven persons".

Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. *šaháṛ wāḥid* "January", *f-awwil iḥdāʿiš* "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. *ṛaffayn* "two tent sections", *šaharayn* "two months", *yōmēn* "two days", *šwālēn* "two (large) sacks".

Older forms of the dual (?)[105] are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. TAṢ and TyA forms *riǧlāy* "my (two) legs", *īdāy* "my hands" (unsuffixed pl. forms are *riǧlān* and *īdān*).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: *īd* "hand", *īdān* "hands", *īdāha* "her hands", *īdāhin* "their (fem.) hands", but *īdānī* "my hands". A form heard in ǦrA is *īdāhuw* "their hands".

---

[104] *sitt t-ušhur* is actually pronounced like *sitt ušhur* (reduced *tt t > tt*). The proclitic *t-* is concluded from other forms, like *xamis t-ušhur* "five months" and *ṯaman t-ušhur* "eight months".

[105] It is not certain that these forms in final *-ān*, and suffixed as *-ā +*, are older dual forms (see also remarks in De Jong 2000:187 (+ fn 341); one could also imagine a perhaps more likely analogy with pl. forms like *sīgān* (sg. *sāg*) for "thighs", *kīʿān* (sg. *kūʿ*) "elbows", *ḏirʿān* (sg. *ḏrāʿ*) "forearms".

Plural forms in BdA and DbA are with initial *a-*: *adēk* "your hands", *adēhuṃ* "their hands", *adēhin* "their (fem.) hands" and "my hands" in DbA is *adāy*, but was recorded as *adayy* in BdA.

Forms recorded in MlA are only sg.: *īd* "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 *biyguṣṣinhin, iw byuḏufrinnah ḏafar . . . ʿal-īdāhin . . . áššaʿaṛ hāḏa* "they (fem.) shave them (fem., i.e. the goats), and they (fem.) plait it (sg. masc.) into a saddle girth . . . this hair" and *ib riǧlāhin ibyídirsin* "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 pattterns 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:

		perfect "drink"[*1]		perfect "sit"[*3]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*širibt*[*1]	*širibna*[*1]	*gaʿád*	*gaʿádaw*[*4]
	fem.	*širibt*[*1]	*širibtuw*[*1]	*gaʿádat*[*4]	*gaʿádan*[*4]
2.	masc.	*širibtiy*[*1]	*širibtin*[*1]	*gaʿadt*[*5]	*gaʿadtuw*[*5]
	fem.	*širíb*[*1]	*šarbuw*[*2]	*gaʿadtiy*[*5]	*gaʿadtin*[*5]
1.	com.	*šarbit*[*2]	*šarbin*[*2]	*gaʿadt*[*5]	*gaʿadna*

[*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 *ġulúḏ* in 3.2.1.3.).

[*2] Notice that the underlying *a* 'reappears' in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ĞrA, MlA; forms there are *širbit*, *širbuw* and *širbin*. Other examples are: *tilfuw* "they grew old", *wigfit* "she stood".

Like in TyA, the *a* does 'reappear' in ḤwA: *ʿargit* "she sweated", *yabsuw* "they dried", *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 *ġulúḏ* 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 *šíribtah* "she drank it (sg. masc.)" (< *širbit* + *ah*).

In ĞrA, however, the high vowel of the verbal ending is not elided (and hence no subsequent anaptyxis takes place): *hī líbsitih* "she wore it", *hī šírbitih* "she drank it", *hī lígyitih* "she found it", but *aná libístih* "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: ĞrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. *lēš inzil?* "why should I dismount?"). The other group I dialects (TAṢ, TyA, DbA, ḤwA and also the large majority of forms in TAN) have initial *a*- in all vowel types, see also De Jong 2000:299.

There are three imperfect patterns: $yaC_1C_2CaC_3$, $yuC_1C_2CuC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$.

		a-type imperfect "drink"	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yášṛab*	*yášṛabaw*
	fem.	*tášṛab*	*yášṛaban*
2.	masc.	*tášṛab*	*tášṛabaw*
	fem.	*tášṛabay*	*tášṛaban*
1.	com.	*ášṛab*	*nášṛab*

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. *yaḥariṯ*) and *a*-type (e.g. *yaʿaṛag*) with C_1 = X have the following paradigms.

		i-type imperfect*[1]		*a*-type imperfect*[1]	
		"plough"		"sweat"	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yaḥáriṯ*	*yaḥárṯuw*	*yaʿárag*	*yaʿáragaw*
	fem.	*taḥáriṯ*	*yaḥárṯin*	*taʿárag*	*yaʿáragan*
2.	masc.	*taḥáriṯ*	*taḥárṯuw*	*taʿárag*	*taʿáragaw*
	fem.	*taḥárṯiy*	*taḥárṯin*	*taʿáragay*	*taʿáragan*
1.	com.	*aḥáriṯ**[2]	*naḥáriṯ*	*aʿárag*	*naʿárag*

*[1] For stress in these forms see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.4.

*[2] Notice that in gahawah-verb forms the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel of an *i*-type imperfect.

For the morphological status of the *i*, and reasons for not indicating its elision (i.e. the forms are not written here as e.g. *yaḥárṯ*), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfects and participles of these verbs *ḥaráṯ* and *ʿiríg* are like those of *gaʿád* and *širíb* (see 3.2.1.1.).

3.2.1.3. *Reflexes of older* $*C_1aC_2uC_3$, $*yaC_1C_2uC_3$

The verb "grow fat" as example of an 'Eigenschafts' verb-type elicited in ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ:

		u-type perfect*[1]		*u*-type imperfect*[3]	
"grow fat"		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ġulúḏ*	*ġalḏuw**[2]	*yaġáluḏ*	*yaġálḏuw*
	fem.	*ġalḏit**[2]	*ġalḏin**[2]	*taġáluḏ*	*yaġálḏin*
2.	masc.	*ġuluḏt*	*ġuluḏtuw*	*taġáluḏ*	*taġálḏuw*
	fem.	*ġuluḏtiy*	*ġuluḏtin*	*taġálḏiy*	*taġálḏin*
1.	com.	*ġuluḏt*	*ġuluḏna*	*aġáluḏ**[4]	*naġáluḏ*

*[1] In unstressed open syllables the surface *u* (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not •*ġluḏ*, •*ġluḏt*, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying |a| (cf. the verb *širíb* 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, ĞrA, MlA; forms recorded there are *ġulḏit*, *ġulḏuw* and *ġulḏin*. For TAN I have extrapolated 'reappearance' of *a* here based on its 'reappearance' in the *i*-type perfect (compare *širíb* *[2] in 3.2.1.1.).

*[3] Due to the relatively high sonority of the preceding *l*, the high vowel *u* is usually dropped when *ḏ* is word-final, e.g. *yaġálḏ* # and *taġálḏ* #. 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.

*⁴ Like in *aḥárit̲* (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. *yuǵluḍ*, etc.) is current.

3.2.1.4. *Regular verbs participles*
Like in group VI, active participles are formed with the patterns $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3$ah/-ih (sg. fem.), $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3\bar{\imath}n$ (pl. masc.), $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3\bar{a}t$ (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *r̲āyidtih* "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,[106] e.g. *áṣrab, áṣrabay, áṣrabaw, áṣraban* "drink!", *úǵud, úguʿdiy, úguʿduw, úguʿdin* "sit down!" and *ímsik, ímiskiy, ímiskuw, ímiskin* "grab, take hold!".

3.2.2. *Irregular and other verbs*

3.2.2.1. *Verbs C_1 = 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]

      a-type imperfect with *wāw** "arrive"

		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yawṣal*	*yawṣalaw*
	fem.	*tawṣal*	*yawṣalan*
2.	masc.	*tawṣal*	*tawṣalaw*
	fem.	*tawṣalay*	*tawṣalan*
1.	com.	*awṣal*	*nawṣal*

---

[106] See De Jong 2000:192.

[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 (*yagaʿ* and *tigif*), 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 C_1 = *wāw* verb *warad* "give water": one without *wāw* (*yiríd*), and one with incorporated *wāw* (*yōrid*):

The *i*-type imperfect has the following paradigm:

		"water" imperfect without *wāw**¹		imperfect with *wāw**²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yiríd*	*yarduw*	*yōrid*	*yōrduw*
	fem.	*tiríd*	*yardin*	*tōrid*	*yōrdin*
2.	masc.	*tiríd*	*tarduw*	*tōrid*	*tōrduw*
	fem.	*tardiy*	*tardin*	*tōrdiy*	*tōrdin*
1.	com.	(ʾ)*aríd*	*niríd*	*ōrid*	*nōrid*

*¹ Notice that the vowel of the first syllable is underlying |a|: it is raised to *i* in open unstressed syllable (except when ʾ precedes), but appears as *a* in closed (and stressed) syllables. Compare this to the perfect paradigms of *širíb* (see 3.2.1.1.) and *ġulúḍ* (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for *yigíf* (paradigm like *yiríd* above) ~ *yawgaf* (paradigm like *yawṣal* above).

*² In ǦrA 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 *warád* is like *gaʿád*, see 3.2.1.1.)

Other primae *wāw* verbs are: *waǧaʿ, yōǧiʿ* "hurt", *walá ʾ, yawliy* "come near", *waká ʾ, yōkiy* "tie closed", *waṭá ʾ, 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 *wiʿiy, yawʿa* "pay attention" (root *w-ʿ-y*) are *awʿa, awʿay, awʿaw* and *awʿan* in ḤwA, DbA, e.g. *awʿan ṛūskin* "mind (pl. fem.) your (pl. fem.) heads!". Forms recorded in TAṢ, TyA were recorded with base vowels dropped: *awʿa, awʿiy, awʿin* and *awʿuw*, e.g. *awʿa tans* "don't you forget (sg. masc.)!" and *awʿin tansin* "don't you forget (pl. fem.)!".

In BdA and ǦrA the imperative of the sg. masc. was left unconjugated for grammatical number and gender and used as a general particle of warning (a similar particle was recorded in some dialects of group VII): *awʿa ṛāsak, awʿa ṛāskiy, awʿa ṛūskuw, awʿa ṛūskin* for "mind your head(s)!" (BdA) and also *awʿa tans, awʿa tansay, awʿa tansaw* and *awʿa tansan* "don't

forget!" (ĞrA). Other dialects have regular imperative forms like *awʿan ṛūskin* and *awʿaw tansaw* (Forms in MlA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel *i* in most dialects have *ō* as in *yōǧiʿ* "it hurts", *yōkiy* "he ties closed", *yōrid* "he waters" *yōzin* "he weighs", *yōgid* "he lights" (recorded in MlA, BdA, TAN and ḤwA). Some dialects (also) have diphthongs in these *i*-type imperfects, like *yowluw* "they come near", *yawṭuw* "they go shopping" (both MlA), *yawrid* and *yawgid* (both TAṢ), *yawkiy* "he ties closed" but *yōkīha* "he ties it (sg. fem.) closed (both BdA) and diphthongs in *a*-type imperfects *yawṣal* "he arrives", *yawṣaf* "he describes" and *yawǧaʿ* (all three TAṢ), *yowgaf* or *yawgaf* "he stands" (ḤwA and TAṢ). Sometimes such verbal imperfects are without *wāw*, e.g. *agíf* "I stand", *tigíf* "you stand" (both ḤwA).

Participles:

> Active participles have a $C_1āC_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g. *wārid, wārdih, wārdīn, wārdāt* "having watered".
>
> $maC_1C_2ūC_3$ 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 yāʾ)

In TyA, ḤwA, TAṢ and ĞrA the diphthong of the first syllable in the imperfect is left intact (perfect) *yibís*, (imperfect) *yaybas* (not recorded in the other dialects).

Notice that, like in the verb *širíb* (see 3.2.1.1.), the vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is underlying |a|, so that it 'reappears' in closed syllables (in those dialects that also have *šarbit*): *yibís* "it (sg. masc.) dried", but *yabsit* "it (sg. fem.) dried".

3.2.2.3. Verbs C_1 = *ʾ (primae hamzah)

The verb "eat" has the following paradigms:

		imperfect[1]		perfect[2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yāḳil*	*yāḳluw*	*akál*	*akálaw*
	fem.	*tāḳil*	*yāḳlin*	*akálat*	*akálan*
2.	masc.	*tāḳil*	*tāḳluw*	*akalt*	*akaltuw*
	fem.	*tāḳliy*	*tāḳlin*	*akaltiy*	*akaltin*
1.	com.	*āḳil*	*nāḳil*	*akalt*	*akalna*

[1] The long vowel *ā* is clearly lower than in the present participle (without velarization) *mākil*, but velarization in the imperfect (as indicated here in *ḳ*)

is only limited in most dialects. Velarization is clearly stronger in BdA. Such velarization could perhaps be described as 'phantom' velarization.[108]

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel *i* in the imperfect. *² The perfect is without initial *a-* in TAṢ, ǦrA, MlA (TAN is uncertain). Stress is then *kalát*, *kaláw* and *kalán*.

The paradigms for the verb "take" (*ʾ-x-ḏ*) are comparable (in the perfect *ḏ + t* usually assimilates to > *tt*, e.g. *axattuw*).

Present participles are with initial *m-*: *mākil, māklih, māklīn, māklāt*.

Past participles are: *māx̣ūḏ, -ah, -īn, -āt* (all forms are velarized).

Imperatives are: *ḳul, ḳliy, ḳluw, ḳlin*

The verbal noun is *(ʾ)akl* "eating" (also "food"), but *waḳl* was recorded in BdA. The passive verb "be eaten" is *ánwakal, yínwikil*.

3.2.2.4. Verbs C_2 = w *or* y (*mediae infirmae*)

3.2.2.4.1. Verbs C_2 = w *or* y (*mediae infirmae*) *perfect and imperfect*
In group I dialects the perfect and imperfect paradigms are:

"say"	perfect		imperfect*²	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	*gāḷ*	*gāḷaw**¹	*ygūl*	*ygūluw*
fem.	*gāḷat*	*gāḷan*	*tgūl*	*ygūlin*
2. masc.	*guḷt*	*guḷtuw*	*tgūl**³	*tgūluw*
fem.	*guḷtiy*	*guḷtin*	*tgūliy*	*tgūlin*
1. com.	*guḷt*	*guḷna*	*agūl**⁴	*ngūl*

*¹ In TAṢ and ǦrA the ending *-aw* varies with *-uw*. In the other dialects the ending is regularly *-aw*.

*² Media yāʾ verbs (with long base vowel *ī*) have the same endings.

*³ Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. *tanam, tugul* and *tišil*) 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. (*ugūl*) in ǦrA and BdA.

For media yāʾ verbs (with long base vowel *ā*) ḤwA, BdA, ǦrA, TyA and TAṢ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: *tnāmay, ynāmaw, ynāman, tnāmaw* and *tnāman*. Situation in MlA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).

---

[108] 'Phantom' velarization is here meant to indicate the effect of velarization present in these forms, while the cause of this velarization (originally the vowel *u* in the imperfect) is no longer present, since the vowel *u* has been replaced by *i*. Compare this to velarization left behind by *u* in forms (e.g. *ṛkab* "knees", *g̣rab* "waterskins"), even after its total disappearance; the effect of the so-called vanished *u*, as described in Blanc 1970:128 [17].

The verb *šāf, yšūf* was recorded in all dialects with short vowel *u* only: *šuft* "I saw".

Verbs C$_2$ = *y* are like in group VI as well, e.g. *šāl, yšīl* (and *šilt*) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb *ṛād, yrīd*, see 3.2.3.7.2. of this chapter).

3.2.2.4.2. *Verbs C$_2$ = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives*
Short base vowels in the sg. masc. imperative in mediae infirmae verbs are rare; I have heard it in BdA in imperatives *gum* "get up!" and *nam* "go to sleep!", but other imperatives in BdA all had long base vowels, e.g. *gūl* "say!", *šīl* "carry, take away!", although there are also isolated instances of *gul* "say!".

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

	long *ū*		long *ī*		long *ā*	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	*gūl*	*gūluw*	*šīl*	*šīluw*	*nām*	*nāmuw**
fem.	*gūliy*	*gūlin*	*šīliy*	*šīlin*	*nāmiy**	*nāmin**

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in ḤwA, BdA, TyA, TAṢ and ǦrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: *nāmay, nāmaw, nāman* (not recorded in TAN and MlA).

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

N.B. Often the diphthong *iy* is reduced to *i* in forms like *biygūl, biyšīl* > *bigūl, bišīl*.

3.2.2.4.3. *Verbs C$_2$ = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles*
Present participles are like in other groups, e.g. *gāyil, gāylih, gāylīn, gāylāt*.

Past participles are *magyūḷ, -ah, -īn, -āt*, but more current is *mingāl, -ah, -īn, -āt*.

3.2.2.5. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae)*

3.2.2.5.1. *Verbs C$_3$ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect*
Like in the other groups of the south of Sinai, *a*-type and *i*-type perfects of tertiae infirmae verbs have often become mixed.

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

		perfect			
		"walk"[*1]		"find"[*2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*mašá(')*	*mašáw*	*ligíy*	*ligyuw*
	fem.	*mašát*	*mašán*	*ligyit*	*ligyin*
2.	masc.	*mašēt*	*mašētuw*	*ligīt*	*ligītuw*
	fem.	*mašētiy*	*mašētin*	*ligītiy*	*ligītin*
1.	com.	*mašēt*	*mašēna*	*ligīt*	*ligīna*

*¹ Raising of *a* in open pre-stress syllable is current in the *a*-type perfect, e.g. *mišá(ʾ)* and *mišēt*.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA, 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. *máša ~ mišíy, mašát ~ mašyit* and *mišēt* (< *mašēt*) *~ mišīt*. *² The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also *ligíy*, 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:[109] both as *a*-type and as *i*-type, e.g. *ligá ~ ligíy, ligát ~ lagyit* and *ligēt ~ ligīt*.

The perfect paradigm for "forget" recorded in TAṢ is mixed: (sg.) *nasá(ʾ), nasát, nasīt, nasītiy, nasīt* and (pl.) *nasáw, nasán, nasītuw, nasītin, nasīna*. In these forms *a* of the open first syllable is usually raised to *i*, as in e.g. *nisīt*.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: *nasá(ʾ) ~ nisíy*, the conjugation elicited for "forget" in ḤwA is unmixed *i*-type: *nisíy, nasyit, nisīt*, etc.

Material for MlA and TAN was limited, but the same mixed paradigms appear to be in use there.

3.2.2.5.2. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect*

$3.2.2.5.2.$ *Verbs C_3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect*
Paradigms for the imperfect in TAṢ are:

		"find"*¹		"walk"	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yalga*	*yalguw**³	*yimšiy*	*yimšuw*
	fem.	*talga*	*yalgan**³	*timšiy*	*yimšin*
2.	masc.	*talga**²	*talguw**³	*timšiy**²	*timšuw*
	fem.	*talgiy**³	*talgan**³	*timšiy*	*timšin*
1.	com.	*alga*	*nalga*	*amšiy**⁴	*nimšiy*

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

*² Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are current only in BdA and TyA (where both full forms and apocopated forms may be heard used

---

[109] 'Parallel' should not be understood here as two conjugations that are kept separate, either by individual speakers or in different contexts. On the contrary: forms from either paradigm appear to be used at random. The topic certainly deserves more space than can be afforded here. On 'parallel forms', see fn 5, p. 117 in this volume.

side by side). Only few instances were heard in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, and none in TAṢ, ḤwA and MlA.

*³ Notice that in the *a*-type the final base vowel -*a* is dropped in the endings of the 2nd p. sg. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd pl. masc. forms, but not in 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. forms.

*⁴ See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on possible vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (*ímšiy*) in ĞrA and BdA.

Endings with base vowel (i.e. -*ay*, -*an* and -*aw*, as in *talgay*, *t/yalgan* and *t/yalgaw*) were heard in TAN, ḤwA, DbA and BdA. In ĞrA and TyA these co-occurred with endings without the base vowel. Material is too limited for conclusions on MlA; only one relevant form was recorded there: *talgūhuw* "you'll find them".

3.2.2.5.3. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives*
Dialects where apocopated imperfects are current (mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, see remark *² in 3.2.2.5.2.), may also use apocopated imperatives for the sg. masc.

3.2.2.5.4. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) participles*
Active participles have the patterns $C_1\bar{a}C_2iy$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2yih$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2y\bar{\imath}n$ and $C_1\bar{a}C_2y\bar{a}t$. 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:

		perfect		imperfect*¹	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ǧa(ʾ)*	*ǧaw*	*yǧiy*	*yǧuw*
	fem.	*ǧat*	*ǧan*	*tǧiy*	*yǧin*
2.	masc.	*ǧīt*	*ǧītuw*	*tǧiy**²	*tǧuw*
	fem.	*ǧītiy*	*ǧītin*	*tǧiy*	*tǧin*
1.	com.	*ǧīt*	*ǧīna*	*aǧíy**³	*nǧiy*

*¹ In ĞrA forms with initial *t*- often showed a following vowel as well: *tiǧíy ~ tǧiy, tiǧúw ~ tǧuw* and *tiǧín ~ tǧin*.

*² The apocopated form in BdA and TyA is *tiǧ*.

*³ Informants of ĞrA and BdA did not produce a form *iǧíy* 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 ĞrA, BdA and TyA are: *taʿāl*, *taʿāliy*, *taʿāluw* and *taʿālin*. The same forms are used in TAṢ, but there the pl. fem. shows vowel harmony: *taʿālan*.

   In ḤwA the sg. masc is *taʿā(ʾ)* and in DbA *taʿāl*. In both ḤwA, DbA the endings of the other forms also show vowel harmony: *taʿālay*, *taʿālaw* and *taʿālan*.

   Material for MlA and TAN is too limited for conclusions.

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb "come" participles*
Participles of the verb "come" are: *ǧāy*, *ǧāyih*, *ǧāyīn*, *ǧāyāt*.

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:

		perfect*¹		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*šadd*	*šaddaw**²	*yšidd*	*yšidduw*
	fem.	*šaddat*	*šaddan**²	*tšidd*	*yšiddin*
2.	masc.	*šaddēt*	*šaddētuw*	*tšidd*	*tšidduw*
	fem.	*šaddētiy*	*šaddētin*	*tšiddiy*	*tšiddin*
1.	com.	*šaddēt*	*šaddēna*	*ašidd**³	*nšidd*

*¹ Raising of *a* preceding a syllable with *ē* may occur in ḤwA, DbA and ĞrA (e.g. *šiddēt*), but it is much less regular than in the other dialects, see also remark in 3.2.3.5.2.

   When the geminate is velarized, the *ē* of the ending is diphthongal *ay*. E.g. *ḥaṭṭayt* "I placed" and *ḥaṭṭaytuw* "you (pl. masc.) placed" (notice that *a* is not raised, so not ·*ḥiṭṭayt* or ·*ḥuṭṭayt*, or something similar).

*² Notice vowel harmony in the 3rd p. pl. endings in BdA, ḤwA, DbA, ĞrA, MlA and TAN.

   In TAṢ and TyA, however, both *-aw* and *-uw* were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. *ḥaṭṭaw ~ ḥaṭṭuw* "they placed". In TAṢ froms with the ending *-uw* are most commonly heard.

*³ In ĞrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. *aná biḥibb* "I love", *bišidd* "I pull" (~ *aḥibb* and *ašidd*), and also a form *buṭuxx* "I shoot" in TAN, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.2.

3.2.2.7.2. *Verbs* $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*) *imperatives*
Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. *limm*, *limmiy*, *limmuw*, *limmin* "gather!" and with base vowel *u*: *xušš*, *xuššiy*, *xuššuw*, *xuššin* "enter!".

3.2.2.7.3. *Verbs* $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*)
Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *lāmm*, *lāmmih*, *lāmmīn*, *lāmmāt* "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: $anC_1aC_2aC_3$, $yinC_1aC_2iC_3$. The *a* in the imperfect is raised to *i* in open syllables, but 'reappears' in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

"rejoice"

		perfect[1]		imperfect[1]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*ánbiṣaṭ*	*inbaṣáṭaw*[3]	*yínbiṣiṭ*	*yinbáṣṭuw*
	fem.	*inbaṣáṭat*	*inbaṣáṭan*	*tínbiṣiṭ*	*yinbáṣṭin*
2.	masc.	*inbaṣáṭṭ*[2]	*inbaṣáṭṭuw*[2]	*tínbiṣiṭ*	*tinbáṣṭuw*
	fem.	*inbaṣáṭṭiy*[2]	*inbaṣáṭṭin*[2]	*tinbáṣṭiy*	*tinbáṣṭin*
1.	com.	*inbaṣáṭṭ*[2]	*inbaṣaṭna*	*ánbiṣiṭ*	*nínbiṣiṭ*

[1] For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.

[2] *ṭ* + *t* assimilates to *ṭṭ*.

[3] Vowel harmony is absent in the ending -*uw* in TAṢ. In TyA -*uw* co-occurs with -*aw* and in other dialects the ending is -*aw*.

3.2.3.1.2. *Measure* n-*1* $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n*-1 of medial geminate verbs are: (i)$nC_1aC_2C_2$ and $yinC_1aC_2C_2$, e.g. *indabb*, *yindabb* (*miy*) "be filled (with water)".

3.2.3.1.3. *Measure* n-*1* $C_2 = y$ or w (*mediae infirmae*)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n*-1 of medial weak verbs are: $inC_1āC_3$ and $yinC_1āC_3$. The paradigm for the perfect is:

"be carried"

		perfect	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*inšāl*	*inšālaw**
	fem.	*inšālat*	*inšālan*
2.	masc.	*inšilt*	*inšiltuw*
	fem.	*inšiltiy*	*inšiltin*
1.	com.	*inšilt*	*inšilna*

* In TAṢ both *-uw* and *-aw* were heard as endings

3.2.3.1.4. *Measure* n-*1* C_2 = y *or* w (*mediae infirmae*) *participles*
Participles are shaped on the patterns $minC_1\bar{a}C_3$, -ah/-ih, -īn, -āt.

3.2.3.2. *Measure* t-*1*
Measure *t*-1 was recorded once in TAṢ in (the loan from presumably Cairene) *yittākil* "it (sg. masc.) is eaten", but the verb current in TAṢ for "be eaten" is (perf.) *ánwakal*, (imperf.) *yínwikil*. 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: $aC_1taC_2aC_3$ $yiC_1taC_2iC_3$. Like in measure *n*-1, *a* > *i* is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect (such raising is compulsary) and also in the perfect (where such raising is optional), e.g.: *áštiĝal ~ áštaĝal*, *yíštiĝil* "work", *áttifag ~ áttafag*, *yíttifig* "agree" and *ástuwa ~ ástawa*, *yístiwiy* "ripen; be cooked (of food)".

Notice, however, that although the morphophonemic base vowel *a* 'reappears' in closed syllables when verbal suffixes follow,[110] e.g. *yíxtilif* + verbal suffix *-uw* > *yixtálfuw*, no *a* 'reappears' in the example *yiʿtibir* "he considers" + pron. obj. suffix *-ih* > *yiʿtíbrih* "he considers him" (recorded in TAN).[111]

"buy" in TyA, BdA, TAṢ, ǦrA

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*áštaṛa*	*áštaṛaw*[*1]	*yíštiriy*	*yištáryuw*[*3]
	fem.	*áštaṛat*	*áštaṛan*	*tíštiriy*	*yištáryin*[*3]
2.	masc.	*ištaṛayt*	*ištaṛaytuw*	*tíštir*[*2]	*tištáryuw*[*3]
	fem.	*ištaṛaytiy*	*ištaṛaytin*	*tištáryiy*[*3]	*tištáryin*[*3]
1.	com.	*ištaṛayt*	*ištaṛayna*	*áštiriy*	*níštiriy*

---

[110] Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. *yittafguw* "they agree", see Shawarbah 2007:296.

[111] The fact that *a* does not 'reappear' in this case suggests that the "reappearance" of *a* is not a rule which is synchronically executed.

*[1] In TAŞ both -*uw* and -*aw* were heard as endings

*[2] In BdA and TyA apocopated imperfects (like *tíštir*) are possible. In other dialects the form is *tíštiriy*.

*[3] Notice that the base consonant *y* is not dropped here. In DbA the forms are without the base *yāʾ*: *tíštiriy*, *y/tíštiruw* and *y/tíštirin*. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ǦrA as well.

In ḤwA the base *yāʾ* was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: *tíštiriy*, but the pl. forms were *y/tištáryuw* and *y/tištáryin*.

The verb was not recorded in MlA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb *ástuwa, yístiwiy*: (e.g.) *yistawyin* "they (pl. fem.) ripen".

3.2.3.3.2. *Measure 1*-t C_2 = w *or* y (*mediae infirmae*)

An example of a medial weak measure 1-*t* verb was not recorded (in the verb *ástawa, yístiwiy* the *wāw* is not a weak radical).

3.2.3.3.3. *Measure 1*-t C_2 = C_3 (*mediae geminatae*)

An example of a medial geminate measure 1-*t* verb is *iftakk, yiftakk* "be solved (of a dispute/problem)".

3.2.3.3.4. *Measure 1*-t *participles*

Patterns for measure 1-*t* participles are $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$ (underlying $miC_1taC_2iC_3$), $miC_1taC_2C_3$ah/ih, $miC_1taC_2C_3$īn, $miC_1taC_2C_3$āt.

Examples are:

sg. masc.	sg. fem.	pl. masc.	pl. fem.	translated
míxtilif	*mixtalfih*	*mixtalfīn*	*mixtalfāt*	"differing"
míštiriy	*mištaryih*	*mištaryīn*	*mištaryāt*	"having bought"
míttifig	*mittafgih*	*mittafgīn*	*mittafgāt*	"agreed"

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 *istaʿāš* (1st p. sg. com. *istaʿišt*), *yistaʿīš* (*fī*) "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:

"prepare oneself"

		imperfect[*1]		perfect[*2]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*yistaʿidd*	*yistaʿidduw*	*istaʿadd*	*istaʿaddaw*[*3]
	fem.	*tistaʿidd*	*yistaʿiddin*	*istaʿaddat*	*istaʿaddan*[*4]
2.	masc.	*tistaʿidd*	*tistaʿidduw*	*istaʿiddēt*	*istaʿiddētuw*
	fem.	*tistaʿiddiy*	*tistaʿiddin*	*istaʿiddētiy*	*istaʿiddētin*
1.	com.	*astaʿidd*	*nistaʿidd*	*istaʿiddēt*	*istaʿiddēna*

[*1] Raising of *a* preceding stressed *i* occurs, but is limited (perhaps under influence of following ʿ). 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. *mistaʿǧil, mistáʿiǧlih, mistaʿiǧlīn, mistaʿiǧlāt* "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$_2$: *mistaʿidd, mistaʿiddih, mistaʿiddīn, mistaʿiddāt* "(having) prepared".

3.2.3.5. *Measures 2 and* t-*2*

The patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) C$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, (imperfect) yC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$iC$_3$.

Measure *t*-2 has morphologically fixed *a*. The patterns are (perfect) taC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, (imperfect) ytaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$.

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: *itgallbih* "you flip it (sg. masc.) over", *biyġammruw* "they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms".[112]

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: *nṛawwḥ alMīdān* "we go to alMīdān"[113] and *binrakkb alfrūd* "we mount the ploughs".[114]

r following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. *biyfakkiruw* (*fi*) "they look (at)" and in sandhi *ydawwir aligṣūr* "he looks for the safe storages".[115]

When $C_2 = C_3$, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *biyḥálliluw* "they make little heaps" and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) *mḥallil ibnāklih yā ṛāǧil* "(it's) ḥalāl, we eat it, oh man!".

The paradigms for measure 2 verbs are:

"look"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*fákkaṛ*	*fákkaṛaw**	*yfakkir*	*yfakkruw*
	fem.	*fákkaṛat*	*fákkaṛan*	*tfakkir*	*yfakkrin*
2.	masc.	*fakkárt*	*fakkártuw**	*tfakkir*	*tfakkruw*
	fem.	*fakkártiy*	*fakkártin*	*tfakkriy*	*tfakkrin*
1.	com.	*fakkárt*	*fakkárna*	*afakkir*	*nfakkir*

* TAṢ and TyA have varying *-uw* and *-aw* endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. *ṛawwaḥaw* "they went" and *karrabuw* "they tied (ropes)". In TyA the *-uw* ending appeared during direct elicitation, but *-aw* came out in spontaneous texts.

3.2.3.5.2. *Measure 2 tertiae infirmae*
In the imperfect apocopated forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. may again be heard mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in: *tsaww ~ tsawwiy* "you do", *tfass ~ tfassiy* "you fart".

Paradigms for tertiae infirmae verbs are:

---

[112] A *ġimr* (pl. *ġmūr*) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.
[113] The meaning of the verb *ṛawwaḥ, yṛawwiḥ* is "go", rather than its more specific meaning of "go home" (e.g. in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).
[114] *fard*, pl. *frūd* is the current word for "plough".
[115] For *gaṣr*, pl. *gṣūr* see fn 42, p. 47.

"make, do"

		perfect[*1]		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*sawwa*	*sawwaw*[*2]	*ysawwiy*	*ysawwuw*
	fem.	*sawwat*	*sawwan*	*tsawwiy*	*ysawwin*
2.	masc.	*sawwēt*	*sawwētuw*	*tsaww /-iy*[*3]	*tsawwuw*
	fem.	*sawwētiy*	*sawwētin*	*tsawwiy*	*tsawwin*
1.	com.	*sawwēt*	*sawwēna*	*asawwiy*	*nsawwiy*

[*1] Raising of *a* preceding stressed *ē* (> *suwwēt*) is a feature of ĠrA, ḤwA and somewhat less so of DbA. Such raising is much less, or not current in MlA, TAṢ, TAN, BdA or TyA (see 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

[*2] Here too the endings *-aw* and *-uw* were both heard in TAṢ and TyA: *sawwaw ~ sawwuw* "they made/did" (other dialects only *sawwaw*).

[*3] Apocopated forms are regularly heard only in BdA and TyA.

3.2.3.5.3. *Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah*

Like in many other dialects, the verb "feed" is *wakkal, ywakkil* "give food" and *wadda, ywaddiy* is "bring, take to".

3.2.3.5.4. *Measure* t-2 *imperfect and perfect*

In measure *t*-2 the vowel *a* is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$, ytaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$aC$_3$.

Like in group VI, the *ta*- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure *t*-2 is stable and is only rarely reduced to (*i*)*t*-.[116]

"have lunch"

		perfect		imperfect[*4]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*taġadda*	*taġaddaw*[*1]	*ytaġadda*	*ytaġaddaw*[*1]
	fem.	*taġaddat*	*taġaddan*[*2]	*taġadda*	*ytaġaddan*[*2]
2.	masc.	*taġaddēt*	*taġaddētuw*	*taġadd /-a*[*5]	*taġaddaw*[*1]
	fem.	*taġaddētiy*	*taġaddētin*	*taġadday*	*taġaddan*[*2]
1.	com.	*taġaddēt*	*taġaddēna*[*3]	*ataġadda*	*ntaġadda*

[*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. *tiġaddēt*.

[*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 2007:194), *yitlāgaw* "they meet" (ibid.:296).

3.2.3.5.5. *Measures 2 and* t-*2 verbal nouns*
Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a $taC_1C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) *tahrīb* "smuggling", *taybīs* "drying (trans.)" and a gahawah-form *taġarīb* "going north"[117] (for more examples see 2.2.1.2.).

Verbal nouns recorded for *t*-2 are *tsubbug* "racing (on camels)" (ḤwA) (see fn 126, p. 100) and *tkissir* "breaking into pieces" (ĞrA).

3.2.3.5.6. *Measures 2 and* t-*2 participles*
Active participles of measure 2 have a $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a $mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. An example of a C_3 = 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 $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *miṭraḥḥil* "being on a trek', *mitḏakkir* "remembering", *mitkassir* "having been broken into pieces", *mitġaffil* "not paying attention" and (for C_3 = y) *mitġaddiy* "having eaten lunch". This is generally the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, MlA, ĞrA, DbA. On the other hand, also (but fewer) participles with the *ta*- preformative were heard, e.g. *mitamakkin, mitaʾakkid* "convinced" and also *mitaʿallim ~ mitʿallim* "educated" (TAN, TyA) and in several dialects *mtaʿaknin* "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: $C_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$, $yC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$.

Measure *t*-3 has morphologically fixed *a* in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure *t*-2, reduction of the *ta*-preformative to *t*- does occur, but such reduction is rare. Patterns for measure *t*-3 are: $taC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$. Like in measure *t*-2, intital *tt*- in the imperfect is reduced to *t*- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. *Examples of measures 3 and* t-*3*
Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) *yʿāwid* "return", *yrāfig* "be a travelling companion for (someone)", *ylāgiy* "find", (perfect) *sāfaraw* "they (masc.) traveled", *sāfaṛan* "they (fem.) traveled", *ḫāṛabaw* "they fought a war against". Apocopation in 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of tertiae yāʾ verbs was again only noticed in TyA and BdA.

---

[117] For the system of orientation, see remarks in De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.

Examples of measures *t*-3: (imperfect) *biytawāfagaw* "they agree (with each other)", *biytawāʿadaw* "they set a time (for a court session)",[118] (perfect) *tarāfagt* "I was accompanied (on a trip)", *talāgēna* "we met each other", *talāgan* "they (fem.) met each other", *taḥāṛabaw* "they fought a war (against each other)".

In TAṢ pl. endings for 3rd p. masc. and fem. lacked vowel harmony in some cases, e.g. *biytasābaguw* "they race each other", *biytaṛāfaguw* "they accompany each other (as travelling companions)", *talāgin* (< *ttalāgin*) "they (fem.) meet each other", but *talāgan* "they (fem.) meet each other".

3.2.3.6.2. *Measures 3 and t-3 participles*

Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern $mC_1āC_2iC_3$ (-ih / -ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mwāfig* "agreeing", *mlāgyih* "having found (sg. fem.)". *mkāwnīn* "fighting (pl. masc.)".

A passive participle (pattern $mC_1āC_2aC_3$) is the origin for the loans *mḥāwalah* "attempt" and *msāʿadah* "help, assistence".

Like in measure *t*-2, active participles of measure *t*-3 often have a reduced preformative (*ta-* > (*i*)*t*-) in the pattern $mitC_1āC_2iC_3$ (-ih / ah, -īn, -āt) (see also remarks in 3.2.3.5.6.). Among the few instances of participles of measure *t*-3 recorded are: *mitdāxlīn* "having sought refuge as *daxīl* (pl. *duxala*) with each other", *mitwāsyih* "flat, even".

3.2.3.6.3. *Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns*

Verbal nouns for measure 3 recorded are *mkāsaḥah* "having sex" and a loan *bala mʾāxza*[119] "no offense intended". Verbal nouns of the type $tC_1ēC_2iC_3$ 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) (ʾ)$aC_1C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ and the active participle has a pattern $miC_1C_2iC_3$ (-ih, -īn, -āt).

Of many examples are: *arkab*, *yirkib*, active participle *mirkib* "cause (someone) to ride", *asnad*, *yisnid* was heard in MlA for "go to Palestine"[120] and *arʿad*, *yirʿid* in DbA for "thunder".

The verb *afṭar*, *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:

---

[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 mʾāxza* is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence *z* as a reflex for *ḍ, 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".

fiṭír (and, remarkably so, with the 'reappearing' *a* in closed syllables of the *i*-type perfect: *faṭrit*),[121] *yifṭir*.

3.2.3.7.2. *Measure 4 C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*
The verb *rād, yrīd* "want" has become measure 1 in ḤwA, ǦrA, TAṢ, BdA with participles *ṛāyid, ṛāydih, ṛāydīn, ṛāydāt*.

In TyA participles are *mrīd, mrīdih, mrīdīn* and *mrīdāt*, but verb forms are without initial *a*: *ṛād, ṛādat* etc. (situation in MlA, DbA and TAN unknown).

3.2.3.7.3. *Measure 4 C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*
In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb *aʿṭa, yiʿṭiy* is verbal measure 4.

In DbA, ḤwA, ǦrA, TyA, BdA the verb *ḍawáʾ, yiḍwiy* "return home before sunset (with small cattle)" is measure 1, the participles are then *ḍāwiy, ḍāwyih, ḍāwyīn, ḍāwyāt*.

In the other tribal dialects TAṢ and ḤwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then *miḍwiy, míḍiwyih, miḍiwyīn, miḍiwyāt* (situation in MlA unknown).

Another tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb is *agra yigriy*, with the participle *migriy* "serve a proper meal to a guest".[122]

Like in group VI, *aʿṭa, yiʿṭiy* is a measure 4 verb in most dialects of group I. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for this verb are:

"give"		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*áʿṭa(ʾ)*	*áʿṭaw*[*1]	*yiʿṭiy*	*yiʿṭuw*
	fem.	*áʿṭat*	*áʿṭan*	*tiʿṭiy*	*yiʿṭin*
2.	masc.	*aʿṭayt*	*aʿṭaytuw*	*tiʿṭ*[*2] */-iy*	*tiʿṭuw*
	fem.	*aʿṭaytiy*	*aʿṭaytin*	*tiʿṭiy*	*tiʿṭin*
1.	com.	*aʿṭayt*	*aʿṭayna*	*aʿṭiy*	*niʿṭiy*

[*1] Also in TAṢ the ending is *-aw* (but often *-uw* elsewhere).[123]
[*2] Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

---

[121] The term 'reappearing' could be a misnomer here, since there may never have been an original perfect form with *a* in the first syllable. The *a* only appears in closed syllables here because the entire measure 1 paradigm (compare *simíʿ* above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root *f-ṭ-r*.

[122] Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.

[123] Such *-aw* endings appear to be phonetically conditioned in TAṢ (i.e. they appear following velarized consonants), at least more so than morphologically conditioned; *-uw* endings also occur in tertiae yāʾ verbs, provided the environment is neutral (i.e. no velarized consonant precedes). The ending *-uw* does however occur in non neutral environments as well (see e.g. measure 9 verbs in 3.2.3.8.).

When followed by a speech pause or a consonant an anaptyctic is inserted: *tíꜥiṭ* when followed by # or C.

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 C₁ = 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 C₂ = C₃ (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) *iꜥṭ* (~ *iꜥṭiy*) in TyA and BdA, but only *iꜥṭiy* was heard in the other dialects of group I. For sg. fem. *iꜥṭiy*, pl. masc. *iꜥṭuw* and pl. fem. *iꜥṭin*.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles
The participles for sound roots have a miC₁C₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. *miftir, mífiṭrih, mifiṭrīn, mifiṭrāt* "having eaten breakfast".
   Participles of the prima *wāw*/tertia *yāʾ* verb *awka, yūkiy* are (act. participles) *mūkiy, mūkyih, mūkyīn* and *mūkyāt*[124] and (pass. part.) *mawka, mawkayah, mawkayīn, mawkayāt*.
   For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type mC₁īC₃ (-ih, -īn, -āt) like *mrīd* "wanting" (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also *annās ṭallaw mġūrīn* "people appeared (while) running fast" (DbA).

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 are:

"turn red"

		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*iḥmaṛṛ*	*iḥmaṛṛaw**	*yiḥmaṛṛ*	*yiḥmaṛṛaw**
	fem.	*iḥmaṛṛat*	*iḥmaṛṛan*	*tiḥmaṛṛ*	*yiḥmaṛṛan*
2.	masc.	*iḥmaṛṛayt*	*iḥmaṛṛaytuw*	*tiḥmaṛṛ*	*tiḥmaṛṛaw**
	fem.	*iḥmaṛṛaytiy*	*iḥmaṛṛaytin*	*tiḥmaṛṛiy*	*tiḥmaṛṛan*
1.	com.	*iḥmaṛṛayt*	*iḥmaṛṛayna*	*aḥmaṛṛ*	*niḥmaṛṛ*

* In TAṢ the endings are *-uw*.

Participles are *miḥmaṛṛ, -ah, -īn, āt*

---

[124] Morphological *i* + *w* > *ū*, see De Jong 2000:90.

An interesting measure 9 verb heard in ḤwA and TAṢ is *iḥlaww, yiḥlaww* "improve (intrans.)" (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root *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 C_1 and C_2 $C_1\bar{o}C_2aC_3$, $yC_1\bar{o}C_2iC_3$ 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 *ō* (usually so in TAṢ, ĠrA, TyA, MlA and TAN).[125] 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:

"drink coffee/tea"

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	*tagahwa*	*tagahwaw**	*ytagahwa*	*ytagahwaw**
	fem.	*tagahwat*	*tagahwan*	*tagahwa*	*ytagahwan*
2.	masc.	*tagahwēt*	*tagahwētuw*	*tagahw/-a*	*tagahwaw**
	fem.	*tagahwētiy*	*tagahwētin*	*tagahwiy*	*tagahwan*
1.	com.	*tagahwēt*	*tagahwēna*	*atagahwa*	*ntagahwa*

* Endings *-aw* tend to be *-uw* in TAṢ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* "drink tea / coffee!" (the final cluster *hw #* is then resolved: *tagáhuw #*).

Participles are *mtagahwiy, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahiwyīn, mtagahiwyāt*.

Other examples (recorded in TAṢ): *tagaḥraṣ, ytagaḥraṣ* "wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)", *tagarmaṣ, ytagarmaṣ* "wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep", *taṭawṭaḥ, ytaṭawṭaḥ* "swing, sway (e.g. of a tree in the wind)". Another verb heard in TAṢ is *karkam, ykarkim* "add turmeric".

---

[125] Realizations listed here are how they were heard as predominent in the dialects mentioned (following in brackets).

In BdA a quadriliteral *iḥlawla, yaḥlawliy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *ḥilw* "sweet; good; nice) "get better and better", e.g. *algirbih iḥlawlat* "the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)".

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. *Nunation*

Tanwīn is not a feature of any of the dialects of group I, but may be heard in poetry or sayings (and then has the shape *-in*).[126]

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: *ṭabʿan* "of course", *masalan* "for instance", *ʿāmmatan* "in general", *dāyman* (in ǦrA *dīman* was recorded) "always" (< MSA *dāʾiman*), *ḥāliyyan* "currently", *aḥyānan* "now and then", *tagrīban* "approximately".

4.2. *Negation*

A verb is usually negated with single *mā* + verb form.[127] Examples are: *albiʿīr hāḏa lah aṛbaʿ t-iyyām mā waṛád* "this camel had not drunk for four days", *azzarʿah hāḏa mā biykallif yaʿniy sbūʿ isbūʿayn* "this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks" (ǦrA), *albiʿṛān alimxawwaṛāt mā bništirīhin xalāṣ* "the bastard camels, we don't buy them at all' (TyA).[128]

A negated suffixed preposition is *w inn mā fīnī lay ḥaːyl* "and suddenly there was no strength in me" (ǦrA). For the negation of 'existential' *fīh* see 4.5. below.

4.3. *The* b-*imperfect*

Like almost everywhere in Sinai,[129] the *b*-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: *alkilmah hēḏiy bitʾassir ʿalēh kibīrih* "this word has a great effect on him" (TyA), *min tum-*

---

[126] Tanwīn (ending *-in*) was noticed by Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214–219 to be "particularly common in the more traditional diction" in the poetry of the two Sinai poets recorded by them (ʿUnayz (TAN) and Tayāha (TyA)) and the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan. Its use is optional and often for metrical reasons.

[127] Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) found no instances in their corpus of poetry of verbal compound negation *ma . . . š*.

[128] Compare *xawwār* "non-throroughbred camel", see Bailey 1991:436.

[129] The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāǧrah, see De Jong 2000:478.

mak[130] *ibtúnufxah* "with (lit. from) your mouth you inflate it" (MlA), *gult ʿǧimalī mā biyʿūz banzīn wala šiyʾ* "I said 'my camel doesn't need petrol or anything'" (BdA).[131]

4.4. *Future Marker*

To express "volition" or "need" *widd* + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of *widd* expressing futurity/volition are: *asmaʿ, widd-axarrfak ʿala gišṭ aḍḍabb hāḏa . . .* "listen, I'll tell you the story of this lizard" (ǦrA), *awṣafnī addarib . . . law widdī aṛawwiḥ min sábagat ilʿIrīš fi lMīdān . . . min ʿindak mín-ihniy . . .* "describe the way to me . . . if I want to go from the race of alʿArīš at Mīdān . . .[132] from your place from here . . ." (TAṢ), *widdhin . . . widdhin mákan . . . mákan, mā fīh mákan mint mā tǧīb wala ḥāǧih . . .* "these things (lit. "they (pl. fem.)") . . . they need (spending of) money . . . money . . . if there is no money, you don't get anything" (MlA).

Examples of imperfect forms with prefixed *ha-* to express futurity are: *iw yōm tígilbih, hayṣīr annāʿim taḥát w alxašin fōg* "and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up" (MlA), *law kaṯṯárit lēha . . . fa: algamiḥ . . . iddētha algamiḥ . . . haṭṭalliʿ 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 hatáʿarfuw tištarkuw maʿ baʿaḍkuw* "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 Aḷḷah lḥīn law tasʿal nuṣṣ annās iygūl lak w Aḷḷah mā-driy ʿanha . . .* "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 ísimha Mīdān ássibag hāḏa* "yes, there is a village named Mīdān (where) this race (is held)" (see fn to 4.4.) (ḤwA), *min hāḏa . . . ʿaṛáb*

---

[130] "Mouth" is more regularly *afám* or *áfam*.

[131] Holes and Abu Athera (2009:212–213) report that in their Sinai poetry the *b*-imperfect is much less current than in casual speech, but does occur. The "dominant imperfect form [in their Sinai material] is *bi*-less". In their southern Jordanian material it is rare, but in the material from their northern Jordanian poet "*bi*-forms occur very frequently".

[132] An annual camel race is held on the plain of Mīdān in northern Sinai, some 22 km west of alʿArīš, see map in De Jong 2000:654 (in appendix), location nr 26.

ihníy w fīh ʿaṛáb zayy ʿaṛáb iFṛayǧ … "from here … (there is) a family here and there are people like the family[133] of Fṛayǧ" (MlA).

The negation is usually *ma fīh*, but sometimes (K-form) *mā fīš* may also be heard. An example is: *hāḏa ṣāfiy mā fīh xaṛṛāf* "this is a thoroughbred, there's no discussion (about it)" (both ĞrA).

Another current negation is *māš*, e.g. *habbiṭ ṛāsak lā yšūfak alǧazāl … alǧazāl law ṭār xalāṣ almiǧrib biyṛūḥ māš ǧizlān* "keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn't see you … if the gazelle flees, that's it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren't any gazelles" (TAN).

4.6. *Some Conjunctions*

4.6.1. *Conjunctions* lamma *and* yōm

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

4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm *used independently*
An example of *yōm* used in the meaning of "when", e.g. *garrib garrib yōm ʿAwdih ǧaʾ widdah ymidd ʿa lǧazāl iw lan ilimḥāfiḍ biyʿarrid ib ṛāsih* "he came[134] nearer and nearer, (and) when 'Awdah came to take aim at the gazelle, there the Governor suddenly rose with his head (becoming visible)" (TAN), *ā, ḥáribt alWaṭyih lliy bēn aliʿLēgāt iw bēn a … iw bēn aṣṢuwālḥih … yom taxālaṭow … aliʿLēgāt w iMzēnih … yōm gāḷ aṭʿan yā aṭṭāʿūn* "yes, the war at Waṭyah that took place between the ʿLēgāt and … the Ṣawālḥah … when they attacked each other … the ʿLēgāt and the Mzēnah … when he said 'let war break out!' (BdA).[135]

A variant of *yōm* is *yam*, as in the example *iw yam baḥuṭṭ allibbih w bažammirha, iw ʿuguḅ ma-žammirha šwayyih kiḏíy, baḥuṭṭ almallih* "and when I put the libbah and roast it in hot embers, and after I have roasted it a little in embers like this, I put the hot sand" (ḤwA).

The *a* in *yam* must be the product of reduction of the diphthong *aw*.

---

[133] For the different possible translations of *ʿaṛab* (pl. *ʿuṛbān*), see Stewart 1990:199 (glossary).
[134] *garrib* is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.
[135] *aṭʿan yā ṭāʿūn* "lit. let the bubonic plague break out" is reported (oral communication in the field) to be the war cry of the great tribe of Ḥarb, of whom the Mzēnah are said to be an offshoot, cf. Introduction, I. d. remark *12.

4.6.1.1.2. *yōm in combination with* in

4.6.1.1.2.1. *yōmin* used independently

An example of *yōmin* used independently for "when" is *iw yōmin tístiwiy . . . biyḫuṭṭin ilháʾ assamin iw minnih byigilbūha* "and when it becomes cooked . . . they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)" (ḤwA).

4.6.1.1.2.2. *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: *fizaʿna ʿād, iw yōminna fizaʿna . . . sawwēna ǧīna, iw limmēna laḥámih kullah fi galḅ aššanṭah* "so we ran away, and when we ran away . . . we did [.] we came, and we gathered all his flesh in the bag" (DbA).[136]

4.6.1.1.2.3. *min yōm*

An example of *min yōm(in)* used for "as soon as" or "from the moment that": *kēf bitsawwiy allibbih . . . min yōm ma btaʿaǧinha, lamma bitsaṭwīha w iṭḥakḥikha* "how do you make libbah . . . from the moment that you knead it (fem.), until you slap it and scrape it"[137] (TAṢ).

4.6.1.1.2.4. *min yōm* in combination with *ma*

An example of *min yōm* in combination with *ma*: *laġāyit bitagaṭṭaʿ tagṭīʿ kiḏiy . . . laġāyit ma yanšaf. lamma yanšaf . . . yōm ma yanšaf binǧīb iš . . . . šwālāt xayš . . . šikāyir*[138] *kiḏiy iw biytaʿabba 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 fīha ēš lamma ṭṭalliḥḥa?* "and after that what do you do with it (fem.) when you

---

[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 tiṭliḥḥa w ilhá ēh? w ilhá bastawīk*[139] "when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit" (ḤwA) and *ṛabbna lamma biyrīd azzalámah yíkirmih byíkirmih* "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 byaṭlaʿ aššiʿīr gadd kiḏiy, ibyanšaf, w ibyaḥaṣdūh* "and when the barley has grown (lit. comes up) this high, it dries and they harvest it" (ĞrA).

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in

Examples of *lamman* are few, and were only recorded in ĞrA and TAṢ: in ĞrA *binḏarrīh lamman laġāyit itṣīr gamiḥ ṣāfiy* "we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat" and in TAṢ *bass lamman intah lam ḥaṭṭayt kiḏiy w šaddēt ibyínkirib. iw byurubṭūh mín-taḥat f-ánnigaḷ* "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 *laġāyit* for "until", e.g. *wāḥid min ḥiluw la ḥiluw laġāyit...lamma biyṣīr...ğamal* "one (grows) from beautiful to (more) beautiful until...it becomes...a (full grown) camel" (ĞrA) (for an example of *lamman + laġāyit* see 4.6.1.2.2. above).

An example of *lamma* used as "until": *tusxun lamma tiġliy kiḏiy* "you heat (it) until it boils" (BdA).

An example of *lumma* recorded in TAṢ: *kull ḥamāmih ʿalēha šaṛák, áššaṛak fi ktāfha mín-ihniy, iw min fōg ēš? alliy hū bi ṣṣūf hāḏa, xīṭān [...] zayy kiḏiyyih, lumma ēš? ibyinzil aṣṣagiṛ ʿa lḥamāmih ʿa ḏaḥarha* "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": *itḥuṭṭha f-aššams. lōm itğíy, linn hī ṛāybih* "you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)" (ĞrA).

---

[139] *bastawīk* is a metathesis of *baskawīt* "biscuit".
[140] The technique described here is used to lure precious falcons to a live pigeon tied to the claws of a *nagaḷ* (a cheaper bird of prey). When the *ṣagr* 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 Aḷḷāhiy ʾinna gaṭáʿ alblād yā ʿĪd. ḥatta lbarid katalna f-allēl...* "By God, the land has come to misery, oh ʿĪd. 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 ǦrA: *kān mistawlīnna lMaṣriyyih, aḥna ṛāḥ inʿīš maʿhuw.. istawlāna lyahūd ṛāḥ inʿīš 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 kiḏiy inkānnih zaʿīm iw zēn kān...* "okay, so why did he do that to them (fem.) if he was a general and a good man?" (TyA).

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān
Instances of *il + kān* were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān *preceded by CA loans* iz *or* iza
izkān ilhá masalan ilhá:... maṭabb iddrās biʿīd...biyšīluw ʿa lbiʿṛān "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 ṭaláb, binǧībih lih … māš ṭaláb, ibyitawakkal ʿa-ḷḷah "if he has a wish, we get it for him … if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey" (TyA).[141]

kān may also be suffixed, as in *izkānnih ḏayf ġāliy bnaḏbaḥ lih … iw izkānnih ḏayf min iligṛayybīn hōḏaḷ binʿaššīh* "if he is a dear guest we slaughter for him … and if he is a guest of these relatives we give him a (regular) dinner" (TyA).

4.7.3.1.5. kān *as an independent conditional*
An example of *kān* used independently as conditional "if": *kān ǧītnī f-allēl axarrfak ṛawāy-akṯaṛ* "if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories" (BdA), (S) *iw kān ʿāyz itsawwha fattih …* (ʿĪ) *aywah gūl lay kēf ʿādiy bitsawwīha fattah yā Slēmān …* "(S) And if you want to make it (fem.) as a fattah (food dip) … (ʿĪ) Yes, so tell me then how you make it a fattah, oh Slēmān" (DbA).

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān *or* ilkān *introducing alternatives*
kān may introduce alternatives, like in *šūfūhuṃ kān aliʿLēgāṭ walla ṣṢawālḥih* "go see (pl. masc.) them (to see if they are) ʿLēgāt or Ṣawālḥah" (BdA). Another example is *yōm táḥaṣdih bitdawwir lak ḥitt-alliy fīh … iǧbāl fīh malág … táligha*[142] *ēh? mitwāṣyih. bitgūm itkawwmah kullah fōg baʿaḏah. iw minnih bitǧīb álǧimal, kān ʿindak biʿṛān ikṯāṛ walla biʿrēn …* "when you harvest it, you look (for yourself) a piece (of land) in which there is … desert (land) with hard ground … you'll find it (sg. fem.) what? Flat. You (then) start piling everything on top of each other. And then you get the camel, whether you have many camels or (just) two" (ĞrA).

4.7.3.2. *Absence of a conditional particle*
Examples of conditional clauses not introduced by a particle are: *ʿindak bahāyim ibtafẓaʿ itǧīb l aḏḏayf ġadáʾ* "if you have cattle you run and bring lunch for the guest", *widdhin mákan … mákan, mā fih mákan mint mā tǧīb wala ḥāǧih …* "they (pl. fem.) need (spending of) money … money … if there is no money, you don't get anything" and an example of both an introduced and an un-introduced conditional clause is (talking about a loaf of bread baked in sand) *inkān fīha ḥarig, bitḥukkha … ib xūṣah … mā fīha ḥarig hī bitnaffiḏha-nta lak b ayyi ḥāǧah kiḏíy* "if it is burnt, you scrape it … with a knife … (if) it is not burnt, you clean it (sg. fem.) for yourself with anything like …".

---

[141] *tawakkal, ytawakkal ʿ-Aḷḷah* lit. "put one's trust in God" is the current phrase used for "set out on a journey".

[142] *táligha: talg* (apocopated *talga*) + *ha*; the short vowel *i* is an anaptyctic vowel.

4.8. *Presentative Particles*

4.8.1. irʿ *or* arʿ

Examples of presentatives *irʿ* or *arʿ* are: *arʿīhuṃ*[143] *all-akbaṛ minnī mūhuṃ ʿārfīnhin* "see those, who are older than I am, don't know them (fem.)". Forms with apocopation are: *arʿih ǧaʾ* "there he is (lit. has come)!", *áriḥḥuṃ ǧaw* "there they are (lit. have come)!", *áriḥḥiy ǧat* "there she is (lit. has come)!" (TyA). Forms with *arʿ* + were also heard in TAṢ and in ǦrA *íriḥḥuw* "there they (masc.) are!" and *íriḥḥin* "there they (fem.) are!".

4.8.2. hē + *suffix*

The presentative particle *hē* followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. (recorded in ǦrA) *hēhū ǧaʾ!* "there he is!", *hēhī ǧat* "there she is!", *hēhuṃma ǧaw* "there they (masc.) are!", *hēhinnah ǧan* "there they (fem.) are!".

In TAṢ forms with *hā* + were recorded, e.g. *hāhī ḏ-almíšiklih* "there's the problem!", but also with initial *hay* +, as in *hayhū ǧaʾ, hayhī ǧat, hayhuṃ ǧaw, hayhin ǧan*. Such initial *hay* + was also heard in DbA and ḤwA.

4.8.3. *Particle* wlin ~ wilin, win

Like other examples for listed for other groups, a development introduced by the particle *wlin* (*w* + *lin*) need not be unexpected or sudden, but is rather the intended result of an earlier action, as is clear in the first two examples cited here: *wagit ma ṭāb alǧuṛun biyxallūh mṣallab, iwlinn alʿayš waḥád w attibin waḥád* "when the (threshing on the) threshing floor has been good, he leaves it in a pile,[144] and there's the yield[145] by itself (on one side) and the straw by itself (on the other side)" (ḤwA). Another example is *mumkin itbarrkih min awwil maṛṛah yōm itǧíy tawgaf, iw linnih yubṛuk* "you can let it kneel from the first time when you come and stand still, and then it kneels" (TyA).

---

[143] Notice that *aṛʿīhuṃ* 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. *irʿiy* or *arʿiy* or its apocopated pendant) would be conjugated for number and/or gender.

[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 *ṣalība*: *ṣalībit ruzz* "Reiskörner (grains of rice)", see Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:206.

[145] *ʿayš* 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 wāḥid ligītih w baʿadēn iw linnih biyṭālib fay wlin biygūl lay ġāṛ itsūg alğīrih inta ğīt dāṛī ...* "and here there was (suddenly) someone I ran into (lit. I found) and after that (and) there he was making claims against me saying to me 'you have to pay the truce payment, you were trespassing on my property (lit. house)'" (ĞrA). Another example is *iwlin mā fīh ʿašáʾ* "and there's (suddenly) no dinner" (TAN).

An example of suffixed *winn* is: *iw ğīna, w Aḷḷāhiy w innah lğaww zēn* "and we came, by God, and (suddenly) the weather was fine" (DbA).

A variant *wlan* was also recorded, as in *iw lan ilimḥāfiḏ biyʿarrid 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 ligītih* "and (suddenly) there was someone I ran into to" (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.).[146]

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *albuʿṛān ġār ibyitaṭabbaʿan. yaʿniy lbiʿīr iw hū ēš, min fōg ássinah ibtabda miʿáh taṭbīʿ iṭṭabbiʿ albiʿīr* "the camels need to be trained. That is, the camel when it's what? Over a year (old) you start training with it, you train the camel" (TAṢ) and another example *alliy ʿāwiz iy ... iynawwiʿ f-álbil ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddīh imn álğimal ha ... masalan imṣayyiṭ alğamal aṭṭāniy imṣayyiṭ ... ġāṛ yiṭlig ʿalēha minnih masalan* "if he wants to diversify the camels (for) the race and this (other) race, he'll take him from this camel ... (there is) for instance a good reputation , the other camel has a good reputation, he then needs to let her be covered by him, for instance ..." (TyA).

A particle *irkān* (presumably < **ġayr kān*) "need be, be only" was heard in TAṢ: *alḥīn intuw sūgkuw ... iw ṭalabātkuw rkān alMasūrah* "now, you, your market ... and your shopping goods are only from alMāsūrah" and in BdA *hāḏa-rkān māk maʿák yúkutlak áḍḍama fīh* "(in) this (place) you need to have water with you, otherwise thirst will kill you there (lit. in it)".

---

[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: *hāḏa la ṛasmiy Tīhiy . . .* "he's really oficially 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 lissāʿ widdha takrīm* "but the land still needs to be prepared for agriculture"[147] (ĞrA) and *widd* being translatable with "want" or "in order to" in *garrib garrib yōm ʿAwdih ǧaʾ widdah ymidd ʿa lǧazāl iw lan ilimḥāfiḏ biyʿarrid ib ṛāsih* "he came nearer and nearer, when ʿAwdah 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 ʿārif zayy intih . . .* (interviewee) *lā hāḏa ʿād widd-agūl lak, ṣalliy ʿá-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 ʿala 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 aššīḥiy* "okay, now you need to tell me how they make šīḥiy ghee" (TAṢ).

4.12. ʿād

The particle *ʿād* is extremely current to express "so, thus, then". Examples are: *ṛāyib . . . biyḥuṭṭūha fi ssiʿin ʿād bitṣīr ēh? imsawwyīn ṛawāǧīḥ l assiʿin . . .* "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 ʿād itlāwah Ṣadir walla tlāwah Ḏaháb?* "to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Ṣadr or towards Ḏahab?" (TAṢ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ʿādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyyām ḥarib . . .* "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) ʿá-nnibiy* is often used to draw the attention of those present to what one has to say.

[149] For an illustration of such a tripod from which the goat skin is swung to churn butter, see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985:59.

rest right in the middle of the lands during the heat of the day. By God, in the old days I . . . during the days of war . . ." (BdA).

4.13. yabga

yabga may be heard sometimes meaning "so, then", as in *yabga hāḏa wāḥid alḥīn ṭilʿ . . . 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 ǧamal . . . yabga ṣārat fīha ǧimál . . .* "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 rawwaḥ bētih, biyḏall alʿarīs ʿād w alʿarūs gāʿdīn . . . yōm, yōmēn ṯalāṯih ʿind baʿaḏhuw . . .* "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 mḥāfiḏ iw garrib iw garrib, iw ʿAwdah mʿah iw garrib w úxumṛuw iw garrib . . . alimḥāfiḏ biyʿarrid ib ṛāsih kiḏiyyān alǧazāl šāfih šáṛad . . .* "the Governor came nearer[150] and nearer and nearer while 'Awdah was with him and he came nearer and they hid and he came nearer . . . the Governor sticks his head out like this (and then) the gazelle saw him and fled". Another example is *wadd 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. *yaʿniy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīnhaʾ . . . ifwāǧ ʿa ṯalaṯ t-iyyām . . .* "that is, we used to organize it (fem.) . . . in heats (held) over three days . . ." (ḤwA),

---

[150] The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) "Come nearer, oh Governor".

inǧīblak kaṛṛūsih walla ǧhāzāt? gult laʾ inšūf aliǧhāzāt . . . law kaṛṛūsah[151]
kān lagētnī l alḥīn alʿamaliyyah taʿbānih "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 *basmaʿ xarārīf zamān biygūl lak int*
taǧawwaz w int mintah ʿārifhiy,[152] *mā bitšūfha ġār kān bitǧǧíy ʿindak* "I hear
stories of old times that tell you you'd get married (to a girl) that you
didn't know (lit. while you didn't know her), you'd not see her until she
came to live with you (i.e. on the wedding day itself)" (TAṢ) and *ṭab iw*
kān biybīʿūh wēn? "Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?" (TAṢ),
iw kān alimḥāfiḏ iymī::l ʿalá-lǧimal iw kā::n iyfassiy . . . "and the Governor
bent (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted . . ." (TAN) and
ana mānī ʿārif, mā-na kān bataṣayyad maʿ nās bass hū fi ʾēš? f-āxir aṣṣayf
"I don't know, I used not to go hunting with people, but it is when? At the
end of the summer" (TAṢ).

   kān was much less frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such,
but one such example is *alḥuṛmah hāḏiy kānat zamān alliy biygūluw lēhiy*
Šēxah biṭṭill lay "this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used
to come and look in on me" (TyA) (*biṭṭill < biṭṭill*).

4.14.3. *Dativus ethicus*

Some instances of the ethic dative are:[153] *lamma biyšūfah ṣagiṛ, biygūm*
ibyíṭilg lak ánnigaḷ hāḏa "when a falcon sees it, he'll then set the nagal free
(for you)" (TAN), *aṣiḷ fīh aṭṭabīʿih, lamma lḥīn hāḏōḷ ibyibiʿnuw mā fīš maṭár*
min xams isnīn, mūhuṃ ʿārfīn ṭabīʿit Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fi ḥittah w xalāṣ
"because there is nature, when these (people) are now building while
there hasn't been rain for five years, they don't know (about) how the
nature of Sinai is. They built (something) in a (certain) place (for you) and
that's it" (TAṢ).[154]

---

[151] *karrūsih*, lit. "little chair" shaped on the dim. pattern $C_1aC_2C_2\bar{u}C_3ah$. 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.

[152] The interviewer, who is a Tuṛbāniy from Ṛās Ṣadr, here imitates a more north-east-
ern type of dialect by substituting *-ha* with *-hiy*, the latter of which is also characteristic of
TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAṢ).

[153] Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy
poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

[154] 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: *luġuṃ min aḅuw rḥāyāt* "a mine with disks" (broken pl. *rḥiy*)[155] (DbA), *dawyāt* "(types of) medicine(s)" (broken pl. *ádiwyih*) (TAṢ), *arbaʿ sanawāt* "four years" (broken pl. *snīn*) (MlA), *ṯalát maṛṛāt* "three times" (TAN), *ǧhāzāt* "artificial legs" (broken pl. *áǧihzih*) (TyA).

4.16. *Concord*

An example of a limited number of men is (in the first part of the sentence reference is in the pl. masc.; in the second part the reference to the same men is in the pl. fem.):[156] *biytsābagow lēhuw aṛbaʿ huǧǧān miʿ baʿaḍhuw … xamsih, ibyiġrin lēhin iṯnēn kīlih ṯalāṯah kīlih …* "four camel riders race (for themselves) each other … five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres" (ǦrA). another example is: *ḥaṣa lbān, iw sukkuṛ fiḍḍiy, w alḥilbih …* (ʿI) *w alḥilbih …* (X) *aywah … hāḍōḷ tarayyag bīhin aṣṣubuḥ ʿá-xal-arrīg …* (ʿI) *ʿá-xal-arrīg …* (X) *aywah sabaʿ t-iyyām … min yōmin tibdiy fi hāḍōl lamma tōfīhin …* (ʿI) *tamām …* "rosemary, white (lit. silver) sugar and fenugreek … (ʿI) and fenugreek … (X) Yes, these you have for breakfast in the morning on an empty stomach … (ʿI) On an empty stomach … (X) Yes, (for) seven days … from the moment you start with these until you have finished them (fem.) completely …" (MlA).[157]

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch heard in group I predominantly among older men in the north east could also be heard among older men in group I dialects discussed here.

---

[155] The disks of the landmine are metaphorically compared here to handmills used for grinding, which have a similar shape and size.

[156] Holes and Abu Athera 2009:222 remark that "plural and collective nouns referring to human beings of either gender [also] normally attract fem sing agreement, especially when the reference is generic". For further interesting observations on 'agreement', see ibid. 220–223.

[157] For the verb *awfa, yūfiy* (or *yōfiy*) "achieve in full", see De Jong 2000:219, fn 430.

CONCLUSIONS

I. Comparing Dialects

a. *Methods of Comparing Dialects*

To present an overall picture, a number of maps have been added in the appendix, which show a number of features of the dialects spoken in the area. To facilitate direct comparison, data used in maps in De Jong 2000, which cover the dialects of the northern Sinai littoral, have also been incorporated in these maps. A total of 13 maps have been added, which illustrate dialect features not used in De Jong 2000. In these additional maps dialect features are set as criteria for comparison to show differences between dialects spoken by tribes in the centre and south of Sinai; setting the same features as criteria for a comparison to be illustrated in maps would not have yielded very significant results in De Jong 2000, but these criteria do offer new perspectives when the entire area of Sinai is represented in a map.

In De Jong 2000 the northern Sinai littoral was shown to be an area of transition. This transition is between a largely Bedouin type of dialect (labelled group I), spoken by the majority of the Sinai tribes, and which has also been referred to as Negev Arabic (described in Blanc 1970) on the one hand, and the sedentary dialect of the eastern part of the Šarqiyyah province in the Nile Delta of Egypt.

Dialects in De Jong 2000 were compared using the 'step method'. Since the dialects form a geographical continuum, the linear nature of the comparison (i.e. only dialects bordering on each other were compared, mainly in a west-east (or vice versa) distribution) does not present a problem; after having made the comparison the continuum proved to be linguistic as well.[1]

However, since the dialects of central and southern Sinai do not form such a geographical continuum, a comparison using the step method becomes too two-dimensional, since more dimensions are needed to group dialects that do not lie along a more or less neat two-dimensional line.

---

[1] One of the reasons is that in the case of the Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral we saw—from east to west—a gradual disappearance of 'Bedouin' dialectal features, yielding to more sedentary features also found in the dialect of the eastern Nile Delta. The central and southern regions of Sinai do not form a continuum in the same or a comparable manner.

For this reason the method of multi-dimensional scaling yields more reliable results for the grouping of dialects. All dialects (also the ones that do not geographically border on each other) are compared to each other on the basis of all features used as criteria for comparison. This means that also dialects that are far apart will receive a full comparison in this method, whereby the relative typological distance between these geographically far removed dialects can also be established. The advantage is clear: the fact that for instance TAN and TAṢ are clustered relatively near to each other may be interpreted as the result of a common history of these dialects; both are dialects of the same tribe (Taṛābīn), although today these two varieties are spoken at locations hundreds of kilometres apart.[2]

Another advantage of the multi-dimensional scaling method is that parallel forms are more easily fitted into the comparison; every feature receives its own column in wich 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: *axaḏ*, *ṯāṛ*, *ḍarb*, In dialect B: *axad*, *tāṛ*, *darb* and in dialect C: *axaḏ ~ axad*, *ṯāṛ ~ tāṛ*, *ḍarb ~ darb*

	ṯ, ḏ, ḍ	t, d, ḍ
dialect A	+	−
dialect B	−	+
dialect C	+	+

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.

```
o       o       o
A       C       B
```

---

[2] From Nwēbiʿ (centre of TAN territory) to Ṛās Ṣadr (centre of TAṢ territory) is approximately 200 kilometres as the crow flies.

II. Remarks to the Maps in the Appendix

The maps in the appendix are ordered (with a few minor modifications) in conformity with the numbering used in De Jong 2000 (Maps referred to there are indicated in italics and with 'in 2000'). Dialect features were used as criteria for comparison between dialects and the outcome of these comparisons between dialects is illustrated in maps in the appendix of De Jong 2000. When a comparison based on the same criteria yielded no differences inside central and/or southern Sinai, no map has been drawn for that feature in the appendix of the volume in hand. Such features are, however, briefly mentioned in the remarks following below, and have been treated in the relevant paragraphs of the respective descriptive chapters of this study.

When a map was drawn for De Jong 2000, and not for the study in hand, this should be taken to mean that difference(s) with respect to the feature discussed only shows up in the dialects of the northern region discussed in De Jong 2000. References to the paragraphs discussing such features follow the remark in brackets as: '(cf. + numbering)'.

a. *Criteria for Comparison from De Jong 2000 Producing Differences/ Similarities in Central and Southern Sinai*

Before going into the various differences that are found in dialects of central and southern Sinai, and the maps that illustrate these differences, first a number of characteristics[3] shared by all dialects in the central and southern Sinai are listed here:[4]

NB, in the text below:

– 'No map in this volume' means that the feature discussed is not illustrated in a map in the appendix of this volume, since no differences were found inside central and southern Sinai for that feature set as criterion for comparison.

---

[3] The reasons for incorporating the features listed below as a basis for dialect comparison are given in footnotes to the text in De Jong 2000:37–47.

[4] Since there is little point in producing maps that only illustrate shared characteristics throughout the area, such characteristics are listed here separately. For a comparable summary of shared characteristics of dialects in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:30–38. To facilitate comparison I have followed the same numbering here, but have had to rearrange the order of listing in a few cases. Where additions had to be made for central and southern Sinai (when differences not found in northern Sinai do occur in this area), this is specifically mentioned.

– '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 *ṯ*, *ḏ* for respectively *ṯ, *ḍ and *ḏ* in which *ḍ and *ḏ have merged (additional difference for central and southern Sinai) (cf. 1.1.2.)[5] (B-S).
No MAP 2 in this volume (*MAP 2 in 2000*).
No MAP 3 in this volume (*MAP 3 in 2000*).

A. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects in central and southern Sinai have affricate *ǧ* or fricative *ž* (or both in free variation) for *ǧ (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 *ḏ* and *ṯ* were disappearing (Axrasiy, AxA), or had already disappeared (Biyyāḏiy, BA), see De Jong 2000:331–332 and maps 2 and 3 (in ibid., appendix).

C. Like in northern Sinai, none of the dialects in central and southern Sinai show affrication of *k or *q (no map, cf. 1.1.3.) (B-S).

D. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects have three short vowel phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/. The short high vowels *i* and *u* can be isolated through minimal pairs, but like in northern Sinai this phonemic opposition is limited (no map, cf. 1.2.3.2.) (B-S).

E. Like in northern Sinai, reduction of geminated C_2 (C_aC_a) when C_3 (C_b) is followed by V, i.e. a cluster $C_aC_aC_bV > C_aC_bV$: this reduction occurs regularly in all dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 2.3.3.3.1.) (B-S).

F. See remark below.*

G. Like in northern Sinai, a preference for the construct state instead of direct annexation was not unequivocally apparent in central or southern Sinai. Instead, a comparison is made on the basis of the use of *btāʿ, šuġl, ḥagg* (MAP 29, cf. 3.1.11.) (B-S).

H. Like in northern Sinai, nunation (or tanwīn) 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[6] (no map, cf. 3.1.6.) (B-S).

K. Use of *māṛ / mēr* "so, then, but", *māṛ* was heard only in MlA (no map) (B-S).

L. Use of interrogative *ʿalām* + pron. suffix "why, what for?": like in northern Sinai, this interrogative has been recorded in several dialects, like the example *ʿalāmuḵ y-Aḫuw Zēd?* (GrA) "what's the matter with you, Abu Zayd" (no map, cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).

*

F. Like in northern Sinai, the second pl. masc. pron. suffix *-kuw* is regular in groups I and VI, but in groups VII and VIII we have *-kuw* (or *-ḵuw*) ~ *-kum* (or *-ḵuṃ*) (see new MAP 80, 3.1.12.2.).

Of characteristics used for maps in De Jong 2000 (pp. 37–47, numbering of maps used there again runs parallel to numbering of maps presented here), the following remarks can be made for Bedouin dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

---

[6] See remark in De Jong 2000:153, fn 237.

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 /ḳ/ 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 aṭ-Ṭūr to the Gaṭyah 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 /ḳ/ 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 -*ḳ* , resulting in a compromise form by transferring its velarization onto the new pron. suffix -*ak* (hence -*aḳ*). In BdA velarization may be due to dialect contact; the Badāṛah are surrounded by Ṣawālḥah, and—no longer being on the Tīh plateau, but to the south of the escarpment in the reddish sands of aṛ-Ṛamlah near Ǧabal Ḥmayyir[8]—have considerably less contact with other group I tribes like Tiyāha, Ḥwēṭāt and Taṛābīn (of Nwēbiʿ).

2. and 3. See remarks made above (no maps in this volume, cf. 1.1.2.) (both B-S).

4. Secondary velarization, or emphatization: several differences were recorded in the centre and south of Sinai (cf. 1.1.7.).

   MAP 4 in this volume (*MAP 4 in 2000*) shows the degree of velarization generally present in the dialects compared here. To illustrate this for central and southern Sinai the pl. forms of *kibīr* and *kiṯīr* are adduced.

---

[7] Von Oppenheim 1943:164 mentions that (in my translation) "parts of the ʿOlēḳāt have settled in Upper Egypt […] Nowadays they mostly call themselves ʿOgēlāt". These ʿOgēlāt may well be related to the ʿAgāylah (i.e. speakers of ʿAgA) whom we find today as neighbours of the Samāʿnah in Bīr Gaṭyah, 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 *kbāṛ* and *kṯāṛ*, or velarization lacks and /ā/ is even realized relatively high (near IPA [ɛː]), as in *kbǟr* and *kṯǟr*. In group VI realizations are *kbāṛ*, but no velarization in *kṯǟr*.

5. Partial or complete monophthongization of older diphthongs *ay and *aw and possible phonemic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ (cf. 1.2.2.1. and 1.2.4.5.).

   MAP 5 in this volume (*MAP 5 in 2000*) illustrates which dialects have phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ (e.g. *sēf ~ sīf* "sword", *šēx ~ šīx* "sheikh") and which dialects lack this feature.

6. Tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions. In dialects of central and southern Sinai shortening of long vowels in such positions is a feature of allegro speech (cf. 1.2.2.4.) (B-S).

   No MAP 6 in this volume. *MAP 6 in 2000* shows in which dialects shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions takes place. If such shortening occurs in central or southern Sinai dialects, it is a feature of allegro speech and thus clearly of a phonetic nature.

7. Raising of the short vowel *a* in positions preceding A. (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.1.1.5., 3.1.1.6. and 3.1.1.7.) (B-S).

   MAP 7 in this volume (*MAP 7 in 2000*) shows where short vowel *a* in open syllable tends to be raised when directly preceding primarily stressed *ā* or *a* within word boundaries (e.g. *katábt > kitábt* and *bakāriǧ > bikāriǧ*).

8. 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).

9. Extreme raising of final *-ā or *-āʾ > -iy, or less extreme raising > -iʾ (MAP 9, cf. 1.2.4.4.) (B-S).

   MAP 9 in this volume (*MAP 9 in 2000*) illustrates the different reflexes of final -ā(ʾ) in neutral (i.e. non-velarized) environments encountered in Sinai.

10. Absence of raising of final -ā or -āʾ (MAP 10, cf. 1.2.4.4.).

    MAP 10 in this volume (*MAP 10 in 2000*) shows reflexes of final -ā(ʾ) in non-raised positions.

11. Diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw (cf. 1.2.4.1., 1.2.4.6. and 1.2.4.7.).

    MAP 11 in this volume (*MAP 11 in 2000*) shows the reflexes of diphthongs *ay and *aw when directly preceded by back spirants (X) or emphatics (M) present in Sinai dialects.

12. Stress in mediae geminatae where the geminate is word-final. (cf. 2.1.1.).

    No MAP 12 in this volume. *MAP 12 in 2000* shows stress in forms with final geminates. In central and southern Sinai the vowel directly preceding a final geminate is invariably stressed (e.g. *yḥuṭṭ* "he places", *tšidd* "you pull", *tinḥáṭṭ* "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 $C_1aC_2\bar{\imath}C_3$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 CaCīC(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 a 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 pronominals, adjectives and verb forms. In all dialects of central and southern Sinai this distinction is made.

31. The independent personal pronominals of the 3rd p. sg. masc. and fem. (cf. 3.1.12.1.).

    MAP 31 (*MAP 31 in 2000*) is on the shapes of the pronominals for the 3rd p. masc. sg, and the 3rd p. sg. fem. "he" and "she".

32. The 1st p. sg. com. pronominal (cf. 3.1.12.1.).

    No MAP 32 in this volume. *MAP 32 in 2000* is on the shape of the pers. pronominal for the 1st person sg. com. "I". The form used in the entire central and southern Sinai is *ana*, stressed either on the first or on the second syllable (covered in MAP 14).

33. The 1st p. pl. com. personal pronominal (cf. 3.1.12.1.).

    MAP 33 (*MAP 33 in 2000*) is on the shape of the pers. pronominal for the 1st person pl. com. "we".

34. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.) (B-S).

    MAP 34 (*MAP 34 in 2000*) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. masc. "him (obj.)" or "his (poss.)".

35. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

    MAP 35 (*MAP 35 in 2000*) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. fem. "her".

36. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

    MAP 36 (*MAP 36 in 2000*) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. masc. "you (obj.)" or "your (poss.)".

37. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

    MAP 37 (*MAP 37 in 2000*) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. fem. "you (obj.)" or "your (poss.)".

38. The pronominal suffix for the 1st p. sg. com. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

    No MAP 38 in this volume. *MAP 38 in 2000* is on the shapes of the pronominal suffixes (obj. and poss.) for the 1st person sg. com. In all of central and southern Sinai "me (obj.)" or "my (poss.)" (stressed) *ī* (possessive) and (stressed) *-nī* (object) (usually ~ unstressed *-i* and *-ni*).

39. Emphatization of *ḏ* in demonstratives of near deixis if not followed by *-i* (cf. 3.1.13.) (B-S).

    MAP 39 (*MAP 39 in 2000*) gives the demonstratives for sg. masc. near deixis "this".

40. The sg. fem. demonstrative (cf. 3.1.13.).

    MAP 40 (*MAP 40 in 2000*) gives the demonstratives for sg. fem. near deixis "this".

41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives (cf. 3.1.13.1.) (B-S).

    No MAP 41 in this volume. *MAP 41 in 2000* is on gender distinction in pl. demonstratives. In central and southern Sinai no such distinction is made, except in MzA, but material is insufficient for definitive conclu-

sions. In MAP 32 the pl. com. forms of demonstratives are given for central and southern Sinai (information is incomplete for northern Sinai).

42. Interrogative "who?" (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
    MAP 42 (*MAP 42 in 2000*) compares the different shapes of the interrogative "who?".

43. Interrogative "where?" (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
    No MAP 43 in this volume. *MAP 43 in 2000* is on the shapes of the interrogative "where?" In central and southern Sinai this interrogative is *wēn* in every dialect.

44. Interrogative "how?" (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
    No MAP 44 in this volume. *MAP 44 in 2000* is on the different forms for the interrogative "how?" In central and southern Sinai the current form is *kēf* or *kīf*.

45. Adverb "there" (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
    MAP 45 (*MAP 45 in 2000*) gives forms used for the adverb "there".

46. Shape of the adverb "here" (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
    MAP 46 (*MAP 46 in 2000*) gives forms used for the adverb "here".

47. The preposition *l* "to" + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.) (B-S).
    MAP 47 (*MAP 47 in 2000*) compares the different varieties of the preposition "to" + 3rd person. sg. masc. suffix: "to him".

48. The preposition *m(a)ˁ* "with" + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.).
    MAP 48 (*MAP 48 in 2000*) gives the different varieties of the preposition "with" + 3rd person sg. masc. suffix: "with him".

49. Numeral "one (fem.)" (cf. 3.1.17.).
    No MAP 49 in this volume. *MAP 49 in 2000* shows forms of the sg. fem. numeral "one", The form *wiḥdih* is current throughout central and southern Sinai.

50. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal ending of *a*-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
    MAP 50 (*MAP 50 in 2000*) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. perfect.

51. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal ending of *a*-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
    MAP 51 (*MAP 51 in 2000*) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. *a*-type perfect.

52. The *i*-type perfect (cf. 2.1.1.2.2. and 3.2.1.1.).
    MAP 52 (*MAP 52 in 2000*) is on the *i*-type perfect of verbs *CaCiC: 3rd person sg. masc., 3rd person sg. fem. and 1st person sg. com.

53. Vowel harmony in the preformative of the imperfect of verbal measure 1. (cf. 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
    No MAP 53 in this volume. *MAP 53 in 2000* is on the absence/presence of vowel harmony in the preformative of the *a*-type imperfect:

yaCCaC or yiCCaC. All dialects of central and southern Sinai show such vowel harmony, e.g. *yašṛab* "he drinks".

54. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal endings of *a*-, *i*- and *u*-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

    MAP 54 (*MAP 54 in 2000*) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. endings in *a*-, *i*- and *u*-type imperfect.

55. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal endings of *a*-, *i*- and *u*-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

    MAP 55 (*MAP 55 in 2000*) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony (i.e. low short vowel *a* or high short vowel *i*) in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. in *a*-, *i*- and *u*-type imperfect.

56. Imperfect preformative of measure 1 primae *wāw* verbs (cf. 3.2.2.1.) (B-S).

    No MAP 56 in this volume. *MAP 56 in 2000* is on the vowel in the imperfect preformative of primae *wāw* measure 1 verbs. This vowel is not *i* (as in e.g. *yiwṣal*) in central or southern Sinai dialects, but *a* as in *yawṣal*, or (*aw* >) monothongized to *ō* (~ *ū*) as in *yōṣal*.

57. Perfect of primae *hamzah* verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

    MAP 57 (*MAP 57 in 2000*) shows the (3rd person sg. masc.) perfect forms of primae *hamzah* measure 1 verbs: with or without initial *a*-.

58. Imperfect vowel in primae *hamzah* verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

    MAP 58 (*MAP 58 in 2000*) is on the vowel *i* or *u* in the (3rd person sg. masc.) imperfect forms of primae *hamzah* measure 1 verbs.

59. The active participle of primae *hamzah* measure 1 verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

    No MAP 59 in this volume. *MAP 59 in 2000* shows the forms of the active participle of primae *hamzah* measure 1 verbs. In central and southern Sinai these are with initial *mā*-: *mākil, māxiḏ*.

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 *ī*- (i.e. *iǧa* or *īǧa* 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 $(i)staC_1C_2aC_3$, $yistaC_1C_2iC_3$ with morphologically alternating vowels *a* and *i* are current.

64. Measure *ta*-2 or (*i*)*t*-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.4.).
    No MAP 64 in this volume. *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 $C_1awC_2aC_3$, $yC_1awC_2iC_3$–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* $C_1\bar{o}C_2aC_3$ (or $C_1awC_2aC_3$), $yC_1\bar{o}C_2iC_3$ (or $yC_1awC_2iC_3$). In the entire central and southern Sinai this verb-type occurs regularly.

67. The sg. fem. active participle + object suffix in construct state (cf. 3.2.1.4.) (B-S).
    No MAP 67 in this volume. *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 contruct 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 *ṣāǧ—šāz* and *sīǧih—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.[9] In addition to these, criteria nrs 75–87 (in MAPS 75–87, see preceding paragraph) illustrate further differences between dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

In some cases—mainly where new features were set as criteria for comparison within the centre and south of Sinai—the data for the dialects in this comparison were incomplete; the dialects discussed in De Jong 2000, which now border on our more northern dialects discussed here, were not compared before on the basis of the additional criteria introduced for the dialects discussed here.

The totals of differences listed below have been calculated as follows: a partial difference has been counted as half in the total; often parallel forms result from dialect contact, so that one form may be identical to a form heard in a neighbouring dialect, while parallel to this form (in the same meaning) another form was heard, which was not heard in the same neighbouring dialect.

In cases where the comparison was incomplete due to the lack of data in one (or both) of the dialects compared, the uncertain outcome has been counted as half as well. The total numbers of isoglosses were calculated to be drawn into MAP 0 in the appendix.

---

[9] N.B. the numbering of the isogloss bundles here does <u>not</u> 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) * 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 <u>not</u> related to the numbering of isogloss bundles in De Jong 2000). The numbers followed by a bracket) refer to the numbering of the maps in the appendix in De Jong 2000 and in the appendix of this volume (but the maps numbered 75–87 only appear in the volume in hand).

–1– Isogloss bundle nr –1– distinguishes SA from MlA.

 4 differences: 23), 39), 48), 87)
 7 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 37), 72), 77), 79), 82)
 5 partial differences: 14), 45), 46), 47), 78)

 Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 88) 7.4%

–2– Isogloss bundle nr –2– distinguishes MlA from nTA.

 2 differences: 16), 58)
 11 uncertain differences: 4), 23), 57), 72), 76), 77), 78), 79), 81), 82), 87)
 5 partial differences: 14), 40), 45), 46), 47)

 Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 84) 5.4%

–3– Isogloss bundle nr –3– distinguishes nTA from TyA.

> 5 differences: 21), 48), 52), 58), 83)
> 9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
> 4 partial differences: 14), 15), 23), 86)

> Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

–4– Isogloss bundle nr –4– distinguishes 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%

–5– 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%

–6– Isogloss bundle nr –6– distinguishes ḤwA from AḥA.

> 11 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 23), 33), 35), 39), 72), 75), 76), 82), 83)*, 85)
> 1 uncertain difference: 27)
> 1 partial difference: 46)

> * The difference is in raising of *a* (*ʿalēh* > *ʿilēh*), which is already covered in MAP 76).

> Total 10.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.1%

–7– Isogloss bundle nr –7– distinguishes ḤwA from TAṢ.

> 16 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 7), 15), 16), 21), 22), 33), 39), 52), 57), 71), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*
> 0 uncertain differences
> 1 partial difference: 25)

* The difference is in raising of *a* (ʿalēh > ʿilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 15,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 16.3%

–8– Isogloss bundle nr –8– distinguishes TyA from AḥA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–9– Isogloss bundle nr –9– distinguishes AḥA from DbA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–10– Isogloss bundle nr –10– distinguishes DbA from TyA.

6 differences: 21), 35), 48), 75), 82), 87)
0 uncertain differences
1 partial difference: 81)

Total 6,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 6.8%

–11– Isogloss bundle nr –11– distinguishes TAṢ from ĞrA.

9 differences: 15), 16), 22), 71), 75), 76), 81), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 7), 26), 33)

Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 11%

–12– Isogloss bundle nr –12– distinguishes ĞrA from ḤwA.

8 differences: 5), 21), 39), 52), 57), 82), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 25), 26), 33)

Total 9,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 10%

–13– Isogloss bundle nr –13– distinguishes TAṢ from ʿLA.

37 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 11), 22), 23), 26), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 71), 72), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83)*, 87)
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 7), 8), 14), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 37,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 39.5%

–14– Isogloss bundle nr –14– distinguishes ĞrA from ʿLA.
34 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 7), 9), 10), 11), 15), 16), 23), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82, 83)*
0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 8), 14), 26), 33), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 35 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.8%

–15– Isogloss bundle nr –15– distinguishes ḤwA from TyA.

9 differences: 11), 21), 33), 35), 39), 48), 75), 82), 87)
0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 81), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total 10%

–16– Isogloss bundle nr –16– distinguishes ʿLA from ḤwA.

40 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 15), 21), 23), 26), 31), 33), 34), 35), 36), 37), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50, 52), 54), 55), 57), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 14), 16), 25), 39), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 42 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 44.2%

–17– Isogloss bundle nr –17– distinguishes ḤwA from BdA.

11 (minus 1*) differences: 21), 26), 33), 39), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*, 85), 87)
0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 42), 78)

* The difference is in raising of *a* (ʿ*alēh* > ʿ*ilēh* 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* (ʿ*alēh* > ʿ*ilēh* in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 8,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 8.9%

–19– Isogloss bundle nr –19– distinguishes AḥA from TAN.

10 differences: 5), 11), 21), 22), 23), 35), 48), 72), 81), 85)
1 uncertain difference: 27)
2 partial differences: 42), 78)

Total 11 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.7%

–20– Isogloss bundle nr –20– distinguishes ʿLA from BdA.

39 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10, 11), 15), 16), 23), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 82), 83), 85)
0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 14), 25), 42), 45), 58), 78), 81)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 41,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 43.7%

–21– Isogloss bundle nr –21– distinguishes TyA from TAN.

8 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 11), 22), 35), 76), 81), 83)*, 87)
0 uncertain differences

4 partial differences: 42), 46), 78), 86)

* The difference is in raising of *a* (ʿ*alēh* > ʿ*ilēh* in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 9 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 9.5%

–22– Isogloss bundle nr –22– distinguishes ʿLA from ḤmA.

6 differences: 4), 31), 47), 60), 72), 79)
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 ʿLA 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]) 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* (ʿ*alēh* > ʿ*ilēh* in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 45,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 47.9%

–25– Isogloss bundle nr –25– distinguishes ʿLA from GrA.

11 differences: 4), 18), 20), 22), 48), 68), 71), 72), 83), 84), 85)
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 ṢwA from GrA.

> 1 difference: 22)
> 0 uncertain differences
> 5 partial differences: 7), 39), 40), 46), 79)
>
> Total 3,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

–27– Isogloss bundle nr –27– distinguishes ṢwA from MzA.

> 25 (minus 2*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 31), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)*, 85)*, 86)
> 0 uncertain differences
> 8 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 29), 42), 46), 81)
>
> * The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.
>
> Total 27 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 28.4%

–28– Isogloss bundle nr –28– distinguishes MzA from TAN.

> 35 (minus 3[*1] [*2]) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 15), 16), 22), 23), 27), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48)*, 50), 52), 54), 55), 60), 61), 73), 75), 76), 77), 81), 82), 83)[*2], 84), 85), 86), 87)
> 0 uncertain differences
> 5 partial differences: 25), 28), 29), 45), 78)
>
> [*1] The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 48) is already covered in MAP 34.
> [*2] The difference is in raising of *a* (ʿalēh > ʿilēh 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%

–30– 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%

–31– Isogloss bundle nr –31– distinguishes ĞbA from MzA.

> 21 (minus 2 *[1] *[3]) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 26), 31)*[1], 48), 52), 57), 58), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 84)*[3], 86)
> 0 uncertain differences
> 9 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 42), 61)*[2], 81), 82), 85)*[2]

> *[1] The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, but the difference is greater than in bundle –30–, therefore the difference is here concluded <u>not</u> 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%

–32– Isogloss bundle nr –32– distinguishes BWA from GrA.

> 27 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 37), 39), 40), 46), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 80), 83), 84), 85), 86)
> 0 uncertain differences
> 10 partial differences: 10), 25), 29), 31)*[1], 42), 73), 75), 77), 79)*[2], 81), 82)

> *[1] The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.
> *[2] The difference is only in the negated 2nd p. sg. masc. pronominal, therefore a partial difference is concluded.

> Total 32 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.7%

–33– 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)

0 uncertain differences

12 partial differences: 10), 25), 39), 40), 42), 49), 73), 75), 77), 79), 80), 81)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, the difference is here concluded to be <u>not</u> 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[*2]) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 48), 52), 57), 61)[*2], 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)[*2], 85)[*2], 86)
0 uncertain differences

10 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 31)*[1], 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,[10] 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)

---

[10] Since the Awlād Saʿīd (who live more inland in the high mountains towards the east than indicated on the map, see fn 1, p. 115) are not physically located between the two dīrahs of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil, the dīrahs 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.

isogloss bundle number	between dialects	of groups	number of isoglosses of total incl uncertain	subtract from 95 for uncertain		percentage of corrected total
−36−	(ASA–HnA)	VII–VII	3.5		(3.5/95)	3.7%
−26−	(ṢwA–GrA)	VII–VII	3.5		(3.5/95)	3.7%
−35−	(ASA–ĞbA)	VII–VII	4.5		(4.5/95)	4.7%
−30−	(GrA–ĞbA)	VII–VII	4.5		(4.5/95)	4.7%
−2−	(MlA–nTA)	I–I	10	11	(4.5/84)	5.4%
−10−	(DbA–TyA)	I–I	6.5		(6.5/95)	6.8%
−1−	(SA–MlA)	I–I	10	7	(6.5/88)	7.4%
−4−	(ʿAyA–AḥA)	I–I	11.5	9	(7/86)	8.1%
−3−	(nTA–TyA)	I–I	13.5	9	(8/86)	8.1%
−18−	(BdA–TyA)	I–I	8.5		(8.5/95)	8.9%
−21−	(TyA–TAN)	I–I	9		(9/95)	9.5%
−8−	(TyA–AḥA)	I–I	10	2	(9/93)	9.7%
−9−	(AḥA–DbA)	I–I	10	3	(9/93)	9.7%
−5−	(ʿAyA–ḤwA)	I–I	13.5	10	(8.5/85)	10%
−12−	(ĞrA–ḤwA)	I–I	9.5		(9.5/95)	10%
−22−	(ʿLA–ḤmA)	VIII–VII	10		(10/95)	10.5%
−15−	(ḤwA–TyA)	I–I	10		(10/95)	10.5%
−11−	(TAṢ–ĞrA)	I–I	10.5		(10.5/95)	11%
−6−	(ḤwA–AḥA)	I–I	10.5	1	(10.5/94)	11.1%
−17−	(ḤwA–BdA)	I–I	11		(11/95)	11.6%
−19−	(AḥA–TAN)	I–I	11	1	(11/94)	11.7%
−39−*	(BWA–MzA)	VI–VI	13.5		(13.5/95)	14.2%
−38−	(ḤmA–ṢwA)	VII–VII	13.5		(13.5/95)	14.2%
−23−	(ʿLA–ṢwA)	VIII–VII	15		(15/95)	15.8%
−7−	(ḤwA–TAṢ)	I–I	15.5		(15.5/95)	16.3%
−25−	(ʿLA–GrA)	VIII–VII	16		(16/95)	16.8%
−31−	(ĞbA–MzA)	VII–VI	23.5		(23.5/95)	24.7%
−37−	(MzA–ASA)	VI–VII	25		(25/95)	26.3%
−29−	(GrA–MzA)	VII–VI	26.5		(26.5/95)	27.9%
−27−	(ṢwA–MzA)	VII–VI	27		(27/95)	28.4%

Table (*cont.*)

isogloss bundle number	between dialects	of groups	number of isoglosses of total incl uncertain	subtract from 95 for uncertain	percentage of corrected total
−34−	(ASA–BWA)	VII–VI	31.5	(31.5/95)	33.2%
−32−	(BWA–GrA)	VI–VII	32	(32/95)	33.7%
−33−	(BWA–ĞbA)	VI–VII	33	(32/95)	34.7%
−28−	(MzA–TAN)	VI–I	34.5	(34.5/95)	36.3%
−14−	(ĞrA–ʿLA)	I–VIII	35	(35/95)	36.8%
−13−	(TAṢ–ʿLA)	I–VIII	37.5	(37.5/95)	39.5%
−20−	(ʿLA–BdA)	VIII–I	41.5	(41.5/95)	43.7%
−16−	(ʿLA–ḤwA)	VIII–I	42	(42/95)	44.2%
−24−	(BdA–ṢwA)	I–VII	45.5	(45.5/95)	47.9%

* isogloss bundle −39− is 'virtual' in the map (but 'real' on the ground), see remarks above and in fn 1, p. 115.

Our figured calculations using the step method show a few results that do not appear to be in concord with earlier results in De Jong 2000: the subdivision into groups is not as clear-cut here in terms of percentages as it was in De Jong 2000. The reason appears to be that in De Jong 2000 we were looking at dialects that form a geographical continuum, which makes the comparison between the groups largely uni-directional (i.e. east-west or west-east, depending on preference).

Our dialects in the centre and south of Sinai do not form a comparable continuum, which makes the comparison between more than two groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) multi-directional. Such a garbled picture is also the result of a comparison between dialects of tribes that—even within certain identified groups—have arrived at different times and have over these different periods of time influenced each other to a lesser or greater degree. In addition, the comparison is between dialects of tribes, who can vary greatly with regard to numbers of members.

To give an example: the tribe Ḥamāḍah is considerably smaller (in terms of numbers of members) than the neighbouring tribes of ʿLēgāt and Ṣawālḥah. ḤmA still shows a number of features which are reminiscent of the group I-type, and presumably this dialect type is much nearer to the original ḤmA-type than the group to which it has now been assigned (i.e. group VII).

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 *ḵuḷ, gūḷ, gūm, šīl* and *nām* (without a stressed initial vowel), whereas ṬwA dialects generally do show such vowels, e.g. (ṬwA) *úḵul* "eat!", *úgum* "stand up!", *íšil* "carry!" and *ánam* "go to sleep!".

---

[11] To cite a parallel with biology: if we were to discuss 'birds' in general, we would probably choose to be talking about proto-typical examples like a sparrow, a robin or a canary, rather than an ostridge or a penguin, see Aitchison 1987:51–62.

Another example is the difference between velarization in the pl. forms of *kibīr* and *kitīr* (*kbāṛ* and *kt̠ār* in ʿLA), but lack of velarization in both forms in ṬwA (*kbār* and *kt̠ār*), and ʿLA thus takes up an intermediate position between groups VII and I (the latter having *kbāṛ* and *kt̠āṛ*).

Another illustration of ʿLA 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 ʿLA all have CaCáC or CiCíC, while group VII will stress CáCaC and CíCiC, but in ʿLA 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 ʿLA, or even group I for that matter. The situation in ʿLA would then be an indication of influences from surrounding group I dialects, if it is not an original feature of ʿLA itself.

There is also the example of a stressable article in the sequence alCa-CaC (see 2.1.1.): in ʿLA, 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 ʿLA 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 ʿLA 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 ʿLA 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 v̄-*k*, vC-*k* or CC-*ik*, both ʿLA and ḤmA have *-ik* when not directly preceded by v̄, but *-kiy* when v̄ directly precedes (i.e. a situation comparable to the allomorphs current in Cairene Arabic, where we have similarly conditioned appearance of allomorphs *-ik* and *-ki*).[12]

---

[12] Cf. Woidich 2006:40.

Although both ʿLA and ḤmA seem to take up an intermediate position between group VII and group I, I have chosen to group ʿLA separately as group VIII, because the 2-dimensional MDS plots clearly position it between groups VII and I, while ḤmA is plotted considerably nearer to other group VII dialects, and is thus concluded to be more part of group VII than of group VIII. The dendrogram in the appendix illustrates the same.

In a similar manner the dialect of Baniy Wāṣil has been developing from a presumed 'originally'[13] group I-type towards the dialect-type of the Mzēnah. The assumption of BwA originally being a group I type of dialect appears to be supported by BWA's position on the Alscal Euclidean Binary MDS plot (see p. 374); of all dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII (spoken in the south of Sinai) BWA is located nearest to group I.

If we compare the results of the step method with the multi-dimensional scaling (MDS-) plots produced by Proxscal and Alscal in SPSS we see that these MDS plots provide a better overall picture of the total area.

d. *Multi-Dimensional Scaling*

In some cases 'virtual isoglosses' were introduced in the 'step method' to show relative typological distance between dialects that do not geographically directly border on each other—or only seemingly so, as is the case with MzA and BWA.

Since the Proxscal and Alscal programmes (a matrix in the SPSS used for the MDS method) compare all dialects on the basis of the same criteria, all such relative typological distances—also of dialects that do not border on each other and may geographically even be far removed from each other—will receive a graphic representation in the MDS plot generated (see figure 3 in the appendix for the colour version of this plot).

The advantage of this MDS approach over the step method is that relative proximity/distance of every dialect in relation to every other dialect in a larger geographical area is calculated, which is then represented in a plot. Especially in societies with collectives of individuals who are, or were until recently, inherently spatially dynamic (such as a society with (semi-) nomadic tribes), relative typological proximity of dialects that do not geographically directly border on each other is potentially more

---

[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 disappearence of parallel forms, interdialect forms may provide such clues.[14]

An example to cite here is the parallel existence of -ᵘḳ and -aḳ pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. masc. in the dialect of older speakers of group II in the north.[15] If we can take the older speaker's word for it—and

Object Points
Common Space
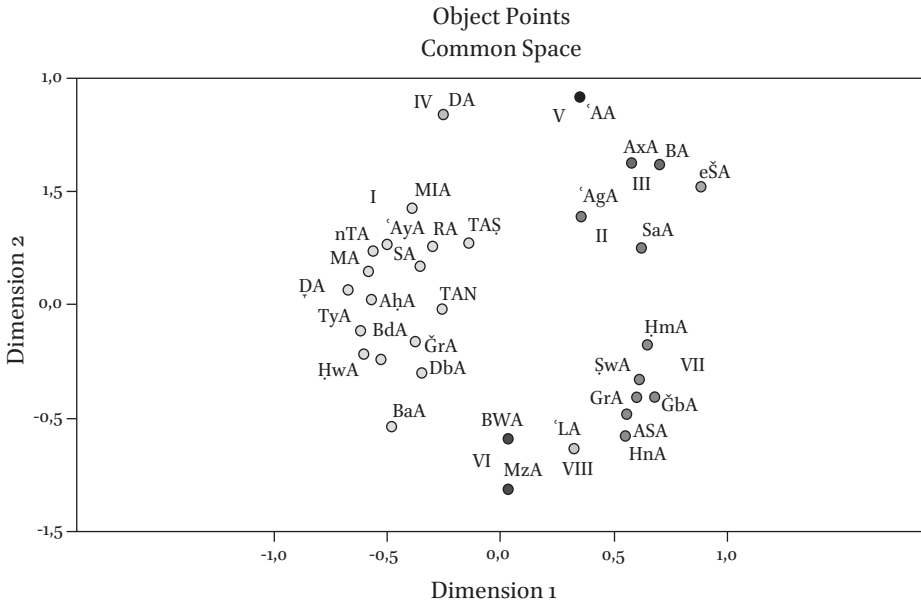
Proxscal—Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai

---

[14] See Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and also Woidich 1997.
[15] See De Jong 2000:288.

I saw no reason to doubt him—the Samāʿnah lived in the area of aṭ-Ṭūr until the turn of the 19th–20th century. Since dialects there all have -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 Biyyāḏiy (BA), which resulted in the -ak suffix being introduced to speakers of SaA.[16] The velarization present in the form -ᵘḳ was then transferred onto the k of the -ak suffix, resulting in the 'inter-dialect' 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[17] 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 *ṯ* for *ṯ and *ḏ* for *ḏ.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
3. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show emphatic interdental *ḍ̣* for merged **ḏ̣* and *ḍ.
   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 *kbāṛ* and *kṯāṛ*, groups VI and VIII only have velarization in *kbāṛ*, but not in *kṯār*, and group VII lacks velarization in both forms: *kbār* and *kṯār*.

---

[16] In some schools in the Gaṭyah oasis children from different tribes mix.
[17] And perhaps also by women, but there are no recordings of women speakers of this tribe to verify this.

Score group I: 1; group VI: 0.5; group VII: 0; and group VIII: 0.5.

6. All dialects have a tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

7. In all groups *a* in open syllable preceding A (stressed *a* or *ā*) is raised.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

9. In group I dialects extreme raising of final *-ā(ʾ) in neutral surroundings is current. In groups VI, VII and VIII final *-ā is raised in a similar manner, but final *-āʾ* tends to be reflected as *-iʾ*.
   Group I scores 1, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.5.

17. None of the dialects in the centre and south of Sinai show resyllabication of CaCaCv sequences.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

18. In groups I and VI the definite article and preformatives of verbal measures *n*-1 and 1-*t* are stressable units (e.g. *álwalad*, *ánḍarab*, *áttafag*). In group VII the article is not stressed (e.g. *ilwálad*), although in ḤmA both stress-types are used (e.g. *álwalad ~ ilwálad*). In group VIII the article is also a stressable unit (e.g. *álwalad*).
   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 CCv̄... (e.g. *ḥmāṛ*, *ṣgūr*). Groups I, VI, VIII and also ḤmA and (part of) ǦbA of group VII have initial CC in CCv...(e.g. *ʿnab* "grapes", *gṛab* "watersacks"). Other group VII dialects have however morphologically resolved the initial cluster in this pattern with an initial vowel (e.g. *áʿnab*, *ágṛab*).
   Groups I, VI, VIII and ḤmA and ǦbA 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 *illiy*. In group VII *il-* and *illiy*. 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 *ḏ* in demonstratives *hāḏ+*, if not followed by *i*.
     Group I has *hāḏa ~ hāḍa* (with the exception of ḤwA, where only
     hāḏa was heard). In groups VI, VII and VIII such velarization of *ḏ* in
     this position is absent.
     Group I scores 1. ḤwA, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.

41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives: dialects in central and south-
     ern 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 *mūn*.
     Group I scores 1. Other dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

43. Initial consonant in the interrogative for "where?": all dialects of cen-
     tral 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 ~ hnōtiy* or
     hnūtiy, groups VII and VIII have *hnōtiy* or *hnūtiy*. In all dialects the
     occasional K-form *hnāk* can be heard.
     All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.[18]

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
     nihā(ʾ) ~ nihāniy. In all dialects the K-form *hina* (often in its adapted
     shape as *hinih* or *hiniy*).
     All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.[19]

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).

---

[18] Since the true 'sedentary' form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is
h(i)nāk, I regard *hnōtiy* or *hnūtiy* as 'Bedouin' in this context.

[19] Since the true 'sedentary' form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is *hína*,
I regard *nihā(ʾ)* or *nihāniy* as 'Bedouin' in this context.

53. Vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix of verbal measure 1: *yašṛab*, *yiktib*, *yugʿud*. All dialects in central and southern Sinai show such harmonized vowels.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

56. Imperfect of primae *wāw* verbs: none of the Bedouin dialects of central and southern Sinai have a morphologically patterned diphthong *iw*. Forms are more typically *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 + *š(i)*. Group I, ʿLA (group VIII) and BWA (of group VI) use the singular negation (*mā* + verb form) almost exclusively. MzA (of group VI) uses both types of negation, and in group VII the compound negation is current (*ma* + verb + -*š*).
   Groups I, VIII (ʿLA) and BWA (of group VI) score 1. MzA (of group VI) scores 0.5. Group VII scores 0.

69. The *b*-imperfect: in all dialects of central and southern Sinai the *b*-imperfect is current.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

71. Use of *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* for "when". In all dialects *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* is current.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

73. Use of *widd* or *bidd* to express "want; need": group I uses *widd*. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) use both. The other dialects of group VII, group VIII and MzA (of group VI) use *bidd*.
   Group I scores 1. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) score 0.5. MzA, dialects of group VII (except ḤmA) and group VIII (ʿLA) score 0.

When we count the 'Bedouin' features of dialects of the 30 listed here by adding up the 'scores' in the list above, we see the following in the totals:

Group I scores highest[20] with almost all dialects having 27 features as 'Bedouin'. Dialects of group VII score 18.5, except the dialect of the Ḥamāḍah, which scores 19.75 'Bedouin' features. The dialect of the ʿLēgāt (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 Biyyāḍiyyah 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).[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[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

---

[20] This is not surprising, since the list was compiled to specifically illustrate the relative 'Bedouinness' of dialects in the north of Sinai as compared to the dialect of the Ḍullām in the Negev, which all belong to the same group I.

[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.

[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.[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;[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,[25] such as in examples in ṬwA (except part of ĞbA) *išti᾽* "winter; rain", *ágṛab* "watersacks" (which in group I are more typically *štiy* and *gṛab*, see paragraphs 2.3.5. in the descriptive chapters). Although such stressed 'original' anaptyctics may

---

[23] It is not possible to decide here which form is more 'Bedouin' than the other. See, for instance, Prochazka 1988:126, where -u(h), -ah and -ih (and also other forms) are listed as occurring in the various dialects of Saudi Arabia.

[24] A suggestion once made to me that the speech of Egyptians among the Ğbāliyyah who were sent in the sixth century by emperor Justinian I to serve and protect St. Catherine's Monastery together with the Wallachians would have had a 'sedentary' influence on the speech of tribes in Sinai at that time must be dismissed as an anachronism; having been sent to Sinai before islam, it is highly unlikely that these Delta Egyptians came there as speakers of Arabic, let alone the Wallachians.

[25] See De Jong 2000:41 (criterion 20: presence of initial CCV in limited morphological patterns). To decide whether initial clusters are tolerated in patterns like CCūC or CCāC, one can add the definite article to such patterns in which the first C is a 'sunletter'. If assimilation takes place, as in e.g. *al + ṣgūr > aṣṣgūr* "the falcons" and *al + tṛāb > attṛāb* "the dust", one may conclude that initial CC in such morphophonemic patterns is tolerated. Similarly in a pattern CCaC like *al + ṣwar > aṣṣwar* "the pictures". If, on the other hand, no assimilation takes place, but an anaptyctic vowel separates the article and the first C, like in e.g. *(i)liṣgūr*, *(i)litṛāb* and *(i)liṣwar*, we have to conclude morphophonemic base patterns |iCCūC|, |iCCāC| and |iCCaC|. In the latter pattern the preceding (originally anaptyctic) *i* is then usually stressed on the vowel of the newly available heavy sequence, as in *íṣwar*, or with harmonized vowel *áṣwar* "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 (_t̠_, _d̠_ and _ḍ̠_) in their phoneme inventories. We have seen that in the north the dialect of the Biyyāḍiyyah has lost 'neutral' interdentals _t̠_, _d̠_, and that the dialect of the Axārsah (both of group III) is in a process of losing _t̠_ and _d̠_, 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 ˁLēgāt and Ṣawālḥah lived in the Šarqiyyah before they moved to Sinai almost seven centuries ago (see quote in Introduction, I. d., remark *5) there is a chance that these tribes introduced sedentary features into the area, which were later through dialect contact copied into the dialects of other tribes already present in the area, or who arrived at a later time. Conversely, in this scenario, and with reference to a certain number of Bedouin features now present in the dialects of the Ṣawālḥah and ˁLēgāt, one could perhaps speak of re-bedouinization of these dialects; Bedouin features would then have been (re-)introduced into ṢwA and ˁLA as a result of contact with speakers of Bedouin dialects. This hypothesis can however only be

---

[26] One could perhaps imagine 'sedentary' influence from speakers (of various dialects) of (mainland) Egyptian dialects in the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, but then still we would need more data on the intensity of contact between these townspeople and Bedouin tribes in the area, and also on the dialect-type(s) spoken in aṭ-Ṭūr if we want to arrive at some form of an acceptable conclusion.

[27] See also remarks in De Jong 2000:621–625.

corroborated if we could somehow definitively establish the shape of an earlier type of eastern 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 *ṯ* for *t, or *ḏ* for *d. I have seen no evidence of such or comparable hypercorrections.

It is more likely that these collectives (the ʿLēgāt and the Ṣawālḥah) kept speaking their own dialects during their stay in the eastern Delta, or at least their dialects were not extensively influenced by a sedentary type comparable to types heard in the Delta today, and that such 're-bedouinization' did not take place when they moved to Sinai. This situation would be comparable to the situation of the dialect spoken by the Rašāydah, who are known to have continued to speak their own Naǧdiy dialect (in the privacy of their own homes, in any case) in Sudan and also in other areas, even though they have been away from their former abode in the Arabian Peninsula for almost two centuries (since the second half of the 19th century).

f. *The Locations of Isogloss Bundles in Central and Southern Sinai*

Isogloss bundles coincide with boundaries of tribal dirahs, simply because we have chosen geographical borders between the tribal areas (sg. *dīrah*) of different tribes as the location to draw these isoglosses onto the map. To a degree, this is of course artificial, but experience has taught that often the speech of members of the same tribe in the same tribal area will not show very many differences.[28] I did however notice some differences between members of the Ǧbāliyyah who live near the monastery of St Catherine, and those who live some 40 kilometres away in Wādiy Fēṛān/ Wādiy aš-Šēx, in and near Mrēr and aṭ-Ṭarfa.[29] Similarly, Mzēnah who live near the coast will use *šuġḷ* as the genitive exponent, whereas *ḥagg* appears to

---

be more current with Mzēniy speakers who live more inland, i.e. in the
mountains (see 3.1.11.).[30]

Much clearer than in northern Sinai, some of the major isogloss bundles
found in central/southern Sinai coincide with visible geological features
of the landscape. From the fact that isoglosses in this study are drawn
into maps to coincide with borders of tribal dīrahs, and borders of some
of these dīrahs coincide with features of the landscape,[31] the coincidence
of isogloss bundles with natural features of the landscape will come as
no surprise. In cases where such a natural feature of the landscape is an
obstacle for the traveller, isoglosses may accumulate to form thicker bun-
dles. This is no news, of course, since examples from Europe or elsewhere,
like rivers (i.e. where they hinder traffic), swamps, mountain ranges, etc.
are plentiful.[32]

In Sinai, one of the clearest examples of such coincidence of isogloss
bundles with a natural feature of the landscape is the southern escarp-
ment of the Tīh plateau,[33] which is also roughly the location of the major
isogloss bundles (numbers –16–, –20– and –24– in MAP 88, see appen-
dix) running more or less southeast-northwest through Sinai between
dialects of group I (to the northeast) and dialects of group VII (ṢwA) and
group VIII (ʿLA) (to the southwest). Although the dialect of the Badāṛah
(assigned here to group I) is now spoken to the south of this escarpment
as well, this tribe is originally from the Tīh plateau, where some of their
families may still be found.[34] In figure 1 of the appendix the escarpment

---

[30] Palva 1984–1986:307 remarks that *ḥagg* "is the genitive marker used by many dialects
of the Arabian Peninsula".
[31] A practical way for tribes to decide on the border of their territories is to agree on
features of the landscape to represent this border. An example is the "Fjord" on the coast
of the Gulf of ʿAqabah (location appr. 29.25.50 North and 34.49.50 East, see Google Earth),
which is accepted by Taṛābīn and Aḥaywāt to be the eastern end of the border between
their dīrahs.
[32] In northern Sinai we identified an 'invisible obstacle' coinciding with such a major
isogloss bundle: due to the lowly social status of the Dawāġrah major isogloss bundles
coincide with the borders between their dīrah and the dīrahs of neighbouring tribes, see
De Jong 2000:653 (MAP 00 in appendix), isogloss bundles numbers 6 and 8.
[33] The Tīh plateau is Eocene limestone, the high mountains to the south are part of a
Precambrian Crystaline base, see webpage http://www.awayaway-sinai.net/main/about_
sinai.htm (accessed 10-18-2010).
[34] Oral communication from members of the Badāṛah in the field, and who now live in
aṛ-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 Ǧabal ʿIǧmah, who were in a ḥilf (alliance) with the Tayāha in older times, after
which they had 'Beziehungen' (relations) with the Ṭuwara (ʿLēgāt) as well, and have 'now'
(i.e. in his day) returned again to their old protectors the Tayāha. I had the impression
during my visits that they had now returned to their earlier protectors the ʿLēgāt again.

is visible in the map as the darker shade of grey between the brownish/pink area to the south (the area aptly named aṛ-Ṛamlah, indicated on the map as *Debbet er Ramleh*) and the high granite mountains of aṭ-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 Tuṛbāniy informant.

In Wādiy aš-Šēx the tribal border between the Mzēnah and Ǧbāliyyah is the (nowadays) asfalt road that leads through Wādiy aš-Šēx (to Wādiy Fēṛān): at the stretch of this road to the west of aṭ-Ṭarfa Mzēniy territory lies to the north and the territory to the south is claimed by the Ǧbāliyyyah.

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 dialect[37]—and if this is true—the dialect that they speak today must be the result of extensive influence from Mzēniy. On the map the territories of Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah are separated by the territory of the Awlād Saʿīd, which might prompt the question why their dialect (ASA) is not more like that of group VI (i.e. BWA and MzA), especially if dialect contact is assumed to be the cause of the development of older BWA towards the dialect type of MzA: how could this contact take place across an area inhabited by another tribe, and how can it be that the dialect of this separating tribe was not or at least much less influenced by MzA?

The answer is that the map in this case does not give a realistic picture of where members of the tribes actually live: the Awlād Saʿīd live much farther inland (the mountainous area in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf; for the location see fn 2, p. 115 in Introduction to Chapter II), thus leaving the

---

[35] For a map showing the passes leading down from the Tīh Plateau to the 'Dividing Valleys' (of which the aṛ-Ṛamlah area is a part), see Greenwood 1997:35 (Figure 3–6. The Dividing Valleys).

[36] This mountain is erroneously named Jabal Jannah on Google Earth, coordinates are appr. 28.52.30 North, 34.07.50 East.

[37] Oral information of sources in the field. See also a comparison of MzA and BWA below.

sandy coastal plain near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, which they claim as their dīrah, 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 ʿLēgāt and Ṭaṛābīn, when the ʿLēgāṭ, supported in their territorial ambitions by the Ğaṛāğrah tried to move into Tuṛbāniy territory south of Ṛās Ṣadr. The Ṭaṛābīn 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 ʿLēgāt sentenced in this Bedouin court of justice for their expansionist aspirations, the Ğaṛāğrah too were fined a substantial sum for choosing the ʿLēgiy 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 compulsary) (see MAP 22).
– The use of a sg. fem. pronominal suffix *-kiy*, either when following v̄, 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 dīrah. 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 Tuṛbāniy sources in the field.

– BWA is the only dialect in the area which predominantly uses demon-
strative 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 sur-
rounding 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 situ-
ation 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) -*á'* (when preceded by an
emphatic) is used as parallel to (with long vowel) -*ā('*) (like in sur-
rounding dialects) for *-*ā('*), e.g. *fiḍá'* "free time", but *ṛḥā'* "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 sur-
rounding dialects where such raising is current (see MAP 75).
– Like in group I, the baking sheet (for the preparation of bread) is called
a *ṣāǧ* (as opposed to *šāz* in surrounding dialects). The game of *sūǧih*
(*sūǧih* 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. *hāḏil*), as opposed to surrounding dialects, where only forms
without such initial *hā-* are current (this may be due to MzA, which
has *hāḏil* as a parallel form as well, or may be due to forms in group I,
where forms with initial *hā-* are predominant).

The combination of these features points toward an earlier group I type
of dialect for BWA. This should be seen in combination with the fact that
the Baniy Wāṣil were among the earliest tribes to arrive in Sinai (between
10th and 13th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, see Bailey 1985:33–35,
and remarks made above in the Introduction, I. d.). Chances that BWA

acquired these group I features through dialect contact with one of
the group I dialects are not great, since the dīrah of Baniy Wāṣil does
not border on any of the group I dīrah'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) *kbāṛ* and (unvelarized) *ktār* (like in
  MzA) contrasting with (both velarized) *kbāṛ* and *kṯāṛ* in group I, and
  (both unvelarized) *kbār* and *kṯār* in surrounding dialects (see MAP 4).
– Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *a* and also *ā* is like in
  MzA.
– Initial (ʾ)*a-* in "mother": *ʾamm* (like in MzA and group I) as opposed to
  ʾumm in surrounding dialects (see MAP 26).
– The form of the preposition "with" + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix is *mʿuh* "with
  him" and is identical to the form in MzA (and ʿLA and ḤmA), but sur-
  rounding 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 surround-
  ing 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 sur-
  rounding and group I dialects (see MAP 61).
– For the pl. masc. personal pronominal for "they" *huwwa* is current, like
  in MzA (but most group I dialects have *huṃ(ṃa)*) (see MAP 78).
– The reflex for final *-ā* in *a*-type tertiae infirmae (*yāʾ*) verbs is usually
  (stressed) *-íʾ*, like in *mišíʾ. ligíʾ*, *nisíʾ* (see MAP 86).

The grouping of MzA and BWA together in the same group is also sup-
ported 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 some-
what 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 dīrahs 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/L04/Tutorial/ti.html.nl (accessed 10-18-2010), which is part of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) project at the University of Groningen (Netherlands).

This map clearly shows the dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours:

group I is mainly different shades of light green (and greyish for 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 ʿāylah.[41]

Compare these maps to map 88 of the appendix in which the differences have been interpreted and where every group is represented by one assigned colour.

Group I : yellow	Group II : orange	Group III : pink/light red
Group IV : light blue	Group V : grey/blue	Group VI : green
Group VII : light brown	Group VIII : dark yellow	

----

[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 1997:107 also lists the *Dubūr* as one of the branches of the Ḥwēṭāt.

The dīrahs of the Ḥwēṭāt and Aḥaywāt

Although interviews with Ḥwēṭāt were recorded in the area of Ǧidy, I have not met with Ḥwēṭāt from the area more to the north in the triangular area drawn on the map between ʿAyA and nTA territory. For the area of Aḥaywāt to the south of this ḤwA area, I have spoken to some Aḥaywiys who live near the road from Ṛās Ṣadr to the main (west-east through central Sinai) road Mitla[42]–Nixl, where some families of the Aḥaywāt live, not far north of Qalʿat alǦindiy.[43]

b. *Multi-Dimensional Scaling in a Two-Dimensional Map*

The MDS plots in the Appendix (pp. 373–374) show a number of interesting results. First of all, the plot supports the grouping of dialects and observations made earlier in De Jong 2000:[44]

– Balawiy Arabic (BaA) is shown to be nearest to (other) group I dialects, but its relative distance from these can still be interpreted as illustrative of the special place it occupies within this group.[45]
– To illustrate the relative typological proximity of group III dialects in the north to the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyah (eŠA) in the Nile Delta, a 'virtual' isogloss bundle was introduced in De Jong 2000.[46] The MDS plot also clearly shows this typological proximity.
– The MDS plot corroborates the separate typological status (as not being part of the northern Sinai dialect continuum) of 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 Šarqāwiy) of the north are in a linear sequence ('west-east' from left to right in the MDS plot), which reflects the typological continuum they form (geographically running in the opposite direction of the MDS plot).

---

[42] Originally *Uṃṃ Iṭlah*, see remark in fn 7, p. 3.
[43] Qalʿat al-Ǧindiy is located at appr. 29.51.04 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth.
[44] Observations made here are really based on the comparison based on 95 features which were selected to serve as criteria. Other characteristics not represented in this comparison further illustrate the same results.
[45] See remarks in De Jong 2000: 57–58.
[46] There bundle number –21–, cf. remarks 611, 615, 619, 622, 625.

c. *Other Results of the MDS Plots*

– In De Jong 2000[47] a remark from an older speaker of Smēʿniy (SaA of
  group II in the north) was quoted, in which he claimed that his tribe had
  until a hundred years earlier lived in aṭ-Ṭūr,[48] where they had owned
  datepalms. The MDS plot Proxscal Squared Euclidean clearly illustrates
  the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (ḤmA of group VII) as being relatively near-
  est to that of the Samāʿnah. The MDS plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean
  Binary, see pp. 373–374) however does not produce the same result.
  I have no explanation for this difference between these two plots.
– The dialects of Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah are plotted relatively near
  to each other. This is supported by the relatively limited number of
  isoglosses in the 'virtual' isogloss bundle introduced in the preceding
  pages, which also illustrates such relative typological proximity.
– The dialect of Baniy Wāṣil (BWA), which was said by informants to
  have originally been of the group I-type, is plotted nearer to the group
  I dialects than any of the other non-group I dialects.

A problem with the outcome of the two-dimensional MDS plot Squared
Euclidean Binary (see p. 373) generated by Proxscal is that the distance
between e.g. BWA and ǦrA (of different groups: VI and I resp.) is plotted
as shorter than the distance between, e.g., ǦrA 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 incor-
porated 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 distor-
tion, all group I dialects causing such stress have been omitted from the
MDS plot below, except ǦrA and MlA.

 In this Proxscal MDS plot we see that the distance between ǦrA and
MlA has been restored as being relatively shorter than the distance
between ǦrA and BWA (dissimilarities are: BWA – MlA = 76, ǦrA – MlA

---

 [47] See p. 246. For illustration of similarities of these dialects cf. MAPS in the appendix
of this volume.
 [48] The name aṭ-Ṭūr is generally used to refer to the high mountainous area in southern
Sinai, roughly where the Ṭuwaṛa tribes live.
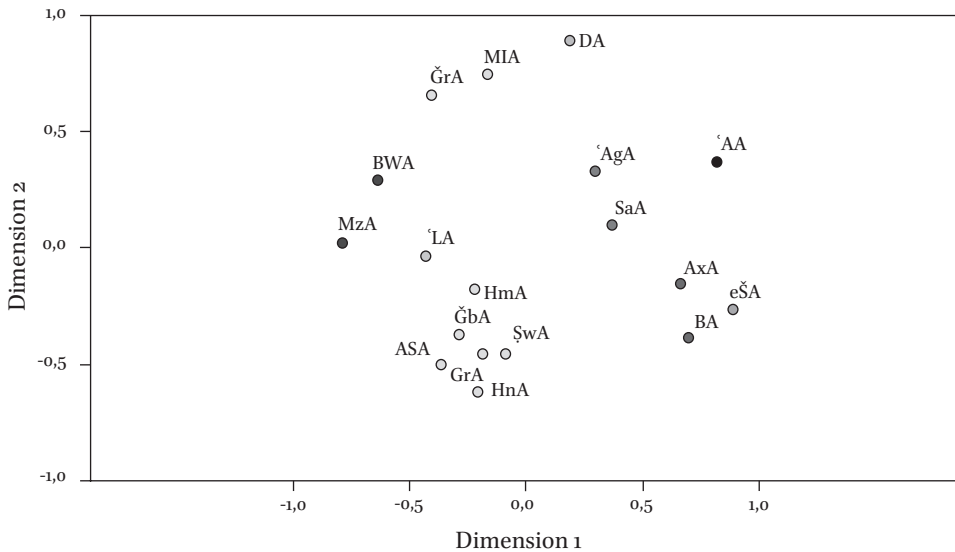
= 44; ǦrA – BWA = 66; MlA – BWA = 76;[49] binary Euclidean distances in the proximity matrix are: BWA – MlA = 8.718; ǦrA – MlA = 6.633; ǦrA – BWA = 8.124, see the proximity matrix on p. 376).

Excessive stress causing such distortions in these two-dimensional representations is less problematic[50] in the MDS plot Euclidean Binary generated by Alscal of the SPSS (see p. 374).

Another interesting aspect of the different methods of multi-dimensional scaling is that these invariably lead the same grouping of dialects. Although different methods applied may inside the generated MDS plots lead to different positions of dialects (like ʿAA and DA) that have relatively little in common with the other dialects spoken in Sinai, the different MDS plots do produce comparable clusters of typologically related groups of dialects (see also two other MDS plots and the dendrogram on p. 375).

In addition, we notice that the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are all plotted in the southeastern quadrant[51] of the plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary). The importance lies in the fact that, given the diverse

---

[49] These numbers are only to be interpreted as distances relative to each other; the greater the number, the greater the distance.

[50] By "less problematic" I mean that the resulting plot better represents my own subjective impressions of the typological distances of the groups involved.

[51] The fact that these three groups are plotted in this quadrant is coincidental to some degree, but the relative proximity of the three groups is not.

origins of the tribal communties before they came to Sinai (and at dif-
ferent times in history), dialect contact is highly likely to have been the
acting force in bringing these dialects typologically nearer to each other in
a process of levelling.[52] In this way the dialects of the different tribes have
coalesced (though not entirely) to form a 'phylum',[53] which now covers
the southern tip of Sinai. Several processes of focusing must have taken
place. One clear example is the spread of the -$^{(u)}k$ (masc.) and -$^{(i)}k$ (fem.)
pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg.; although the proposed develop-
ment described above (cf. Chapter I, 3.1.12.2., NOTE) may be plausible, it is
highly <u>un</u>likely 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 through-
out 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 Samāʿnah in the north, who had emigrated from southern Sinai
towards the end of the nineteenth / beginning of the twentieth century
(see De Jong 2000:246).

d. *Grouping Dialects Using a Dendrogram*

To arrive at a relatively logical grouping another tool used is a dendrogram[54]
(generated with the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the SPSS) to cluster the
dialects of Sinai (including Negev Arabic, ḌA). It is important to remember
that a dendrogram illustrates degrees of similarity (or dissimilarity), and

---

[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 heterogeneneous history reported for the
different tribes in various sources, this is far less likely; in any case this alternative inter-
pretation would fail to explain the current typological position of ǦbA, whose speakers
must have come to Sinai in the fifth century CE as non-native speakers of Arabic (see also
remarks in fn 24, p. 321).

[53] Other than a possible genetic relationship in the distant past, this term is not meant
to suggest a relatively recent common ancestor.

[54] See also Behnstedt and Woidich 2005:129.

that we should not conclude a genealogical relationship. A dendrogram generated for all dialects in Sinai is (grouping with Roman numbering was done by hand, see figure 6 in the appendix for the colour version):
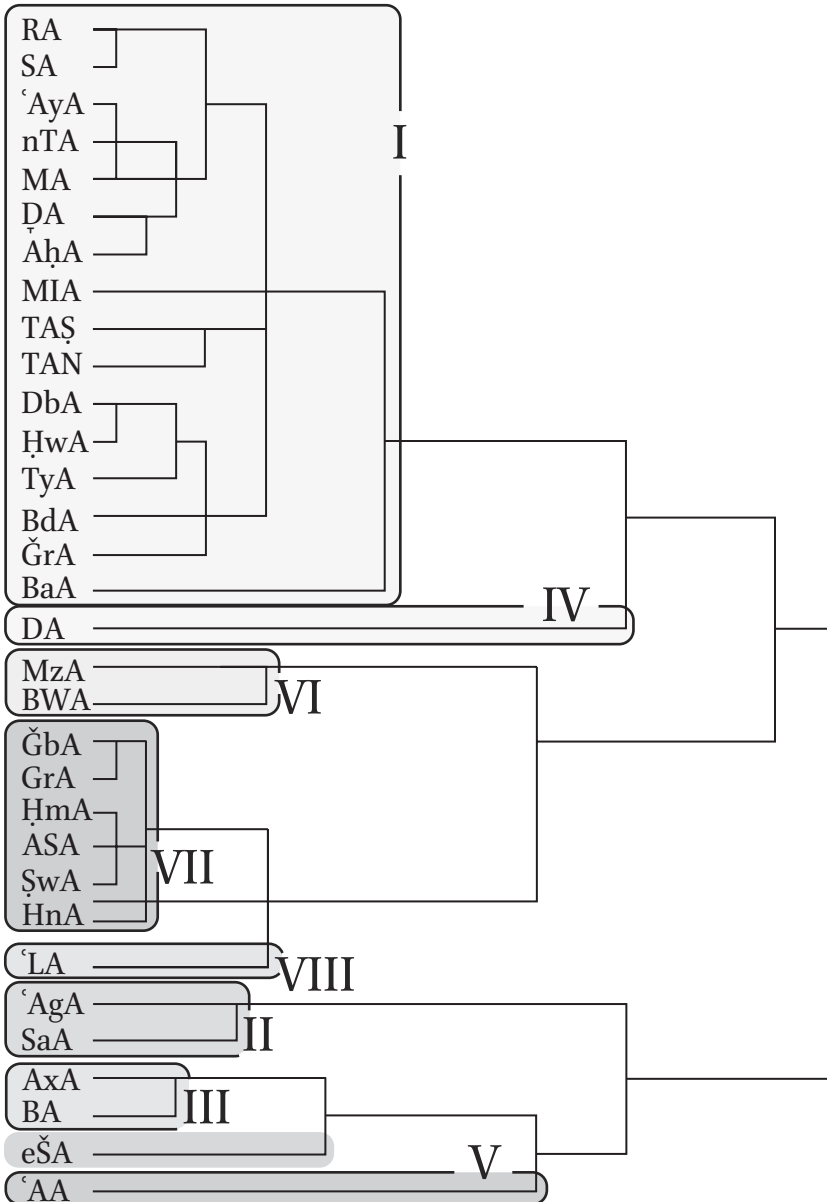
Dendrogram of dialects of Sinai

We see here that the Group I dialects quite neatly cluster together, with BaA occupying a special place inside this group. BaA 'branches' at a lower level, farther to the right, than the other dialects (see remarks in De Jong 2000:57–58). Groups IV and V branch at a relatively low level as well (even farther to the right than BaA), which supports the interpretation of these dialects as separate groups.

Clustering of the dialects that form groups II and III is also clear from this dendrogram. For remarks on decisions to group clusters of dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII in this manner, see remarks in Conclusions, III. c.

The dendrogram also shows that the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (eŠA) and the dialects of groups III (BA and AxA) and also V (ʿAA) are all on the same longer branch. This is due to the fact that these dialects are all more of the sedentary type (in comparison to the other dialects represented here in groups, which are more of the Bedouin type).

A plausible interpretation of the existing situation from a socio-linguistic perspective is that the different groups, in as far as dialects were not genealogically related, have developed from a diffuse situation (or situations, since the different tribes arrived at different times in history) towards a more homogeneous situation through dialect contact, in which certain original forms must have been lost due to processes of koi-neization through stages of levelling (simplification, reduction in irregu-larities, 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 -ᵘk and -ⁱk (resp.); a scenario in which different tribes of different origins arrived at different times in history, but were all already using these pron. suffixes is highly unlikely (see remarks in the preceding paragraph). We may not know where these suffixes originated, but we do know that they spread among this group with its heterogeneous background that cur-rently 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[56] (the question of whether or not these statements are true is not investigated here).[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 Ǧarāǧrah are said to be related to the Masāʿīd (in the northwest), who are in turn said to be related to the Aḥaywāt (living around Nixl and Ṭāba).[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 Ǧarāǧrah (ǦrA), however, is not plotted very near to AḥA and MA (resp.). The dendrogram shows the same.

Remark: the ʿLēgāt are said to be descendents of the neigbouring Ṣawālḥah.

Comment: the MDS plots position their dialects relatively near each other. In the dendrogram these two dialects do not appear very near each other.

---

[56] There is of course also the chance that informants conclude a relationship based on features perceived to be similar in the dialects spoken by these tribes.

[57] One could even imagine that people 'invent' a genealogical relationship based on their perception of linguistic similarities with the dialect of another tribe, or simply because they for some reason like to be associated with another tribe or certain other tribes.

Much of the claims listed here can be checked against the information given in Introduction I. d. and in the relevant sources mentioned there.

[58] See also De Jong 2000:11.

Remark: The Garāršah are said to be a section of the Ṣawālḥah (see also
 Bailey 1985:33).
Comment: the MDS plots and the dendrogram indeed cluster these two
 dialects relatively near each other.

Remark: the Taṛābīn are said to be related to Biliy (in the north), but this
 is quite remote in the past.[59]
Comment: a relationship between (any branch of) the Taṛābīn and
 Biliy—other than that they have been grouped together[60]—is not evi-
 dent 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 Jor-
dan, 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 ʿAṭiyya.
[60] See also De Jong 2000:57–58, fn 3 on the special position of BaA inside group I.

In this research it is assumed that members of the same tribe who live in the same dīrah and are in regular contact with each other will also speak the same dialect.[61]

When members of the same tribe have been living in different locations, and have been relatively isolated from each other for longer periods of time, their dialects are bound to show differences, and one may expect that the longer the isolation has lasted, the more differences will have developed.[62]

The majority of those who identify themselves as Ḥwēṭāt are actually found in southern Jordan and in the adjacent far nortwestern corner (the northern Ḥiǧāz) of Saudi Arabia. In older times many of the Ḥwēṭāt settled on the Egyptian mainland, a large group of whom were found around Bilbēs in the eastern Nile Delta. The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are not very numerous, and a small settlement inhabited by them is Ǧidy[63] in the north of Sinai. The Ḥwēṭāt of southern Jordan are said to be an amalgam of different groups of (semi-)sedentary population, many of whom are originally not of Bedouin stock.[64]

My earlier remarks concerned the typological status of the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan,[65] and whether perhaps their dialect formed part of a transition to a more Naǧdiy type of dialect. The following is a comparison of Ḥwēṭiy spoken in Jordan (referred to here as ḤwJ) as described in Palva 1984–1986 (in this comparison the structure of this article is largely followed).

---

[61] This is a sociolinguistically inspired approach that has proven to be a very workable principle in the case of (sometimes still (semi-) nomadic) Bedouin tribes. There are exceptions, of course. See also remarks in De Jong 2000:19.

[62] Either as a result from autonomous developments inside the dialect itself, or as a result of change induced by contacts with speakers of other dialects.

[63] Since the area was said to be teeming with military (for the very strategic Ǧidy pass about 20 km north of the Mitla 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 Ǧabal alǦidy, and to the north of Ṣadr alḤaytān, see Google Earth (where it is indicated as Gebel Heitan).

[64] Oral communication from a Ḥwēṭiy šēx from al-Ǧafr interviewed in 2008 in al-Ḥusayniyyah in southern Jordan. He told me that several families or clans had joined the tribe as duxala (Classical Arabic duxalāʾ), 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-dīre) (Musil 1926:20), whose culture for centuries has fluctuated between seminomadism and semisedentarism".

[65] See De Jong 2000:627–630.

I have added notes referring to Ḥwēṭiy poetry as recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 when forms appearing there are different from Palva's description or from my own findings. These poems will be referred to as 'Barrāk'.[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[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]).[68]

A glottal stop often follows final stressed *-a* in a pause (Barrāk:296): e.g. *ǧaʾ* "he came".

A similar situation in ḤwA, but *ʾ* is also often heard following unstressed final *-a*, e.g. *áfdaʾ* "I sacrifice", *taǧáddaʾ* "he had lunch", *biyrīdhaʾ* "he wants (i.e. loves) her" and *álʿašaʾ* "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.

---

[66] "Barrāk" for the poet Barrāk Dāġiš Ǧāziy Aḅuw Tāyih al-Ḥuwayṭiy recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009:83–108. Some of his poems appear there in transcription. He is from al-Ǧafr in southern Jordan (see ibid.:8), some 150 km northeast of ʿAqabah.

[67] For the notation in transcription the interpretation of Said Salman Abu Athera was taken as a starting point for the texts, which were only available on paper (the poet himself had passed away in 1999). Said is himself a Bedouin of the Ṭaṛābīn, 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.

[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 *zēt*, *sēf* and *bēt*, but such high realisations (near I.P.A. [iː]) of /ē/ were the exception, rather than the rule.

Palva (ibid.) reports /ē/ and /ō/ in all positions in ḤwJ, including those preceded by velarized consonants or X. In ḤwA, however, diphthongs have remained in such positions, e.g, *ʿayn* "eye", *xaymih* "tent", *nuṣṣayn* "two halves", *ṣayf* "summer", *ḍawayt* "I went home before sunset", *ḥawlíy* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)", *gawṭar* "he went". The diphthong in *ʿayš* "bread" was often realised lengthened: *ʿaːyš* in ḤwA.

In Barrāk only a few diphthongs occur, e.g. *ḥawl* (p. 93, l. 5), *aṭ-ṭubayg*, (p. 96, l. 37), *tawʿin* (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*), *ḥēṯ* (p. 95, l. 30), *ʿēn* (p. 96, l. 43), *ṭēr* (p. 100, l. 29), *ġēr* (p. 100, l. 32), *baġētah* (p. 101, l. 4) (here rhyming with *nagētah* and *lagētah*), *ṣēf* (p. 101, l. 5), *aʿṭētah* and *naʿētah* (p. 102, ll. 20 and 21).

In terms of stress, the only diffence between ḤwJ and ḤwA appears to be that the former stresses CáCaC(v) (provided it is not CaXaCv),[69] while the latter clearly prefers stress CaCáC(v).

Examples for CaCaC from ḤwA are *malág* "hard soil/rock (i.e. where no foot prints will be visible)", *libán* "milk" and a gahawah-form *ḍaháṛ* "back". ḤwA examples for CaCaCv are *sibágah* "race", *zalámah* "man", *gaháwah* "coffee", *ḥanákak* "your mouth", *afámak* "your mouth", *taḥárid* (ʿala) "you go up (to)", *naʿárif* "we know".

In ḤwJ we see forms like (following numbers refer to pages in Palva 2004) *ritam* "retem (firewood)" (203) and *siġar* "trees" (203) (stressed, according

---

[69] This is how I interpret Palva's remarks, see 1984–1986:297. These remarks seem to be contradicted, however, by (verbal) forms listed on p. 299: *k(i)tábat, k(i)tábow/-u* and *k(i)tábin*. Although Palva (2004:197,198) repairs the error of listing the forms *gaʿdat, gaʿdow/-u* and *gaʿdin* by replacing them with the forms *gaʿadat, gaʿadow/-u* and *gaʿadin*, we are now faced with a new question: why is **katab + at* stressed *k(i)tábat*, whereas *gaʿad + at* is stressed, I assume, *gáʿadat*? This assumption is not without ground: the form *gaʿdat* could not have been listed if the proper form is *gaʿádat*, 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 *gaʿdat* could therefore only be made because the proper form is *gáʿadat*.

When gahawah-forms are involved, we do find a CaCáCv stress-type, e.g. *baʿáḍa* (Palva 2004:201).

to Palva's remarks, *rítam* and *síğar*),[70] which prompt the question whether these are perhaps relics of an older CaCáC stress-type (in which the vowel *a* of the first syllable in neutral environments is often raised > CiCáC). In other words: are we dealing with a stress shift in Ḥwēṭiy, and is its older stress-type then more like the present situation in ḤwA of Sinai? (for further remarks, see 'the verb' below)

Apart from stress in sequences mentioned above, stress in both ḤwA and ḤwJ can be characterized by the forms: *álbil* "the camels", *álwalad* "the boy", *ángaḷab/yíngilib* (imperfect in ḤwJ would be *yángalib*) "be overturned", *áttafag/yíttifig* (imperfect in ḤwJ would be *yáttafig*)[71] "agree", *bintī* "my daughter", *ḍarabatnī* "she hit me". As for forms in Barrāk, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to stress.

As for the Nağdiy 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 Nağdiy resyllabication rule). First of all, gahawah-forms appearing in ḤwJ which are also resyllabified in conformity with the Nağdiy resyllabification rule are (forms listed in square brackets are proper ḤwA forms):

ghawah (1984–1986:303) [*gaháwah*], *yğazu* "they raid" (201) [*yaǧázuw*], 3 instances of *nxabiz* "we bake" (202) [*naxábiz*], 3 instances of *nʿağin* "we knead" (202) [*naʿáğin*], 2 instances of *nğazil* "we spin", *nǧázila* "we spin it" (203) [*naǧázil* and *naǧázlah*] and *nḥaṣid* "we harvest" (204) [*naḥáṣid*].

---

[70] I have not listed CaCaC forms preceded by the (stressed) article. Other forms in ḤwJ without such raising are *balad* (204), *ḥağar* (204, 205, 206), *masak* (206), *walad* (206), *ʿašar* (207), *sana* (207), *nasab* (207) and *ḥaṣal* (208). Interestingly, in the paradigms for *kitab* and *širib* (see Palva 1984–1986:299), *i* of the first syllable may only be dropped when it is in open syllable directly preceding a stressed syllable (forms cited are e.g. *š(i)ríbti* and *k(i)tábin*). From this a conclusion that the second syllables in *širib* and *kitab* are not stressed logically follows, and therefore these forms must be stressed *kítab* and *šírib* (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 *1-t* in ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:303.

[72] Listed verb forms with bracketed vowels, like *k(i)tabat* and *y(a)ʿarf* (1984–1986:299), suggest free variation in the application of the Nağdi resyllabication rule and the forms *yaḥkumu/yḥakmu* (2004:207) also imply free variation in the application of the gahawah-rule. For Nağdi resyllabification see Prochazka 1988:10–11 and Ingham 1986:276.

But Palva also reports forms in ḤwJ which are not affected by Naǧdiy resyllabification are: *baʿáḏa* (2004:201), *ḥaṣalat* (2004:205) *šaǧara*, *šaǧarāt* (2004:205), *gaʿadu* (2004:205), *ḥaraka* (2004:205), *ḥaǧara* (2004:206); *ḏarabat* (2004:206), *zalabāni* (2004:206), *yáḥafru* (2004:206), *ḥafáraw* (2004:206), *ḥaṣalat* (2004:207), *sanawāt* (2004:207, 208), *ʿašara* (2004:207), *waḥade* (2004:207), *ʿagabe* (2004:207, 208), *madanīye* (2004:207). Such forms are in terms of syllabication identical to comparable ḤwA forms.

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 *taḥamdūh* (p. 91, l. 25), but there are also many forms which are not affected by the gahawah-syndrome (perhaps for metrical reasons), e.g. *šaʿbah* (p. 91, l. 27), *šaʿb* (p. 91, l. 28) and *ṣaʿb* (p. 93, l. 8), *an-naxlāt* (p. 99, l. 25) and verb forms *yaḥfaḍōh* (p. 91, l. 20), *yaḥkum* (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*.[73]

Also in Barrāk we find *ḥinna* (p. 95, l. 31).

Pronominal suffixes

C-*ī* / V-*y* (poss.) and -*nī* (obj.), C-*ak* / V-*k*, -*kiy*, C-*ah* or C-*ih* / V-(*h*), -*ha*(ʾ), -*kuw* / -*kin*, -*na*(ʾ). In ḤwJ the same suffixes are current, except the allomorph -*ih* of the 3rd p. sg. masc.[74]

In Barrāk we find singular forms like (3rd p. sg. masc. -*ah* or -*ih*) *šaʿbah* "his people" (p. 91, l. 27) and *annās kullih* "all people" (p. 85, l. 3) and (v + -*h*) *yiʿṭūh* "they give him" (p. 89, l. 22); (3rd p. sg. fem. -*ha*) *gaṣdha* "her intent" or a long vowel at the end of a hemistich as in *warāhā* "behind her" (p. 86, l. 7); (2nd p. sg. masc. -*ak*) *ǧēšak* "your army" (p. 86, l. 6) or (v + -*k*) as in *malfāk* "your destination" (p. 93, l. 6); a short final vowel in (1st p. sg. com. -*i*) *rizgi* "my sustenance" (p. 101, l. 9), (v + -*y*) *mabdāy* "my principle" (p. 101, l. 6) and (obj. suff. -*ni*) *talabni* "he asked me" (p. 98, l. 5). Plural

---

[73] See Palva 1984–1986:297 and 2004:198. 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 *anaʾ* #, but then not only in pause.

[74] I follow a slightly different system of transcription in forms like -*kuw* and -*kiy* (Palva writes -*ku* and -*ki*). I have not recorded (unstressed and short) -*i* or -*ni* for the 1st p. com. sg. in ḤwA, which Palva 1984–1986:197 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) *ǧihādkum* "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: *hāḏa, hāḏiy* (~ fewer *hēḏiy*), *haḏáḷ* (*-ḷah*),
    Far deixis: *haḏāk, haḏīk* (*-ih*) (~ fewer *hēḏīk* (*-ih*)), *haḏaḷḷāk*(*-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. *álwalad ha...* "this boy". This feature was not reported for ḤwJ, nor were instances found in Barrāk.

Interrogatives
min is used for "who?" in both ḤwA and ḤwJ.[76]
    For the interrogative "what?" *ēš*, much less regularly *ēš* and sometimes *wiš* were heard in ḤwA. For ḤwJ Palva[77] gives *wuš*, co-occurring with *ēš* and K-form *šū* (with proclitic variants *ʾiš* and *šu*).
    "Which" is *yāt* in ḤwA, but *ayy / ayya* in ḤwJ.[78]

The b-*imperfect*
For ḤwJ Palva reports that the *b*-imperfect is not current in ḤwJ.[79] Barrāk shows no instances of the *b*-imperfect either. In ḤwA, however, it is as current as in other dialects of Sinai (except in that of the Dawāġrah).

Indefinite pronouns and the article[80]
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).

---

[75] See Palva 1984–1986:298 and 2004:198.
[76] See Palva 1984–1986:298.
[77] See Palva 1984–1986:298 and 2004:198.
[78] See Palva 1984–1986:298
[79] See Palva 1984–1986:307 and 2004:196
[80] For remarks on ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:298
[81] See Blau 1960:20 and Grotzfeld 1964:46–47.
[82] For postpositioned *ha* in ḤwA, see remark in III, 3.1.9.1.

The verb in ḤwA and ḤwJ

Perfect verb forms listed for ḤwJ reflect the *a*-type as CiCaC or CaCaC (< *CaCaC) and the *i*-type as CiCiC or CaCiC (< *CaCiC). Palva[83] concludes that the vowel of the first syllable in both types depends on the phonetic surroundings. To summerize his point: if *a* of the first syllable in *CaCaC was realized with a back allophone, it has remained *a* (e.g. *gaʿad*), but if it was realized with a front allophone, it has become *i* (e.g. *kitab*). In the older *i*-type (*CaCiC) the same development is concluded, but an additional factor of vowel harmony is held responsible for this change. Examples cited are *ʿarif* (< *CaCiC, in which *a* is concluded to have been realized with a back allophone) and *širib* (< *CaCiC, where *a* is concluded to have been realized with a front allophone).

Apart from the fact that it is difficult to imagine a back allophone for *a* in *ʿarif* (which would then have to be more or less like (the vowel in the first syllable) *a* in e.g. *ḍarab*, i.e. near I.P.A. [ɑ]),[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 CvCv́C to Cv́CvC (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 CaCáC- or CiCíC-type (see paragraphs 2.1.1.2.1. of preceding descriptive chapters; ḤwA also has CaCáC and CiCíC, e.g. *kitáb* and *širíb*).

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]

---

[83] See Palva 1984–1986:298–299.
[84] In fact, preceding ʿ or *ḥ* 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 *yagʿud, 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. *kítab* and *šírib*).

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 Cv́CvC. The dialect-type could be a sedentary (rural or urban) type in southern Jordan, or perhaps even contact with speakers of a Naǧdiy (i.e. a Bedouin type, but non-NWA) type of dialect; after all, the very same vowelling and stress-type are current in Naǧdiy (e.g. the active (*a*-type) perfect forms *kítab* "he wrote", *díbaḥ* "he slaughtered", but—due to lowering influences of contiguous *ḥ* and ʿ—no raising in e.g. (*a*-type perfect) *ḥálab* "he milked" and *gáʿad* "he sat"[88] and also (*i*-type perfect) *ʿášiǵ* "he loved"[89]).[90]

The confusing differences in stressing in forms like *gáʿadat*, but *k(i)tábat* and (gahawah-forms) *y(a)ʿárf* and *gháwah* are already an indication that dialect contact may be have taken place (or is still operative); two systems for stressing sequences of the type CaCaCv(C) appear to be in use and exist side by side as parallel systems. And parallel forms, or parallel systems in this case, are often an indication of dialect contact.[91]

In any case, the topic of stress shift deserves more attention than it can receive here.

Like in ḤwA, *a* of the *i*-type perfect (underlying |CaCiC|) in ḤwJ 'reappears' in closed syllables, e.g. *šarbin* "they (fem.) drank". A difference is the vowel of the 3rd p. sg. fem. ending: *šarbit* in ḤwA, but *šarbat* in ḤwJ.[92]

---

[87] Such forms are not exceptional in the area, see map 14 in the appendix.

[88] See Prochazka 1988:28–29.

[89] See ibid.:32.

[90] If we look at stress systems current in some Naǧdiy dialects (see Prochazka 1988:20–22), we see that there too a stress shift may have been involved in shaping forms that are heard today. If we take forms like (active) **katab* "he wrote" and (internal passive) **kItib* (in which *I* = *i* or *u*) "it was written" as starting points, and we assume that both forms were stressed on the ultimate (*katáb* and *kItíb*), postulating stress on the ultimate syllable would not only account for raising of *a* in *katáb > kitáb*, but also for the elision of the short high vowel *I* from the open (first) syllable in *kItíb > ktib*. When stress then shifted, it could only do so in the active form (resulting in *kítab*, 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: *ktíb* (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.

[92] See Palva 1984–1986:299.

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. *katában*) 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)tábin* 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)tábow/-u* and *šarbow/-u*). In ḤwA vowel harmony produces *-aw* in the *a*-type (*katábaw* or *kitábaw*). 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 biyġáriblin* "they (fem.) grind and sieve" in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ *tákitbin / taktibin* and *tašrabin*. Examples for the masc. are *yíkitbuw* and *yašṛabaw* in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ forms are *yákitbu / yaktibu* and *yašrabu*, and fem. pl. forms are *yákitbin / yaktibin* and *yašrabin*.[94]

Barrāk lists some forms with the (more Naǧdiy-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) *iḥtāǧaw* (p. 95, l. 21) and (imperfect) *yaḏḥakaw* (p. 91, l. 21) and there are many instances where suffixation results in monophthongized *-aw* or *-ow > -ō*, as in (perfect) *sawwōh* (p. 90, l. 2) and (imperfect) *yaḥfaḏōh* (p. 91, l. 20), while suffixation of *-uw* results in *-ū*, as in (perfect) and (imperfect) *ysammūh* (p. 90, l. 1) and *taḥamdūh* (p. 91, l. 25).

In poetry (Barrāk, pp. 93–97) many instances may be found of vowel harmony in the pl. fem. endings of perfect and imperfect: *-an* for the *a*-types and *-in* for the *i*-types, e.g. (perfect) *bayyananni* (p. 95, l. 22) and imperfect (*a*-type) *yarḥalanni* (p. 94, l. 18) and (*i*-type) *yihtifinni* (p. 94, l. 11).[96]

In ḤwA the vowel of the imperfect preformative colours with the stem vowel through vowel harmony, e.g. *yiktib, yuḏrub* and *yarǧaʿ*, while in ḤwJ

---

[93] See Palva 1984–1986:299.

[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 *yarǧaʿ*.[97] In Barrāk the system is basically like in ḤwA, e.g. *yisfik* (p. 86, l. 10), *yiḥyi* (p. 89, l. 25), *yimši* (p. 88, l. 8), *yibnūh* (p. 90, l. 4), *tunkus* (p. 89, l. 15), *yunḍur* (p. 89, l. 26), *yuḏkur* (p. 100, l. 34), *tunṣur* (p. 91, ll. 15, 16), *yuṭlub* (p. 91, l. 23), *nuḏukrah* (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) *yaʿizzhum* (p. 89, l. 26) and *tafrig* (p. 96, l. 43).

Imperatives in ḤwA have initial vowels coloured by vowel harmony: *ugʿud*, *iktib* and *ašṛab*. In ḤwJ such colouring is absent from the *a*-type: *ugʿud*, *iktib*, but *išrab*.[98]

Some weak verbs
Primae wāw verbs in ḤwA have incorporated wāw in the preformative, often monophthongal *ō* in the *i*-type, as in *yōrid*, and diphthongal *aw* in the *a*-type, as in *yawṣal*. For some verbs another paradigm without incorporated wāw is also available, as in *yigíf* and *yiríd*.

In ḤwJ the preformative contains long *ā*, as in *yāgaf* and *yāṣal*. A shorter form *la tigaʿ* was also recorded in ḤwJ.[99] Barrāk gives a form *yāgafanni* (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*, *yansu*.[100] In Barrāk we find forms like in ḤwA: *yarḍaw* (p. 88, l. 10) and *yitnāsōh* (suffixed *-aw* or *-ow* > *-ō*) (p. 90, l. 9).

The imperfect vowel in the primae hamzah verbs is *i* in ḤwA, ḤwJ and Barrāk: *yākil* (p. 99, l. 25) and *yāxiḏ* (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): *yǧiy, tǧiy, nǧiy, tǧuw,*

---

[97] See Palva 1984–1986:299–301.
[98] Ibid.:300.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.:301

tğin, yğuw and *yğin*, but (1st p. com. sg.) *ağíy*. In ḤwJ the vowel has not been dropped and is stressed (leaving the ending unstressed): *yíği, tíği*, 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 *tağadda, ytağadda* 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 *tağadda, yat(ə)ğadda/yit(ə)ğadda* and *tasālam, yat(ə)sālam/ yit(ə)sālam*.[101] In Barrāk we find forms like *iytarağğāh* (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, yístiwiy* in ḤwA, but *ánfataḥ, yánfatiḥ* and *ástawa, yástawi* in ḤwJ.[102] In Barrāk we find forms like *iḏa nkasar* (perhaps stressed *iḏ-ánkasar*) (p. 88, l. 15), but also *infağar* (p. 91, l. 22), *ingalab* (p. 95, l. 27) *yiḥtaṣilhā* (with *a* in the stem, but not in the preformative) (p. 89, l. 21), *yimtaṯilhā* (ibid.) (p. 89, l. 21), *yiḥtifinni*[103] (p. 94, l. 11).

Nominal morphology

The degree of raising of the fem. morpheme differs slightly: in ḤwA up to [ɪʰ] in neutral surroundings, but in ḤwJ mostly [ɛ].[104] In Barrāk we see many examples where final -*ih* is transcribed, e.g. the poem on pp. 98–100.

Tanwīn

Tanwīn is not a feature of ḤwA or ḤwJ, but in Barrāk's poems quite a number of instances of are found. The use of tanwīn (i.e. appending final -*in*) is however restricted to poetry and sayings and the like and is not current in every day speech.

---

[101] See Palva 1984–1986:302–303.
[102] Ibid.:303.
[103] The final syllable is a poetic device; the poem rhymes in -*ni*.
[104] See Palva 1984–1986:303.

Particles
Some differences between adverbs in ḤwA and ḤwJ[105] are:

ḤwA	ḤwJ	
hniy(yih)	*hān*	"here"
hnuh	*hinā̆k*	"there"
kiḏíy(yih)	*hēk*	"thus, this way"
lēh	*lēš*	"why?"
mata	*matān/mitān, wagtēh*	"when?"
kam	*kam/kuṯrayh*	"how many?"
gaddēh	*gaddēš*	"how much?"
dāyman	*daym*	"always"
ʿa(la) ṭūl	*duġri*	"straight"

Some differences in conjunctions
yōm is current for "when" in ḤwA and ḤwJ, but *nhāṛ* 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)*ila* was not recorded in ḤwA for "if" (but instances in Barrāk are, e.g., on p. 103, ll. 22 and 28), nor was suffixed *kann-* or *kānn-*. In Barrāk an instance of suffixed *kann* is *kannak tiḏakkar* "if you remember" (p. 102, l. 15).[106]

For "until" *lamma* is current in both ḤwA and ḤwJ, but *lamman* and *yāma* were not recorded for "when" in ḤwA.

lākin and *māṛ* are used for "but, but then" in ḤwJ, but only *bass* was heard in ḤwA for "but".

Some differences in (suffixed) prepositions
Prepositions *maʿ* "with" and *l* "to" suffixed with the 1st p. sg. com. pronominal are *maʿáy* and *lay* in ḤwA. In ḤwJ forms are *maʿi* and *li*.

The shorter form *ʿa* for *ʿala* "on" may in ḤwA also be used in positions not directly followed by the article, e.g. *ʿa ğāl* "aside" and *ʿa ḏahár álğimal* "on the back of the camel". In ḤwJ *ʿa* is only used when the article directly follows.[107]

miṯl for "as, like" is used in ḤwJ, but in ḤwA *zayy* is current. *miṯl* also appears in Barrāk (p. 86, l. 11).

---

[105] Ibid.:304–305.

[106] A footnote explains *tiḏakkar* < *titḏakkar*, but reduction of the initial geminate *tt* as in *ʾttiḏakkar* is very well possible, see remark in fn 80, p. 176.

[107] See Palva 1984–1986:306.

Differences between some irregular high-frequency nouns

Similarities in ḤwA and ḤwJ are for "father" (ʾ)aḅḅ and (ʾ)aḅū- in construct state; for "mother" (ʾ)aṃṃ; for "brother" (ʾ)axx and (ʾ)axū- in construct state. A difference is (ʾ)uxt in ḤwA, but (ʾ)axt in ḤwJ.

In ḤwA the pl. for "hand" ((ʾ)īd) is (ʾ)īdān, in ḤwJ it is (ʾ)adēn. "Hands" suffixed in ḤwA is īdān- (e.g. īdānī "my hands"), but in ḤwJ it is (ʾ)adē- (e.g. (ʾ)adēk "your hands").

A similarity is (ʾ)afám for "mouth", e.g. (ʾ)afamī "my mouth" and (ʾ)afá-mak "your mouth".

A difference is "water": (ʾ)álma (with incorporated article!) in ḤwJ, but *miy* in ḤwA.

The analytical genitive

The analytical genitive is not frequent in ḤwJ. In ḤwA the analytical genitive with *šuġḷ* 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 ~ mihi*[108] and in Barrāk we find *ma hu* (p. 98, l. 3) and *ma hi* (p. 89, l. 22).

The comparison above shows that between these different branches of the same tribe (or tribal confederation) there are already many differences. The differences found—if there ever was a common starting point—must have arisen not only as a result of dialect contact with other tribes (or they are perhaps 'internally motivated'), but the development of differences may also have been facilitated by the very lack of contact between the different branches due to their geographical separation over a longer period of time[109] (the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai are estimated to have arrived there in the 17th century at the latest, see Introduction, I. c.); as the crow flies the distance between the dīrahs of the Ḥwēṭat of Sinai and southern Jordan is approximately 200 km. Apart from that, regular contact between the two branches must have been severely hampered by the presence of new borders that came with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Of the two varieties ḤwA is clearly of the group I type found in Sinai and the Negev (see also MDS plots and dendrogram in the appendix), while ḤwJ shows characteristics that are best attributed to contact with dialects which are more of the Naǧdiy-type (see also remarks made in Palva 2008b:406).

---

[108] Ibid. 307.
[109] Due to the lack of contact, changes that appear in one variety cannot (any longer) be 'corrected' by speakers in another location of originally the same dialect.

VI. Final Conclusions

a. *The Position of Sinai Dialects in Northwest Arabian Arabic*
(*the NWA-group*)

The larger typological dialect group of Northwest Arabian dialects of Arabic (as was proposed in Palva 1991) was shown in De Jong 2000 to be present in northern Sinai (groups I, II and III), along the Mediterranean coast.

When we now check features of groups VI, VII and VIII against features 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[110]):[111]

  i Absence of *tanwīn* and its residues: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 4.1.).
 ii Absence of affricated variants of /g/ (*q) and /k/ (*k): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).
iii Absence of final /n/ in the imperfect, 2nd p. sg. fem., 2nd p. pl. masc. and 3rd p. pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).
 iv Pronominal suffix *-ku* (*-ḳuw* in my own transcription) in the 2nd p. pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (~ *-ḳum* in VII and VIII) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
  v Use of locative preposition *fī*: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.16.).
 vi Interrogative *kēf*: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.14.).
vii Voiced reflex of *qāf*: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).
viii The *gahawah*-syndrome and the CVCaCV- > CCVCV- syllable structure:[112] groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 2.2.1.1., 2.1.1.2.1.6. in De Jong 2000 and 2.1.1.2.2. in the vol. in hand).

---

[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 established 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 <u>not</u> a feature of NWA

ix Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. in personal pronouns, pronominal suffixes and finite verb forms: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.1., 3.1.12.2., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.).

x The definite article (ʾ)*al-* and the relative pronoun (ʾ)*alli*/*halli*: groups VI, VII and VIII conform only in part: *al-* ~ *il-* and *alliy* ~ *illiy* (cf. 3.1.9.1.).

xi A number of typical Bedouin lexical items (*gōṭar, sōlaf, ṭabb* etc.): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf., e.g., 3.2.3.9.).

xii Occurrence of stressed variants *-ī* and *-nī* of the pronominal suffix in 1st p. sg. com.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.)

xiii Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in verbal forms VII–X in the perfect, and the stability of this vowel, shown by stress on the initial syllable when in stressable position: group VI conforms, groups VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.2.3.1., 3.2.3.3., 3.2.3.4.).

xiv Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (ʾ*amm*, ʾ*axt*, ʾ*axwān*, ʾ*adēn*, ʾ*afám*): MzA of group VI and ĞbA of group VII conform in part. Other dialects do not conform (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

xv The invariable pronominal suffix *-ki* of the 2nd p. sg. fem.: groups VI, VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

On characteristics listed in Palva 1991, which are not shared by all NWA dialects, the following remarks are to be added:

xvi The use of *b*-imperfect: present in groups VI, VII and VIII (cf. 4.3.).

xvii Vowel harmony in the active imperfect of verbal form I: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

xviii Well-established monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ vs. partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs, and /ō/ ~ /ū/, /ē/ ~ /ī/ fluctuation: in group VI older diphthongs remain in certain environments, in groups VII and VIII monophthongization is not phonetically conditioned (cf. 1.2.4.).

xix The phonetically conditioned sg. fem. status absolotus marker allomorphs /-a/ and /-i/ in Sinai and the Negev, vs. a less strong ʾ*imāla* in the front allomorph in the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and Baniy ʿAṭīye

---

dialects, whereas sequences of the type CICV(C) (where I = *i* or *u*) have as a rule been resyllabified in NWA dialects, e.g. *ʿinab* > ʿ*nab* "grapes", *turāb* > *ṭrāb* "dust".

(/-a/ and /-e/): group VI has [ıʰ] in neutral enivironments, groups VII and VIII tend to have slightly lower *ʾimālah*, between [eʰ] and [ıʰ] (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

xx The pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. sg. masc. C-*ih*, fem. -*hiy* in the Negev, masc. C-*ah*, fem. -*ha* in Sinai, the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭīye, masc. -*ah*/-*ih*, fem. -*ha* the Bdūl, masc. C-*o*, fem. -*ha* the Nʿēmāt; groups VI, VII and VIII have masc. -*uh* and fem. -*ha*/-*hi*(ʾ) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

xxi Occurrence of several different plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun: most dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII show doubling of the *l* (or *ḷ*) in the pl. com. demonstrative, e.g. (*hā*)*ḏill*(-*ih*), *ḏillēlih*[113] (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. *širib* (|šarib|) + -*it* > *širbit*, *šarbit* or *šarbat*, but *katab* + -*at* > *kátabat* or *katábat* ~ *kitábat* (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 Dawāġrah and that of the town of al-ʿArīš, 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. *hāḏōl*, *hāḏal* or *hōḏal*) as current for near deixis, but all have doubling in forms for forms used for far deixis (e.g. *hōḏallāk*(-*ah*) or *hāḏoḷḷāk*(-*ah*)).

An earlier hypothesis of the presence of a transitional area in Jordan, where a number of dialect characteristics reported for the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭiyye (see Palva 1984–86) suggest influences from non-NWA dialects, was contradicted by Palva. The hypothesis was for the presence of a transition area between NWA and a more 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 ʿAṭiyye 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 ʿAṭiyye and Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan.[116]

In addition, it should be noted that the Ḥwēṭāt are much more a relatively recent amalgam of social entities of different 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.

---

[114] Palva 2008b:407 erroneously quotes the conclusion in De Jong 2000:630 as (quoting from Palva 2008b) "[that] the existence of such a group [i.e. NWA] is questionable and deserves reconsideration". The passage referred to in De Jong 2000 actually reads: "Palva's conclusion that Ḥwēṭiy is part of his proposed NWA group deserves [therefore] reconsideration". In other words: the position of the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭiyye as NWA-type of dialects deserved such reconsideration; the presence of an NWA-group is nowhere questioned in De Jong 2000, nor is it questioned here.

[115] Interestingly, aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:222 relates stories told by older tribesmen of the Bani ʿAṭiyye 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 Taymāʾ, after which they continued farther westward two centuries later (i.e. the beginning of the thirteenth century CE) to arrive near Tabūk (in present day Saudi Arabia, some 180 kilometres southeast of ʿAqabah). The 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 *11 in Introduction, I, d.

Another answer to one of our earlier research questions is that the vow-elless pronominal suffixes -*ᵘk̲* for the 2nd p. sg. masc. and -*k̲* for the sg. fem. are indeed a characteristic feature of the dialects spoken in the south of Sinai; these pron. suffixes are in regular use in groups VI, VII and VIII. The remark of the older speaker of the Samāʿnah in the north, that his tribe had until the turn of the century (i.e. around 1900 CE) had their home in the region of aṭ-Ṭūr, may very well be true. If we combine the presence of the -*ᵘk̲* suffix in his speech (SaA) with the presence of the pronominal suffix -*k̲um* (~ -*k̲uw*),[118] and also the verbal suffixes ending in -*m* of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. in the perfect and imperfect,[119] and see that the com-bination 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 Samāʿnah (and perhaps also the ʿAgāylah) must have had their earlier abode in the region north of the lower end (not too far from the Gulf of Suez) of Wādiy Fēṛān (i.e. the area around Wādiy Ġarandal and Wādiy Liḥyān). Unfortunately, I could not find other indications that would sup-port this conclusion.

Apart from the necessity of more research into the hypothesized border area between the NWA- and Naǧdiy-groups of dialects, a remaining desid-eratum is a systematic survey of the dialects of the Ḥiǧāz 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 Suda-nese type of Arabic dialects,[120] like that of the Šukriyyah[121]). Research into the dialect of the Maʿāzah is needed to establish whether it is indeed the southwestern extremity of the NWA group on the Egyptian mainland.[122]

---

[118] See De Jong 2000:283–288.
[119] See De Jong 2000:298–299.
[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 tran-scription used there for Arabic is less suitable for linguistic interpretation of the features of their dialect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abul Fadl, Fahmi. 1961. *Volkstümliche Texte in arabischen Bauerndialekten der ägyptischen Provinz Šarqiyya mit dialektgeographischen Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre.* Munich: thesis.

Aitchison, Jean. 1987. *An Introduction to the Mental Lexicon.* Cambridge/Mass.: Basil Blackwell.

Aṭ-Ṭayyib, Muḥammad Sulaymān. 1993 (1st edition). *mawsūʿat al-qabāʾil al-ʿarabīya, buḥūṯ maydānīya wa-tārīxīya.* Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī.

——. 1997 (2nd edition). *mawsūʿat al-qabāʾil al-ʿarabīya, buḥūṯ maydānīya wa-tārīxīya.* Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī.

Bailey, Clinton. 1984, "Bedouin Place-Names in Sinai". Palestine Exploration Quarterly 116:42–57.

——. 1985, "Dating the Arrival of the Bedouin Tribes in Sinai and the Negev". Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. 28:20–49.

——. 1991, *Bedouin Poetry from Sinai and the Negev, Mirror of a Culture.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

——. 2004. *A Culture of Desert Survival, Bedouin Proverbs from Sinai and the Negev.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

——. 2009. *Bedouin Law from Sinai and the Negev, Justice without Government.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 1985. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*, Band 1: *Einleitung und Anmerkungen zu den Karten.* Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

——. 1994. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*, Band 4: *Glossar Arabisch-Deutsch.* Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

——. 2005. *Arabische Dialektgeographie, eine Einführung.* Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Bergsträßer, Gotthelf. 1915. *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina.* Leipzig.

Bernabela, Roy. 2009. BA-thesis on the dialect of the Ġbāliyyah (unpublished), University of Leiden.

Blanc, Haim. 1970. "The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins". Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings, Vol. 4:112–150 (reprinted in Stewart 1990).

Brockelmann, Carl. 1966. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* I. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Cantineau, Jean. 1936. *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient.* Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales Alger 1:119–237. Algeria.

——. 1946. *Les Parlers arabes du Ḥōrān: Notions générales, grammaires.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Diem, Werner. 1978. "Divergenz und Konvergenz im Arabischen". Arabica 25:128–147.

EALL. 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009 (four volumes + index vol.) *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.* Kees Versteegh (gen. ed.), Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, Andrzej Zaborski (ass. eds). Leiden – Boston: Brill.

EEAA. 2003. "South Sinai Demographics and Population Projections (working paper)", *South Sinai Environmental Action Plan.* http://st-katherine.net/downloads/Demographics%20&%20Population.pdf (accessed 10-18-2010).

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 1959. *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte.* The Hague: Mouton & Co.

——. 1967. "Silbenstruktur und Vokalismus im Arabischen". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 117:30–77

Greenwood, Ned. 1997. *The Sinai: a Physical Geography.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Grotzfeld, Heinz. 1964. Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH.

——. 1969. "Zur Geschichte des Wortakzents in den arabischen Dialekten", *Festgabe für Hans Wehr, zum 60. Geburtstag am 5. Juli 1969 überreicht von seinen Schülern*. Wolfdietrich Fischer (ed.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz:153–164.

Hava, J.G. 1982. *Al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*. Beirut: Dār al-Mašriq.

Henkin, Roni. 2008. "Negev Arabic", *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Vol. III). Kees Versteegh (gen. ed.), Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, Andrzej Zaborski (ass. eds). Leiden – Boston: Brill:360–369.

Hinds, Martin and Said Badawi. 1986. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.

Hobbs, Joseph J. 1989. *Bedouin Life in the Egyptian Wilderness*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

——. 1995. *Mount Sinai*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Holes, Clive and Said Salman Abu Athera. 2009. *Poetry and Politics in Comtemporary Bedouin Society.* Reading: Ithaca Press.

Hopkins, Simon. 1990. "The word ġayr", in: Stewart 1990:297–300.

Ingham, Bruce. 1986. "Notes on the Dialect of the Āl Murra of Eastern and Southern Arabia". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XLIX:271–291.

Jong, Rudolf E. de. 2000. *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral, Bridging the Linguistic Gap between the Eastern and Western Arab World*. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill.

——. 2002. "Notes on the Dialect of the ʿAbābda". *Sprich doch mit deinem Knechten Aramäisch, wir verstehen es, Festschrift für Otto Jastrow*, W. Arnold and H. Bobzin (eds.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz:337–359.

Maiberger, Paul. 1984. *Topographische und historische Untersuchungen zum Sinaiproblem. Worauf beruht die Identifizierung des Ǧabal Mūsā mit dem Sinai?* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 54. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Murray, George W. 1935. *Sons of Ishmael. A Study of the Egyptian Bedouin*. London: Routledge.

Nishio, Tetsuo. 1992. *A Basic Vocabulary of the Bedouin Arabic Dialect of the Jbāli Tribe*. Studia Sinaitica I. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Oppenheim, Max Freiherr von. 1943. *Die Beduinen, Band II, Die Beduinenstämme in Palästina, Transjordanien, Sinai, Ḥedjāz*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

Palva, Heikki. 1984–1986. "Characteristics of the Arabic Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt Tribe". Orientalia Suecana 33–35:295–312.

——. 1991. "Is there a North West Arabian Dialect Group?", in: M. Forstner (ed.) *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer, zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, Part 1. Frankfurt: Peter Lang:151–166.

——. 2004. "Remarks of the Arabic Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt Tribe". Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 29:195–209.

——. 2008a. "Sedentary and Bedouin Dialects in Contact: Remarks on Karaki and Salṭi (Jordan)". Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies 8:53–70.

——. 2008b. "Northwest Arabian Arabic", *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Vol. III). Kees Versteegh (gen. ed.), Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, Andrzej Zaborski (ass. eds). Leiden – Boston: Brill:400–408.

Prochazka, Theodor. 1988. *Saudi Arabian Dialects*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Reichmuth, Stefan. 1983. *Der arabische Dialeckt der Šukriyya im Ostsudan, Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Band 2. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.

Rosenhouse, Judith. 2006. "Bedouin Arabic", *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Vol. I). Kees Versteegh (gen. ed.), Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, Andrzej Zaborski (ass. eds). Leiden – Boston: Brill: 259–269.

Sarnowski, Andrea von. 2004. "Tourismusentwicklung im Südsinai", in: Meyer, G. (ed.): *Die arabische Welt im Spiegel der Kulturgeographie*. Mainz: 383–389.

Shawarbah, Musa. 2007. *The Bedouin Dialect of the Tiyāha in the Negev: Phonology, Morphology and Some Selected Syntactic Issues*. Unpublished PhD-thesis (in Hebrew, summary in English) Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. 1856. *Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History*. London: John Murray of Albemarle Street.

Stewart, Frank Henderson. 1987. "A Bedouin Narrative from Central Sinai". Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik 16:44–92.

——. 1990. *Texts in Sinai Bedouin Law*, Part 2. The Texts in Arabic. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

——. 1991. "Notes on the Arrival of the Bedouin Tribes in Sinai". Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient XXXIV, part I:97–110.

Šuqayr, Naʿūm. 1916. *tārīx Sīnā al-qadīm wa-l-ḥadīṯ wa-ǧuġrāfiyatuhā*. Beirut: Dār al-Ǧīl (reprint of 1916).

Wehr, Hans. 1980. A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, third printing (reprinted in Beirut, by special arrangement with Otto Harrassowitz). Beirut: Librairie du Liban.

Woidich, Manfred. 1997. "Egyptian Arabic and Dialect Mixing in Historical Perspective", Asma Afsaruddin and A.H. Mathias Zahniser (eds.), *Humanism, Culture and Language in the Near East, Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns:185–197.

——. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische, eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Woidich, Manfred and Peter Behnstedt. 1980. "Zum Sprachatlas von Ägypten". Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik 5:176–192.

INDEX

In terms of alphabetical order, indices in transcription are treated as if they were without diacritics. ʿayn precedes 'a', and *hamzah* precedes ʿayn. 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 <u>not</u> precede the numbering of the paragraphs referred to. Where reference is to only one of the descriptive chapters, the Roman numbering <u>does</u> 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.

APPENDIX

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

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

Object Points
Common Space
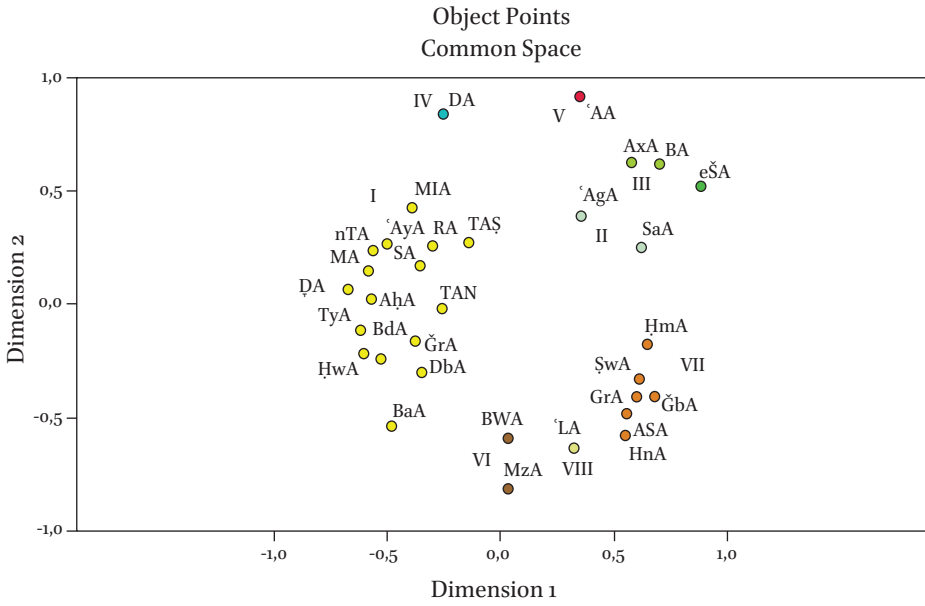
Figure 3. Proxscal—Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai

Object Points
Common Space
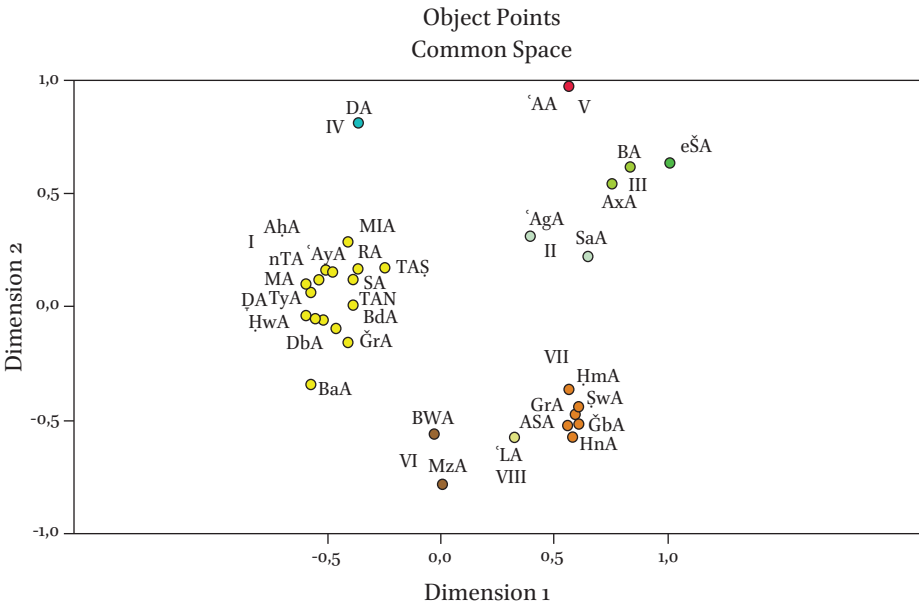
Figure 4. Proxscal—Squared Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai

Derived Stimulus Configuration
Euclidean distance model
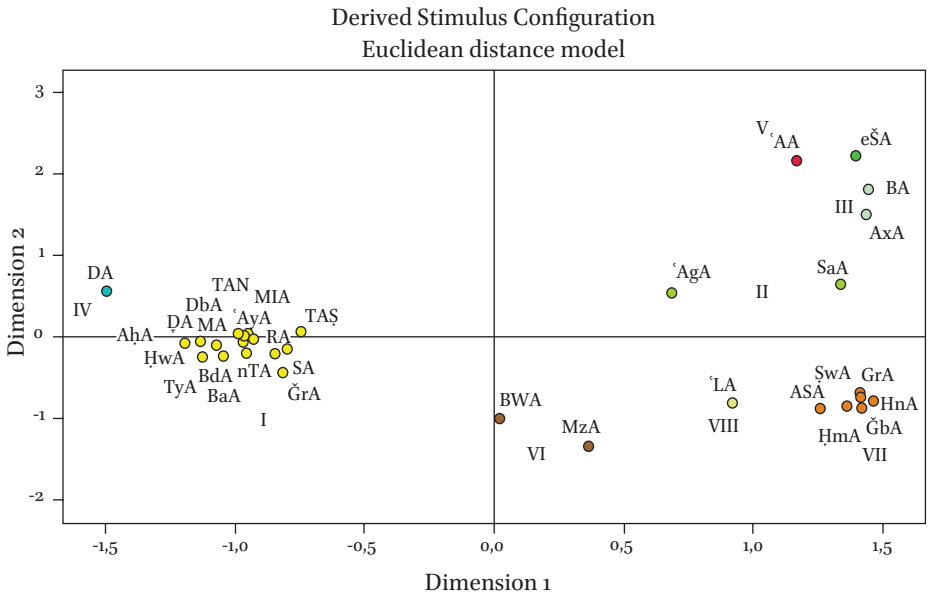
Figure 5. Alscal—Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai
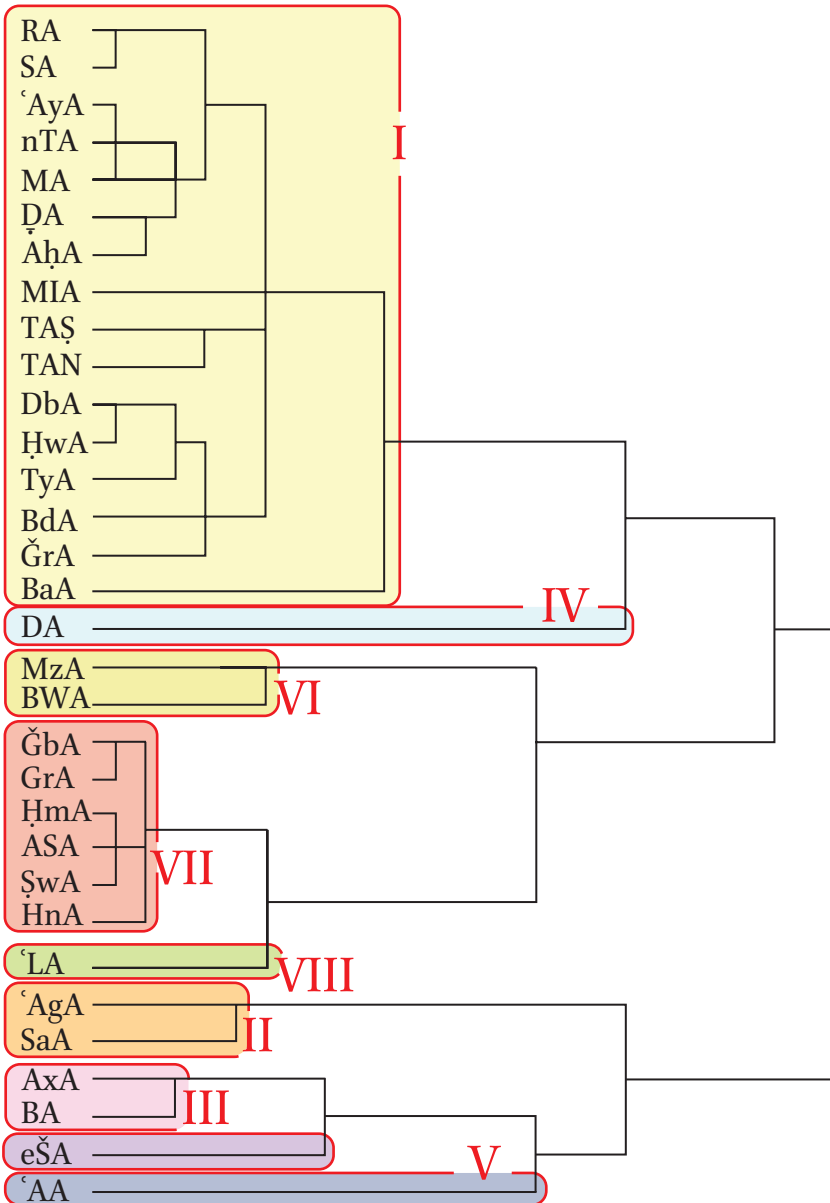
Figure 6. Dendrogram of dialects of Sinai

Proximity Matrix

Binary Euclidean Distance

Figure 7. Binary Euclidean distances in a proximity matrix
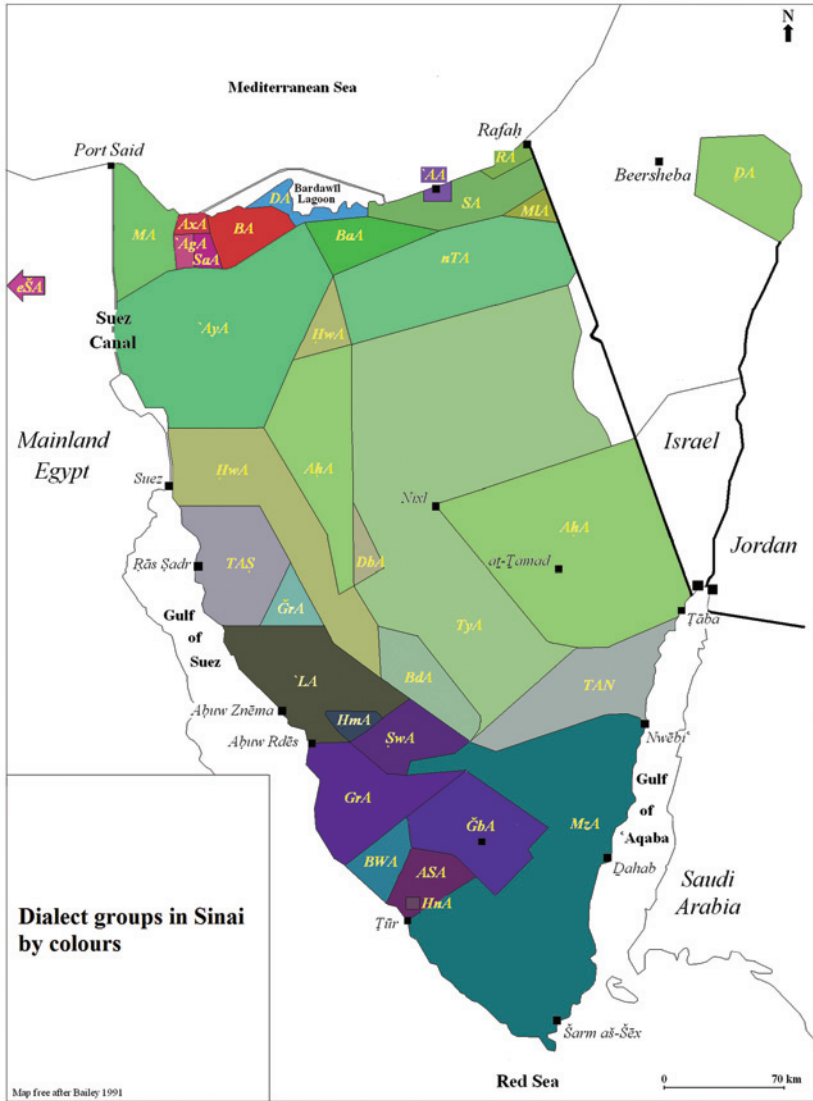
Figure 8a. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours
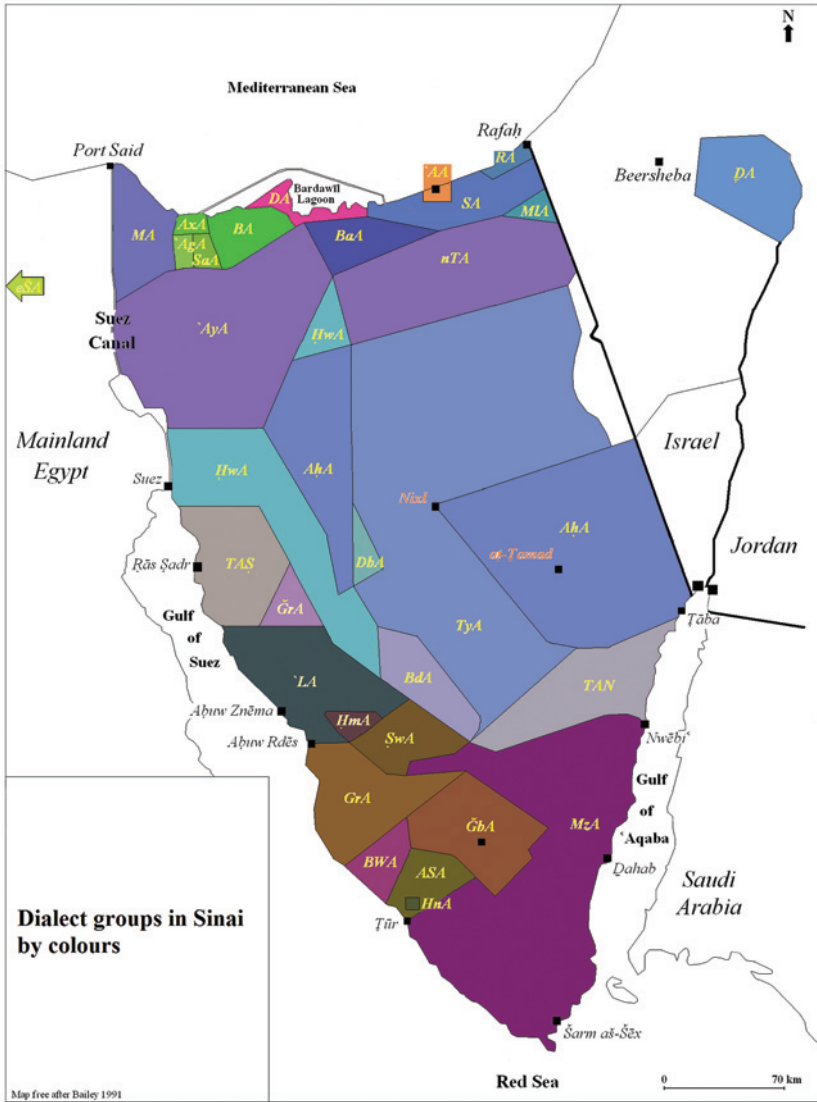
Figure 8b. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours
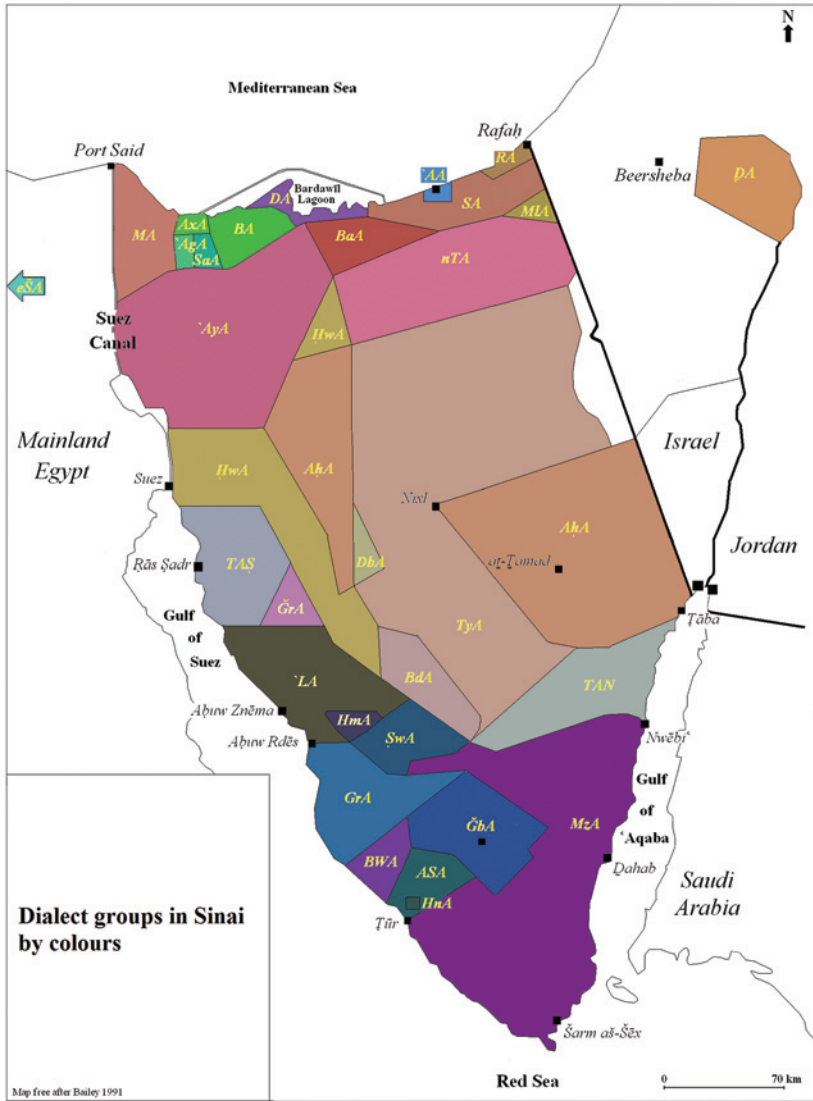
Figure 8c. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours

For MAP 0, see remarks in Conclusions, III. a. The identified isoglosses in central and southern Sinai.

Map 0. Isogloss bundles in central and southern Sinai

MAP 1

Mediterranean Sea

Port Said

Rafaḥ
RA
'AA
SA
Bardawīl Lagoon
DA
MA
AxA
AǧA
ṢaA
BA
BaA
nTA
MlA
Beersheba
ḌA

eŠA

Suez Canal

'AyA
ḤwA

Mainland Egypt

Israel

Suez

ḤwA
AḥA
Nixl

Jordan

Rās Ṣadr
TAṢ
DbA
at-Ṭamad
AḥA

Gulf of Suez

ǦrA
TyA
Ṭāba

'LA
BdA
TAN

Abuw Znēma
ḤmA
ŠwA
Nwēbi'

Abuw Rdēs
GrA
ǦbA
St. Catherine's
MzA
Gulf of 'Aqaba

Ḍahab

Saudi Arabia

BWA
ASA
Ṭūr
HnA

Šarm aš-Šēx

Red Sea

/k/ and /ḳ/ in inventory as separate phonemes:

/k/ and /ḳ/

only /k/

cf. 1.1.1., 3.1.12.2.   Map free after Bailey 1991

N

0   70 km

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

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 2 and 3 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
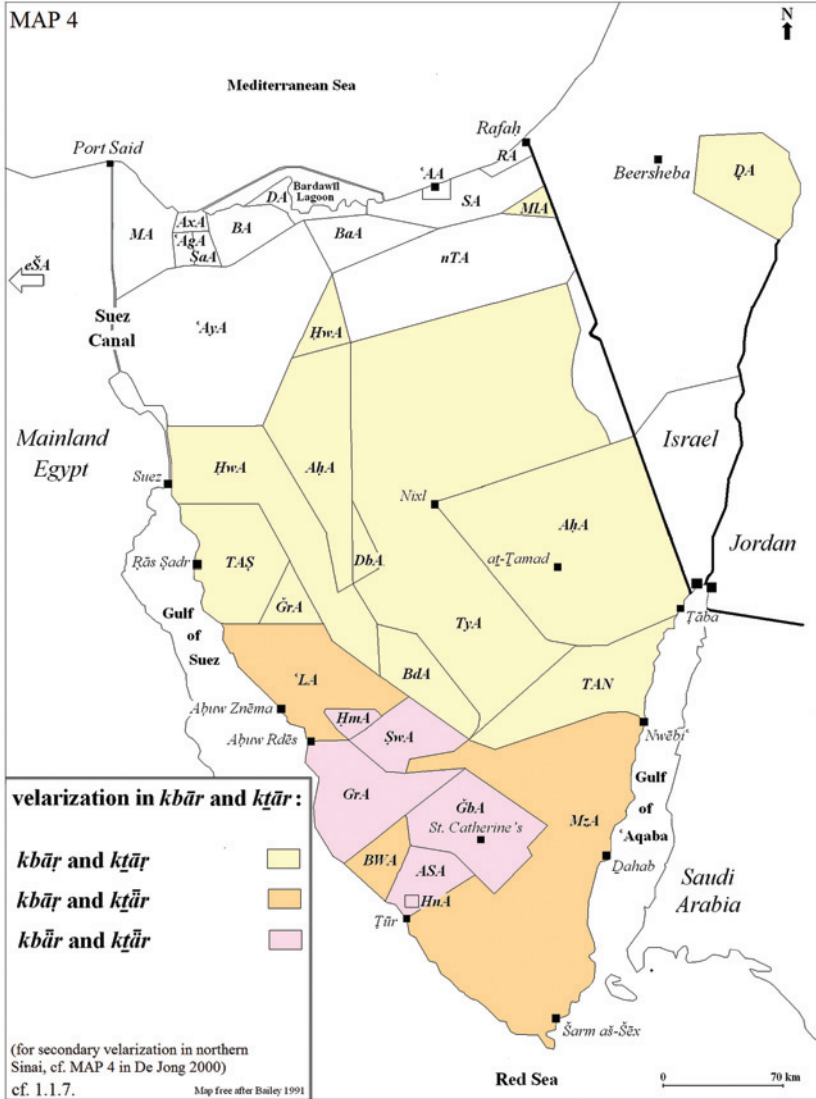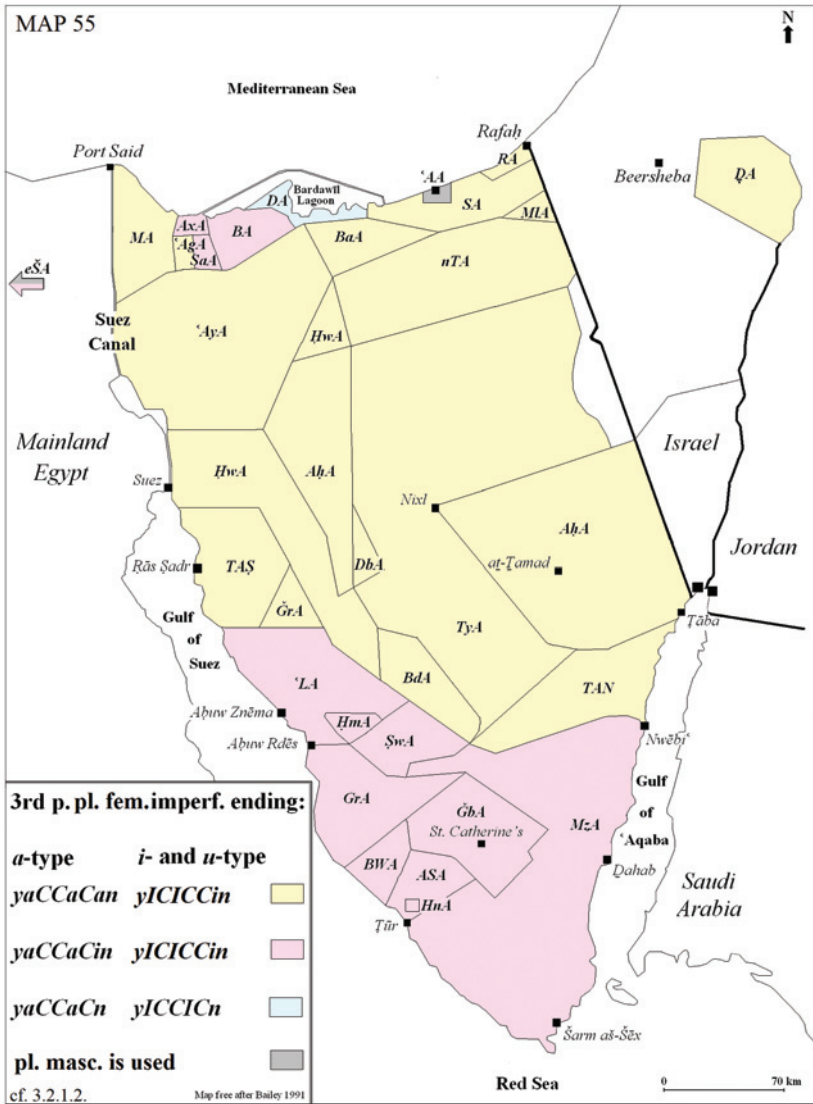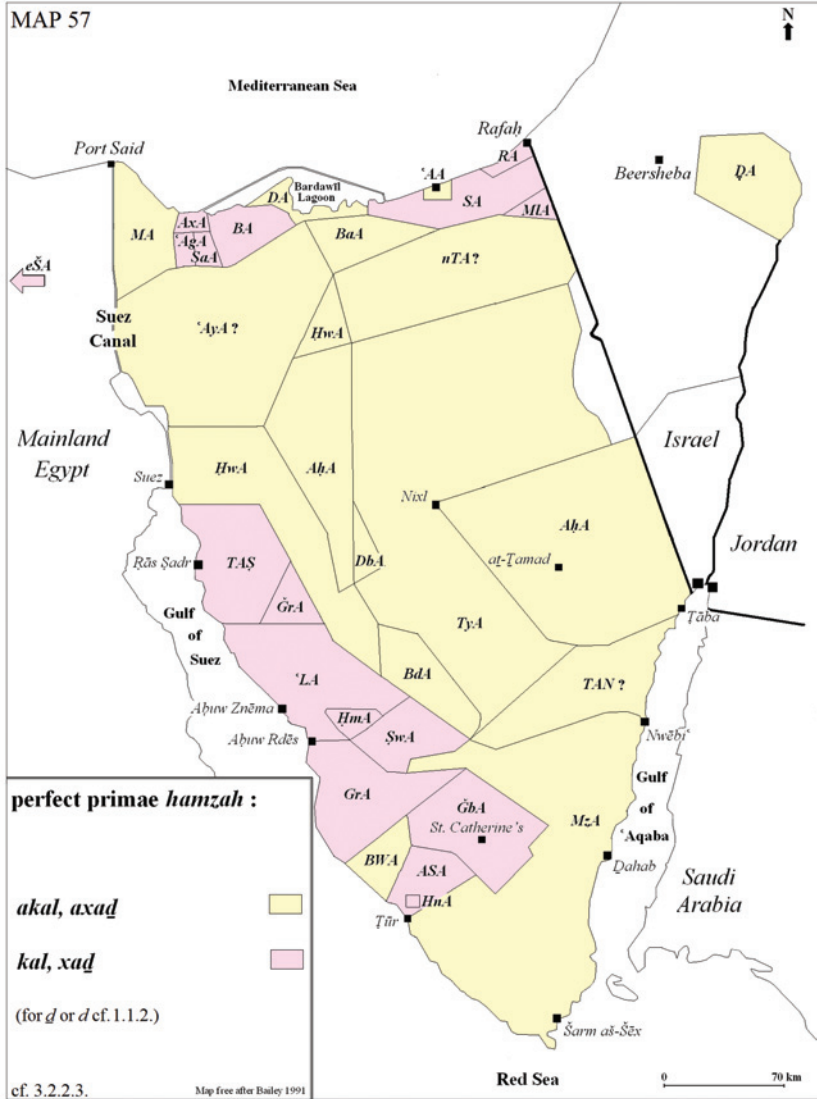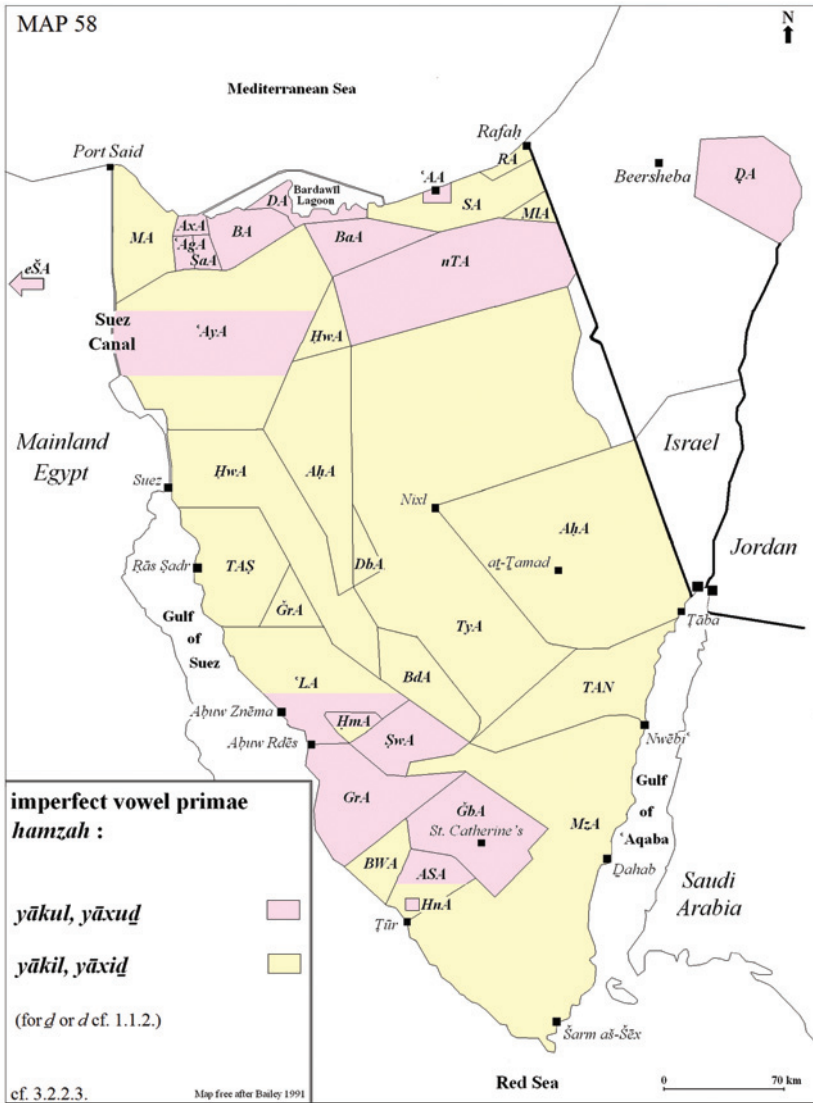
Map 4. Velarization in *kbār* and *ktār*
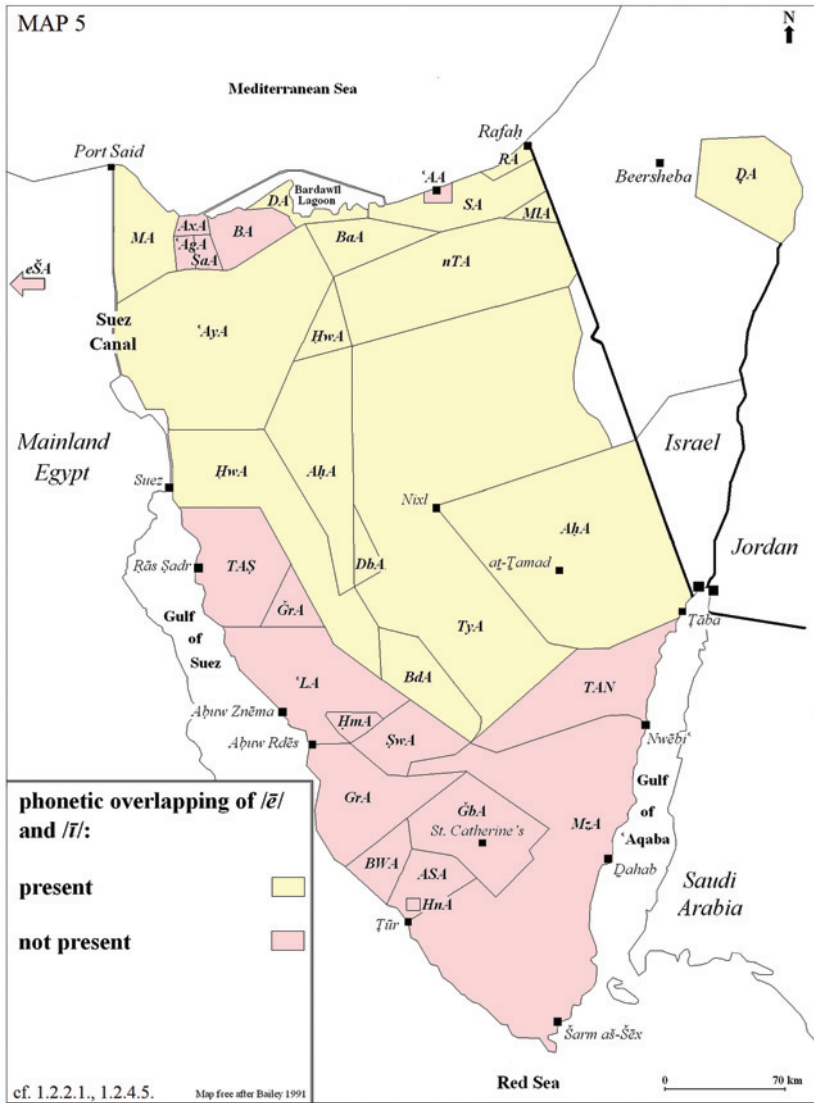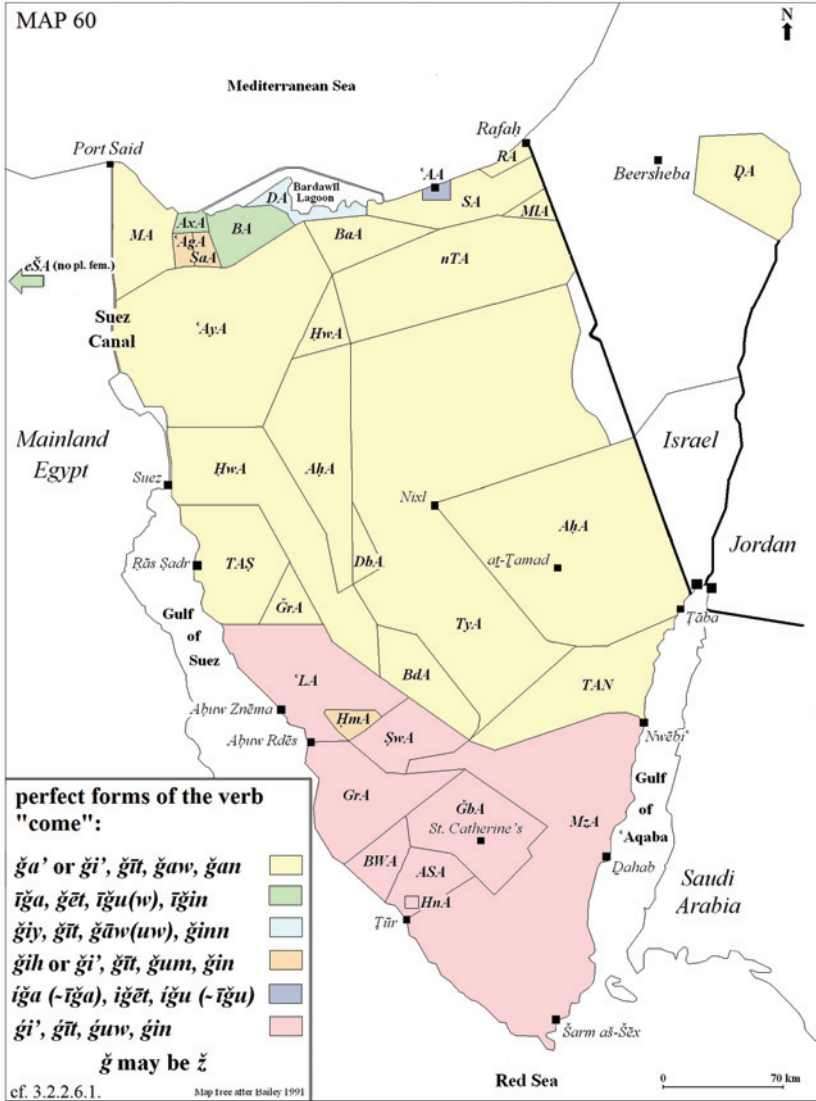
Map 5. Phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/

For remarks on the absence of MAP 6 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
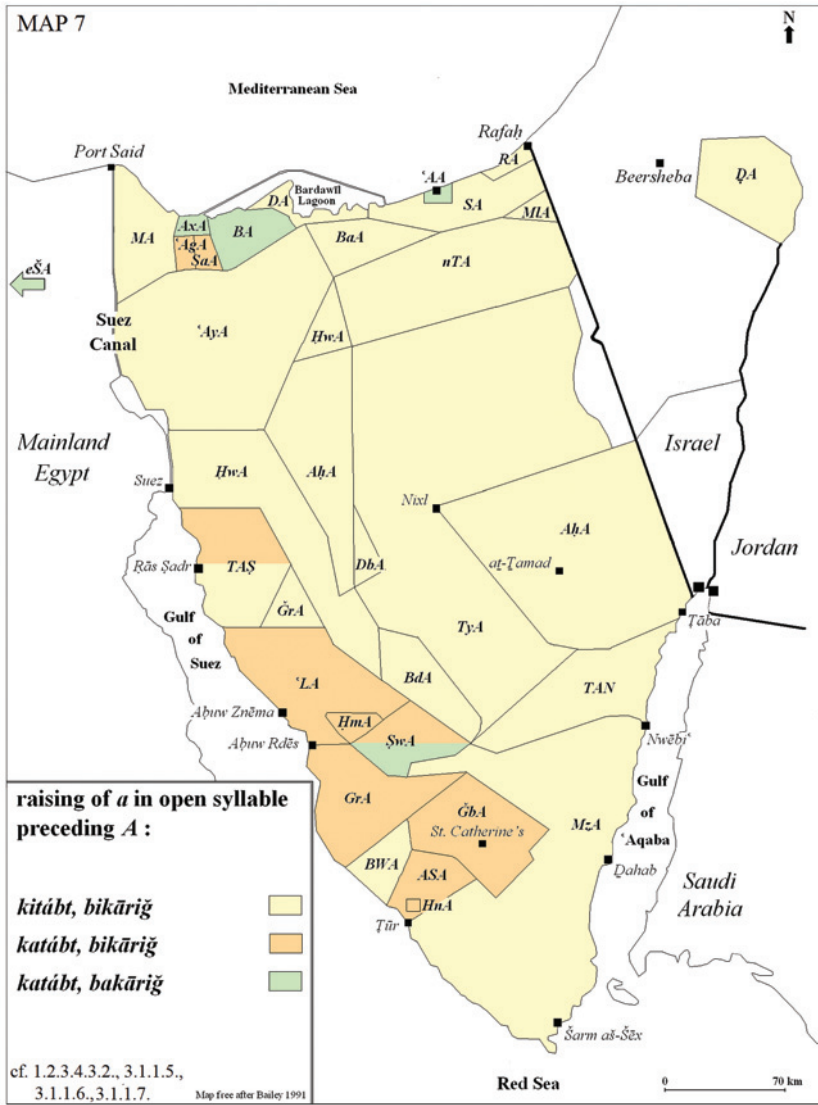
Map 7. Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding *A*
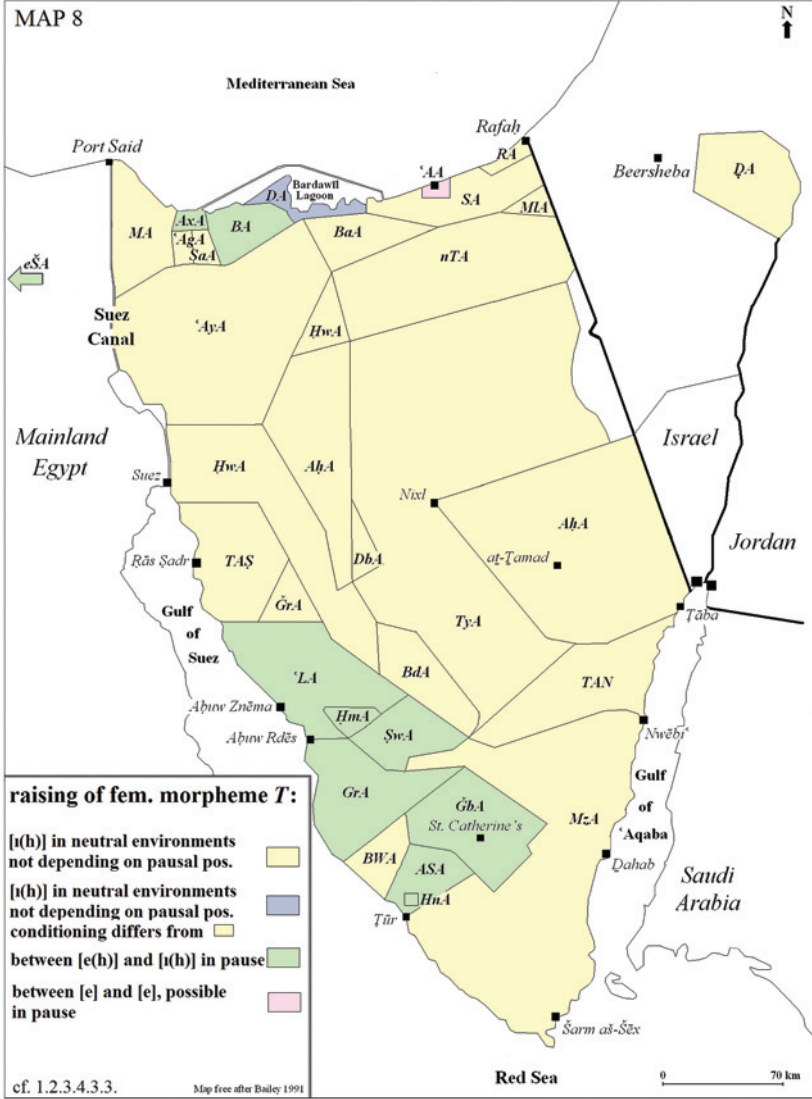
Map 8. Raising of fem. morpheme *T*
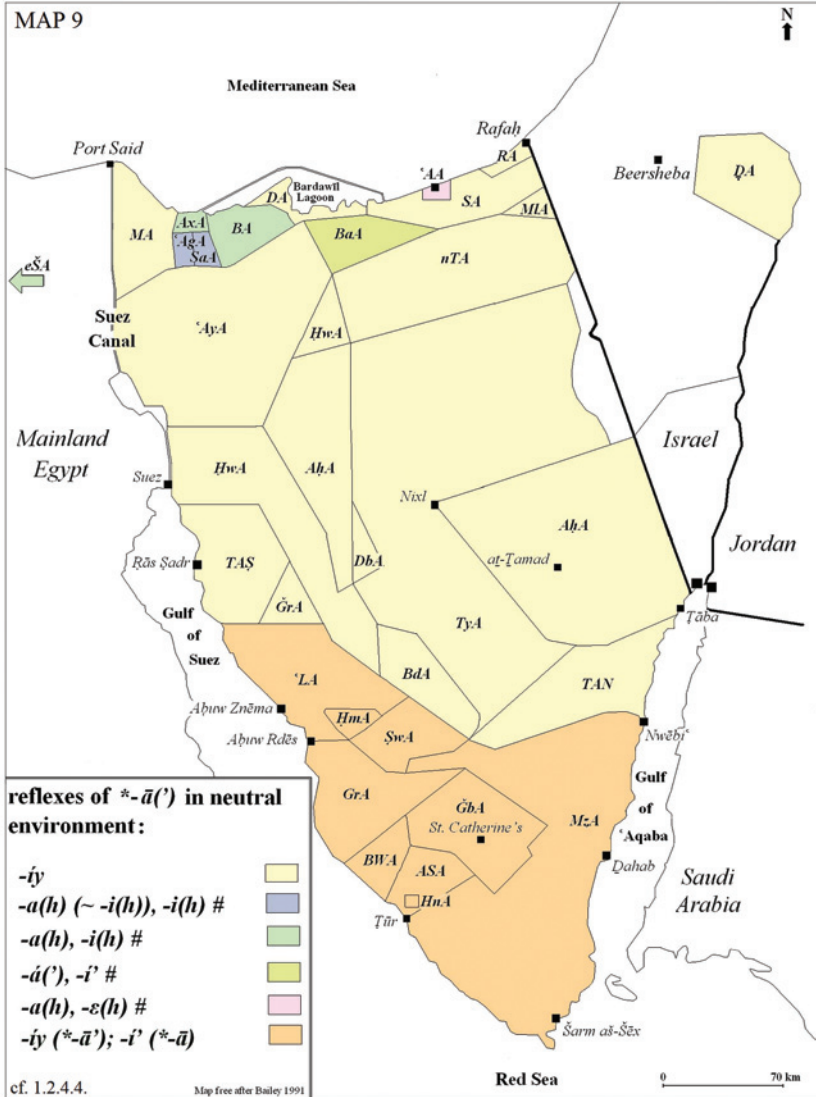
Map 9. Reflexes of -ā(ʾ) in neutral environment
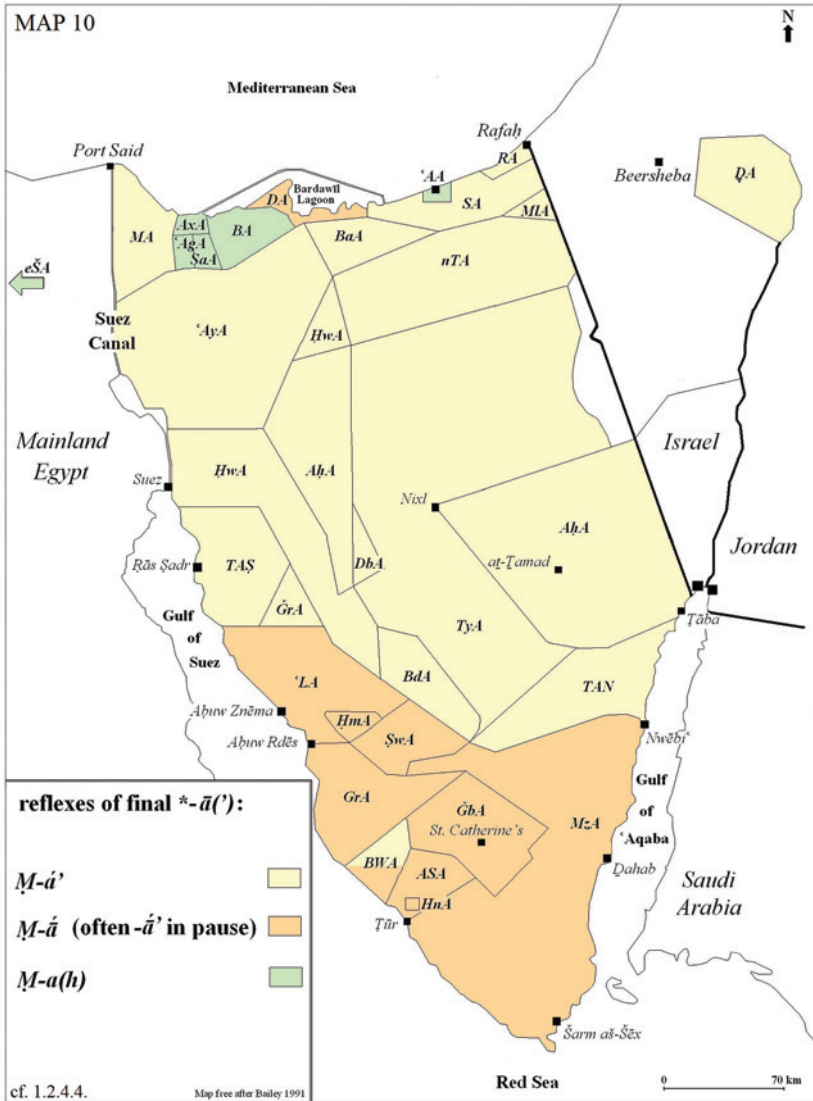
Map 10. Reflexes of final *-ā(')
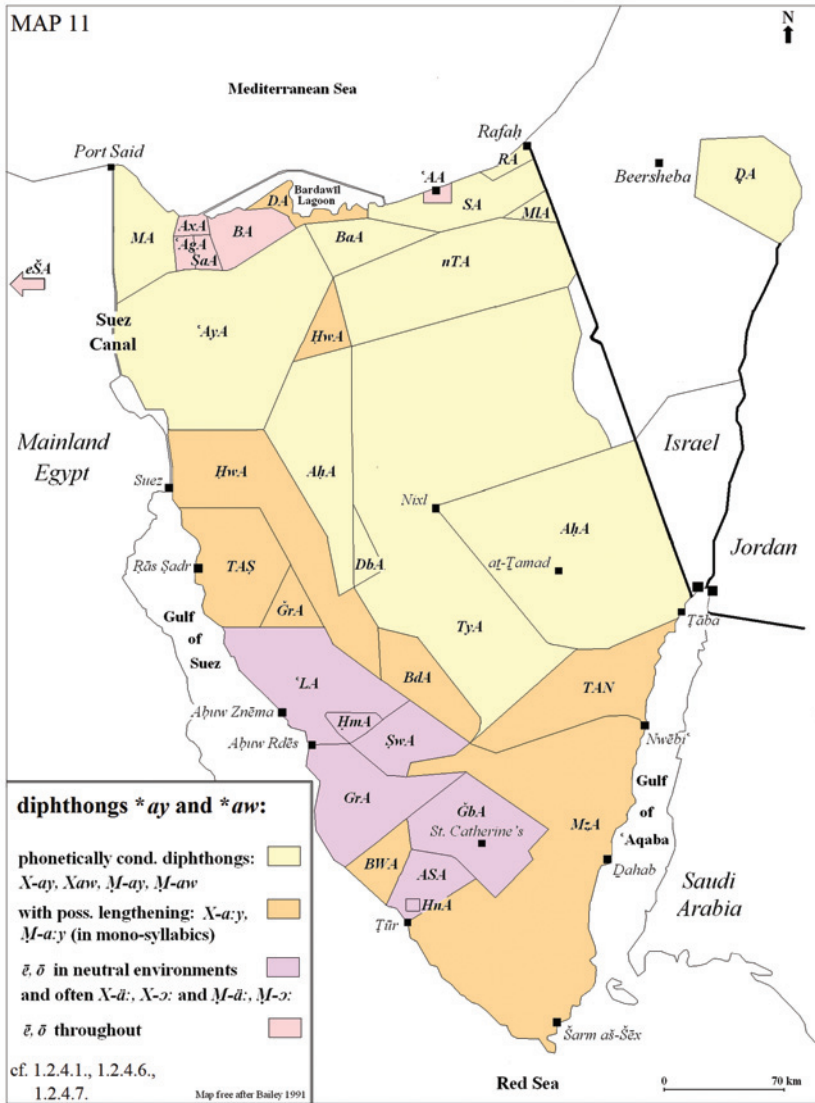
Map 11. Diphthongs *ay and *aw

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 12 and 13 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
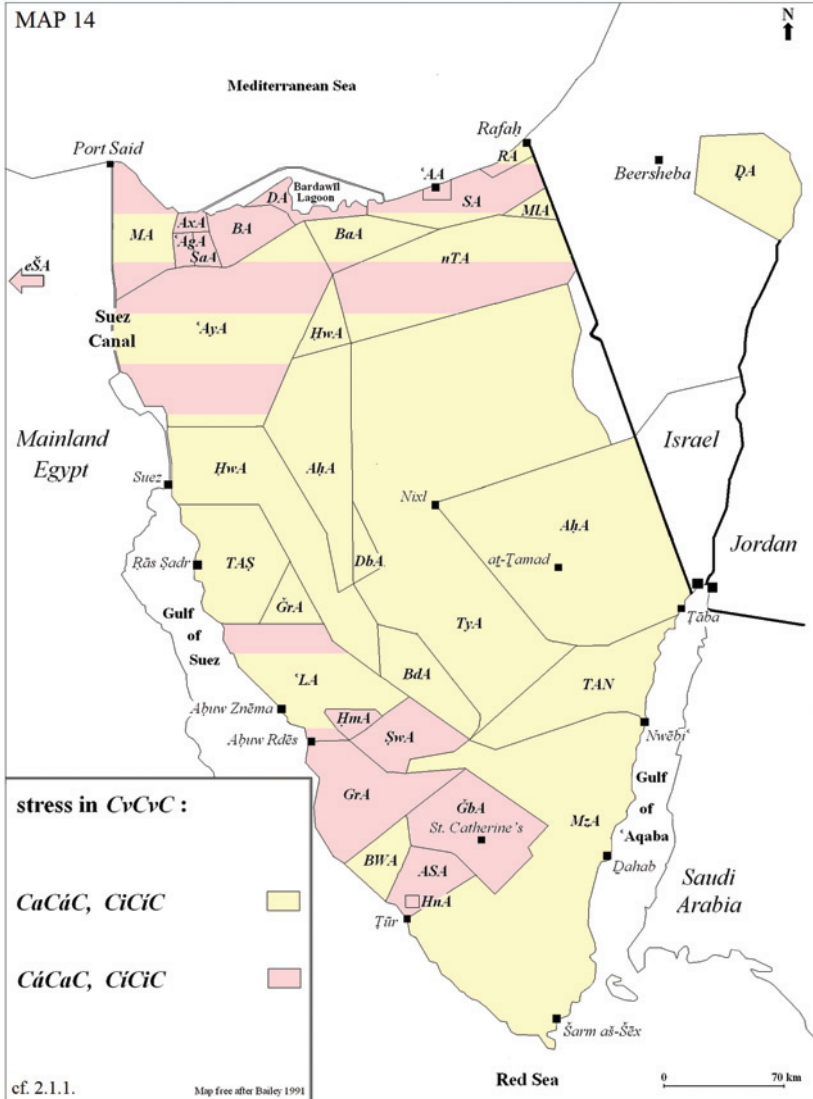
Map 14. Stress in *CvCvC*
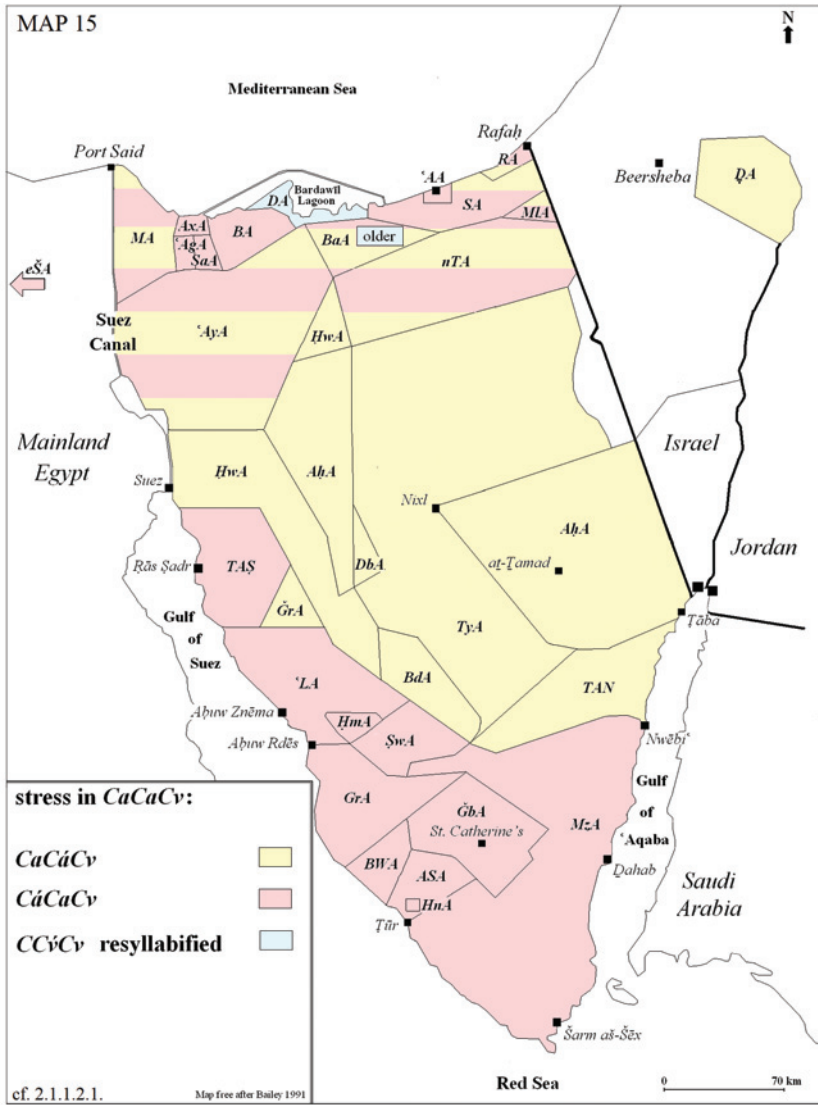
Map 15. Stress in *CaCaCv*

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 16 and 17 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
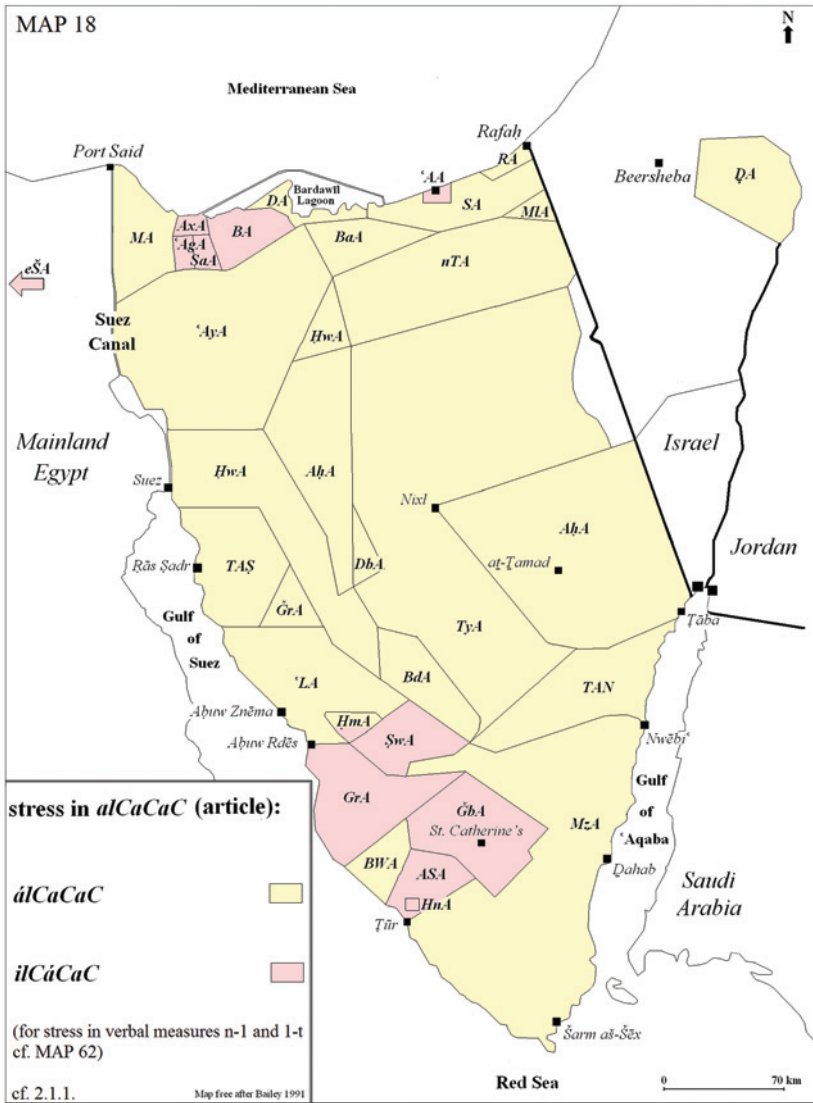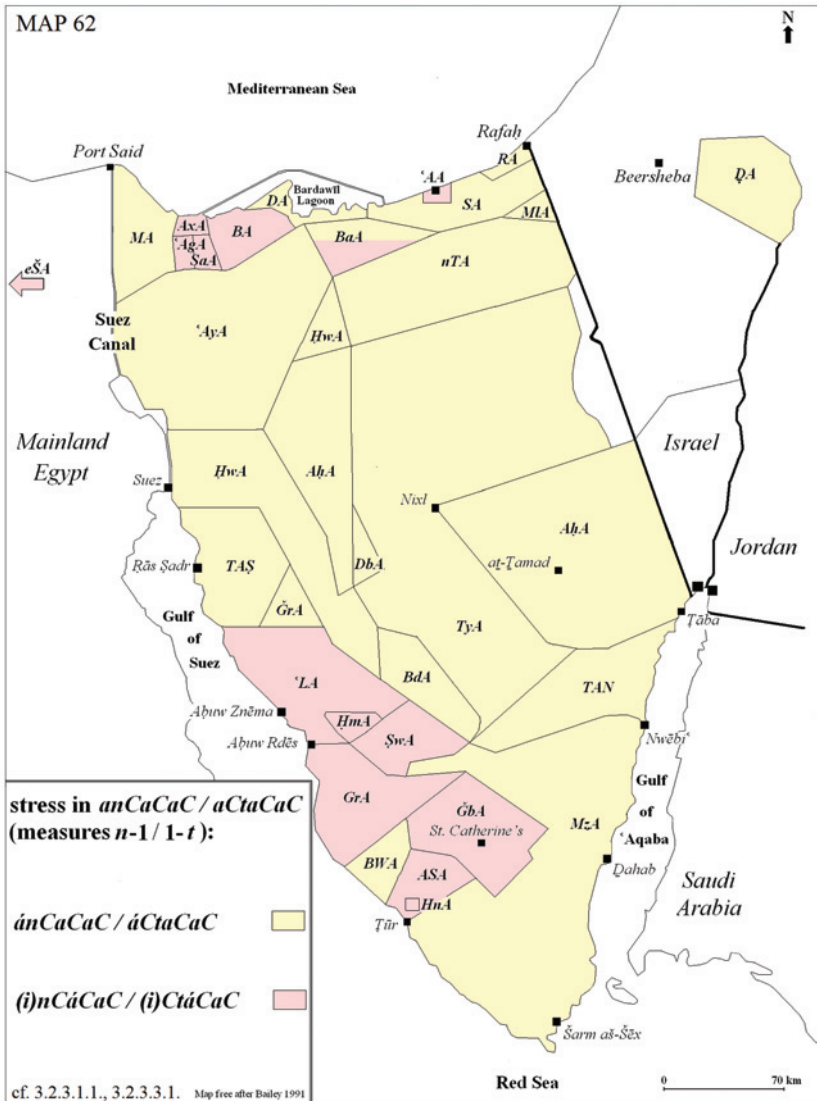
Map 18. Stress in *alCaCac*

For remarks on the absence of MAP 19 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
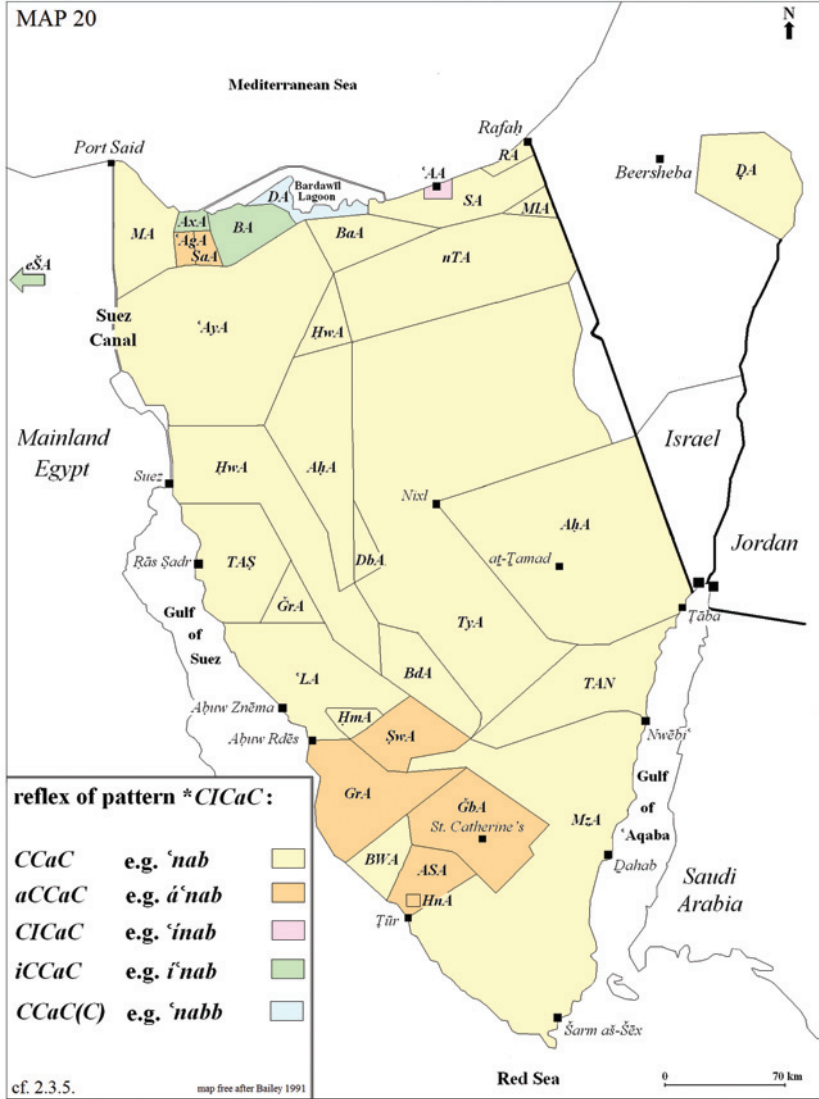
Map 20. Reflex of pattern *CICaC
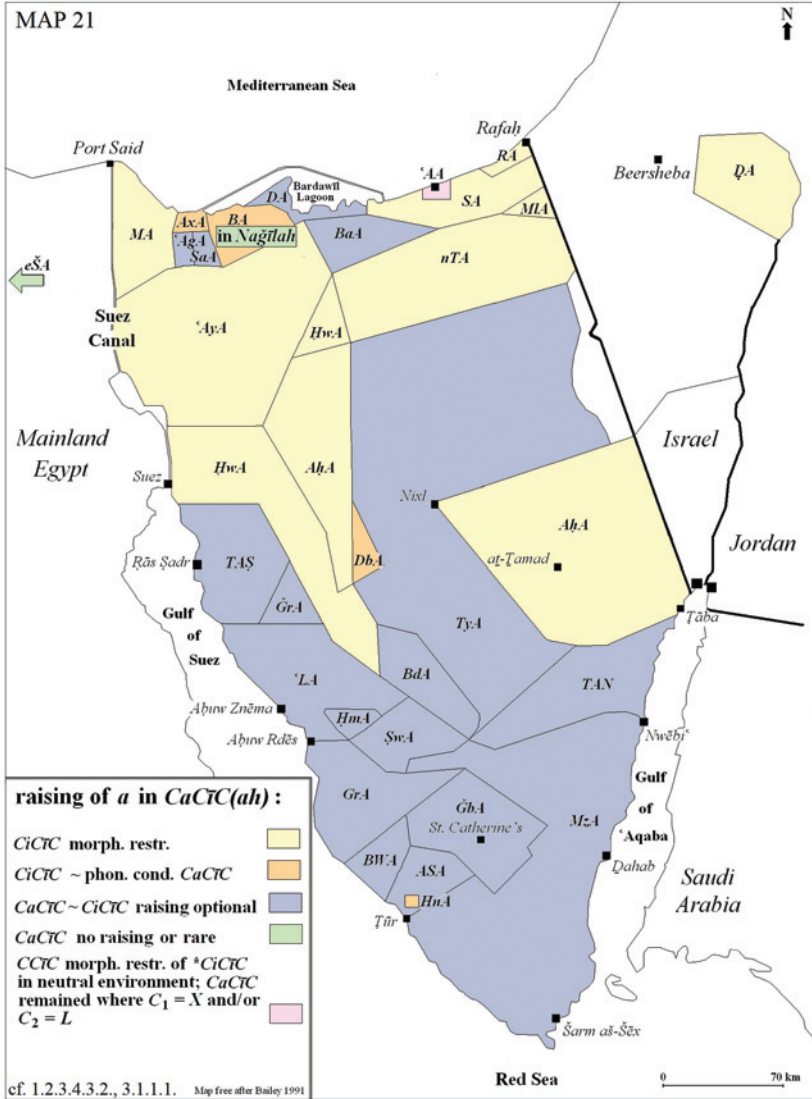
Map 21. Raising of *a* in *CaCīC(ah)*
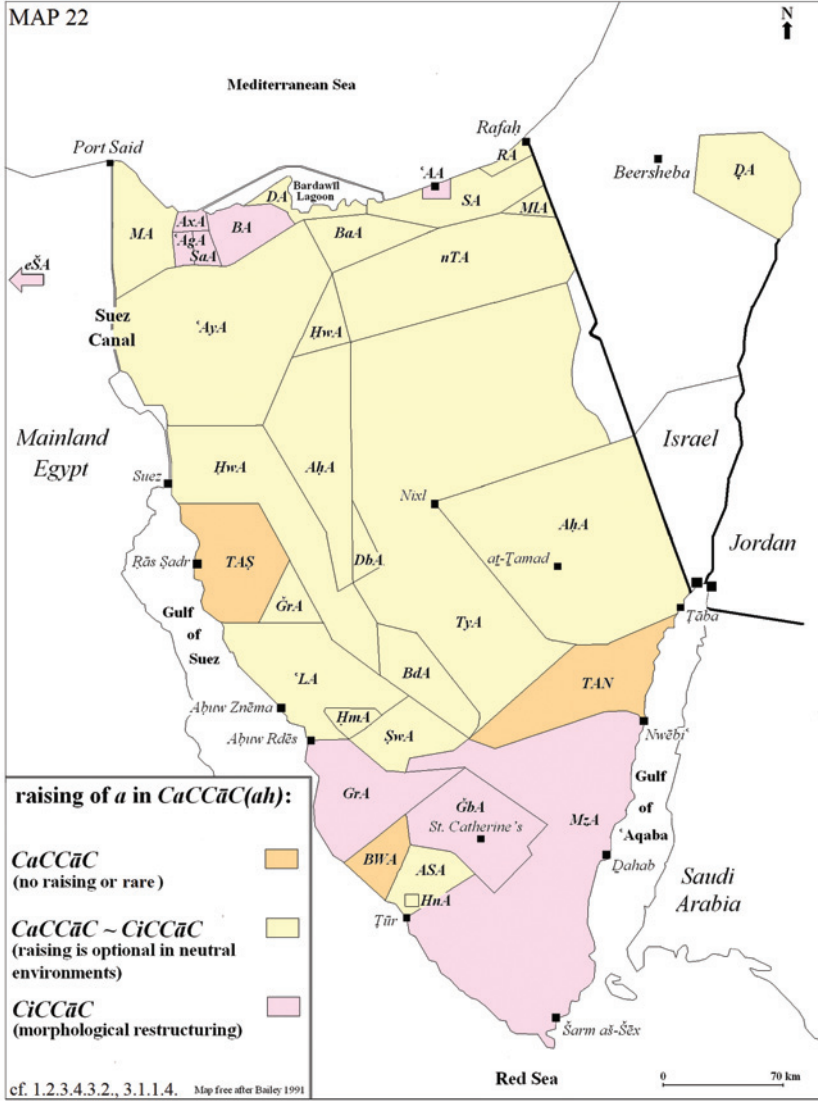
Map 22. Raising of a in *CaCCāC(ah)*
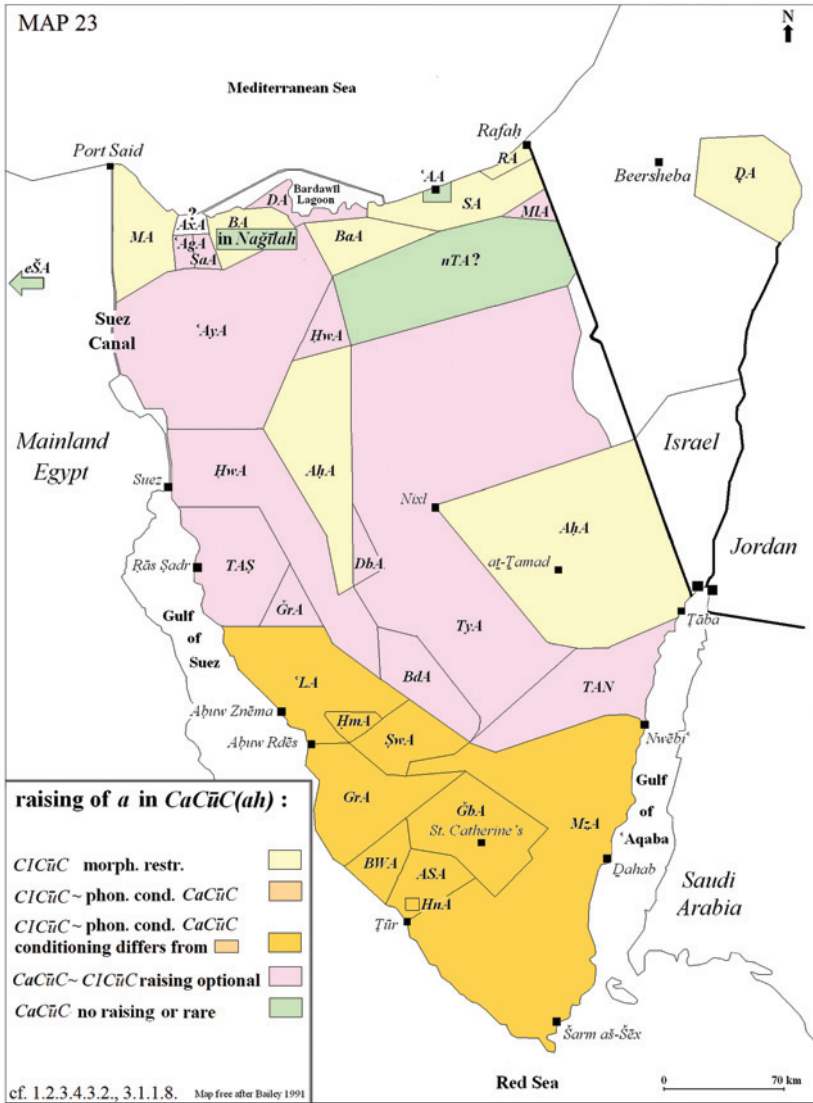
Map 23. Raising of *a* in *CaCūC*(*ah*)

For remarks on the absence of MAP 24 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
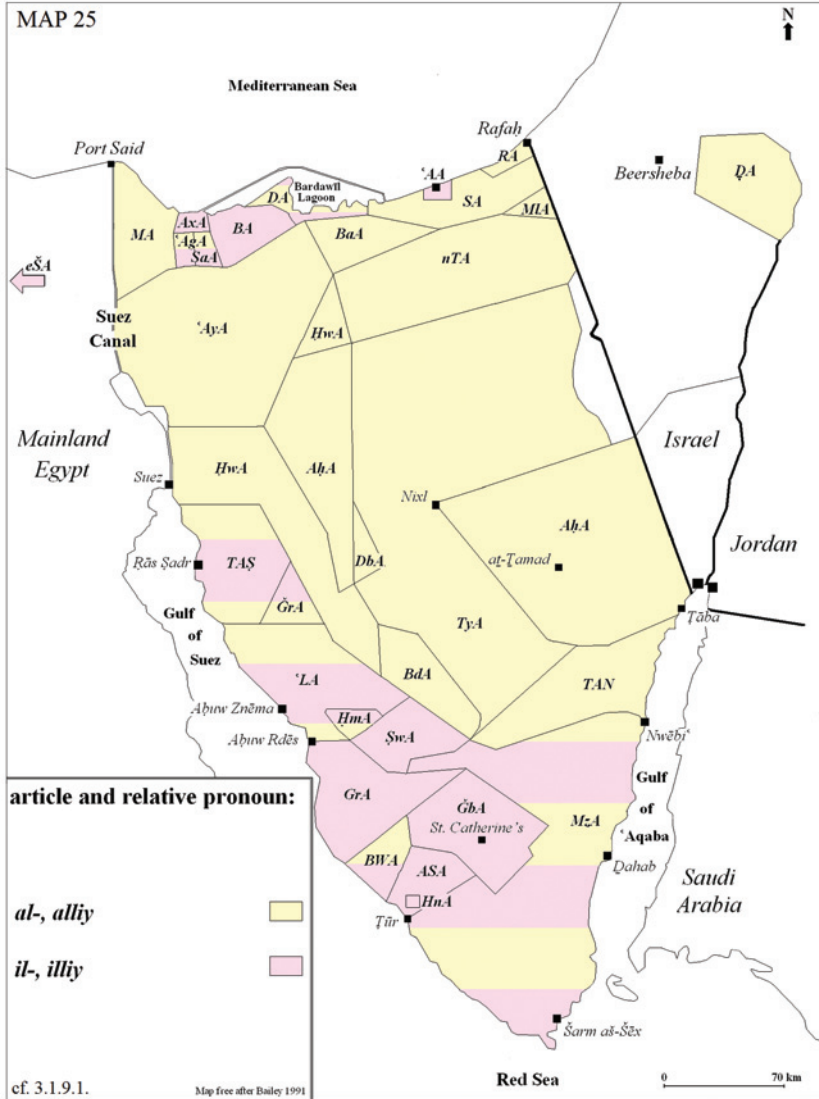
Map 25. Article and relative pronoun
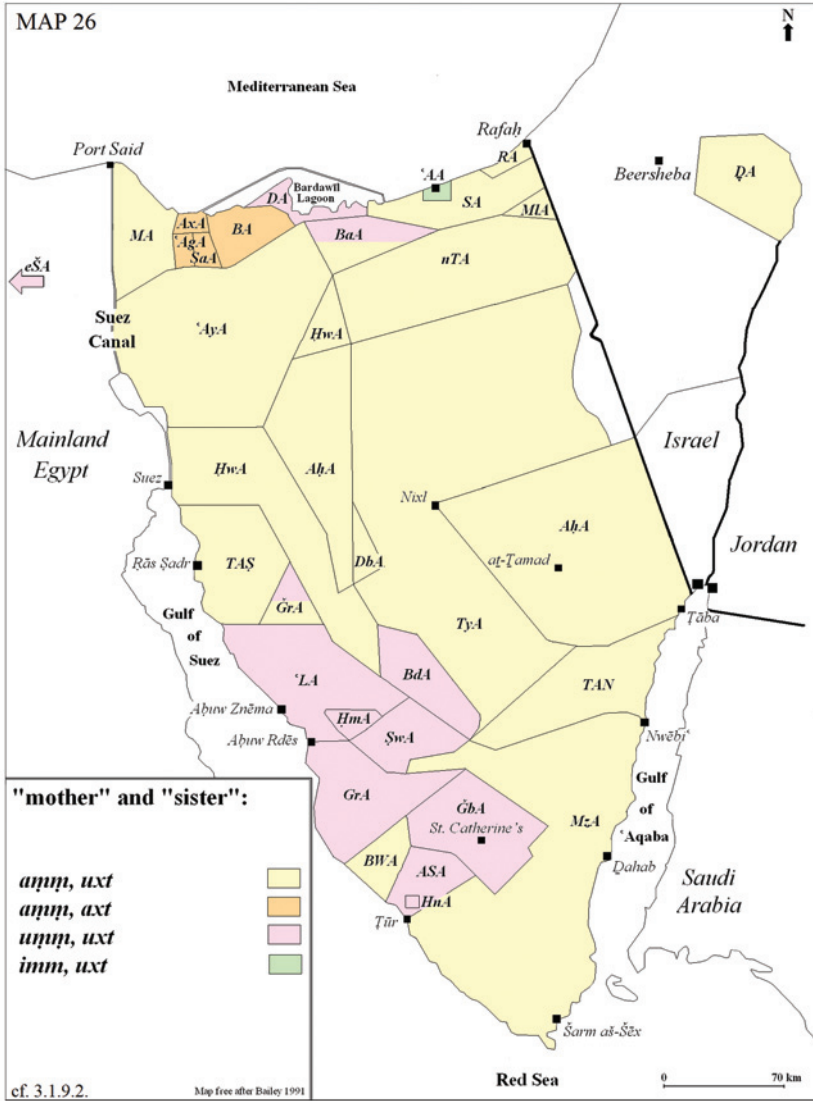
Map 26. "mother" and "sister"
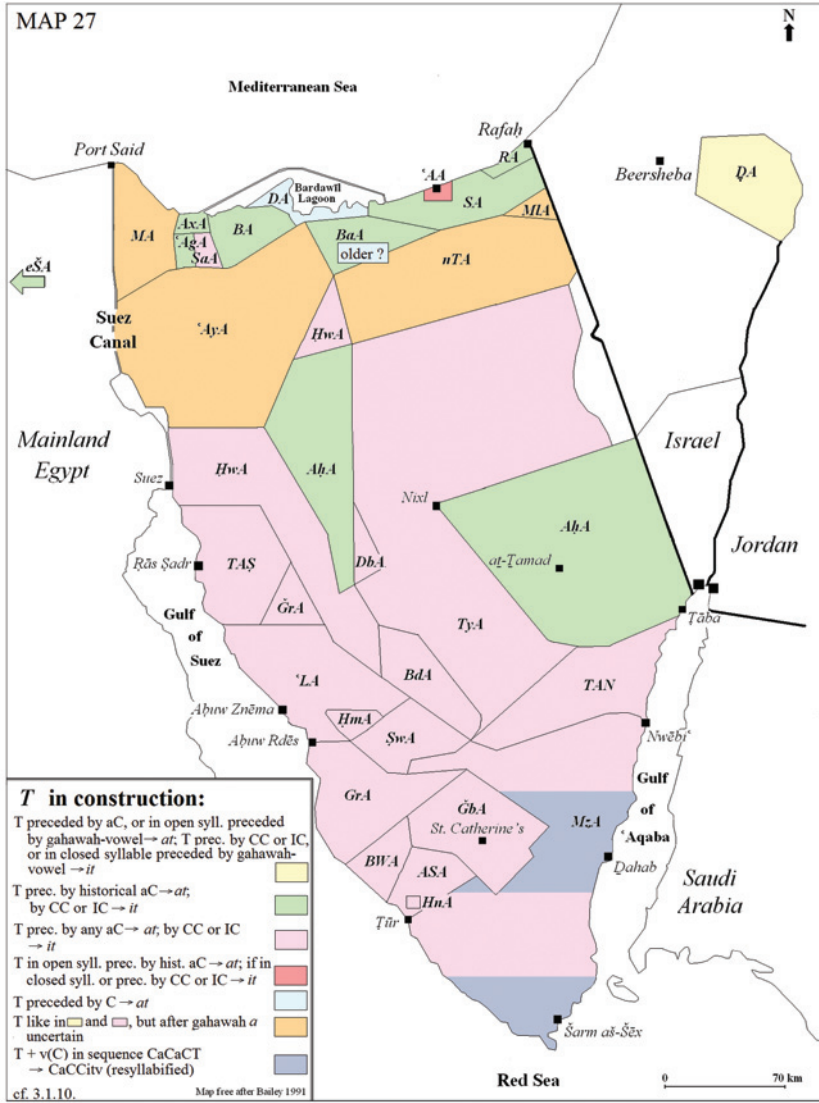
Map 27. *T* in construction

Map 28. *T*-vowel elision
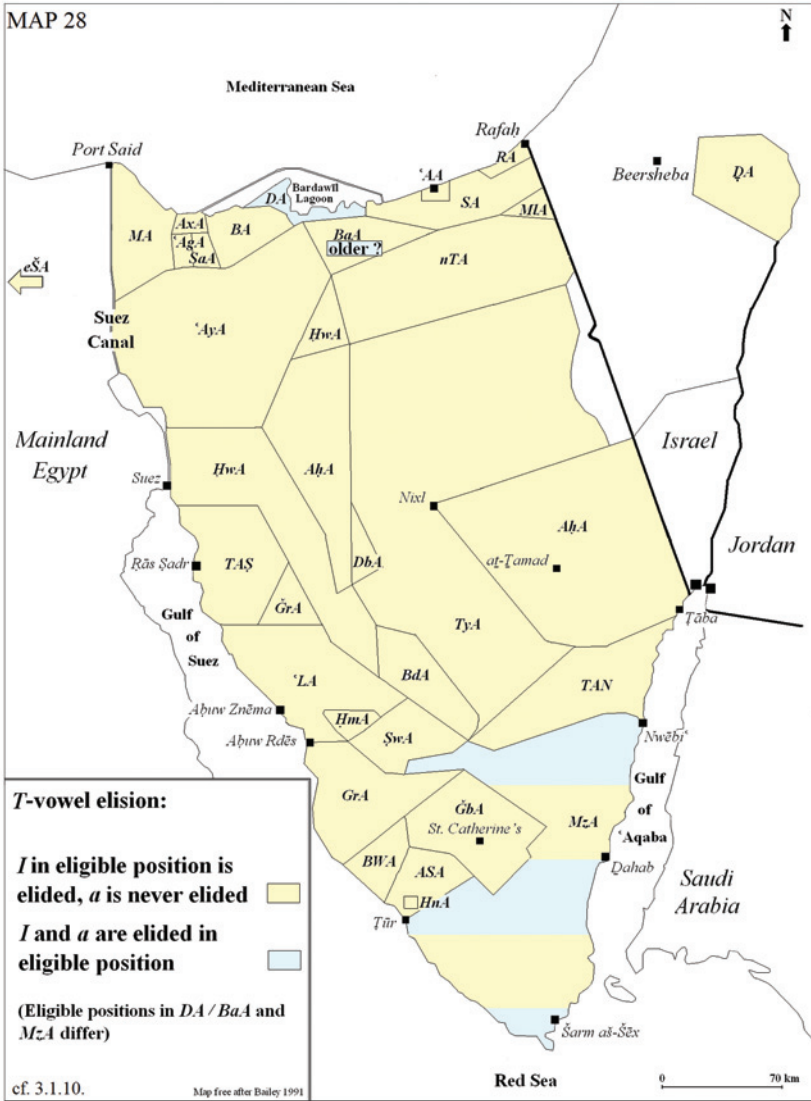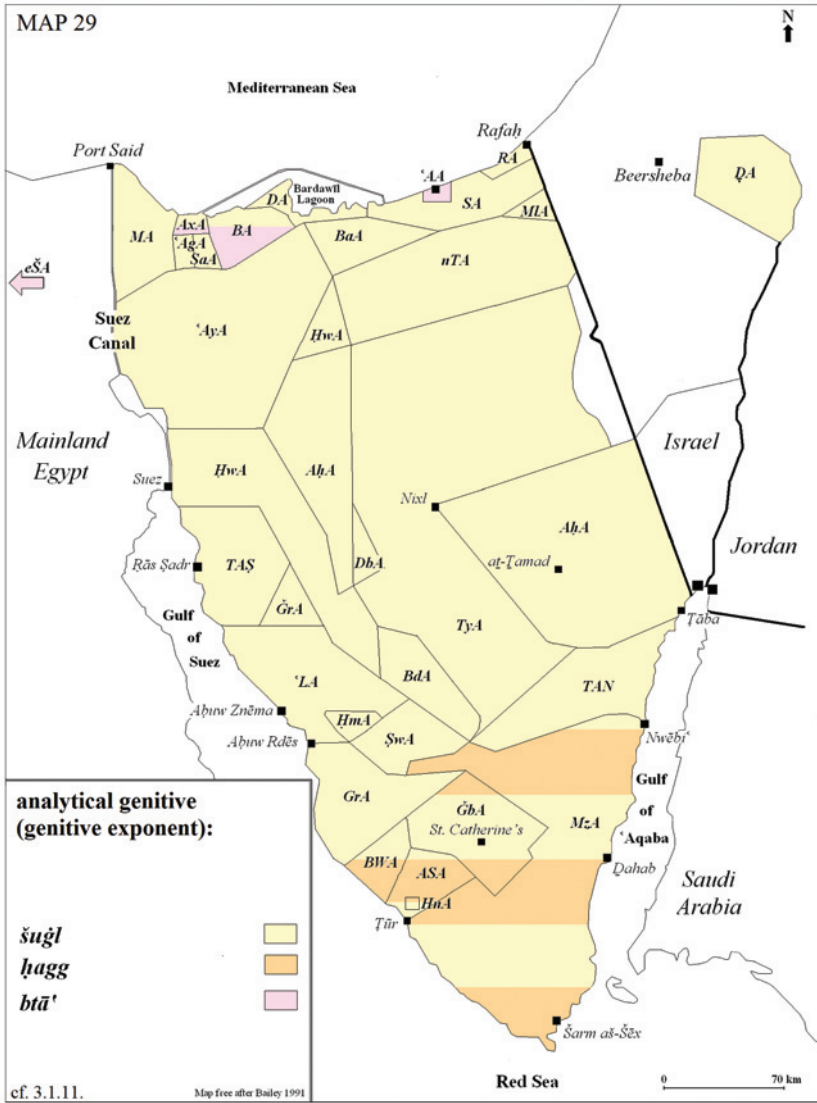
Map 29. Analytical genitive (genitive exponent)

For remarks on the absence of MAP 30 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for compari-
son from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern
Sinai.
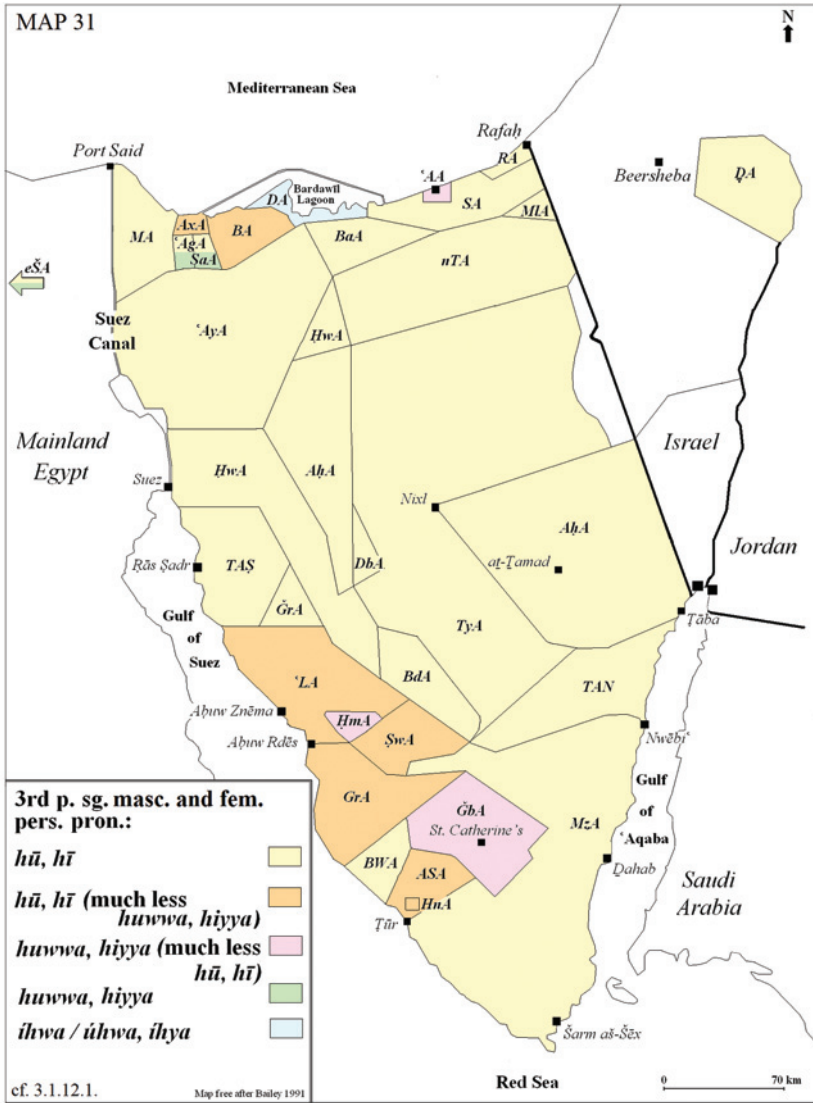
Map 31. The independent personal pronominals of the 3rd p. sg. masc. and fem.

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 32 and 33 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
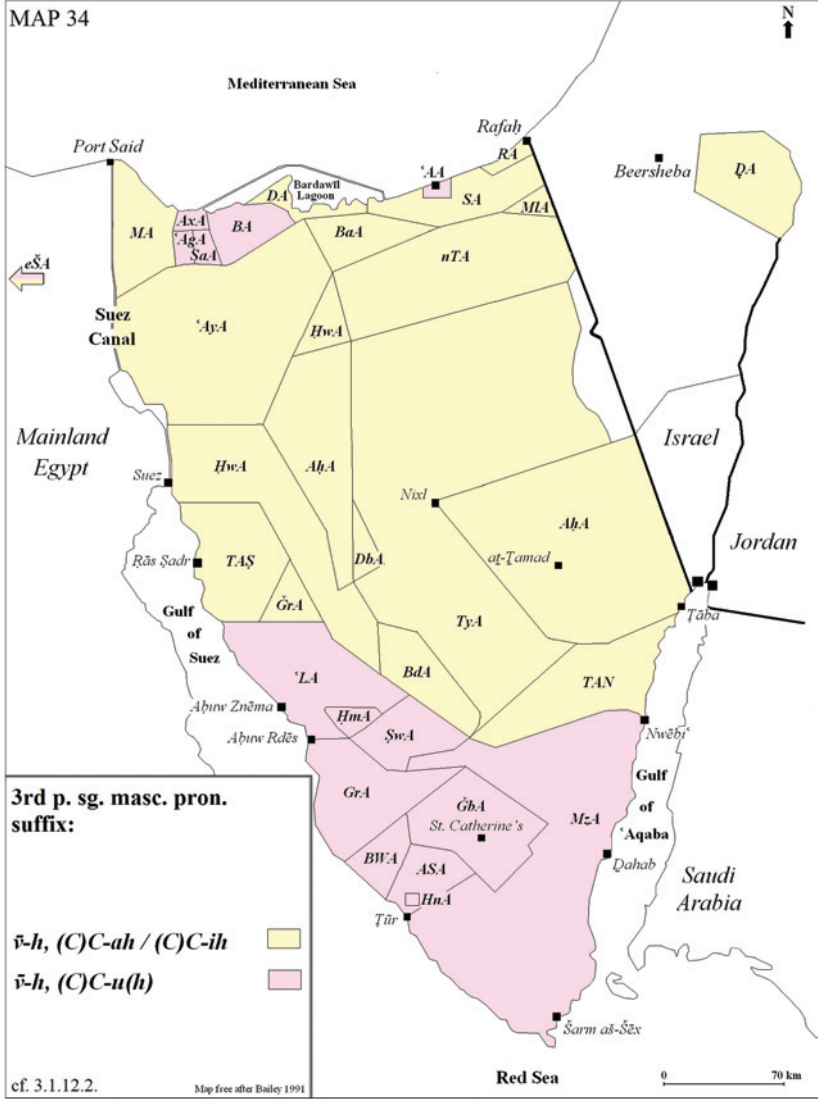
Map 34. 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix
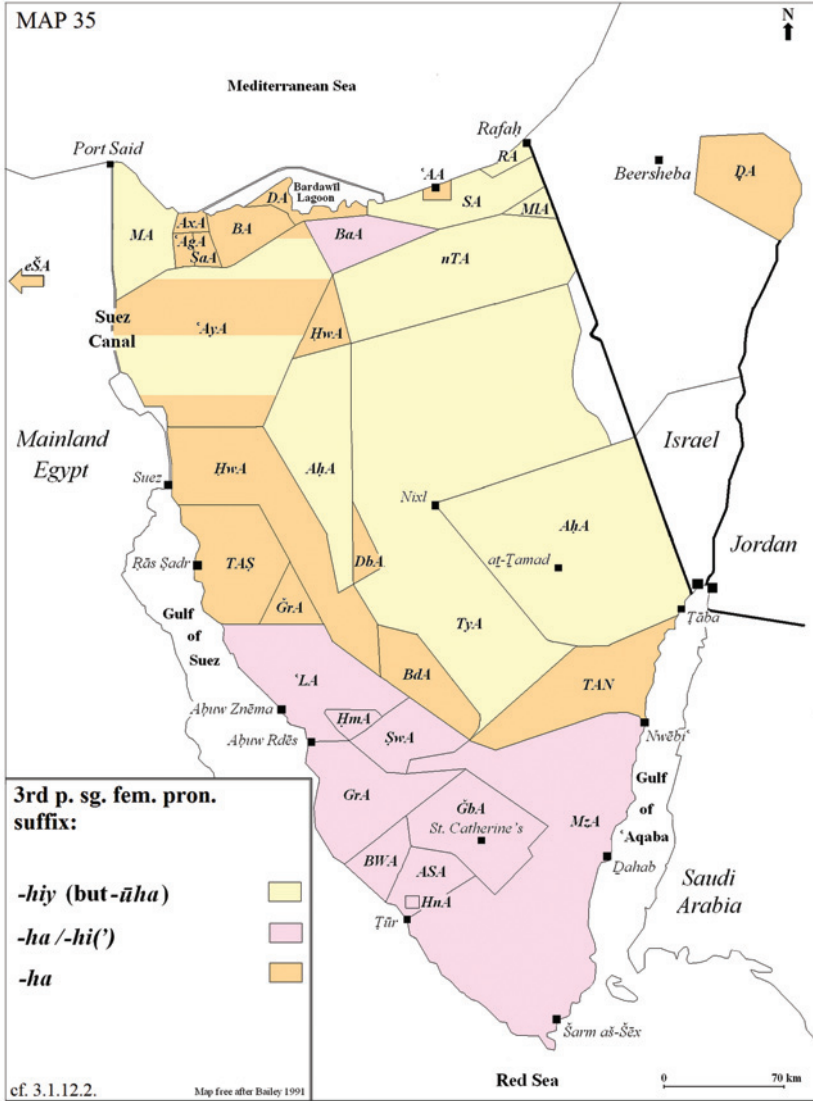
Map 35. 3rd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix
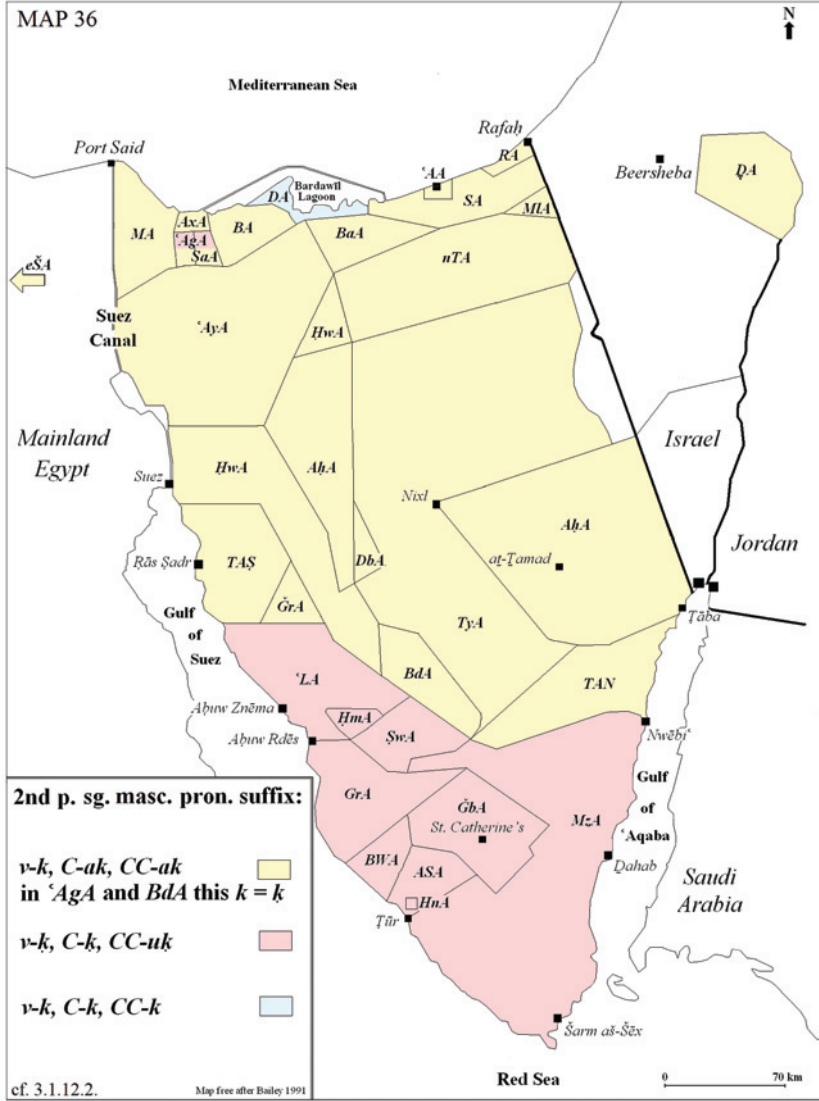
Map 36. 2nd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix
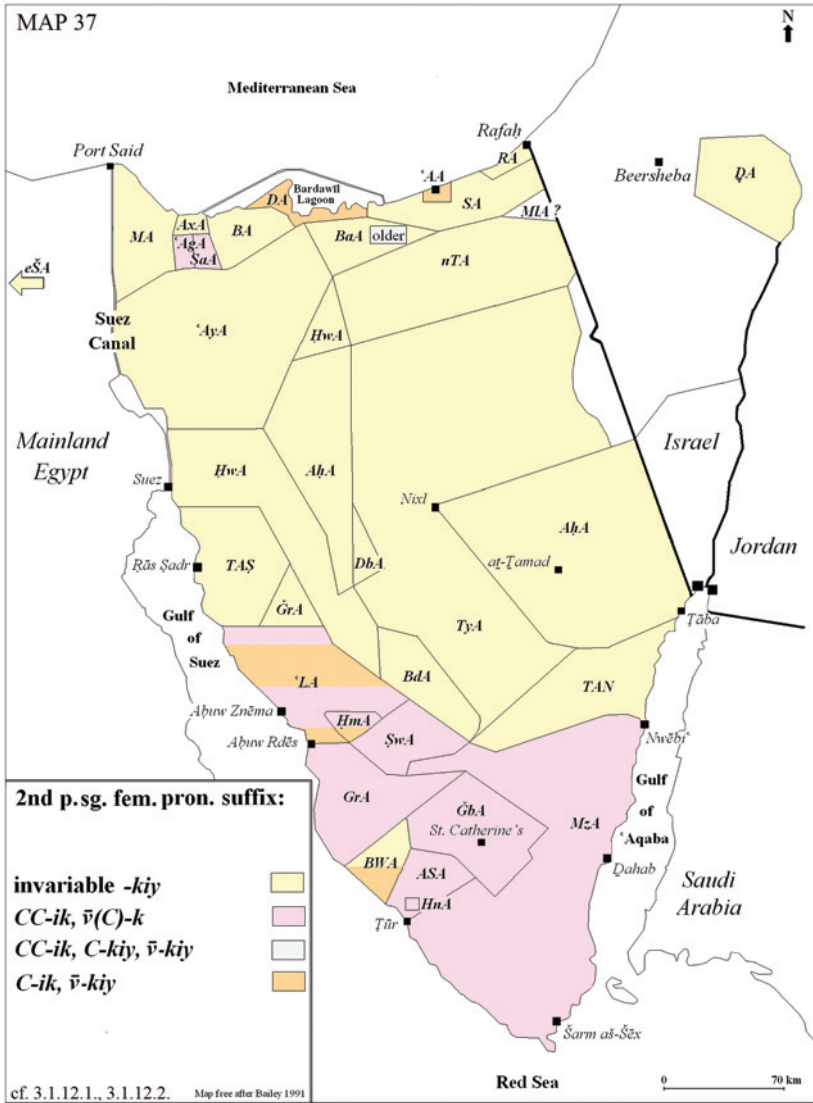
Map 37. 2nd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix

For remarks on the absence of MAP 38 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.

Map 39. sg. masc. demonstrative
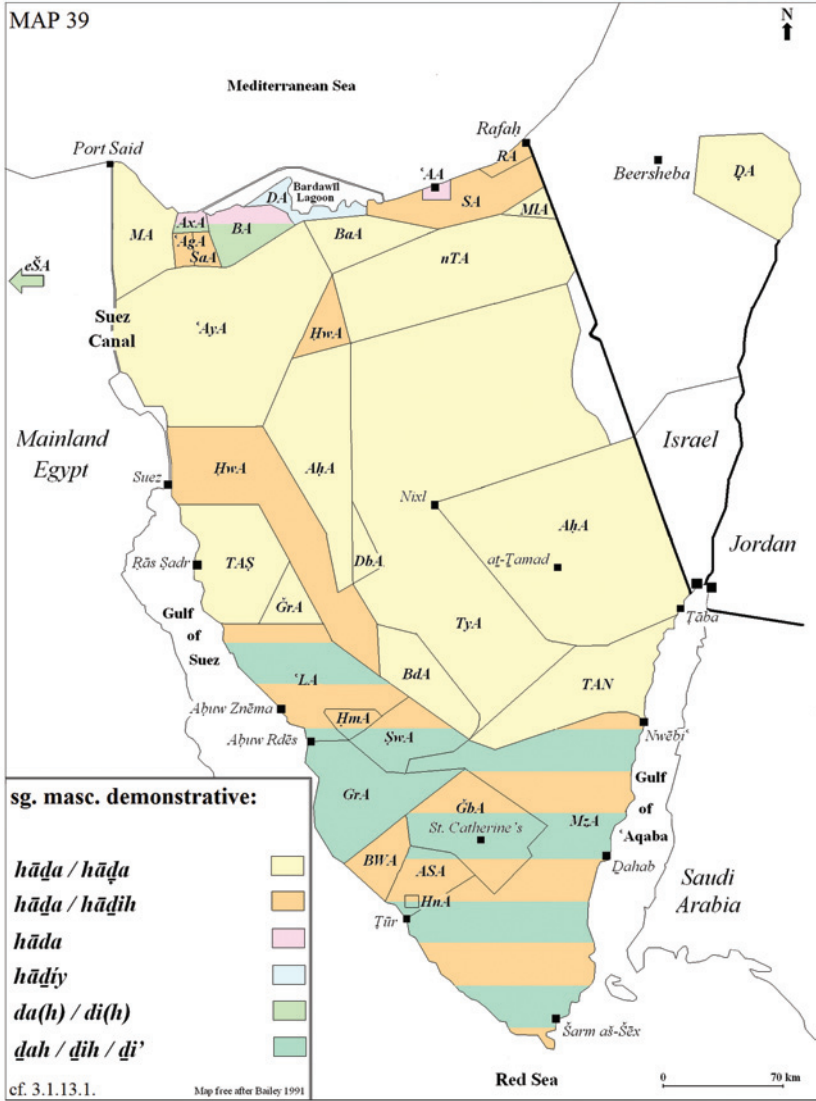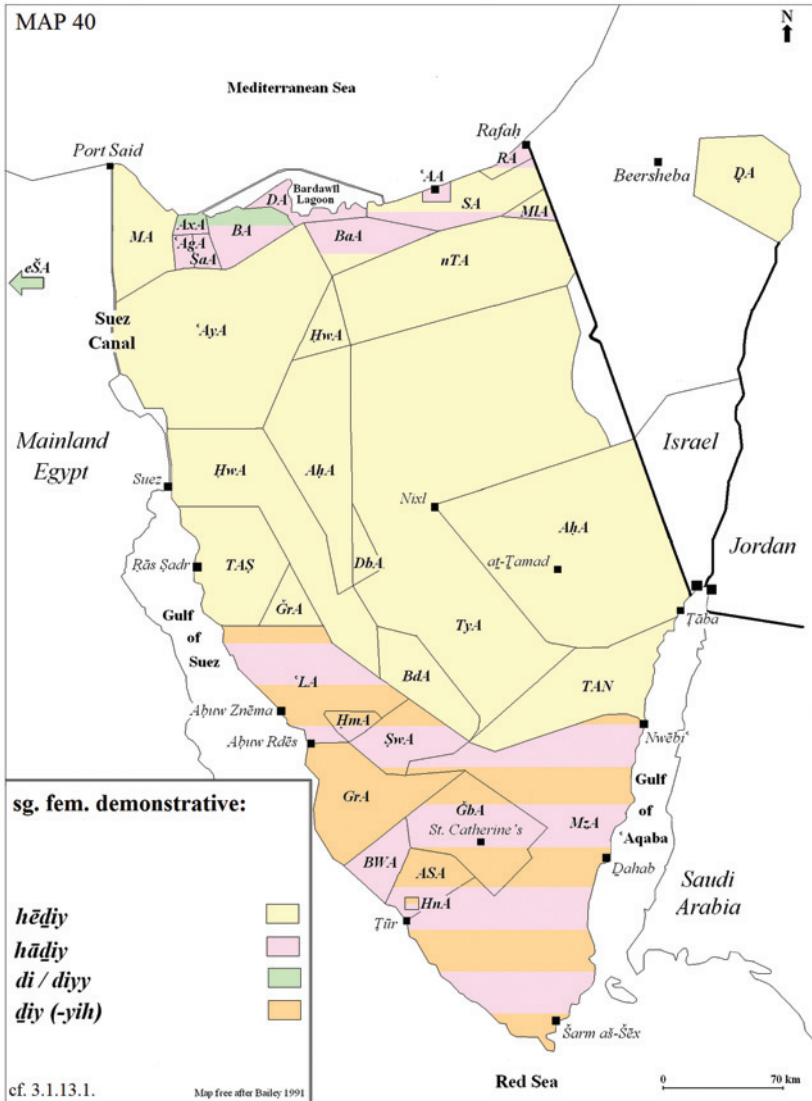
Map 40. sg. fem. demonstrative

For remarks on the absence of MAP 41 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
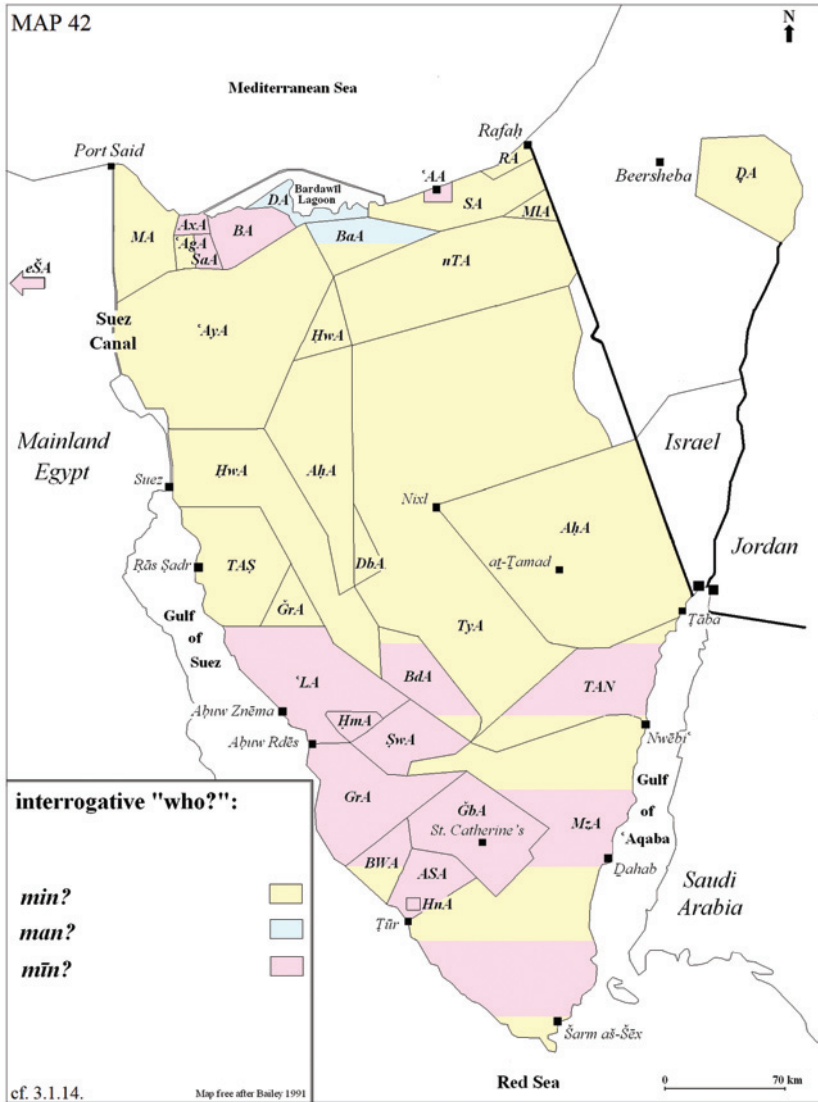
Map 42. Interrogative "who?"

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 43 and 44 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
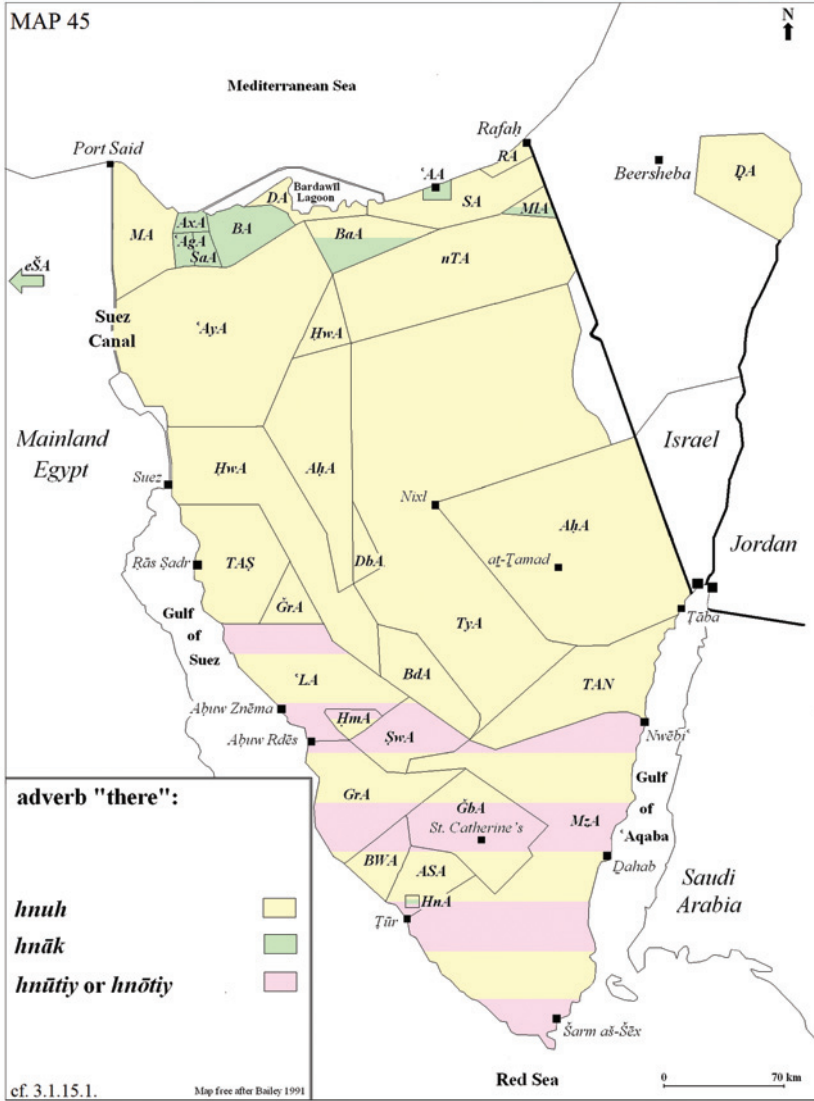
Map 45. Shape of the adverb "there"
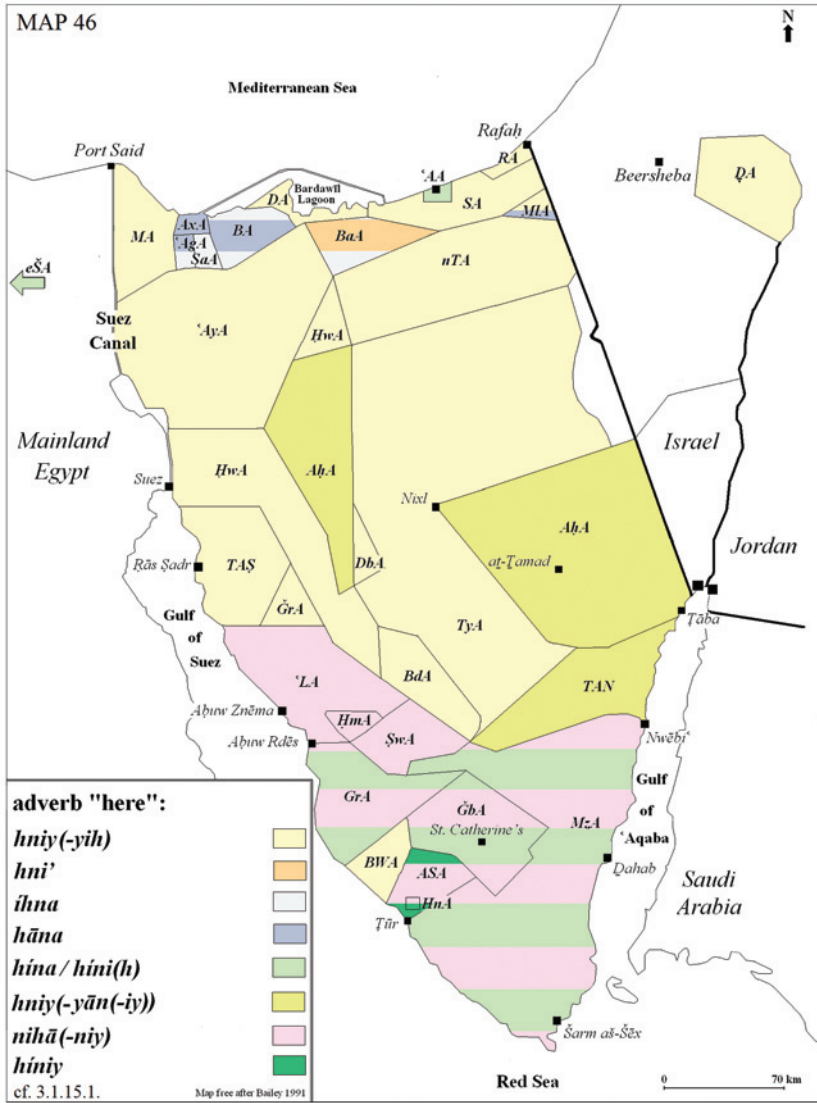
Map 46. Shape of the adverb "here"
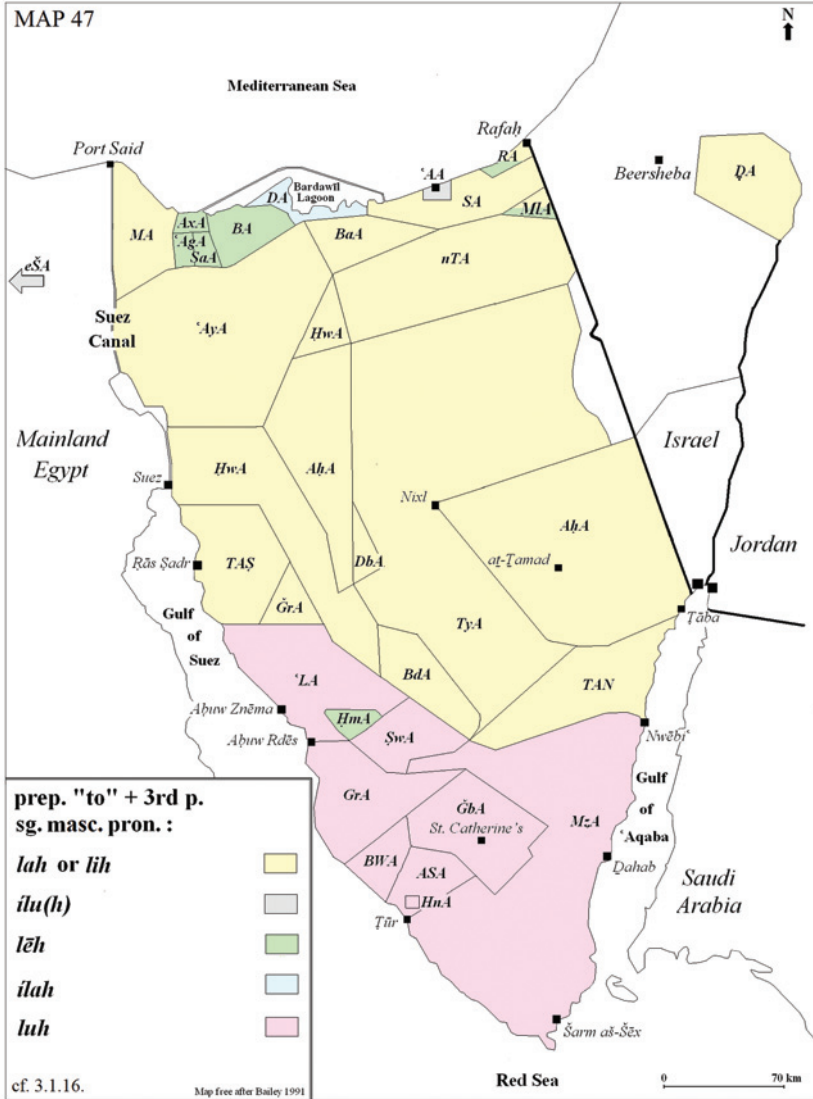
Map 47. The preposition "to" + 3rd p. sg. masc. pron
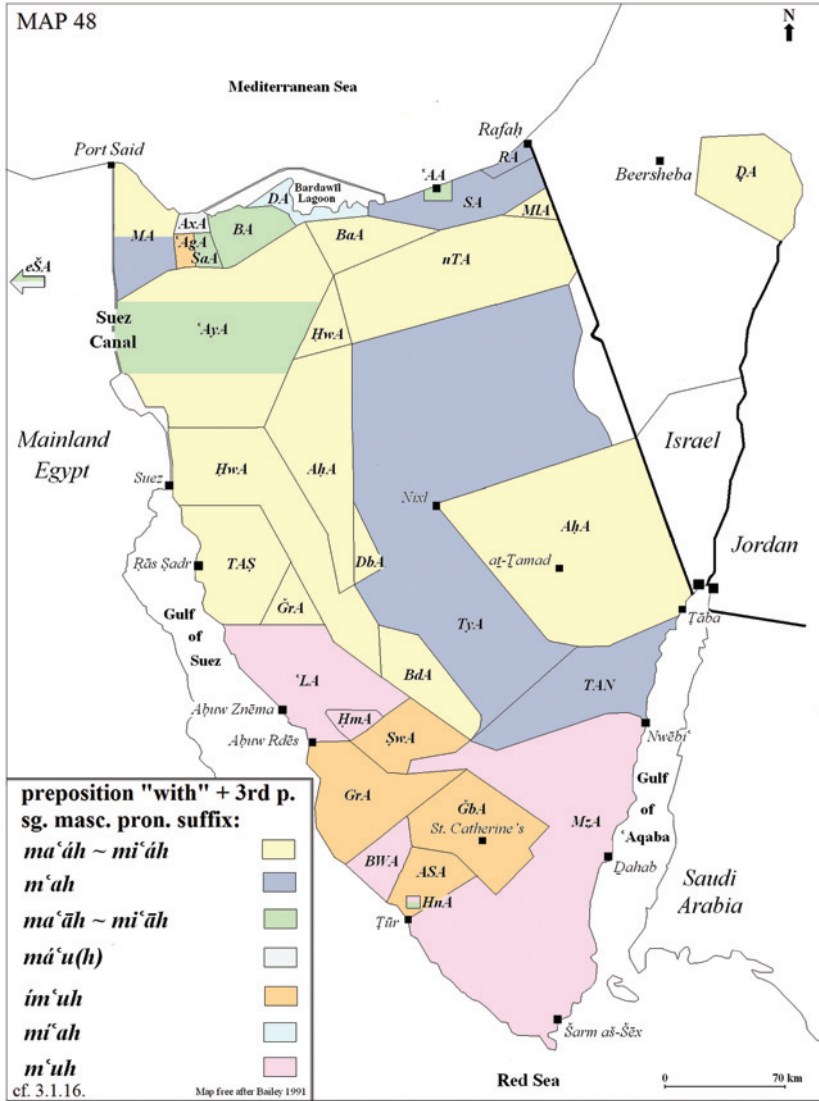
Map 48. The preposition "with" + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix
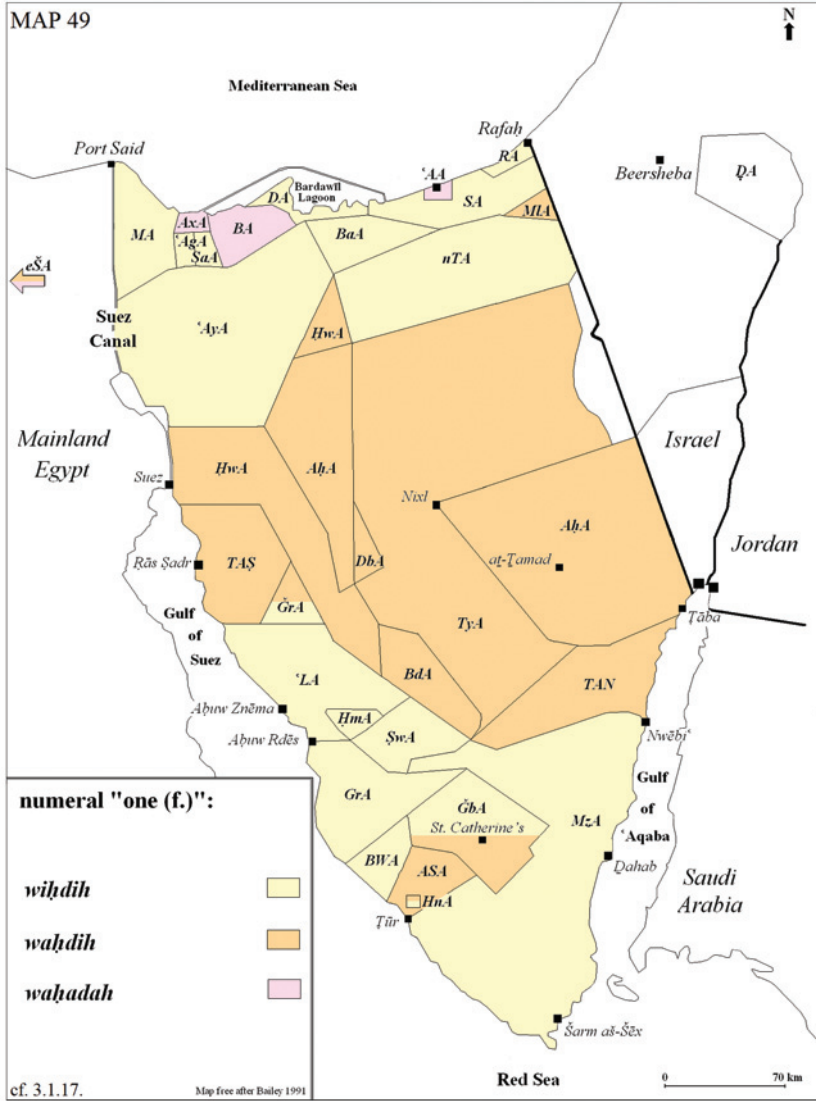
Map 49. Numeral "one (fem.)"
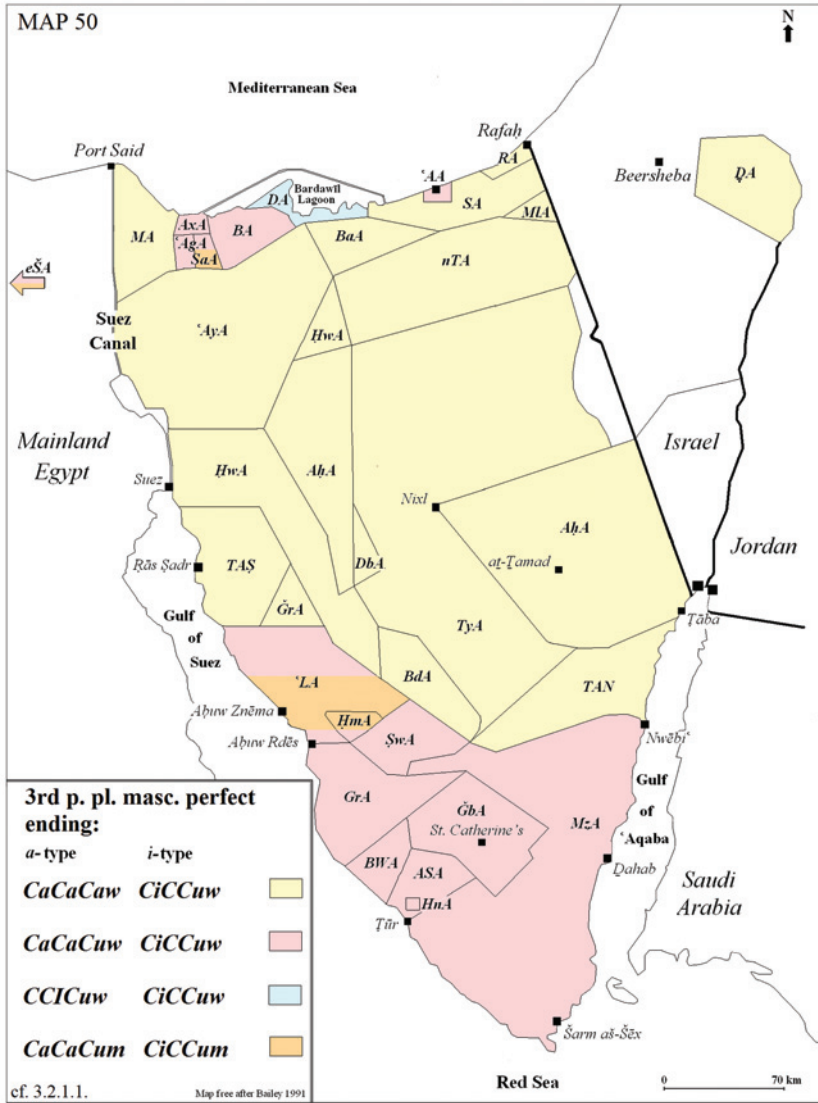
Map 50. 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect ending

For remarks on the absence of MAP 51 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
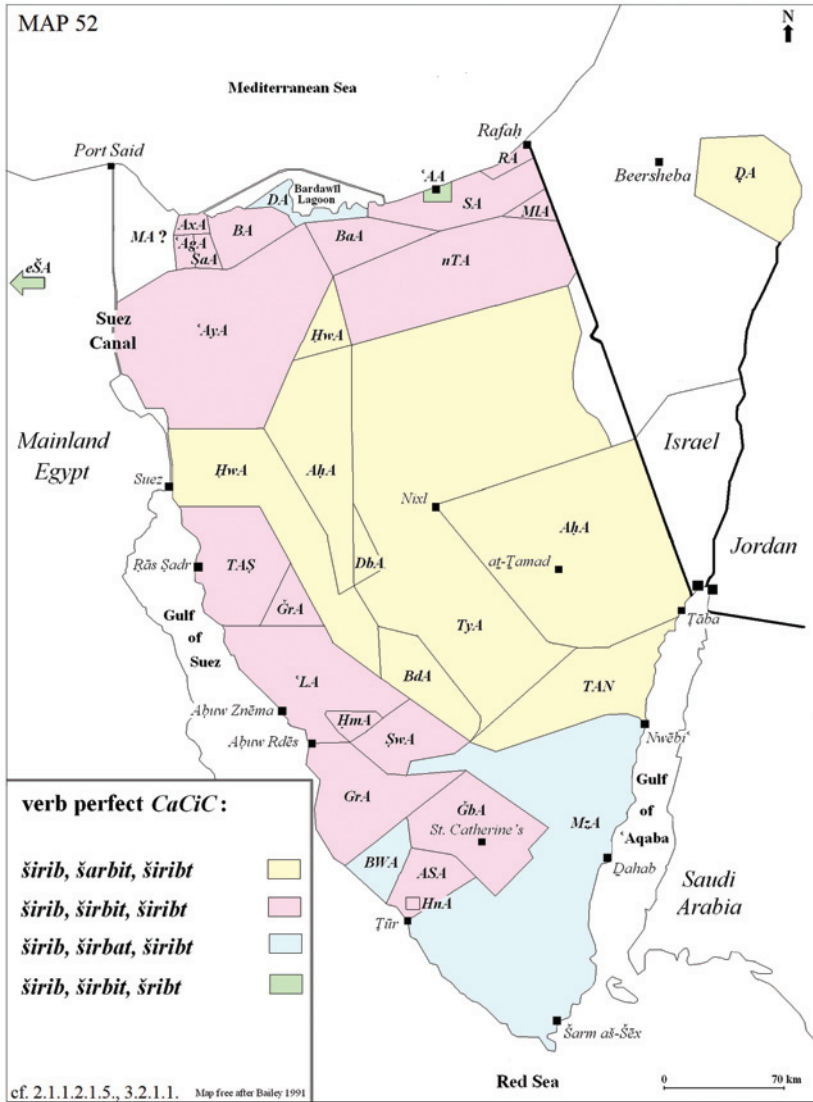
Map 52. Verb perfect *CaCiC*

For remarks on the absence of MAP 53 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
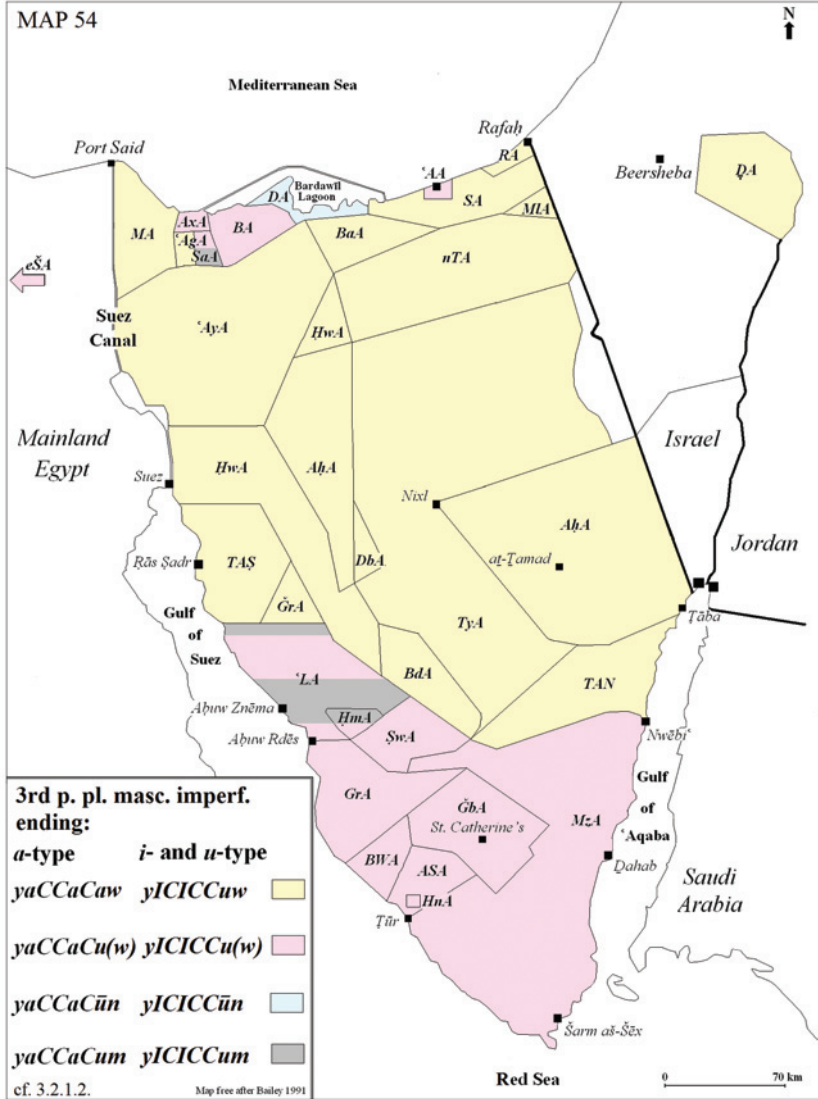
Map 54. 3rd p. pl. masc. imperf. ending

Map 55. 3rd p. pl. fem. imperf. ending

For remarks on the absence of MAP 56 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.

Map 57. Perfect of primae *hamzah* verbs

Map 58. Imperfect vowel primae *hamzah* verbs

For remarks on the absence of MAP 59 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.

Map 60. Perfect forms of the verb "come"
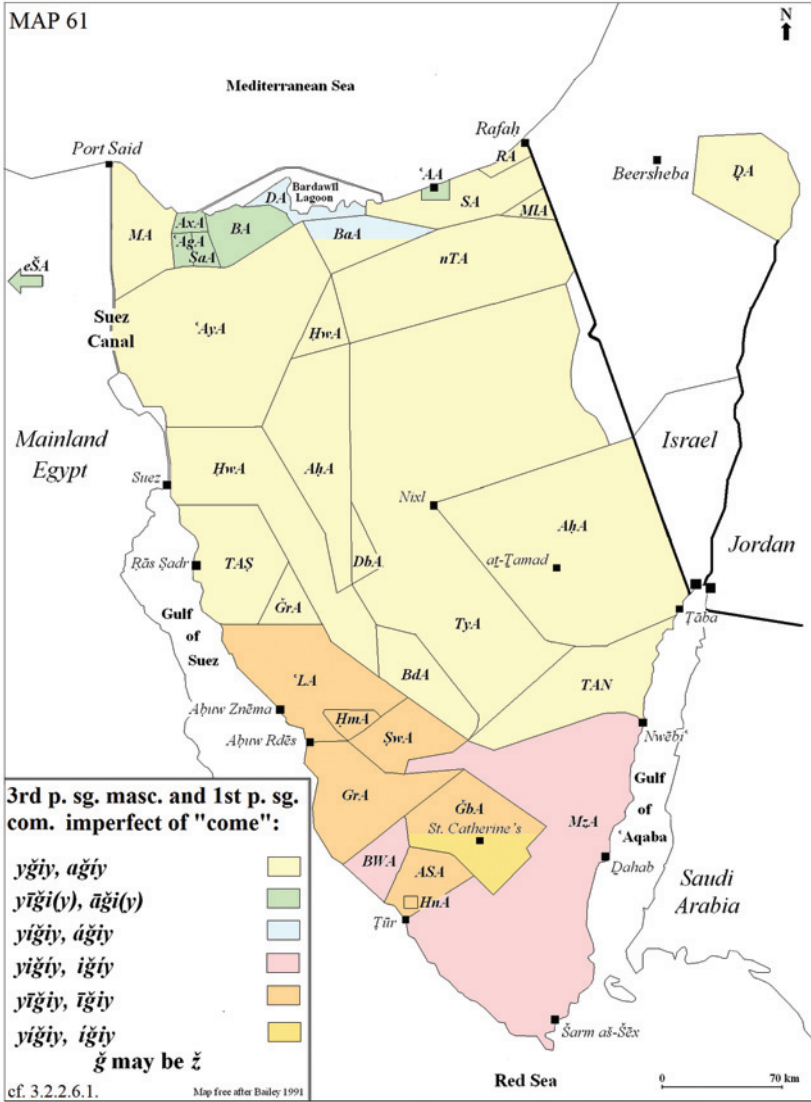
Map 61. 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect of "come"

Map 62. Stress in *anCaCaC* / *aCtaCaC* (measures *n*-1 / 1-*t*)

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
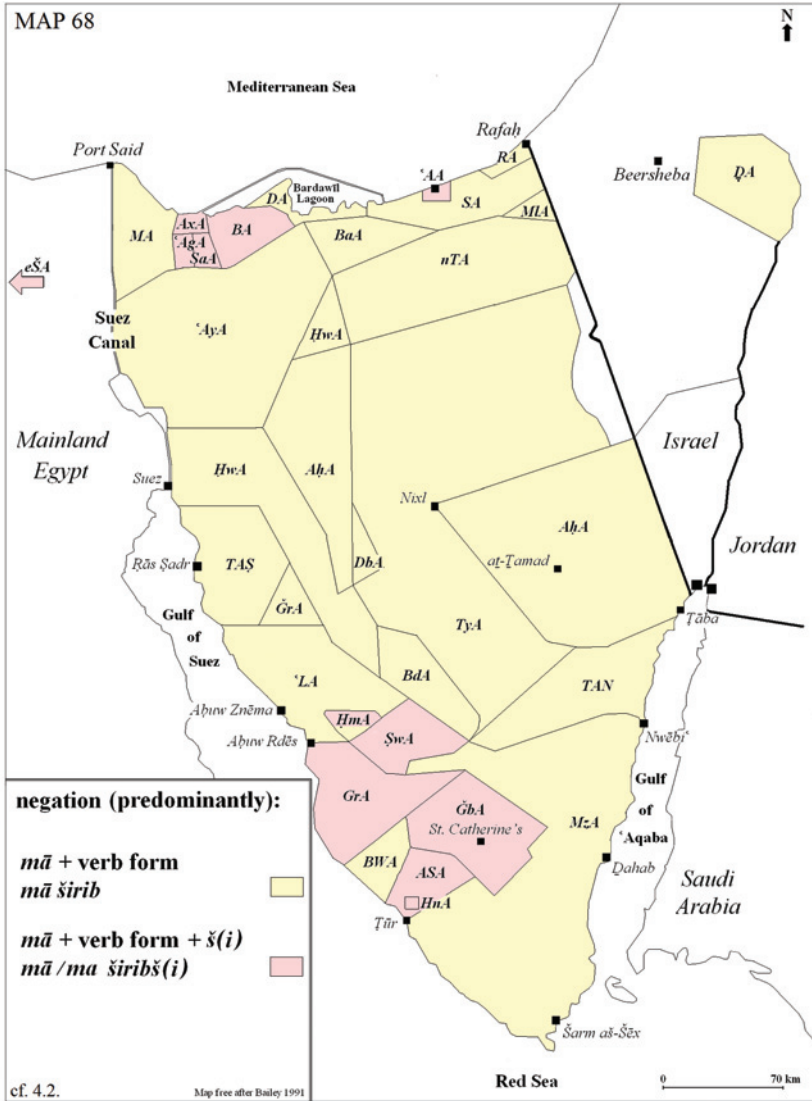
Map 68. Negation (predominantly)

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 69 and 70 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
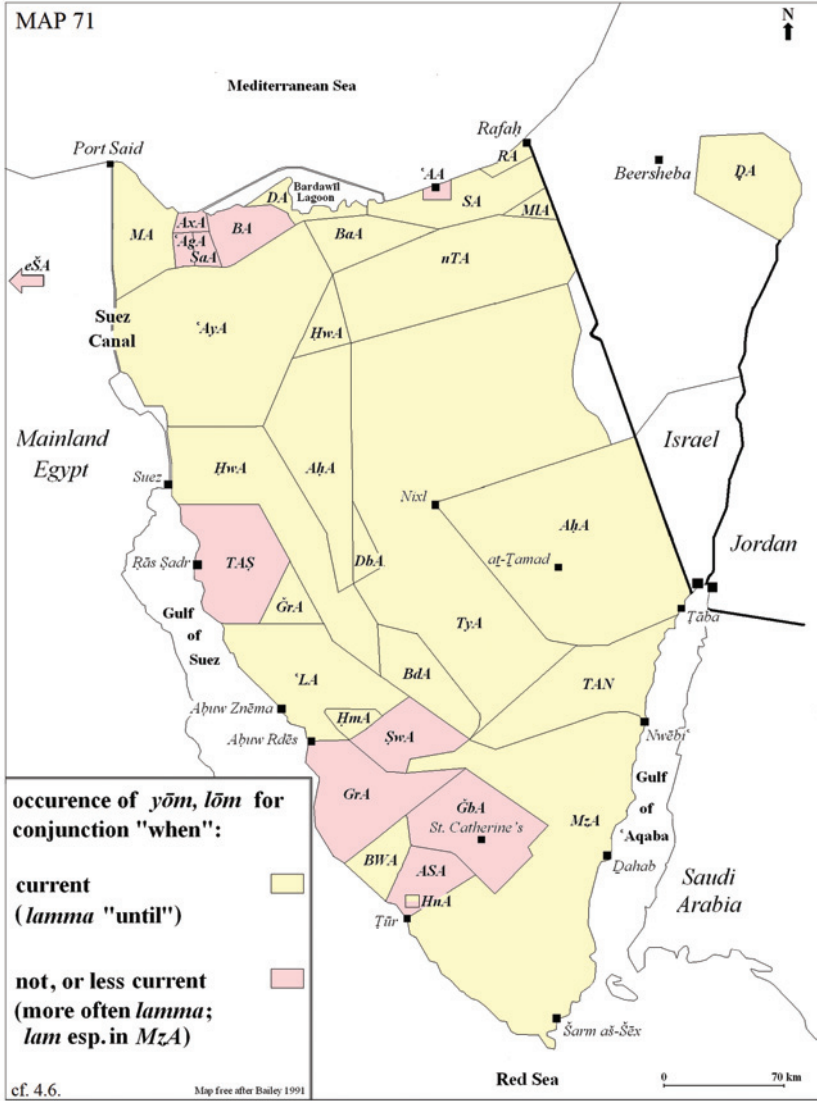
Map 71. Occurrence of *yōm, lōm* for conjunction "when"
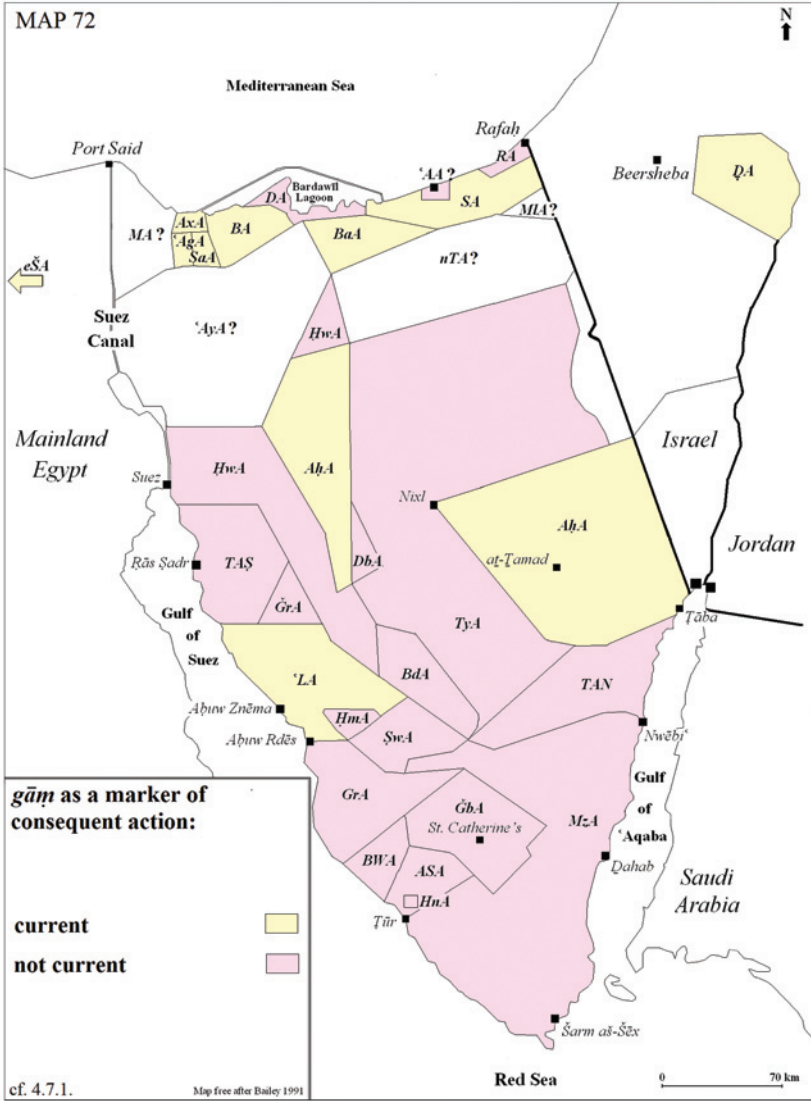
Map 72. Marker of consequent action (unconjugated) *gām*
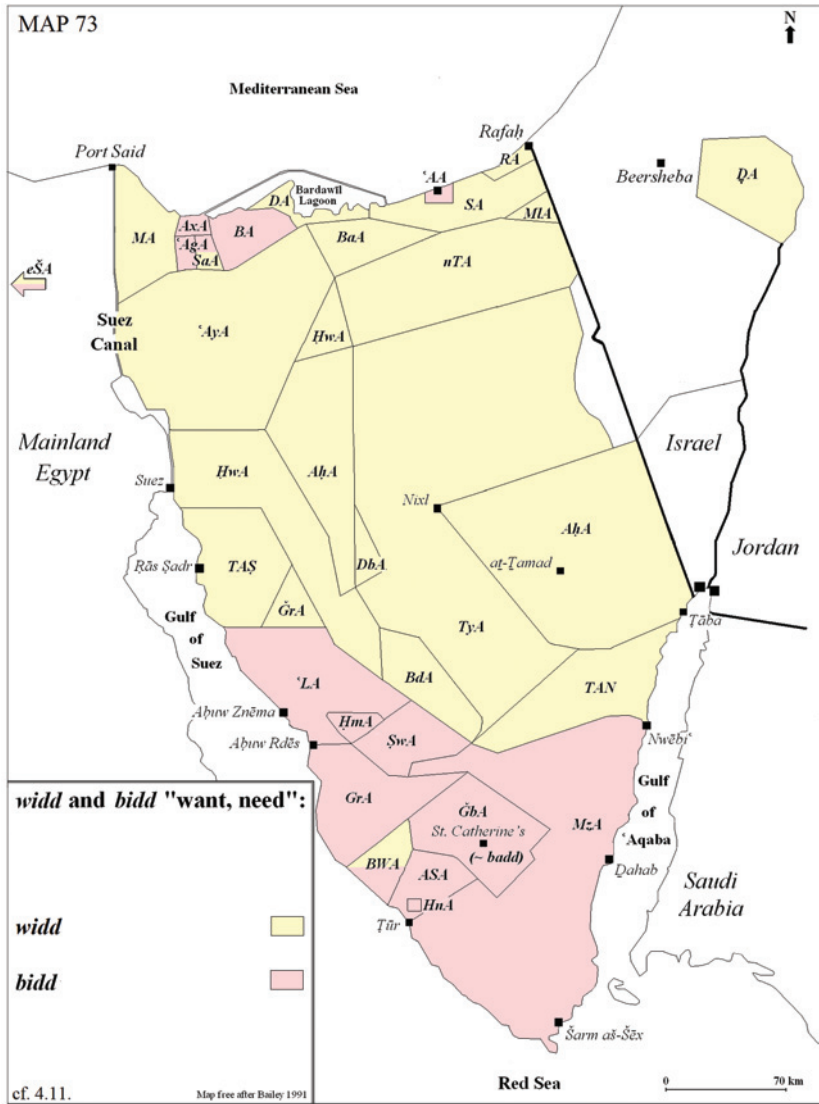
Map 73. Use of *widd* or *bidd*, "want, need"

For remarks on the absence of MAP 74 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
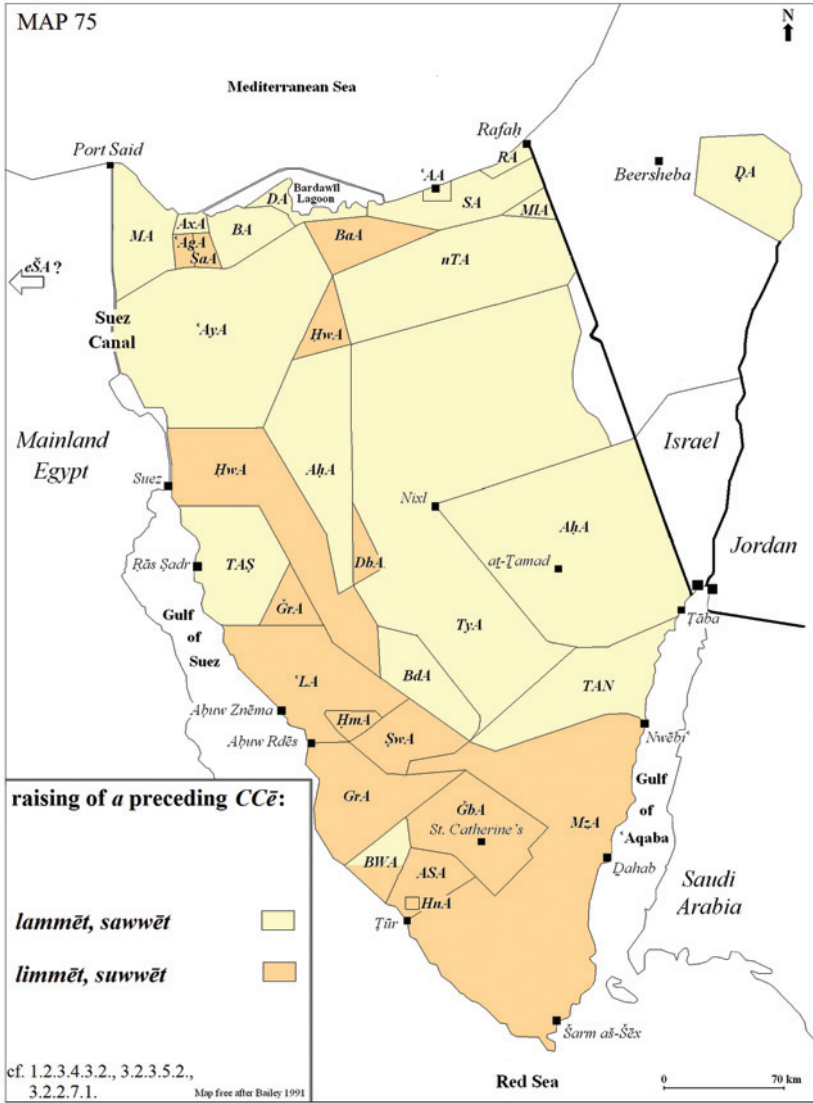
Map 75. Raising of *a* preceding *CCē*
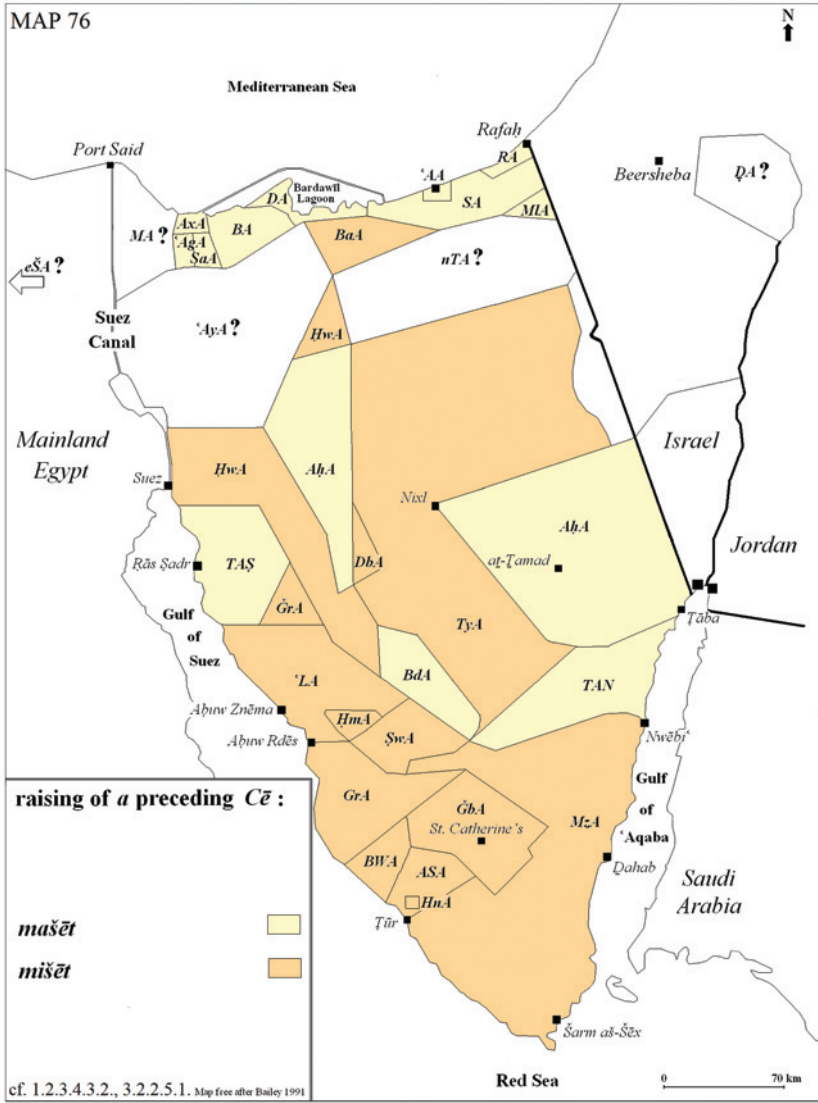
Map 76. Raising of *a* preceding *Cē*

Map 77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds ṣ, z and š, ž/ǧ
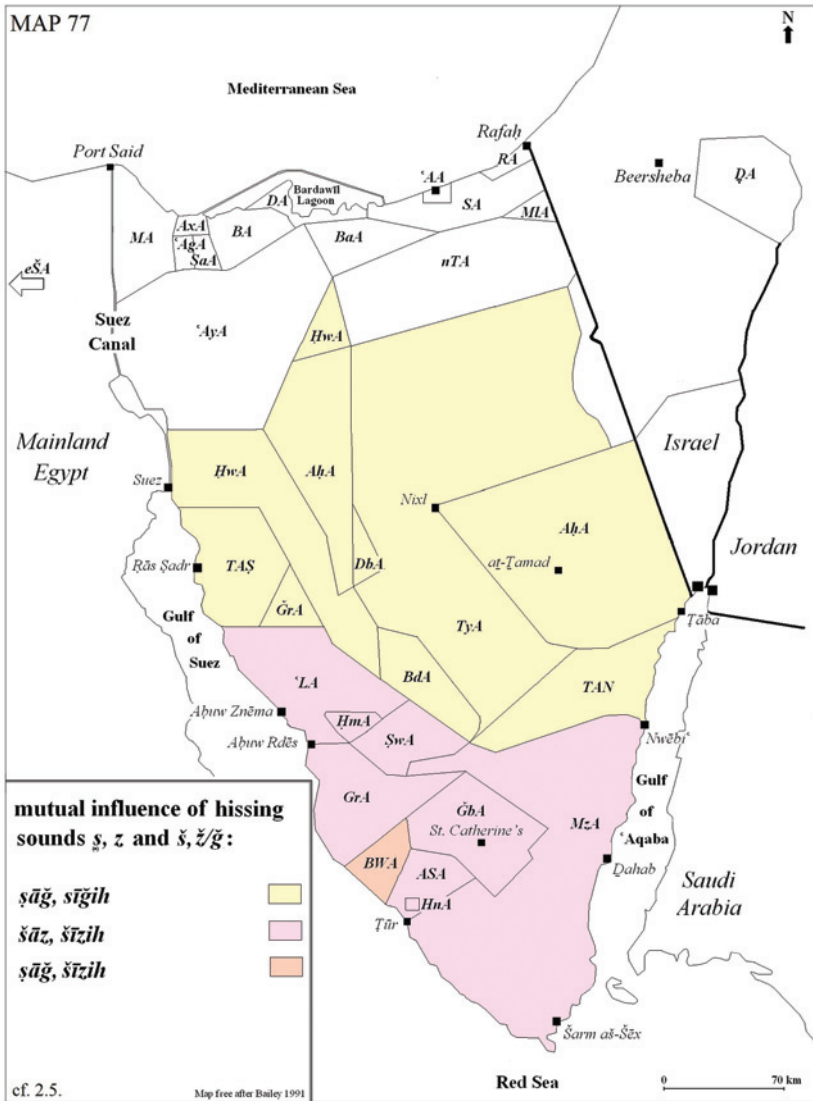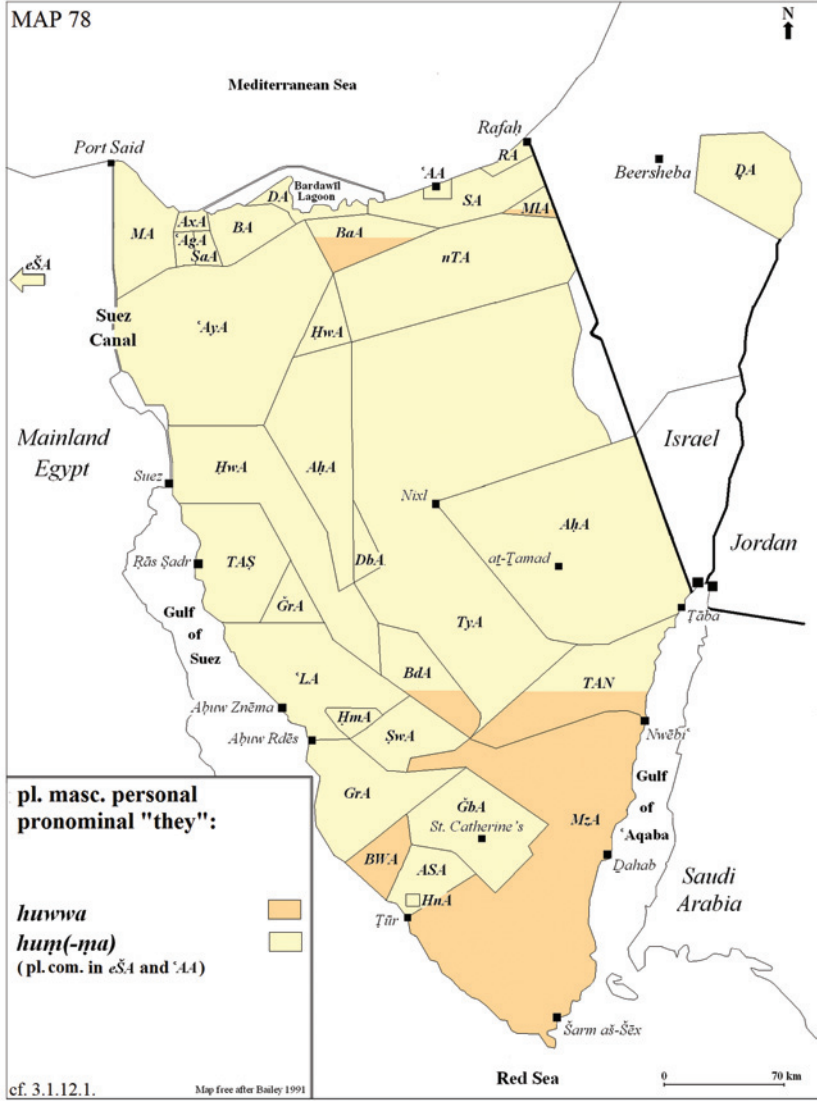
Map 78. The pl. masc. personal pronominal "they"
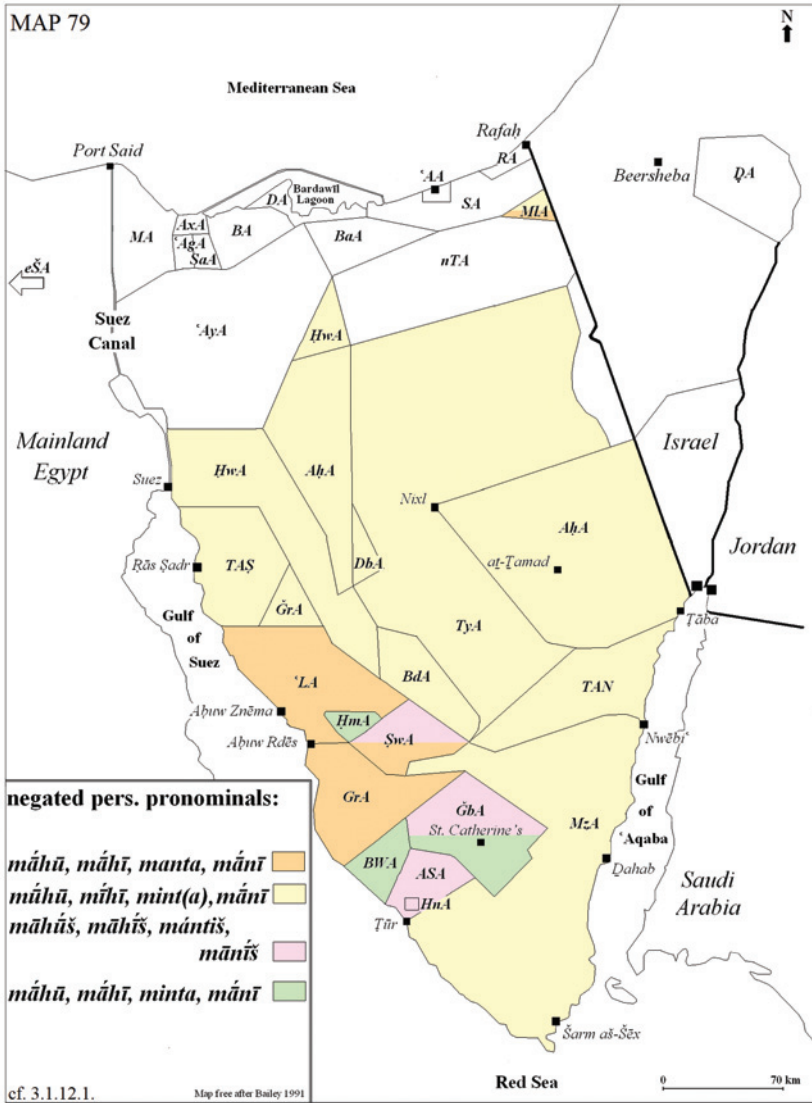
Map 79. Negated personal pronominals
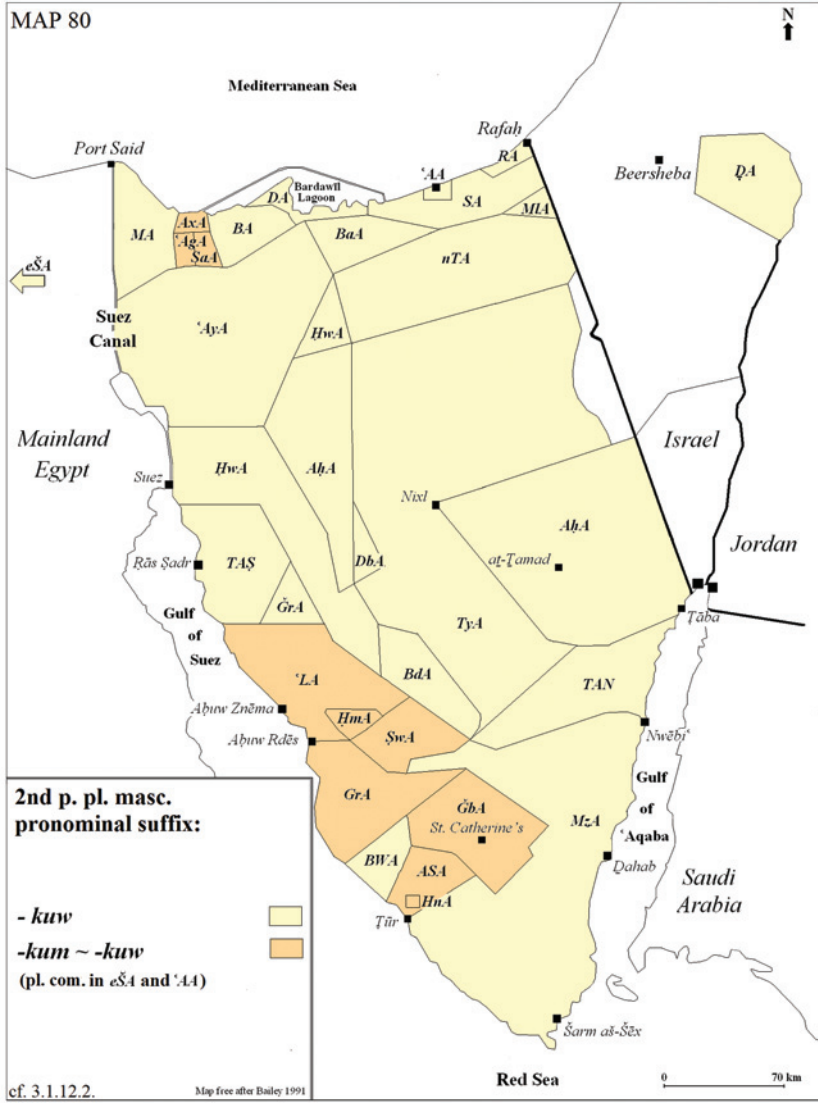
Map 80. 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix
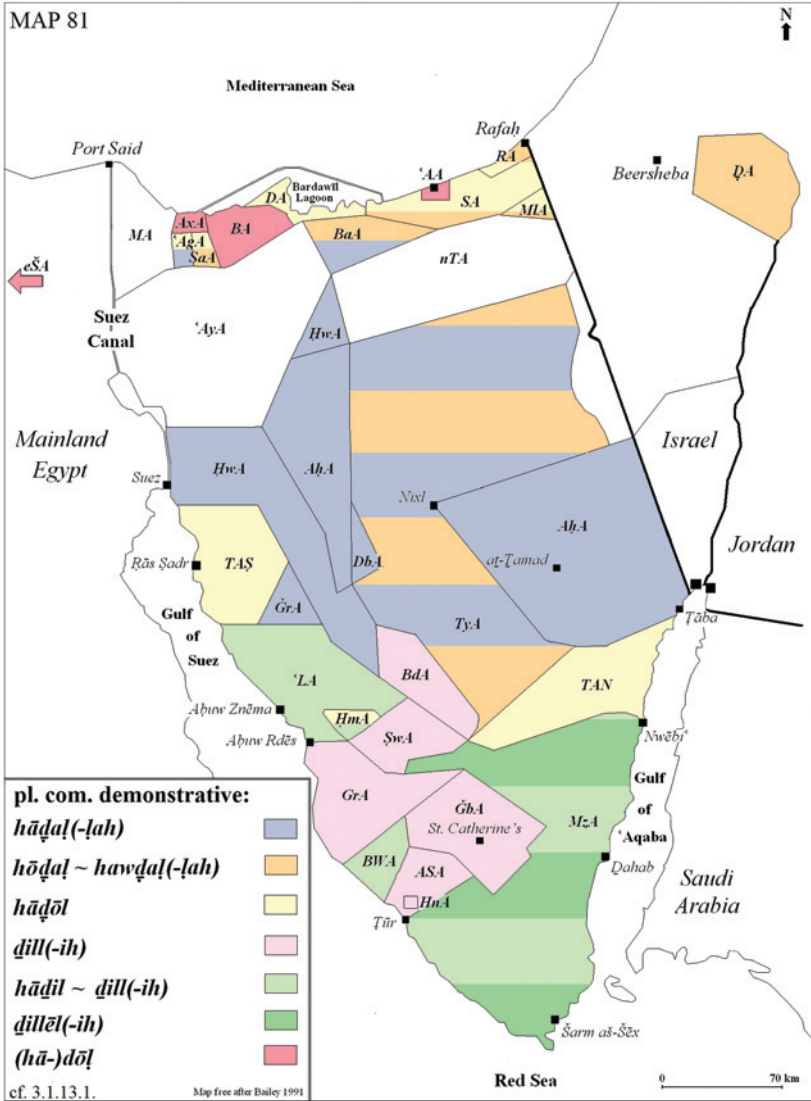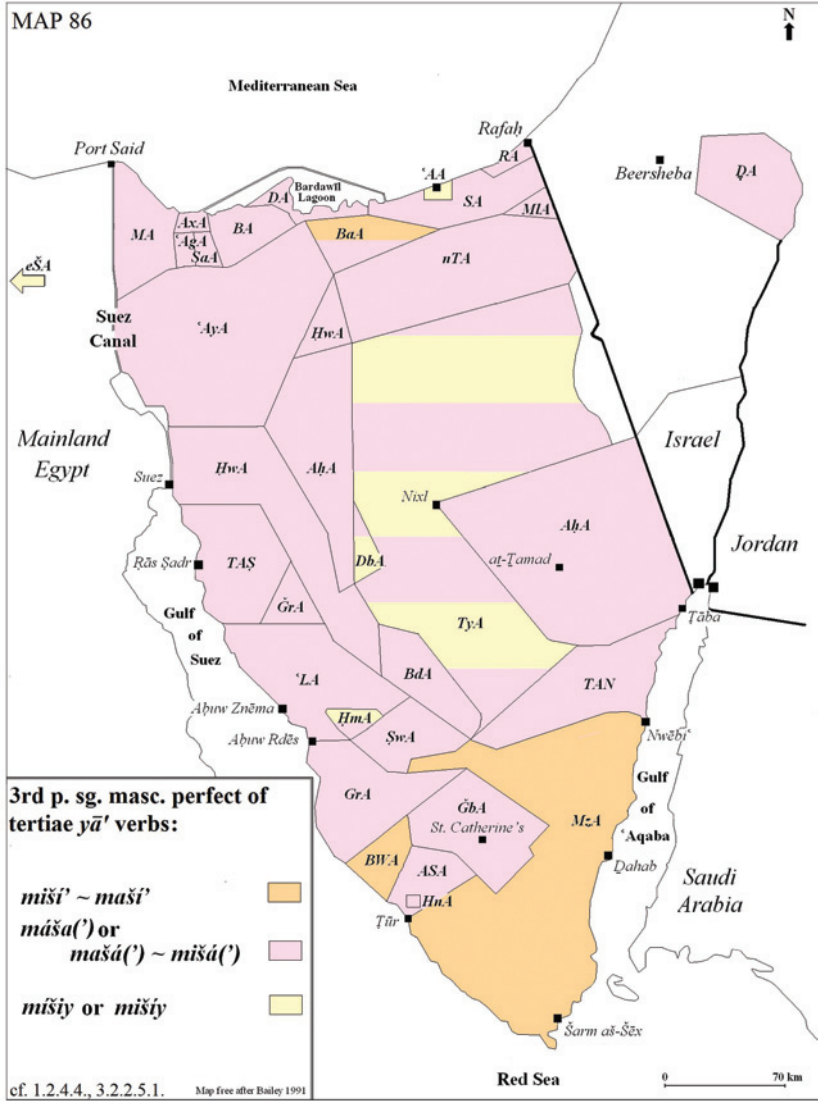
Map 81. Pl. com. demonstrative "these"
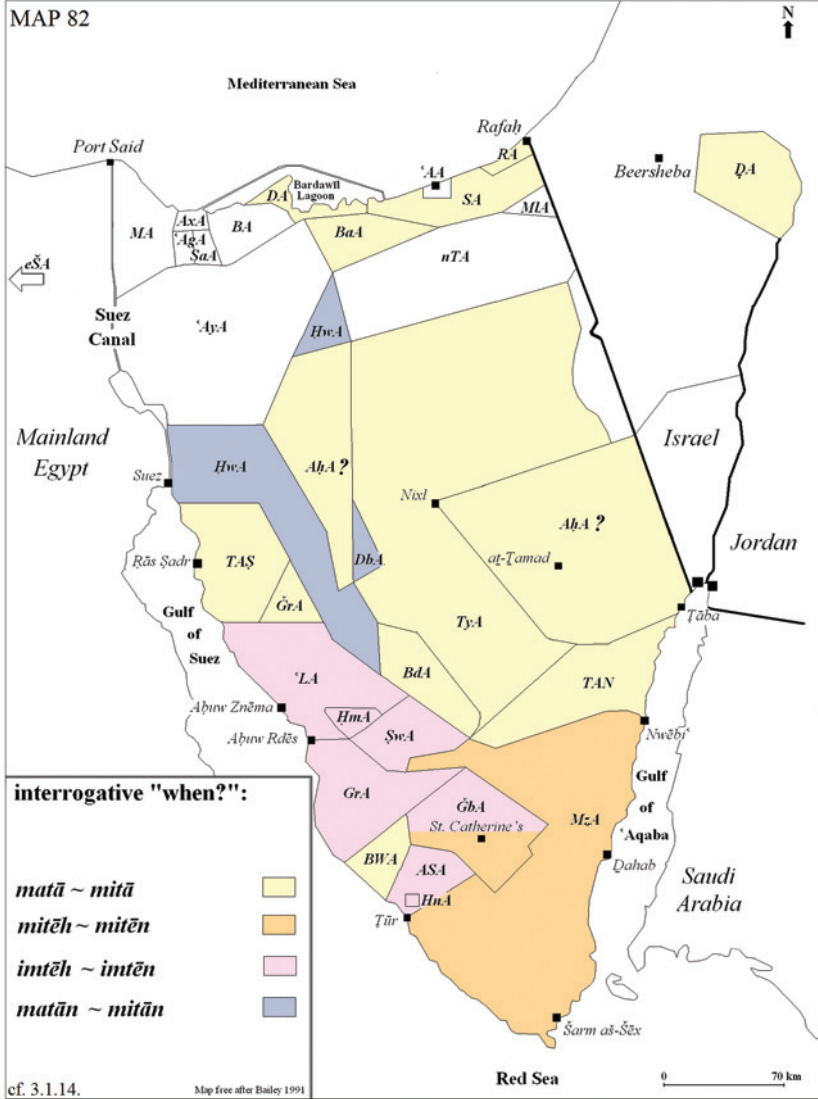
Map 82. Interrogative "when?"
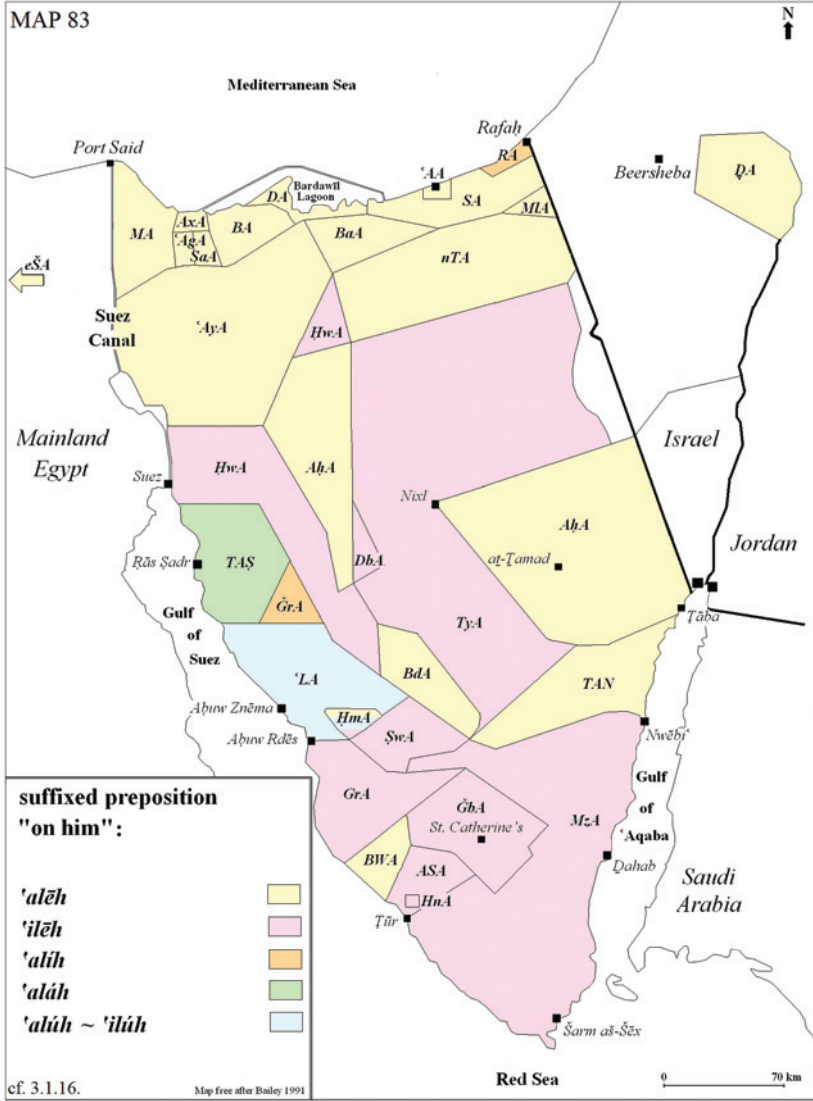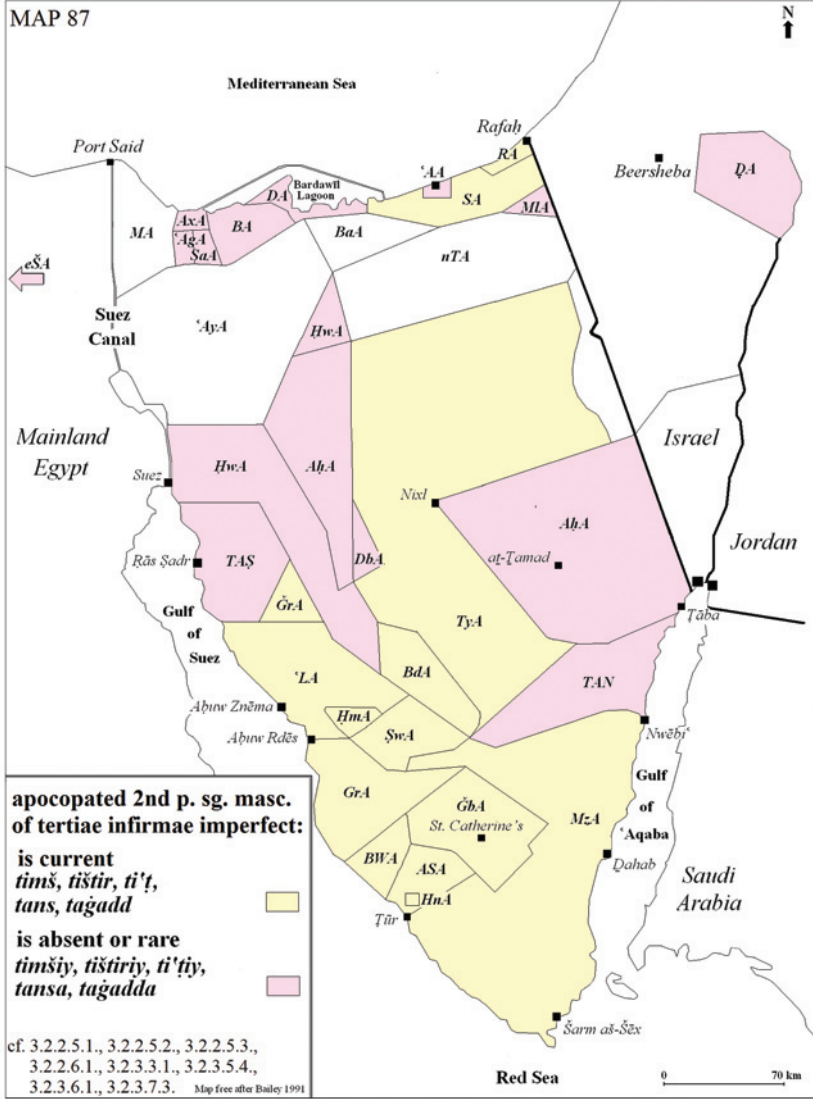
Map 83. Suffixed preposition "on him"
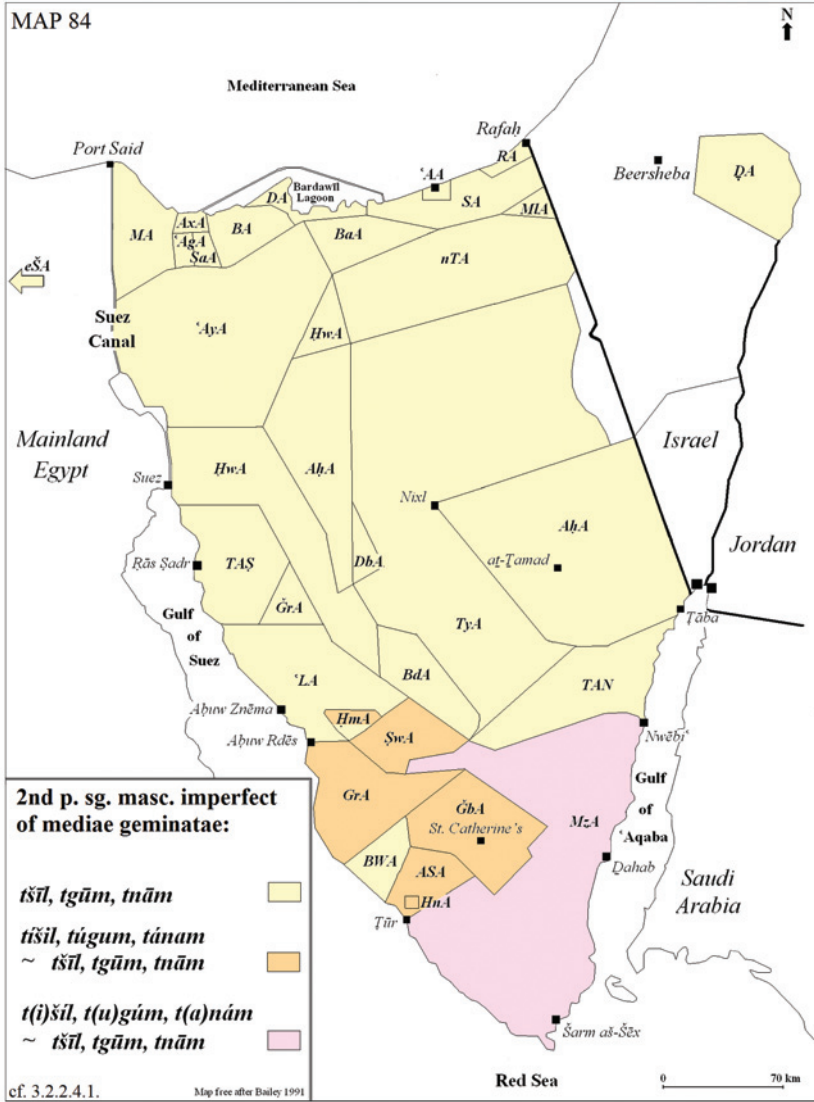
Map 84. 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of mediae geminatae
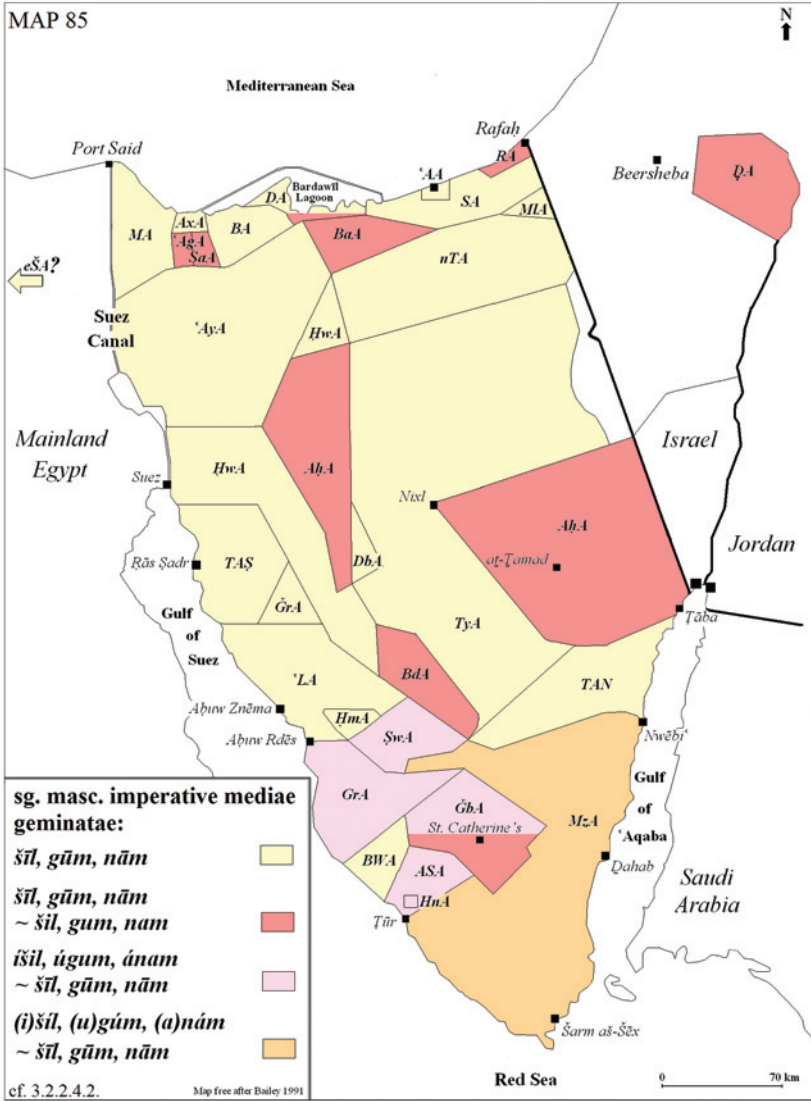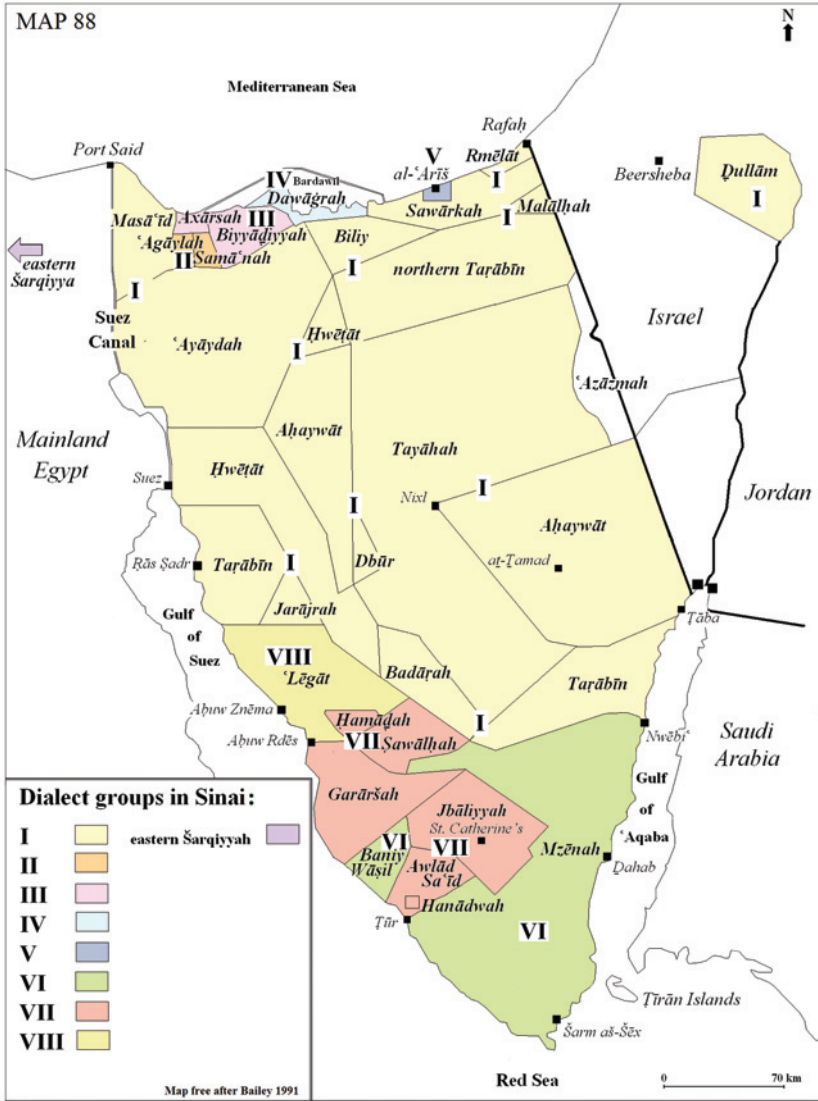
Map 85. Sg. masc. imperative of mediae geminatae verbs

Map 86. 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of tertiae *yā̕* verbs

Map 87. The apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae imperfect

Map 88. Dialect groups in Sinai