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A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

by Rudolf E. de Jong

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

A    stressed $a$ or ā
I     short high vowel $i$ or $u$
Abbreviations and Symbols

- **Í** stressed short or long high vowel (stressed i, u, ī or ū)
- **T** feminine morpheme (tā’ marbūtah)
- **v** any short vowel
- **V** any short or long vowel
- **ṽ** any long vowel
- **C** any consonant; a following subscript number (1, 2, 3 or 4) refers to the numbering of the radical in the root.
- **X** any back fricative (x, ġ, ĥ, 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 (synchronously) or developed into (historically)
- < develops from (synchronously) or developed from (historically)
- ≠ does not equal
- = equals, is identical with
- ≈ is almost identical with
- /\ any combination of Vs (vowels) and/or Cs (consonants) within word boundaries
- ~ co-occurs with
- / co-occurs not in free variation with
- # speech pause

The list below shows abbreviations used for tribal varieties of Arabic (the asterisk ‘*’ following the abbreviation indicates that the dialect has been described or partially treated in De Jong 2000). The tribes/non-tribal dialect communities are listed here more or less from north (-east) to west and then south (see map in Appendix ‘Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions’). Roman numbers indicate to which typological group the dialects have been concluded to belong. In brackets the names of the tribes follow in a classicized transcription:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialect</th>
<th>group</th>
<th>name of tribe/social entity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḌA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>the dialect of the Ẓullām (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970 (Ẓullām)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ṣrēliy, the dialect of the Ṣrēla (Ṣrēlā) (Ṭūlām)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ṣwēkīy, the dialect of the Sawākī (Ṣawārīkā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Māllāhiy, the dialect of the Malālihā (Malālihā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AA*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>‘Arāyšiy, the dialect of al-‘Arīš (not a tribe, but a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nTA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Northern Ṭurbāniy, the dialect of the northern Ṭarābīn (Ṭarābīn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ṣlāwīy, the dialect of the Bilāy (Ṣlāwīy) (Ṣlāwīy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA*</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Dūḡriy, the dialect of the Dāḡrah (Dūḡrah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Bayyādiy, the dialect of the Bayyādiyā (Bayyādiyā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AxA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Axsāsiy, the dialect of the Axsāṣ (Axsāṣ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Smēnīy, the dialect of the Samānah (Samānah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AGA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Gēliy, the dialect of the ‘Gēyla (Gēyla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Masʿūdiy, the dialect of the Masʿūd (Masʿūd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AYA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Ayyādiy, the dialect of the ‘Ayyād (Ayyūd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eSHA* near</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>eastern Šarqiyya, the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (a region in the eastern Nile Delta, not a tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Hwēṭiy, the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt (Ḥwēṭāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwJ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Hwēṭiy, the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt (Ḥwēṭat) in Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AhA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ḥaywīy, the dialect of the Ḥaywāt (Ḥaywāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TyA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Tīḥīy, the dialect of the Tayāḥa (Ṭayāḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DbA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Dībīy, the dialect of the Dūb (Dūb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAṢ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ṭarābīn of Ṣadr, the dialect of the Ṭarābīn of Raṣ Ṣadr (Ṭarābīn of Raṣ Sudr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRa</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ġarāğriy, the dialect of the Ġarāğrah (Ḡarāğrah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ṭambūn of Ṣarābī, the dialect of the Ṭambūn of Ṣarābī (Ṭambūn of Naʿwāḥī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BdA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td><em>Badriy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Badārah</em> (<em>Badāra</em> or <em>Badārā</em>)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'LA</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td><em>'Lēgiy</em>, the dialect of the <em>'Lēgāt</em> (<em>Ulayqāt</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HmA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td><em>Ḥmēdiy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Ḥamāḍah</em> (<em>Ḥamāda</em>)</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GrA</td>
<td>VII</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĞbA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td><em>Ǧbāliy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Ǧbāliyyah</em> (<em>Ǧibāliya</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td><em>Saʿidiy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Awlād Saʿid</em> (<em>ʾAwlād Saʿīd</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HnA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td><em>Hindiy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Hanādwah</em> (a non-Bedouin family in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr) (<em>Hanādiwa</em>)</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MzA</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td><em>Mzēniy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Mzēnah</em> (<em>Muzayna</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWA</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td><em>Wāṣliy</em>, the dialect of the <em>Baniy Wāṣil</em> (<em>Banū Wāṣil</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ǧahab for my stay. For always taking care of my local needs such as a reasonably priced apartment, for answering any questions local authorities might have about my activities, and for being a good friend, I wish to thank here ‘Aliy Mḥammad al-‘Āyiš, who is the owner and general manager of Mirage Village in Dahab and who is himself a member of the Biyyāḏiyyah in the north of Sinai.¹ In the course of time, apart from being a superb host for his guests, which comes naturally to him, he has proven himself a true friend on numerous occasions.

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

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

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

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

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

Amsterdam, 26 September 2010

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2 ‘Īd is of the Gṣār clan, for a tribal genealogy of the Taṛābin 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 šārm aš-šex 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, water sports and for some of the world's most spectacular dive sites. This development started from Na'āmah Bay, which lies some 5 kilometres more or less to the east of the village Šārm. After this bay had been filled with hotels, more hotels and tourist villages were constructed between Na'āmah Bay and Šārm, 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 Mozênah 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, the numbers given here are estimates.

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

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

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

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 No.61 of 30 January 2007, International Crisis Group, see www.crisisgroup.org (accessed 10-18-2010).

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

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

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

tribes in present-day Saudi Arabia just across the Gulf of ‘Aqabah and
in Jordan are also indicated on these maps (these are also included in
the map below): in the far north of the Ḥiǧāz and in the south of Jor-
dan we find Ḥwēṭāt (on Bailey’s map spelled as Ḥuwayṭāt), with to their
south (just east of the Ṭīrān islands in the mouth of the Gulf of ‘Aqabah)
the Masā’id and (a little farther to the southeast, along the Arabian Pen-
insula’s west coast) Bili. These tribes are also found in Sinai today: the
Masā’id live in and around the village of Ğilbānah in the northwest, Bili
(transcribed as Bāliy on the map below) are found not far south from the
main road al-Gaṅṭarah—al-‘Ari̇š, in an area named Ğarīf al-Ǧīzān near
ar-Rawdah 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 Ğarāğrah, whom
I interviewed in the area near Wādiy as-Sīg named al-Malbad, the Dbūr,
whom I found residing not far south from the road leading through the
Mitla pass to Nāxīl,7 approximately forty kilometres to the west of Nīxl,
and also the Malāḷīyah, who live near the border with Israel in the north-
east of Sinai. Another name not indicated on Bailey’s map is that of the
Hanādwah, who are actually a family said to be of non-Bedouin origin8
living in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr inside the territory of the Awlād Sa’īd.

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 Ğbāliyyah is undoubt-
edly one of the most sensational of the tribes in Sinai:10 one hundred men
with their wives and children are said to have been recruited in 530 CE

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

7 My Turbāniyy Ḩinformatī Eid told me that the name for the Mitla pass is actually
derived from Umm ʾIltah “(the region) with the tamarisk tree”. Bailey (1991:344) gives the
same etymology.

The town of Nāxīl in central Sinai is referred to among Sinai Bedouin as Nīxl.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Estimated time of arrival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ġbāliyyah(^a), Ḥamādah(^e)</td>
<td>pre-islamic period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badārāh(^f), Tayāhā(^g), Baniy Wāsil(^h)</td>
<td>10th (perhaps earlier) through 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šawālḥah(^i), ʾAwārāmah(^j), ʾLēgāt(^k)</td>
<td>14th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṛābīn(^l), Garāršah(^o)</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwēṭāt(^n), Mzēnah(^p)</td>
<td>17th c. (at the latest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

\(^d\) See Bailey 1985:33–35. Maiberger 1984:147–148 quotes Johann Ludwig Burckhardt writing that until well into the eighteenth century a few Ġbāliy families had remained Christians.

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

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

\(^g\) At-Tayyib 1997:290 lists them as one of the oldest tribes present in Sinai today. See also Šuqayr 1916:107, where also the presence of at-Tabanah, as the original inhabitants of the ‘garden of Feiran’, and al-Mawaṭrah is reported, and who in a distant past have their roots in the Ḥamādah. I have not heard the names of these former two groups mentioned during the research for this study.
Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620 actually spells their name as *al-Badārā* (الBADARA), with final ‘ālīf *maqṣūrah*, but it is spelled as *al-Ṭayyib* in Šuqayr 1916:307. They are a very small tribe, who are reported to have moved from their earlier abode on Gabal Iǧmah (on the central Tiḥ plateau), where they lived together with (and were allies of) the Tayāha. When they fell out with the Tayāha, they allied with the Ǧaʃāyḥ (a sub-tribe of the Aḥaywāt). Šuqayr (ibid.) suggests that perhaps the name ‘Iǧmah is derived from the word (from the same root ‘-g-m) describing their speech as “improper Arabic”: *luqah a’gamiyah*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Their origin is reported to be Qaḥṭānīy, through Ḥuḏam and Banū ‘Uqbah.

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


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

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

Bailey (1985:28–29) reports that the ‘Awārmah, Awlād Saḥīd and Garāršah are ‘jointly known as the Ṣawālḥah’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bailey 1985:25 reports that they moved into ‘Ayyādiy territory to their west (now Taṛābīn of Rās Ṣadr), the Mzēnah to their south (now Taṛābīn of Nwēbiʾ) and Ṭawara, Gbārāt (now found to the north of Gaza) and Rmēlāt (in my own transcription) to their north (now northern Taṛābīn). In turn, they had their “own place in drought-ridden central Sinai taken over by the Ahaywāt, although not by conquest”, see ibid. For more on the Taṛābīn see also at-Ṭayyib 1993:554–570 and at-Ṭayyib 1997:210–226.

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


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

26 The Mzēnah are reported (see Bailey 1985:33) to be originally of /halfringleftAdnānī (northern Arabian tribes) origin, but they later (between the 14th and 16th centuries) joined the Qaḥṭānī (southern Arabian) Ḥarb. For a description of their origins, history, presence in Sinai and other locations, see also at-Ṭayyib 1993:687–700 and 1997:368–474. (See also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark ²⁵ above).

e. Professional Activities of Bedouin in Central Southern Sinai Today

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

About an hour’s drive from the airport of Šarm aš-Šayx, Dahab also takes its share of tourism revenues, albeit a mere fraction of the money made in Šarm. Farther to the north in Nwēbi, which is about a two hours’ drive from Šarm airport, and along the coast stretching towards Ṭāba, much money has been invested to develop the tourism industry by (again predominantly) mainland Egyptians, but ever since the second intifāḍah28 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. 1):287–289.

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

28 The second intifāḍah started at the al-/halfringrightAqṣā 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, transporting fresh water from the mountains to hotels and also smuggling. Nowadays members of Bedouin tribes also find employment in development projects like the large scale South Sinai Regional Development Programme (SSRDP), which is funded by the European Union.

f. Research Questions and Purpose of this Study

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

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

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

31 This is said to include drugs (I was told that in January 2008 1 kilo of marihuana cost LE 50., 1 wīğiyyah (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 Ḡbāliyyah, Stewart 1990 is a very valuable collection of texts (in transcription, and with translation in Stewart 1988) on customary law recorded mainly among the Ahaywat, but also some of the other tribes. Stewart 1987 gives some texts and provides a sketch of the dialect of the Ahaywat. Material presented by Stewart was incorporated into De Jong 2000. Material presented by Nishio will be referred to in descriptive chapter I below.
which exist between the NWA dialects in this area. A similar related question is how far the Negev-type (the dialect of the ˁullām) 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 ˁullām 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 -" ūḳ for the 2nd p. sg. masculine and -" k for the sg. fem. found in group II of the north were surmised to be a feature more typical of southern Sinai dialects. Another question is therefore whether this is indeed the case, and if so, how widespread this feature is.

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

II. Fieldwork Methodology

a. Infrastructural Arrangements

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

34 This question was already posed in Blanc 1970:2.
was within reasonable travelling distance from the locations I wanted to visit for my recordings, while at the same time I was able to more or less ‘mix in’ with the numbers of tourists who come to spend a holiday in Dahab.\(^{36}\) On most of my visits I used a rented car from Cairo, while for recordings ‘off the beaten track’ I would sometimes rent a Toyota pick up truck, which handled remarkably well in sandy conditions. On other occasions I was able to bring a 4 X 4 vehicle (a Mitsubishi Pajero). With this vehicle I could visit Badāṛah in the area of ar-Ramlah and ‘Lēgāt and Ḥamāḏah in other hard-to-access areas in the central western parts of southern Sinai.

In Dahab I would rent an apartment with a desk, where I could write out my recordings with my guide and main informant Eid and where I would also occasionally conduct recording sessions with informants.\(^{37}\)

Recordings were made with digital recorders (2 Apple iPods and an Archos recorder)\(^{38}\) in MP-3 or WAVE format. To make sure speech was recorded properly, I always used extra cassette recorders making simultaneous recordings.\(^{39}\) The advantages of digital recordings are many: almost instant copies on computer become possible (without loss of sound quality), no wear and tear of audio tapes, and the recorders were easy to recharge with special cigarette lighter adaptors in a car. Other advantages are that recording of a speaker would not have to be interrupted to flip or change an audio tape, so that the speaker would be less actively reminded of the fact that he was being recorded. At ‘home’ in Dahab I would usually burn copies of these recordings on CD, and work with these copies on CD players (with extra battery powered Sony speakers) to write the texts out on my computer with the help of my friend Eid. The computer I used was an Apple G4, on which I had installed the necessary fonts for transcription and which were created by Manfred Woidich.

After my experiences with chances for permission for my research in northern Sinai, I had decided not to apply for official permission to

\(^{36}\) At the time of my field trips the town of Nwēbi’ had almost no tourists, and my chances to keep a low profile would have been much slimmer, while the town of Šārn aš-Šayx was too heavily infested with security personnel (the town regularly hosts international conferences and summit meetings) to remain relatively unnoticed.

\(^{37}\) Most of the recordings were however conducted in situ.

\(^{38}\) These were about the size of a pack of cigarettes.

\(^{39}\) Although the sound quality was excellent when set to the maximum sampling rate, the Archos recorder I used (with an external Soundman Kopfmikrofon) was quite difficult to operate, especially in conditions without light. After pressing the wrong invisible button, this could result in loss of the recording. The iPods were much easier to handle with a Griffin iTalk click-on microphone.
conduct my research in the centre and south, but to simply maintain as low a profile as possible. To remain friends with military or security personnel manning road blocks, a pack of cigarettes, or a bottle of water could work miracles.40

b. Selecting Targets for Field Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. Selecting Informants

Informants for interviews were—like so often in Arabic dialect research—selected on the basis of practical considerations: those who were prepared and able to be interviewed were invited to cooperate. Due to the conservative nature of Bedouin society, interviewing women was often not possible. Like in other areas of Sinai, women spend most of their time inside their homes or at a younger age herding goats and sheep. In towns like Ḍahab and Nwēbi‘ younger girls can often be seen trying to sell locally produced souvenir trinkets like bracelets, purses, etc. to tourists. Approaching a woman who is alone—e.g. when she is out herding goats and sheep in the desert, or shopping in town—is regarded as extremely bad manners and is for Bedouin themselves even punishable under customary law (اِقْصَاعُ الْغَرْفِيَّ 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.\footnote{Many Bedouin men have spent time in prisons, often even without official charges.} I have also often spoken to the mother of my main informant Eid, a Tuṣbāniyyih of appr. 65 years old.

Below the persons who were more or less formally interviewed\footnote{“More or less formally” should be interpreted to mean that I conducted recording sessions with them. Often enough though, I met people during my travels with whom I chatted and on whose speech I would then later—immediately after the conversation—take notes if I was certain to which tribal groups they belonged, e.g. several Mzēnah in ‘Ayn Ḥuṣrah, a couple of Ḥwēṭāt on the main road through the Mīlā pass, Ḥamādah on the way from the Ḥmayyīr area to Wādiy Liḥyān, several ‘Lēgāt near the area where I had interviewed Ḍadārāh (in the Ḥmayyīr area), Awlād Sa’īd near al-Buwayb, just south of Wādiy Fēṛān, Taṣṣābih in Ḍahab, etc.} during this research\footnote{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.} (their ages at times of recording follow in brackets) are listed. These interviewees are referred to by their first names only:

**Group I**

*Taṣṣābih Nwēbi* Šēx Šēš (47) (Nwēbi’) + several Tuṣbāniyy visitors from around Nwēbi’ and Wādiy Watīr in his mag’ād. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAN.

*Taṣṣābih Rās Ṣadr* ‘Īd (33) (Rās Ṣadr) (+ 4 or 5 of his friends of appr. the same age in Rās Ṣadr/‘Abuw Śwayrah, his mother, appr. 60). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAṢ.

*Ǧarāḏrah* Ṭalāl (29) (born al-Bāḏag/Wādiy as-Sīg); Swēlim (35) (born in Rās as-Sīg); Ğamāl (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 ĞrA.

*Tayāha* Mḥammad (34) (recorded in ‘Abuw Śwayrah); Slēm (49) (Rās aš-Šēṭān, from Rās ‘Bēd appr. 105 km south of al-‘Ariš); Aṃṃ Xiḍr (appr. 65) (recorded near (northeast of) aṭ-Ţarfa); Xiḍr (32) (northeast of aṭ-Ţarfa). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TyA.
Malālhah  Ḫidr (80); Salmān (appr. 30); Zāyid (67); all three from al-Madfnūnī/Nak'd Sabānī, very near (appr. 300 metres) the border with Israel. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MlA.

Hora  Slēmān (46) (born and living in al-Ḡidy); Mḥammad (born in al-Ḥammih, 20 km east of al-Ḡidy); Ţīd (28) (born and living in al-Ḡidy). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤwaA.

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

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

Group VI

Mzēnah  Ḥasan (54) (from Ḍahab); Mḥammad (from Ḍahab/‘Aṣalah) (appr. 28); ‘Āyid (25) (from Ḍahab/ ‘Aṣalah); ‘Abdallāḥ (appr. 34) (from Ḍahab); Ṣrayğ (appr. 40) (on main road St Catherine’s police post and appr. 30 km west of the police post at the intersection of the Nwebi’/ Ḍahab road and the east-west route to St Catherine’s monastery). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MzaA.

Baniy Wāṣil  Mḥammad (60) (born in Wādiy Ṭmjīm, to the southeast of Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr, about 30 km from the main road to Ṣarm); Sālim (25) (born in the mountains east southeast of aṭ-Ṭūr, near Wādiy Sliy). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BWA.

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

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

49 Depending on dialect, this may also be pronounced as Wādiy Islah, Wādiy Aslah or Wādiy Sliy. See 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5. in the descriptive chapters below. In Ģuqayr 1916:69 the name is spelled in Arabic as خ١٠١٣.
Group VII

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

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

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

Ǧbāliyyah  il-Ḥaǧġ Msallam (67) (from Brēgah, between Fērān and Ḥiṣwah/Wādiy Fērān); Mūsa (28) (Wādiy iṛ-Ṛāḥah, appr. 3 km north of the monastery); ‘Aṭwah (30) (Wādiy iṛ-Ṛāḥah); Slēmān (27) (St Catherine village); Slēmān (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 ḪbA.

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

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50 Hiswah is in Wādiy Fērān, coordinates are appr. 28.43.13 North and 33.36.33 East, see Google Earth.
51 The mouth of Wādiy Ba’ba’ is just to the northeast of Aḅuw Rdēs and just to the northwest of Wādiy Maġārhah. 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 Maġārhah turquoise was mined.
52 Wādiy Liḥyān (not indicated on Google Earth, but located appr. at 29.01 North and 33.25 East) is some kilometres (north) from Wādiy Mukattab, which is appr. at 28.50.58 North and 33.25.35 East and to the southwest Sarābīṭ alXādim. In this wadi there are several Nabataean and Byzantine rock inscriptions.
Ṣawālkhah Ḥsēn (38) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān); Ğim‘ih (18) (born in Aḥuw Rdēs, lives in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān); ‘Ātwāh (36) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ȘwA.

**Group VIII**

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

**d. Gathering Linguistic Material**

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

**e. Difficulties during Field Research**

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

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

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

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

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53 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:18.

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

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

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

III. Presentation of the Data

a. Presentation of the Data and Selecting Criteria for Comparison

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

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

\textsuperscript{55} For remarks on this issue, see De Jong 2000:31.
The methods and terminology used in this study are the same as those used in De Jong 2000. For a succinct description of these, see ibid.:50–54.
CHAPTER ONE


INTRODUCTION

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

In this chapter I hope to shed some more light on the questions that may have arisen from Nishio 1992, and additional material is presented including material on neighbouring dialects: the dialects spoken by the Awlād Sa‘īd, Șawălḥah and Garăršah. With some reservation, I have also added the dialect of the Ḥamādḥah 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 ạt-Ṭūr (just to the northeast of the town of ạt-Ṭūr).
I have not made recordings in the town of at-Ṭūr, since it is a mixing bowl of various Egyptian dialects from the mainland.\(^2\)

For the sake of brevity, the dialects of the Ġbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Sawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamāðah will be collectively referred to as ṬwA (Ṭuwara Arabic). The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt is not included in ṬwA here, although often (in other publications) the tribe of the ‘Lēgāt is also regarded as part of the Ṭuwara (i.e. tribes inhabiting the region known as at-Ṭūr).\(^3\)

The ‘Lēgāt are a relatively large tribe, and live on the Gulf of Suez and farther inland as direct neighbours with the much smaller tribe of Ḥamāðah. 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 ‘Lēgāt, which is concluded to be a separate group (VIII) in this study, will be referred to as ‘LA.

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

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

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

\(^3\) Von Oppenheim 1942:156 mentions the tribes of Sawālḥah, ‘Lēgāt, Ġbāliyyah 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 ‘Ugbah of the Ḥiǧāz and as one of the oldest tribes of the Ṭūr area, having arrived there after the Ḥamāðah.

\(^4\) Although the dīrah of the Taṛābīn of Ṣadr borders directly on that of the ‘Lēgāt to their south, the majority of Taṛābīn live in the northern part in and around Rās Ṣadr and Aḥwū Ṣwayrah leaving the southern part of Turbāniy territory (along the coast on the Gulf of Suez) near ‘Lēgīy territory virtually uninhabited.

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

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labdent.</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>intdent.</th>
<th>postalv.</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvul.</th>
<th>phar.</th>
<th>laryng.</th>
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<tr>
<td>vl vd</td>
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</table>

- **plosive**: b t d k (q) (ʼ)
- **emph.**: ṭ ḳ*
- **nasal**: m n
- **fricative**: f s z ṭ d š (ž) x ḡ h ‘ h
- **affricate**: š (ž) ʤ
- **trill**: r
- **lateral**: ḥ
- **glides**: w y

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

* The greatest difference with the phoneme inventory of group I is the presence of both phonemes /k/ and /ḱ/, 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 bēt’k—bēt’k (i.e. a strictly phonological representation being /bētk/—/bētk/) “your (sg. masc.—sg. fem.) house” isolates /k/ and /ḱ/ as phonemes in ṬwA and also in HnA and in ‘LA.

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

Like in almost all Sinai dialects, reflexes of *t and *d are interdents ɪ and ʊ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively). Examples listed below can be heard in all dialects discussed here.

Examples of /t/ for *t are: ktār “many (pl.)”, talāţīn “thirty”, ťūm “garlic”.

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* The conclusion of vowelless personal pronominal suffixes is drawn from the fact that suffixation of these pronominals will result in consonant clusters, which then draw stress onto a directly preceding short vowel, e.g. wālād + k > wālādk “your (sg. masc.) son” and wālād + k > wālādk “your (sg. fem.) son” (see 2.1.1. and NOTE in 3.1.12.2.). This is in contrast to the pron. suffix -k for the sg. masc. in the Naţdīy dialect of the Dawāğrah of the north, where a final cluster -Ck will not attract stress onto the directly preceding vowel, e.g. wālādk “your son”, rabbna yikrimk “may our Lord have mercy on you” (see De Jong 2000:434–435 and 450–451).
Examples of /d/ for *ḍ are: tāxḍin “you (pl. fem.) take”, bdār “seeds” (but see remark below) and dān “ear”.

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

The reflex for *ṭ may be s—mainly so in lexemes which must have been borrowed from or through a dialect without interdentals, like Cairene—as in masalan “for instance”, masal “(wise) saying”, ḥādsih “accident”, mērūs “inherited” (see also remark in 1.2.4.1.), yisīg bēhuṃ “he trusts them”, sābtah “fixed (sg. fem.)” and for z for *ḍ, as in bīzr “seed” and bīzrih “seed (n.u.)” (though pl. bdār! and budrah “seeds (like powder) from a palm tree” (the latter in HnA) and kaza “such and so”).

Emphatic interdental /d/ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the reflex of both *ḍ and *q, e.g. (as the reflex of *ḍ in) Ramaḏān “Ramadan”, itnaḍḍīfihi # “you clean it (sg. fem.)”, ḏaf“guest” and ‘ūridha “its (sg. fem.) width” and (as a reflex for *ḍ in) thafūd ělēh “you protect it” (but maḥafūẓ!), xuḏriy “type of green tobacco”, waḏ “compensation”.

Like in group VI, ṣ is the current reflex in lexemes like mwaẓẓaf “civil servant”, zaḥīb “officer”, b-iẓḥāb “precisely”, bīnẓabbīt “we do a proper job”, niẓām “system”. Some other examples are: btīzhār “she becomes lucky”, naẓrīytuḳ “your (critical) vision”, bīyabawwih “he ruins it (sg. fem.)”, maẓbūṭ “precise(ly)” and maḥafūẓ “well-kept”.9

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

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

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

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

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

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7 For “freezer” I recorded flēzar in SwA.
8 For the following examples in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986.
9 For GbA Nishio 1992 reports ḏ for *ḍ in bīḏr (p. 18 (III-16)), ḏ in m(u)waṭṭaf (p. 58 (VIII-40) and hafāḥ, yaḥafāḥ (p. 96 (XIV-26)). The emphatic plosive ḏ (pp. 5–6 (I-42)) is reported in ḏēḏ, dyūḏ “breast” and in ḡaḏbān “angry” (p. 16 (XVI-22)).
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(rg. fem.)”, fīkiy “in you (rg. fem.)” and ‘ilēkiy “on you (rg. fem.)” (the latter ~ ‘ilik). In ‘LA too this allomorph -kiy varies with -k when v precedes.

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

1.1.4. Post alveolar affricate /ţ/

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

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

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

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)

The reflex for * in the verb ask is ʿ in ŤwA, HnA and ‘LA saʿal, yasʿal.

In *raʾs “head”, loss of ʿ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel rās in all dialects. The pl. is rūs in ĞbA, ŠwA, HnA and ‘LA, but pl. ryūs in GrA, ASA and ḤmA.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern CiCaC (or CuCaC) are often aCCaC in ŠwA, 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)lāṣnaṭ “the suitcases”.

In ĞbA I have only recorded šnaṭ as in hāṭ iššnāṭ “get the suitcases!”, (i)līnāb “the grapes”, (i)lirḥān “the injections”. Similar forms are current in ‘LA.

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10 Bernabela 2009 transcribes ź throughout his texts for ĞbA.
11 Also reported for ĞbA in Nishio 1992:73–74 (X-9).
12 For ĞbA Nishio 1992:38 (V-35) recorded (šantāt ~) šonaṭ as pl. for šanta. Similarly (p. 36 (V-25)) plurals are (šokāt ~) šowak, (p. 34 (V-9)) (pl. of golāl “water jars”, (pl. of hōṣa) (hōṣāt ~) ḥowaṣ, (p. 34 (V-9)) (known in other parts of Sinai as xūṣah) “knife”, (pl. of halle) (ḥallāt ~) ḫelal (p. 34 (V-10) “cooking pot”, nogāṣ (pl. of nogta) (p. 143 (XX-11)) “point, dot” etc., but lōs “room” (with (originally) the article incorporated in the stem as a first radical) and the pl. form coined on the pattern aCCaC alwasdmacronbeloẉ (p. 26 (IV-6)). Of these pl. forms only the last strikes me as proper ĞbA. The other plurals of the pattern CIcaC are likely to be K-forms; such plurals are also current in e.g. Cairene.
1.1.7. **Secondary velarization**

There is a clear lack of velarization in ASA, ŠwA, GrA and HnA forms *rikbīḥ, ārkab* (pl. *rkab* in ḤmA and ĠbA) “knee(s)”. All dialects discussed in this chapter have a pl. demonstrative *dīl* (-iḥ) “these” (although ~ *dūm* for pl. masc.) and also the sg. masc. demonstrative is without velarization: (ḥā-) *ḏa~ ḍa* “this”.

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

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

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

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

The other forms listed for group VI may also be heard in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples for ṬwA and HnA are: *ištāqāl* “he worked”, *yištāqḷuw* “they work”, *saḷaxnāh* “we slaughtered it”, *gāl* “say”, *ramlāh* “sand”, *gālēn* “poor, wretched”, *burdugāl* “orange[s]” and *xāl* “my uncle”.

In ‘LA there are forms like *gāl, yḡāl* “say”, *xalāḥa* “he let her”, *txalḥa* “you let them (fem.)”, *arRamlah* “the Sands (area south of the Tīh escarpment)”, *gabīl* “before”, *naxāl* “palm trees”, *gālīl* “thick (sg. fem.)”, *šuḡ* “genitive marker”.

1.1.8. **Liquids Ṽ and ṛ**

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

Examples with velarized Ṽ listed for group VI may also be heard in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples are: *fār* “dust”, *zwārāh* “(annual) visit to the tomb of a wiliy”, *zyārāh* “visit”, *dārūh* “his house”, *fār* “rats; mice” and *ḡizzār* “butcher”, *sgārāh* “cigarette”. Some ‘LA examples are *fār, dār,*
Badāṛah “name of a neighbouring tribe”, ʾamār “enough (said to politely refuse tea or coffee)”, nār “fire”, nahār “daytime”.

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

Also sequences rā are generally not velarized when (vanished) i follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries or precedes. Examples listed for group VI are also heard in ṬwA and HnA. More examples are: farāšīḥ “loaves of bread baked on the šāz (= šāg)”, zrāʿah “agriculture”, darāhim “money”, drāʾ (< *dirāʾ) “arm”, mifṭirǟt or mifijiṭr ǟt “having eaten breakfast (pl. fem.)” and also (in ASA) zērān, pl. of zōr “throat”. Examples in ‘LA are: iǧrān “feet”,13 rāʿiy “herdsman”, Garāṛsiḥ “name of tribe”.

1.1.9. Nasal n
No remarks.

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

1.2. Vowels
1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes
The inventory for vowel phonemes in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:  i  u  long:  ĩ  ū
 ā

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

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

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

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

The risk of homophonic clash of low reflexes of *ay and high realizations of /ā/ is largely avoided: low realizations of /ē/ occur after emphatics or back spirants and are then near I.P.A. [ɛː] (indicated here as ā, e.g. xār “good”, hāṭ “walls”), but realizations of /ā/ following emphatics tend to be near [aː] and /ā/ following back spirants (if not velarized, like in e.g. xāf [ xaːf] “he feared” and ḡāb [ yaːb] “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 monophthongized to /ō/, even when it is preceded by emphatics or back spirants, (see also 1.2.4.).

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

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

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

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

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[4] 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. [αː], as in rāsī “my
head”, dārī “my house” and ḡārī “my neighbour”.

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

1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels

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

1.2.3. Short vowels

1.2.3.1. Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal pair</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xiḍr “male given name”</td>
<td>xuḍr “green (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xirm “long species of fish”</td>
<td>xurm “hole”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurb “nearness”</td>
<td>girbih “watersack”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡibb “kiss!”</td>
<td>ḡubb “love”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīfīr “zero”</td>
<td>safr “yellow (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīggāh “his guest section of the tent”</td>
<td>šuggah “fishing net”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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15 Bernabela 2009:13 gives IPA [ɛː] in neutral environments, [αː] following ‘ and b, 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 \( C_1C_2C_3 \) as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ḞbA both ‘\( i \)my’ and ‘\( u \)my’ were recorded for “blind”.

All dialects of group VII (except ASA and ḤmA, see 3.2.2.3.) have only \( u \) as imperfect vowel of primae hamzah verbs: \( yāxuḍ \) and \( yākul \) “he takes” and “he eats”. In ‘LA imperfect forms both with \( i \) as well as \( u \) were heard.

Also \( u \) in the sg. masc. imperative: \( ḵul \) and \( xuḍ \) “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ \( u\)\( ʕ \)\( dīy \) and \( kīy \) (sg. fem.), \( /XML/ \) and \( klūw \) (pl. masc.) and \( /XML/ \) and \( klīn \) (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”, \( yṛegg \) “flatten”, \( ybuwx \) “spit”, \( yxuṛr \) “leak water”, \( yḥukk \) “rub” and \( i \) in \( yḍizz \) “push”, \( yḥīg\( ʕ \) “run away”, \( yḡīz\( ʕ \) “shear (wool of sheep)”, \( yḡiss \) “test”, \( y Ḣizz \) ‘ala “hurt”, \( yšinn \) “sizzle (in hot oil)”, \( yḥill \) “be ḥalāl”, \( yḡīff \) “become dry” and \( yšigg \) “split”.

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

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

The exception to morphological conditioning noticed in group VI is also in group VII found in some forms coloured by the extreme velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -\( ḵ \) or -\( ḵu ḵ \). Examples in group VII are (a measure 1 medial geminate verb) \( ṭawla yhuṃṃu ḵ \) “don’t let it bother you!”, (colouring of the suffixed fem. morpheme -\( ḵit \)) \( nuxrūṭ\( ʕ \)k “your nose”, \( šuḡḷūt\( ʕ \) “yours (sg. fem.)”, and (colouring of \( i \) in the act. participle of measure 3) \( a ṇa mkāwūn ḵ \) “I’m fighting you”.

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\( ^{16} \) Nishio 1992:2 (I-9) reports ‘\( mī \) (which must be a misprint for m’\( i \)) for ḞbA.

\( ^{17} \) See remarks in Blanc 1970:127–128.

\( ^{18} \) It is not clear why \( yḍagg \) “punch”, \( ylu ḵ \) “hit” is usually with \( u \), while \( yšigg \) is with \( i \), but similar variation was noticed for the high vowel in the contiguity of \( ʕ \) (e.g. \( yfikk \) and \( yfīkk \) “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, ḤnA and also ḠA:

- preceding stressed Ci: ǧirid “palm leaves”, midin “town”, digīg “dough”, xîfîf “light”, ʿirîs “bridegroom”, ḥirîd “parrot fish”, and also ʿllîy “male given name *ʿAlî” and verb forms nisît “I forgot”, ligît “I found” and even 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae yâ’ verbs isîl “I carry” irîd “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. katîr “much, many”, kabîr “big; old”, taxûn “thick”, ṭawîl “long, tall”, dagîg “dough”, xamîs “Thursday”, ḥadîd “iron”.

- no instances were recorded of raised a preceding stressed CC: baṭṭix “watermelon”, sakkinah “knife”, barmîl “drum”, Kattrîn “(St.) Catherine” and also garîṭ “octopus” (similarly in ‘LA).

- (preceding stressed Cē): ʿilêkum “on you (pl. masc.)”, ligênah “we found him”, mišēt “he walked”, fidêt “I sacrificed”. In ‘LA raising of a preceding ē in the suffixed preposition ʿala was not observed: ʿalêhâ “on her” (but there was raising in ʿilûh, see remark *4 in 3.1.16.).

- (preceding CCē) middêt “I stretched”, sawwêt “I made” and istamînîn “we continued”, istaʾiddêt “I prepared”.

19 Such raising is not consistently reported for ĠB in Nishio 1992. Among isolated examples there, however, is: sawwêt “I made” (p. 99 (XIV-37)).
– (preceding stressed Cā): *midāris* “schools”, *misāfih* “distance”, *filāyik issēd* “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, *bihāyim* “cattle (pl.)”, *ḏibāyiḥ* “animals for slaughter”, *dīgāyiğ* “minutes”. In ’LA such raising also takes place (but is less frequent than in ṬwA and HnA): *gibāyil* “tribes”, but *manāṭig* “regions”, *mašāyix* “sheikhs” and *ḏawāliğ* “carpets”.

– (preceding stressed CCā): *niğǧāṛ* “carpenter”, *tillāğah* “fridge”, *zihgānīn* “fed up (pl. masc.)”, *šigṛā* “white (sg. fem.)”, *tmacrbelowurmā* “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”, In ’LA such raising occurs mainly in neutral environments: *kislān* “lazy”, *wiǧ ʿān* “suffering pain” and *suwwāg* “driver”, but *ʿaṭšān* “thirsty”, *ḏalṭān* “wrong”, *ḏalbān* “poor, destitute”, *fallāḥ* “farmer” and also (but without apparent phonetic factors inhibiting raising) *ṣab ʿān* “having eaten one’s fill”.

– (preceding stressed ā): *buxūr* “incense”, *xurūf* “lamb”, *ḏinūb ~ ḡunūb* “south” and (with initial *hamzah*) *uḥūy* “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 ’LA are *guʿūd* “young male camel”, *fuṭūr* “breakfast”, *lugūḥ* “pregnant (of a camel)”, *ubūh* “his father”. Like raising of a preceding *, raising of a preceding ā is optional; forms like *ʿaǧūz* “old lady”, *ḏanūb* “south”, *yahūd* “Jews” may also be heard. In ’LA: *rasūl* “Prophet”, ḥamūlah “animal led to a party for slaughter as a present”.

– (preceding stressed u): ma tihatkūṃš “not under you”, ma tihāthiš “not under her”, *ilāy* “on me”, *ḏimāl* “your camel” and in ’LA *ḏimāl* “camel”.

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

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

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

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* Some examples of such raising reported for ĠbA 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 hallāg “barber”, najjār “carpenter”, ḥaddād “smith” (p. 58 (VIII-37, 38, 39)), ṭayyāra “aeroplane”, barrād “teapot” (p. 99 (XIV-37)), ḡaḍbān “angry” (with d!) (p. 116 (XVI-22)) and makkār “cunning” (p. 148 (XXI-8)).
In 'LA stress in verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is like in group TwA and HnLA: *inwákál, ittáfág*, but in 'LA the article—like in groups I and VI—is stressable in a sequence aCvCv(+), e.g. *álğimal* “the camel” and *áddawa* “the medicine”.

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

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

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The *a* of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ıh].

Such raising is basically a pausal phenomenon. Examples are: *.ilká'akah diy bya'ağin̄a' ağin̄ maźbišt xalis "(for) this ka'akah he kneads the dough extremely well", tilsuh šwayyah nihā w šwayyah nihā bitkùn il'ariḍ . . . suas-nat "you take it out, a bit here and a bit here (i.e. there) and the ground will have become hot".*

Examples with raising in pause *ḥilwah ḥilwah bitnaḏdfilmī'dih . . . “good, good, it (sg. fem.) cleans the stomach” and lamma btín̄ištīy tamir . . . bingul 'alēha šannih “when it is stuffed with dates . . . we call it a basket”. Examples in 'LA: ḥāda kamān gabīlt ʾLēgāt . . . barduḳ faḏâkīh “this is also the 'Lēgāt tribe . . . there too” and ʾirf aḏdēf min biʿid, ġāy min iblād /tmacronbelowānyih “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 lhāṭah # “on the wall”, nḡārah # “carpentry*. *txalḥa ḡalidah # “you make (lit. let be) it (sg. fem.) thick", nafs ilgišṣah # “the same story”.

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

22 Nishio 1992: XV reports 'imālah up to I.P.A. [ɛ] in GbA. My impression was that it could reach up to [ı] in GbA, and often with a following glottal stop when final [ɛ] represented final -ā or -ā’.
In ṬwA and HnA raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ’ and ḥ, e.g. 
\textit{wās}’\textit{ih} # “wide (sg. fem.),” \textit{sab}’\textit{ih} # “seven”, \textit{iFāthih} # “the Fāṭihah sūrah”, 
\textit{dibīih} “animal for slaughter”.

1.2.3.5. \textit{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: \textit{la ha:dd sanah xamsiḥ} “(I was in school all the time) until the fifth year” and \textit{iysallūh ‘ala nnāṛ kidn laamma} yanšaf “they cook it over the fire like this (all the time) until it dries”.

1.2.4. \textit{Long vowels and diphthongs}

1.2.4.1. \textit{Monophthongization of diphthongs} *ay and *aw

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

Examples of [e:] for *ay are: \textit{ḥān “two}, bēn “between”, lēlīh “evening”, 
\textit{sēl “flood}, ḡwēl (dim. of ḡāl) “little side” and examples for ō for *aw are 
\textit{ḥāṭah “wall}, yōm “day”, fōg “above”, sōdīy “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 [e:] and [o:] as well, but are usually realized a little lower than I.P.A. [e:] and [o:], just above [ɛ:] and [ɔ:].

Examples are (for [e:]) ‘ān “eye, ḍāfīn “little children”, ḥāṭah “wall”, 
\textit{xār “good}, sād “hunting”, ḍāf “guest”, tār “birds”, and verbs ḥaṭṭān “we placed” and ḣistārān “we bought” and (for [o:]) ḥ:ā “year”, ḥ:ādah “male 
given name \textit{Ōdah}, xōf “fear”, ṣoxt “sound; voice”, though when \textit{h} precedes, [e] or [o], it is near I.P.A. [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] (resp.), as in \textit{Aбуw Ḥēb “name 
of a snake charmer (of the Aвлād Sa‘īd)” and ḥōdāq “camel litter (formerly 
used for the bride in a wedding procession)”.

In a few cases the diphthong *aw has a [e:] reflex: mēğūd (though ~ mawğūd, root \textit{w-ğ-d} “present”, mērūs “inherited” (root \textit{w-r-}, see remark in 1.1.2.) and also mērakah (root \textit{w-r-k}) “leather riding cushion supporting 
the lower leg”.

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

\textsuperscript{23} In \textit{ṢwA, ASA and HnA aw’a is conjugated: aw’a tans!, aw’y tansiyl!, etc. “don’t you 
forget!” In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. \textit{aw’a 
tansin “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”}.}
“drying”. The advantage is that arrangement of root consonants in the various morphological patterns has remained transparent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ʿalay “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. kūṭā “many (pl. com.)”, šgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḫbāl “ropes”, šāsīh “screen” and also wāḥīd “one”, sāhrīh “out grazing (goats and sheep)”, nāḡtī “my she-camel”.

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(’)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group VI and ‘LA</th>
<th>group VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿišṣi</td>
<td>ʿišṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šalāt il’iṣi, šalāt i’iṣi</td>
<td>šalāt il’iṣi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“winter”</td>
<td>“the evening prayer”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group VI ʿišṣi, group VII and ‘LA ʿišṭi* “dinner”

* When a directly precedes the reflex of final *-ā(’) in open syllable, it is usually not raised. More often, forms are like ʾil’āša’, ʾilḡadā’. Forms with raising ʾaši’, ʾḡade’ were recorded in pause and only in GrA and ʾSwA. Unraised forms ʾgāda’ and ʿaša’ were heard in sandhi.

Other recorded examples with raised reflexes of final -ā(’) are: ʾifʾ “viper”, ʾWādiy ʾĪsla’ (stressed on initial I-) “Wādiy Isla” ʾḏi “he came”, ʾilbunn ʾdi “these coffeebeans”, tižībhī “you get it (sg. fem.)”, ʾala gadd ʾhālnī “as much as we can afford”, ʾiftarnī “we had breakfast”. Comparable examples in ‘LA are: ʾḏi, ʾišīf’ih and also ʾišīf’iy “the viper”, ʾālwalad ʾḏi “this boy”, ʾḡambhi “next to her”, ʾbiddni “we want” and ʾilḵriḥ “the wages”.

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

When no phonetic factors interfere, raising of final *-ā(’) in sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects will reach (stressed) ʾ-īy, as in e.g. (colours) ʾsōḏāy “black; bad”, ʾṣaḥābōy “sand-coloured”, ʾgaḥbšōy “dark” and (physical defects) ʾḥōlōy “cross-eyed”, ʾḥabālōy “dim-witted”, ʾʿaržīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, ʾʿamīy “blind” and ʾšōlōy “left-handed”. Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

N.B. “here” is ʾnihā(’) or ʾnihāniy in ṬwA, ḤnA and ‘LA, but also ʾhīniy was recorded in ʾSwA, ASA, ḤnA, (only once in) ḤmA and K-form ʾhina or ʾhínih in all dialects.

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25 In group I raising of final -ā(’) is also prevented by a directly preceding in open syllable, see Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.
In dialects of group I raising (there to final -i’y) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable. In group VII raising to -i’ tends to be prevented by a preceding in open syllable (see remark * above in 1.2.4.4.). Examples are: *idda’wa “the medicine”, *issama’ “the sky”, (verb forms) *fada’ “he sacrificed”, *maša’ “he walked”, *sawa’ “together”, *istwa’ “it became cooked” and also *ána’ “I”.

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

The forms with raised final *-ā (> -i’) do not only occur in pause, but also in sentence-medial positions. Such raising is therefore concluded to have led to morphological restructuring, e.g. *ihna ittasalni’ buh “we contacted him”, *hatta líf’i’ ma tagdarš tuktulhi’ “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 *gi’ “he came” will be absent, e.g. *law *gaj’k dúxil “if somebody comes to you as a dāxīl”. Similarly, when *kri’ is suffixed, final -i will be -ā+, e.g. *krāh “his wages” and *krā u’q “your wages” (example from ‘LA).

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels è, i, õ, and ū

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on i and ū

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

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in è and i

The same type of off-glides in /ɛ/ and /i/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in Twa, Hna and ‘LA.

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26 See Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Like in group VI, many final yā’ verbs with an ī-type conjugation in the perfect have adopted—though often only partially—an a-type perfect in ṬwA and HnA. Examples are maša “he walked” (but mišyit “she walked”), nása and násat (but also nisyit) and also lígiy ~ lagā “he found”, ligyit ~ lagat “she found”, etc. (for further detail, see 3.2.2.5.1.). In ‘LA maša was recorded with a regular paradigm of the a-type and ligy with a regular ī-type paradigm.
Final -<i>y</i> may also reflect older final *-<i>ā</i>’ in the pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects: ‘<i>arǧīy</i> “limping (sg. fem.)”, <i>hablīy</i> “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, ‘<i>amīy</i> “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sōdīy “black”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from <i>nīhā</i> (-<i>nīy</i>) for “here”, the form <i>hīniy</i> is also often heard (though not recorded in 'LA).

Final -<i>iy</i> reflects fijinal *-<i>ī</i>’ in <i>bīriy</i> “innocent”, fijinal *-<i>īy</i> in <i>ṣābiy</i> “boy”, gāwīy “strong” and nībiy “prophet”, *-<i>ay</i>’ in šīy “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 <i>salāːm</i> “my goodness!”, (expressing an extreme degree) ḥayāh <i>ṣi</i>̲bāh xāːliš “a very difficult life” and in 'LA ẓalla nāːyim “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>i</i>-type imperfect, like <i>yāhartuːw</i> “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The rules for ṬwA and HnA are (for ĞBA there are exceptions like šššt’ “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 <i>il</i>- 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.

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<sup>28</sup> Also in ĞBA 1992, see ?arji (sic.) (a misprint for—in my own transcription—‘<i>arǧīy</i>) on p. 7 (1-61).
3. Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4. The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and āC(C) (including ā(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 ṬwA, 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, váxal, kátab, rágabab, náxaláb, yáhárát, yáhárút, álwalad, ál’ašá’, ál’išá’, šnáť, áššnáț, ánğasal, mínğisil, inğásalúw, áštágál, yístiğil, ištáğalúw, kátábátuh, rágabátuh and yá’aráqúw.

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

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are in ṬwA and HnA: iššti “the winter” (ǦbA), il’ašá’ “the dinner, il’iši “the viper” (second i is originally anaptyctic), šálát ilíši “evening prayer”, ilálab “the tins”, mádırásah “school”, ištáğal “he worked”, ittáfaq “he agreed”, inğásal “he was washed”, ilbásal “the onions”, ilwálad “the boy/son”, ittáfagúw “they agreed”, inğásalúw “they were washed”, hšiy “rocks”, šollý “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and šahábý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.).”

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

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29 In ‘LA the form ilihší “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:
*CiCaC > CmCaC > vl + CmCaC > vlCmCaC > vlvCmCaC
vlvCmCaC or vlvCmCaC

scenario 2:
*CjCaC > CjCaC > vl + CjCaC > vCljCaC > vCjCaC

C = ‘sunletter’ consonant vl = article il- or al-
Cm = ‘moonletter’ consonant v́ = stressed short v: i or á
va = anaptyctic vowel colouring with the following vowel

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>origin</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>cluster</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
<th>stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*durah</td>
<td>&gt; drah</td>
<td>&gt; C drah</td>
<td>&gt; C v drah</td>
<td>&gt; ádrah (v drah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (’)v-; there is a phonotactic constraint barring initial CC.
Forms in ‘LA are: īššiṭ, āl’āša, īlīṭ’ih, īlīši – īlīši, ālīgrab “the water-sacks” (but alāngar “the potholes”), ālābar “the needles” and also alādārah “the sorghum”.

Other forms with heavy sequences in ĪwA, HnA and ‘LA: ṭilī ‘na “we rose”, walādk “your (sg. masc.) son”, walādk “your (sg. fem.) son”, ūmmuḵ “your mother”, štī “winter”, zēn “good”, zēnih “good (sg. fem.)”, zēnin “good (pl. masc.)”.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Stress in (C)v Cv(C):32

(’)v cvC: ʿukul “eat!”, úgum “stand up!”, īšil “carry!”, ánam “go to sleep!”, ábar “needles” (“I come” is yīği[y]). ‘LA forms are: kul, gūl, gūm, śil, nām.33

CvCv(‘): ʿāša “dinner”, máša “he walked”, dáwa “medicine” (“stick” was recorded as ‘aṣa). The same forms are found in ‘LA.

Cv CvC: gablem “camel”, šágār “trees”, ṭāf “he dived”; wáqa “he stood up”, wāraq “paper” and sābiy “boy”, bíriy “innocent”, tāriy “moist; soft” (“he goes” is yīği[y], also in ‘LA). In ‘LA both types of stress are heard: walād or wālad, although the latter stress type is more current.

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

(C)vCvCvC: xašabah “piece of firewood”, ḍārabuw “they hit (perfect), bāladuh “his country”, nāsatuh “she forgot him”, ma nāsatuš “she did not forget him” (the latter two not in ‘LA), and gahawah-forms ḥamāra “red”, nā’ağiḥ “ewe”, āraq “I sweat”, āḥarit “I plough”, gāhawah “coffee”.34

(C)vCvCvCvC(C): ḍārabatuḥ “she hit him”, ma ḍārabatuš “she did not hit him”, rā gabatuḥ “his neck” and gahawah-forms gāhawatuh “his coffee”, tā’aragin “you (pl. fem.) sweat”.

Ilxašabah “the piece of firewood”, ilbādawī “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) innāxaḷah “the palm tree”, ibtāḥafruw “they dig”, ištāğaḷat “she worked”, inbāṣatūw “they rejoiced”, ittāfagat “she agreed”, tağawazat “she got married”, takāllamuw “they spoke”.

---

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

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

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

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

Reflexes of final *-āʾ(’) that are short -aʾ or -iʾ are stressed in conformity with the rules in 2.1.1.2. When no heavy sequences precede, e.g. (forms in ṬwA and HnA) (il)ʾāšaʾ “(the) dinner”, (il)ṯādaʾ “(the) lunch”, (is)šámaʾ “the sky”,36 but with heavy sequences available: išštiʾ “the winter”, šalāt ilīšūʾ (base form is iššī) “evening prayer”, ilifʾiʾ “the viper” and Wādiy Īslīʾ (stress on initial I) “Wadi Islah”.

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

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

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35 Nishio 1992 reports the same in terms of stress and raising for ĠbA, see p. 16 (XX-30 to XX-35), e.g. (in Nishio’s transcription) ḥamrā and sūdī.
36 Nishio 1992 reports the same type of stress in ĠbA, see e.g. p. 119 (XVII-1) sáma, but does not indicate stress in gadr and ’aše.
37 In Tuṛbāniy dialect this mountain is referred to as Ġibāl iGīnī; gniy is a pl. form < *qināʾ.
2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-iy reflexes in *CaCiy
In ṬwA and HnA, reflexes of the pattern CaCiy are CaCiy or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiy are stressed on the penultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.2.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al/il + *CaCiy
Prefixing an article to a CaCiy sequence has no consequences for the assignment of stress in ṬwA and HnA, e.g. innibiy or innábiy “the Prophet” and issábiy “the boy”. In ḤmA ánnibiy was recorded and in ĠbA ínnibiy.
šabi (pl. šibyán) “boy” with suffixes: šabiyyuk “your boy”, šabíyyi “my boy”, šabíyyhuṃ “their boy”.

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

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

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCIC v
Like in group VI, a short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC IC v and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.2., e.g. bitgázzizuḥ “you sow it (of watermelon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil)”. In this example reduction of the geminate is clearly audible.

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

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

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

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

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

In 'LA 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 suffixed preposition l occurs regularly. Examples are: yugʿūd-luh šaharān talāṭih “it stays (for itself) two or three months” (GrA). ibyāxūd-luh bṭā saʿtēn “he spends about two hours” (ǦbA), biyṛūḥū-luh “they go to him” (ṢwA), aḥrawwiḥ-luh giddām ilmīʿād ib yōm aw yōmēn “I go to him one or two days before the appointment” (ASA) and naḥafīr-luh “we dig (a hole) for it” (ḤmA).

Such enclitic suffixed prepositions were especially current in HnA, e.g.: _ibyibgā-luh mōsim “there is a season for it” (ḤmA), innās bitgūm taḥāšā-luh…ḥaṣiy “people then stuff it (properly)” (ḤmA), imwazzaf byāxud-luh ṭalātmīṭ ʿījēnēḥ “a civil servant gets (for himself) three hundred pounds” (ḤmA).

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

2.1.3.2.2. 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. mistahtar-buh “making fun of him” (ASA), w inṭammīs-buh “and we dip (food) with it”, timšī-buh “you go with him” (ḤmA), ibyiḥtimmū-buh htimām ġāmīd “they attach great importance to it” (ḤmA). In 'LA it was not recorded.

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

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

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

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the gahawah-syndrome is active in TwA and HnA. Some of many examples are: šáha “month”, šalát ʿilmaghārib “prayer at sunset”, báʿad “after”, byaxatībla ḥa “he gets engaged to her”, aha-bal “stupid”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, šahāby “sand-coloured”, taḥat “under”,.

In ‘LA we see similar forms, but stress may be on the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. naxál “palm trees”, 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 $\bar{u}C_3$) like maḥafūr “dug”, maʃaʃūm “pierced”, maḥabūs “imprisoned”, maḥatūt “placed” and ma aqīl “reasonable”, ma aḍīd “few, countable” and maʃaʃūb “forced, compelled”, but also maxzin “stored”, Maḥmūd “male given name” and maxtūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC $\nu C_3 (ah)$: maʃar “time of sunset”, maxaʃna “storage place, but also maʃrīb, maxazan and maʃgar “stone quarry”.

Examples in ‘LA: ma alex “known (pl. masc.)”, maʃrūm “pierced”, maxaʃtūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”, maʃgar “time of sunset”, but also maḥtūt “placed”.

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

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

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

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Nishio 1992 cites numerous instances of the gahawah-syndrome for ĠBA too, but there are also exceptions, such as a raq “lame” (p. 7 (I-61)), tābān “tired” (p. 41 (VI-9)), laʃwe “language” (p. 72 (X-1)), raʃwe “bubble, foam” (p. 125 (XVII-48)), wahla “mud” (p. 127 (XVII-64)) and verbs like ʿawaq, ya waq “bend” (p. 99 (XIV-41)) and xilis, yaʃla “end” (p. 103 (XV-4)) and other forms. N.B. the imperfect of a (there measure 1) verb like ʿata, yaʿti “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 yiʿti). 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”, yahṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb yaʾmal “he makes, does”.

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

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

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

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

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

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: fi lgaṣir42 ibtaxazīn-luḳ “in the storage you store it for yourself” and fi lgydīr ib ḥāluh “all of it in the pot” and in LA Ṣadir ilḤēṭān “name of a mountain range, south of Umm Iṭlah43 pass”.

2.2.2.2. Influence of l

Like r, l may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) ibyinzil isSwēs “he goes down to Suez”, ḥāḍiy btākil ilḏarbū “this one (fem.) eats jerboa” (though also ibtākl iṭwēr “it (fem.) eats small birds”) and f-awwil ilwaqt “in the beginning”. An example in LA is gāl yā raḡil ilmasal ʾī “he said ‘oh man, this saying…’ ”.

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

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41 Much more current for “make, do” is the measure 2 verb sawwa, ysawwiy.
42 gaṣr, pl. gsūr: a small cave-like hollow in the side of a mountain or katarah (a clay mound) used as a safe storage for goods (esp. foodstuffs).
43 The ‘Umm Iṭlah pass, on the main road from the Ahmad Ḥamdi tunnel near Suez to Nīxl, is usually indicated on maps as ‘Mitla pass’, see fn 7, p. 3.
2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ buka-ra-vowels underlined): w ilʾaḵiḥ iy̱y̱ā̱m̱ẖa ḵa̱m̱ā̱n śiʿib “food was also difficult (to get) in those days” and ihtuṭṭuḥ f̱i ʾss̱iʿi ʿn i̱w yugʿūd-ḻuh y̱ōm “and you put it in the goat skin and it sits (there for itself) for a day”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *raḡil
The form bil or ibil was not recorded.

raḡil for “man” was only recorded once in ḤmA and once in ‘LA, but there were numerous instances of yā raḡil. riḡgāl or raḡgāl (pl. rḡāl) 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) yōmīn iy̱g̱assismo “when he allots” and iygūmīn anniswān yāḥalbīn adduwābb (i.e. not iygūnīn anniswān yāḥalbīn 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: assamīn aššīḥiy “the wormwood ghee”, and ibyanfāʾ l albaṭīn i̱w fīh šiḡ̱ār l aṣṣādir i̱w fīh šiḡ̱ār l i̱ḏdišbih “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 ‘ayn following geminates was not noticed as a regular feature.

2.3. Anaptyxis

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. For ĠbA Nishio reports several instances of schwa resolving a consonant cluster C̱aC̱b (where C̱a is a geminate), e.g. (p. 196) hi biddāhe timší “she wishes to leave (or walk)”, biddone “we wish” and biddāken “you (pl. fem.) wish” and also (p. 56 (VIII-9)) non-elision of high vowels in mdarrəsɛ and mdarrəsīn for (respectively) “teacher (fem.)” and “teachers”.

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

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

\[
yiktib + uw > *yiktbw > yiktbuw "they write"
yug'ud + uw > *yug'duw > yugu'duw "they sit"\(^{46}\)
\]

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

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

\(^{*1}\) 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):

\[
sab' snin > sab' isnin "seven years".
#
byasrah w byidwy mi ġamaluh > # ġamaluh "he goes away and comes back at sunset with his camel".
\]

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.,

\[
#CC > # iCC: # byasrah > # ġamaluh
and
CC# > CiC #: b irriġil # > b irriğiil #
\]

\(^{45}\) 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.) iktib, (pl. masc.) iktibu and (pl. fem.) iktiben (p. 76 (X-27), imperfect forms (pl. masc.) yoğrobu, (pl. fem.) yoğroben, etc. (p. 88 (XIII-11) and also imperf. forms (pl. masc.) yinzalu and (pl. fem.), yinzalen, etc.

\(^{47}\) The base form is with initial consonant, which may be concluded from forms preceded by the article (its l assimilates to the first consonant), e.g.: ġamaluh, ġSwēs and also ġsnin (not (i)lissgayyir, (i)lSwēs or (i)lēsnīn).
An example in ‘LA is: *maṭraḥ ma timis, ɪris “wherever you are in the evening, spend the night there (lit. throw out your anchor)” (a saying advising not to travel by night); timis is an apocopated imperfect (root m-s-y), ɪris is an apocopated imperative (root r-s-y).

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

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

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

sámnit il ʿanza >

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

* sámt il ʿanz >

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

sámint il ʿanz “the ghee of the goats”

Another example is:

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

nílhig iššāz >

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

* nílh ġiššāz >

(after anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)

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

A similar example heard in ‘LA is úṭṛub ilmiʿzih > * úṭ̣rub ilmiʿzih > úṭ̣rub 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 compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC-CIC VC > CVCIC VC (e.g. nílhīg iššāz) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

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

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48 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *gult hēhū ḏī*! “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 bāluk* “you see?”.

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

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


2.3.3.3. *Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis*

2.3.3.3.1. *Consonant clusters with initial geminates*

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

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ʿind + C*

The suffixed preposition *ʿind* takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʿindaha* (“with her”), *ʿinduk “with you (sg. masc.)”), *ʿindik “with you (sg. fem.)”, *ʿinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”), *ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”), *ʿindukum (“with you (pl. masc.)”), *ʿindikin “with you (pl. fem.)”) and *ʿindina “with us”. The same forms are heard in ‘LA.

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

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

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

Examples are *arkábʾk ibyōḡʾinnuk “your knees hurt you (sg. masc.)”*. *arkábʾk ibyōḡʾinnik “your knees hurt you (sg. fem.)”*. In ‘LA *law arwāḥʾk 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 -ụk (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. *xalluḳ gāʾid “remain seated”, ʿinduk “with you”.*

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

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

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

In ṬwA, HnA imperatives of the verbs xád “take” and kád “eat” are úḳul, # uḳ́l{}, # uḳ́l{u}, # uḳ́l{u} and úxuđ, # uxuđ, # uḍ̪̃l{}, # uḍ̪̃l{u}.51

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

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

Of aspiration might become relevant”. I did not notice any relevant degree of aspiration. For the conclusion drawn here of /k/ 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 oxos ~ xos, oxos~ xoji, oxođ ~ xođ, oxođ ~ xođ, oxođ ~ xođ, but okul ~ kul, okli, okli 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)), šonat “bags” (p. 38 (V-35)), turab “graves” (p. 44 (VI-29)), sikaš “roads” (p. 69–70 (IX-24)), gešaš “stories” (p. 74 (X-14)), nogaš “points” (p. 143 (XX-11)), bešat “places” (p. 154 (XXI-1)), nimar “numbers” (p. 173 (XXIV-48)) and also dora (p. 17 (III-11)), gorı “villages” (p. 55 VIII-1)).
2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctic

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

Examples are (for the pattern *CICaC) (with initial a-) árkab “knees”, ášnat “suitcases, bags”, áštal “seedlings”, áḥgan “injections”, ánxař “noses”, áwros “workshops”, ángar “pits, álma/dmacronbeloẉ “lamps (sg. lamḅah), ágrab “waterskins”, ál lab “tins; packets”, ášwar “pictures”, áxṣa’ “testicles” and (with initial i-) íšti “winter”, íšši “viper”, šalāt íšši “evening prayer”.

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

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

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

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

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

Plurals ending in *-īy have reflexes -īy like in: gnīy “bunches of dates”, ḥṣiy “rocks”, rḥiy “hand mills” and ṣṣiy “sticks”.

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52 See also remarks in 1.2.4.4. above.
53 See also Nishio 1992:26.
54 From the context it is clear that the pl. of “date bunches” is meant here. Compare also differences in stress and pronunciation in Bīr igni / Bīr iigny / Bīr Ighnah (the latter stressed on I) (located at appr. 28.53.51 North and 33.43.35 East). Compare this to the different pronunciations of Wādiy Sli, Wādiy Sliy, or Wādiy Islah / Aslah (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
55 In LA a form ilišṣi was recorded, which must reflect the coll. ḥaṣan (root ḥ-s-y). I do not have an explanation for the raising of final -ā preceded by the emphatic sād.
In ṬwA (however, for remarks on ĠbA see 3.1.16.) and HnA the preposition *m*i followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed as follows, e.g. *im*ʿuh, *im*ʿuk, *im*ʿik, except stress is on the final (long) vowel in *im*ʿī. Negated forms are stressed *mā-m*ʿuš, *ma mīkuš*, *ma mīkiš* and (more predictably) *ma mīš*.

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

### 2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

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

#### 2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision

Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

#### 2.4.2. I-elision in sandhi

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

#### 2.4.3. Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi

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

1) bittalliʿ + ʿyūn > bittalliʿ ʿyūn > bittalliʿ iʿyūn > bittalliʿ iʿyūn “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: urbut ḡzāmuḵ > urbut iḥzāmuḵ > urbut iḥzāmuḵ > úrubṭ iḥzāmuḵ “fasten your seat belt”.

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

Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule

When Cₘ and Cₜ in Cₘ Cₜ ICₜ are phonetically close or identical, I is not dropped. An example is bitgāzzīzuh “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.) mtaʾáknīnī, (pl. masc.) mtaʾakninīn and (pl. fem.) mtaʾaknināt “irritated”. In ASA the i-elision does take place (with immediate subsequent anaptyxis) mtaʾakinnih, -īn, -āt and in ǦbA and ‘LA both mtaʾáknīnīh and mtaʾákinnih (and mitʾakninīn / mitʾakinnīn, mitʾaknināt / mitʾakinnāt) were recorded.

2.5. Assimilation

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressive total:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t + s</td>
<td>&gt; ss</td>
<td>sšūg “you drive”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t + š</td>
<td>&gt; sš</td>
<td>ššall “you pray”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t + ǧ</td>
<td>&gt; ǧǧ</td>
<td>biǧǧall “you stay/keep on”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Progressive total assimilation of initial /h/- of pronominal suffixes to preceding voiceless consonants is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, as well as reciprocal total assimilations of the type reported for group VI, e.g. ‘arīssa “her bridegroom”, mašlahatta “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 šāği (or šāž) > šāz “iron baking sheet”, sīğiḥ (or sīziḥ) > sīziḥ “game of sīḥah”. In ĠbA I heard both šizn and sīzn “prison” and bitṣaggīl and bitšazzīl “you record”, but in ASA I heard only basaġġīl “I record”.

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

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of *a in C₁aC₂īC₃(ah)

Raising of /a/ in the nominal pattern C₁aC₂īC₃(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional. Although such raising is much less regular when X precedes or follows /a/, it does take place in such positions. The high vowel that results from such raising is not elided.⁵⁸

To illustrate, some forms that were recorded with and without raising in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: kaṭir ~ kitir “many; much”, kabīr ~ kibīr “big; old”, garīb ~ girīb “relative (related person)”, gadīm ~ gidīm “old”, dagīğ ~ digīğ “flour”, ‘arīs ~ ‘irīs “bridegroom”, ‘aγīnih ~ ‘iγīnih “dough”, ba’īd ~ bi’īd “far”, taxīn ~ tixīn “thick, fat”, xafīf ~ xifīf “light (in weight)”, xamīs ~ ximīs “Thursday”, γaliḍ ~ giliḍ “fat”, naḍīf ~ niḍīf “clean”.

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⁵⁸ This situation is the same as what was described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273. Nishio 1992, however, lists several instances of elisions of this vowel, as in e.g. tgl “heavy” (p. 176 (XXIV-74), kṭir “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 liγiy in 3.2.2.5.1.
Some forms recorded only without raising are: ḥadīd “iron”, dalīl “list (of persons)”, tarīg “road”, gaṭīrah “boat”, sāḥīh “correct”, raksiṣ “cheap”, laʾim “mean person”, akīd “certain”.

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

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in *CaCīy (C₃ = y)
Raising of a preceding *CaCīy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well. Examples are: bíriy “innocent”, gúwiy “strong”, tiriy “moist; soft”, wiliy ~ wáliy “saint”, ʿIliy ~ ʿAliy “name” and níbiy ~ nábiy “Prophet”. A form recorded in 'LA is guwíy.

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

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in CaCCāC
Raising of a in the pattern CaCCāC in ĢbA and GrA is almost without exception when it concerns patterns C₆aC₅C. These patterns have been morphologically restructured as CᵣC₆C₅C₄ and CᵣC₆C₅C₄. Examples in ṬwA and HnA: šiġġāl "busy, functioning", riǧǧāl “man”, siyyāl “acacia tree”, millāḥ “salty type of herb”, niġgār “carpenter”, tillāqāh “fridge”, willāʿah “lighter”, hīṣās “sensitive”, hīğiɣāriy “pickaxe”, milyān “full”, siyyārāh “car”, gīltān “mistaken”, dībān “ wrinkled (of skin of fruit)”, although also ġaltān and raġġāl were recorded.

In 'LA comparable forms show that morphological restructuring has not taken place, but that raising is optional: šabdān “satiated”, raddāḥah “roast pit”, raggāṣah “dancer (fem.)", ʿaṭšān “thirsty”, ġaltān “mistaken”,

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59 In ĢbA ǧǧ in šaggāl 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 ĢbA, but mainly in neutral environments, e.g. tīfān “thin, lean” (p. 41 (VI-8)), wuḡān “ill” (p. 41 (VII-11)), riğiɣāl “adult” man” (p. 48 (VI-11)), but also Nağıɣar “carpenter” (p. 58 (VII-38)) and kaslān “lazy” (p. 149 (XXI-9)). Nishio usually transcribes a in positions influenced by emphatics or back spirants, e.g. baṭṭāniyɛ “blanket” (p. 29 (IV-35)), nasdmacronbeloẉsdmacronbeloẉāra “glasses” (p. 33 (V-3)), šaġġāl “servant” (p. 53 (VII-43)) and also ġaʾān “hungry” (root ġ-w-’) (p. 23 (III-53)).
galbān “poor, destitute”, fallāḥ “farmer”, Sallām “male given name”, rawyān “well-watered” and (raising in) kislān “lazy”, wiǧ ān “suffering pain”, sīyāl “acacia”, suwwāg “driver”, tillāğah “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 tîrmā “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”, girʿā “bald (sg. fem.)”, ‘iwṛā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gilbā “stupid (sg. fem.)” and ḥimṛā “red (sg. fem.)”, šifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, zirgā “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)” and also xiḏrā “green (sg. fem.)”. Though forms like xaḏrāʾ and ḥamṛāʾ were also recorded. In ‘LA examples are: xaḏrāʾ, ḥamrāʾ, samrāʾ, but also zirgāʾ, tîrmā “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

Notice that raising of a in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final -āʾ has not been raised to -īy, e.g. arqīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, and also the gahawah-form šahābīy “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 ~ riǧǧāl “man”, niǧǧāʾ “carpenter”, Silmān “male given name”, sīyād “fisherman” (but šayyādīyah “dish with fish”), biṭṭāniyyah “blanket”, kislān “lazy”, wiḏ ān “suffering pain”, šib ʿān “sated, full”, zihgānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”.

Variation or no raising in galṭān “mistaken”, galbān “poor, wretched”, ʿayyān “ill”, taʿbān “tired”, malyān “full”, ʾitšān ~ ʿaṭšān “thirsty” and in sg. fem. adjectives for colours and physical defects: zirgāʾ ~ zargāʾ “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)”, ḥimrāʾ ~ ḥamrāʾ “red (sg. fem.)”, raddāḥah ~ riddāḥah “trap net (used to catch birds)”, safrāʾ “yellow (sg. fem.)”, ḥamgāʾ “stupid, silly (sg. fem.)”, marrāt “times”, habbāt “corns, bits” and miṇāt + “the meaning of”.

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

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in . . .CaCāC. . .

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

Some of many examples are: gināyāt “small water courses”, ġināyat “gardens”, zimān “in the past”, gizā “glass”, tīmān “eighty”, midāris “schools”, misāfih “distance”, misākil “problems”, filāyik iṣṣēd “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, bīhāyim “cattle (pl.)”, ǧibāyih “animals for slaughter”, digāyig
“minutes”, šīmāl “north”, kimān “also”, dirāhim “money”, ma mišāš “he did not go”, ʾilfāʾiy “the vipers”.

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

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

Here too, raising occurs less when l or r follows a, or X precedes, e.g. malāyīn “millions”, šalāh “prayer”, ṭalāṭah “three”, xalāš “ready”, salām “peace”, Garāršah “name if tribe”, farāṣih “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāz (i.e. a šāğ),” marākīb “boats”, farā nah “Faraos”, and ʾaṣān “because”, ḥaṣāh “rock”, xawāǧih “foreigner”, Ḥamādah “name of tribe”, ḥayāh “life”, ǧazāl “gazelle”. Also when ’ precedes, raising is not regular, e.g. (ʾ)amākin “places”, (ʾ)asābi “fingers; toes”. Such examples may also be heard in ‘LA.

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

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in …CaCá…

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

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

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

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A

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

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61 Compare C.A. afʿa, pl. afāʾīn (root f-ʿ-y).
3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)
Like raising of a towards I.P.A. [ı] in open syllable preceding Ī, a in open syllable is also often raised—usually towards I.P.A. [ʊ]—when it precedes Ī. Examples are: buxūr “incense”, xurūf “lamb”, ǧiṁūb ~ ǧunūb “south”, ǧumūs “food dip”, ʿurūs “bridegroom”, fuṭūr “breakfast”, yuhūd “Jews” and (with initial hamzah) uḥūy “my father” and uṣūy “my brother”, and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs ugūm “I get up”, ugūl “I say”. These forms may be heard in ṬwA, HnA and also in ‘LA. Some additional ‘LA examples are lugūḥ “pregnant (of a she-camel)” and guʿūd “young male camel”.

Like raising of a preceding Ī, raising of a preceding ū is optional; forms like ʿaḡūz “old lady”, ǧanūb “south”, ʿarūsah “bride”, hamūlih “animal led to a party to be slaughtered”, yahūd “Jews” may also be heard. Such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

Notice also the form (in HnA) ʿabūr in the name madrasat ilʿAbūr “the Crossing62 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”, nāmūsiyyīh (namūsiyyīh) “mosquito net”.

A gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Ī is not raised, e.g. maxatūb “engaged”, maʿārūf “known”, maḥafūd “well-kept”, maʿādūs “lentil soup” (such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA).

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

62 The ‘crossing’, C.A. ʿubūr, refers to the crossing of the Suez Canal of the Egyptian army into Sinai during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War (also referred to as Ramadan War, October War or Yom Kippur War).
Some instances of $u$-type verbal perfects are $\text{ǧulu}\text{ṭ}t$ “I grew fat”, $\text{ǧulu}\text{ṭ}tin$ “you (pl. fem.) grew fat”.

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

### 3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined

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

$$a > I / C_a C_b I C$$

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

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

### 3.1.2. Reflexes of $^*C_a C_b C_3 (ah)$

For reflexes of $CaCC(-ah)$ the following forms were recorded in ṬwA: $\text{badw}$ “Bedouin”, $\text{táḥat}$ “under” (also ‘LA), $\text{fāham}$ “coal”, $\text{wahdah}$ (≈ $\text{wiḥdih}$ in ĞbA, ḤmA and ‘LA) “one (sg. fem.)”, $\text{nahyih}$ “direction”, $\text{ṣá\text{ḥ}ab}$ “difficult”, $\text{ṣakl}$ “shape”, $\text{ṣāhān}$ “dish, plate” (also ‘LA), $\text{ḡady}$ “kid goat” (also ‘LA), $\text{ṣadr}$ “chest”, $\text{wākīl}$ “food” (also ‘LA), $\text{kaṛs}$ “(fat) belly”, $\text{kalb}$ “dog” and $\text{ḡidd}$ “grandfather” (also ‘LA) and $\text{ḡīfn}$ “eyelid”.

### 3.1.3. Reflexes of $^*CaC\text{IC}(ah)$

$\text{wirk}$ “thigh”, $\text{kiṭf}$ “shoulder”, $\text{kilmīh}$ “word”, $\text{ṣirkīh}$ “company”.

### 3.1.4. Reflexes of $C_a C_b C_3 (ah)$

Some reflexes of $C_a C_b C_3 (ah)$ are: $\text{bunn}$ “coffee beans”, $\text{rizz}$ “rice”, $\text{kull}$ “all; every” (also ‘LA), $\text{umnī}$ “mother” (also ‘LA), $\text{uxt}$ “sister” (also ‘LA), $\text{Ǧimīh}$ “male given name” (also ‘LA), $\text{muddīh}$ “period”, $\text{ḥurmah}$ “woman” (also

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63 For ĞbA $\text{wilk}$, $\text{wlāk}$ is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (I-58).
3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

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

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: snīn “years”, ʿyūn “eyes” and ʾynēh “pound (money)”, ʾgāl “mountains”, gṣayyir “short”. Such forms are regular in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

When V is a short vowel, the anaptyctic vowel which precedes the CC cluster ‘on the surface’ has become part of the morphological base. The phonetic value of this anaptyctic is steered by the vowel that was already part of the base. Examples with short vowels are: ʿrākab “knees”, ʿḥgān “injections”, ʿīf “viper”, ʾīštī “winter”. Such forms are regular in ṬwA and HnA, but in ‘LA forms like ḥgān, ṣnāṭ “suitcases” and ṑnāb “grapes” are predominant, although also forms ʿīfʾiy ~ ṣfʾih 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” (ḠB), niḥāʾiy “final” (ḠB), siyāḥah “tourism” (ḤM), ʾiḥārahʾ “an “consisting of” (ṢwA) and gīṣāz “glass” (although perhaps better interpreted as underlying |gazāz|) (‘LA).

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in ṬwA and HnA. The verb “come” however has imperfect forms with a long base vowel i, e.g. yiǧīy “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. ḡrayyib “near”, ṣgāyyir “small; young”, ṛfayyī “narrow”, ʾdāyyif “weak (sg. fem.),” ḡlāyyil “few; little”, kwayyis “good”, šwayyih “a bit” and (as a common dim. used to euphemistically refer to women) ḥrāyyīm “women”.

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

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

3.1.7. Pattern aC1C2aC3

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

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

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

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

3.1.8. The elative patterns aC1C2aC3, aC1aC2C3 and aC1C2a

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

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

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is *il-* in all dialects and the relative pronoun is *illiy.* The article is not a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.), except in ḤmA, where the (stresable) article *al-* is used parallel to the (unstressable) article *il-* Examples in ḤmA are *ál aši‘* ~ *il aša‘* “the dinner”, *álğađa‘*~* ilğađa‘* “the lunch”, *álğađanam ~* *ilğađanam* “the sheep”.

Examples in other dialects of ṬwA are: *ilğalma‘* “the camel”, *tá‘ağn il‘ağīnāh diyyīh* “you knead this dough”.

The relative pronoun is *illiy.* Examples are: *fi Dāhab.w illy biyrawwkh Uḅuw lHōl* ~ “there are beautiful dive sites here in Dahab. And there are those (lit. sg.) who go to the Blue Hole” and *ḥasab kimmiyāt illaban illiy ‘indaḵ ‘ad* “depending on how much milk you have, of course”.

An example of how *il-* and *al-* may appear side by side in ḤmA: *ناسراَح b ilğađanam w iḥna ṣğayyrīn. ingōṭir ilbār 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 goodness, and (then) the rain would fall . . .”.

Only in ḠBA and ḤmA *l* of the article assimilates to *šti*’ as in *f-iššti* “in (the) winter”. In other dialects one will hear *fi listi*’. Similarly (in ḤmA) *hāt āšṣnaṭ* “go get the bags!”, where the other dialects have *iḷāšṣnaṭ*. An example from ASA is: *hāṭ biğīb ilāṣwar walla tānan ʾiḷēhīn* “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. *fi bu’rīn bitxāf halḥīn law nizilt iššāri*, bitxāf mi l’aṛabīyyīh “there are camels that are afraid, if you would now go out on the street, they would be afraid of a car”.

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

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67 Aḥbuw lHōl—literally “the Sfnix”—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 ḠBA (i.e. spoken near the monastery or in Wādiy aṣ-Šex near ʿṬarfa) see remarks below in 3.1.16.
álgṛab “the watersacks”), but sometimes colours with the vowel of the noun, as in ṣalāt ʾilīʾi “evening prayer” and ʾiliši “the rocks”.

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Forms in ṬwA and HnA are: ummn “mother”, uxt “sister”, īhna “we”, (ʾ)ābar “needles” and (ʾ)āwađ “rooms”. Forms recorded in ‘LA are ummn, uxt, ālabar and ālawađ.

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

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction

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

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

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

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

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 rágabatuh “his neck”.

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

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

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The 

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

3.1.10.3. *T preceded by the gahawah-vowel* 

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel a directly precedes T in open syllable are treated in the same way as forms in which such a preceding a is 'historical'. Examples are: gahawati “my coffee”, gahawatuh “his coffee”, gahawat’k “your coffee” and naxalati “my date palm”, naxalathum “their date palm” and naxalat’k “your (sg. fem.) date palm”, etc.  

3.1.10.4. *T following ā*  

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

Apart from šugli and hagg, K-form btā’ is often used. The paradigms for šugli and hagg are like those listed for group VI, except the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. suffixes, which are -huw and -kuw in group VI: see 3.1.12. for the suffixes in TwA and HnA. A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.  

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70 For a different situation in group I, see De Jong 2000:158–160.  

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

72 In Nishio 1992:192–194 (XVII-8) transcribes a as T vowel in closed syllables in šoglat + C and haggat + C (e.g. šoglatnɛ and haggatnɛ “our”) and at for T in open syllables: (with T-vowel not elided!) šugləti and haggəti “my” (though elision of the a is given as an option in e.g. marr(ə)tēn “twice” (p. 173 (XXIV-49)), but e in e.g. bta’etnɛ “ours” and the T-vowel elided in open syllables, e.g. in bta’ti “my”.
3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In ṬwA and HnA the following independent pronominals are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū / huwwa</td>
<td>hum(ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī / hiyya</td>
<td>hīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>intah / intih</td>
<td>intum / intaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy</td>
<td>intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ānā</td>
<td>īhna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

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

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

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73 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-13) gives "hū (~ hūwa cf. < CLA or Cairene Ar.)."
74 Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-17) gives "hummo (~ humma cf. < Cairene Ar. Young people prefer this form.)" for ḠbA.
75 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-15) gives "hī (~ hiyya < CLA or Cairene Ar.)" for ḠbA.
76 Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-19) gives "hennɛ" for ḠbA.
77 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) only gives inta for ḠbA.
78 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-9) only reports the form "intu (~ intow cf. [intów])", without final -m.
79 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-5) gives "inti (~ intey cf. [intéy])" for ḠbA.
80 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-11) gives inten for ḠbA.
81 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-1) also gives ana for ḠbA.
82 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) also gives īhna for ḠbA.
2. masc. \( \text{C-} {}^*-k, \text{CC-} {}^*-k, \tilde{v}-{}^*-k \) \( -\text{kun}^* \) \( -\text{kaw} \)
   fem. \( \text{C-k, CC-ik, } \tilde{v}-{}^*-k \) \( -\text{kin}^* \)
1. com. \( \text{(C)}{}^*-i, \tilde{v}-{}^*-y \) \( \text{(poss.)} \) \( -na / -ni(\text{)}^* \)

Initial \( h \) of the suffixes (in 3rd sg. fem and 3rd pl. masc. and fem.) often assimilates to a voiceless preceding consonant, e.g. \( \text{bēttuṃ} \) “their house”.

For allomorphs used with the preposition \( \text{ʿin} \), see below 3.1.16.

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

Some examples are: \( \text{ṭāʾamuh hiluw} \) “its taste is sweet”, \( \text{udugguh} \) “I pound it”, \( \text{ṣaḷaxnāh} \) “we skinned it”.

\(^*2\) Endings in \(-i\) occur mainly in pause and in neutral environments.

\(^*3\) For remarks on the use of superscript \( \text{'} \), see remark \(^*2\) of 3.1.12.2. of group VI in chapter II. For a likely development of these suffixes see the note below these remarks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{84}\) For ĠbA Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-14) gives consonant + o and long vowel \( \tilde{v} + (h) \).

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

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

\(^{87}\) Nishio 1992:178–179 (XXV-8) gives \( k \sim \text{ek} \) for the 2nd p. sg. fem. and ken for the 2nd p. pl. fem.

\(^{88}\) Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-10) for ĠbA also lists final \(-m\) in kom. For the pl. fem. form Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-12) gives ken.
In the verbal system of these dialects the endings -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-ıkîtb-uw and y-ıkîtb-in and (perf.) katab-uw and katab-in, and (for the second p. pl.) (imperf.) t-ıkîtb-uw and t-ıkîtb-in and (perf.) katab-t-uw and katab-t-in.

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

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

This reinterpretation could take place only after velarization/ pharyngealization of the preceding k (due to the influence of following -uw on this -k-) had become stable, which resulted in the second person endings pl. masc. -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.90

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 -ḥun and -ḥin and verbal second person pl. suffixes -tum and -tin (if these are indeed ‘original’ verbal endings of the second p. pl.) comparable

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90 See also De Jong 2000: 169, remark *3).
99 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 -\textit{um} (or -\textit{uṃ}) and -\textit{in}, as in perfect (masc.) \textit{katab-um} and (fem.) \textit{katab-\textit{in}}, and imperfect (masc.) \textit{y-ikitb-um} and (fem.) \textit{y-ikitb-\textit{in}}. One of my \textquote{Lēgiy informants explained that the -\textit{uṃ} endings are used in more formal settings, such as court sessions.

3.1.12.3. Pronominal suffixes and negation
When forms with pronominal suffixes are negated with the compound negation \textit{ma . . . -š}, we have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{bidduh} biddhuṣ ma bidduš* ma biddhuṃš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{biddhi} biddhin ma biddhiṣ* ma biddhinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{bidduk} biddkum /-kuv ma biddákš ma biddkumš /-kūš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{biddik} biddkin ma biddikš ma biddkinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>\textit{biddī} biddni ʾ ma biddniš* ma biddniš*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice that negated forms do not show lengthened vowels and stress does not shift (like in e.g. Cairene Arabic: \textit{ma šuftuṣ} “I did not see him”, \textit{ma šuftahaṣ} “I did not see her”, \textit{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 -\textit{kum} is the ‘original’ pron. suffix rather than -\textit{kuv}, since one would not expect lengthening of a final vowel (-*ū < -u(w)) with affixed -š (i.e. -ūš as in -\textit{kūš}) in a system where other vowels are not lengthened when they precede affixed -š. A form comparable to the unlengthened forms in \textit{ma bidduṣ}, \textit{ma biddhiṣ} and \textit{ma biddniš} would have been \textit{ma biddkuṣ}.

Some examples of negated verb forms are:

- \textit{katabatuḥ} “she wrote it (sg. masc.)” \textit{ma katabatuṣ}
- \textit{katabáṭtī} “she wrote it (sg. fem.)” \textit{ma katabáṭṭiṣ}
- \textit{katábtuḥ} “I wrote it (sg. masc.)” \textit{ma katábtuṣ}
- \textit{katábtīṭ} “I wrote it (sg. fem.)” \textit{ma katábtīṭiṣ}

---

\textsuperscript{91} Nishio 1992:96–97 (XXVII-21) also lists bidd, but indicates with a schwa that a cluster dd + C is resolved, as in e.g. hi 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 ĠbĀ, it seems, e.g. Nishio 1992:296 (XIV-27) ydawwər, ydawwəren “they (masc., fem.) search”, etc. Such forms were not heard in my recordings.
Notice the difference in phonetic quality of the vowels preceding -š; the (originally) pausal vowel is directly suffixed with -š.

Other such examples are: *ukūlhiʾ “eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. gem.)”, (negated) ma tākūlhiš “don’t eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. fem.)”, *uklīhiʾ “eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tākḷīhiš “don’t eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)”, but *uklūha “eat (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tākḷūhaš “don’t (pl. masc.) eat it (sg. fem.)”.

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

\[(i)šīluw \text{ “take (pl. masc.) away”} \quad \text{negated as} \quad ma tšīluš\]

Other such examples are:

\[uxḍīh \text{ “take (sg. fem.) it”} \quad \text{both negated as} \quad ma tāxḍīš\]

and

\[uxḍūh \text{ “take (pl. masc.) it”} \quad \text{both negated as} \quad ma tāxḍūš\]

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

N.B.

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

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

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis

Near deixis*1:

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

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

In ‘LA the form dum (~ dīlīh) was also elicited (but a conceivable ‘din 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 ḠbA.

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

Far deixis*1:

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

92 Bernabela 2009:27 reports several instances of ḏōl for the pl. masc. and one instance of ḏīlah for the pl. fem.
Like in near deixis, also in far deixis HmA tends to have forms with initial hā-: hāḍāk(-ah), hāḍīk(-ih) and hāḍallāk(-ah).

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

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

Like in group VI, “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” is hēhū ḡi, hēhī ḡāt, hēhum(ma) ḡuw and hēhin(na) ḡīn.

In ĠbA also the following forms were elicited:

- ḫirkummah hikīn(nih) “those women (there)”
- innās hukūm(ḥ) “those people (there)”
- īhwālad hikūw(ḥ) “that boy (there)”
- ilbint hikīy(ḥ) “that girl (there)”

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

- hukkū ḡi “there he has come”, hikkī ḡāt “there she has come”, hukkūm(mah) ḡuw “there they have come”, hikkin(nah) ḡīn “there they (fem.) have come”.

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

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

3.1.14. Interrogatives


1) mīn, 2) ēš / ūh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) (i)mtēh (mtēn in HmA and ASA and (i)mtēn ~ mitēn in ĠbA) and waqtēsh (less regular waqtēh), 5) wēn, 6) ʿiyāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam + sg. “how many?”, ṵuṭrāš / Ṽūṭrēš “how much?”, 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

Nishio 1992 lists the following forms for ĠbA: 1) mīn (p. 183 (XXV-30)), 2) ēš ~ ē (p. 183–184 (XXV-31)), 3) lēš ~ lē (p. 184 (XXV35)), 4) mitēn (~ inta from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-36)), 5) wēn (~ fēn from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-34)), 6) ayyu (p. 184 (XXV-32)), 7) kēf (~ izzay from Cairene
Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-33)), bkam (p. 185 (XXV-38)), 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 ĞbA of izzāy or izzayy ~ azzayy (no instances of kēf or kīf) which I attribute to adaptation by the speaker to the speech of the interviewer (who spoke Cairene).

3.1.15. Adverbs

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

“Here” is niḥāʾ or niḥāniy (fī dī is also used) K-form hínih also appears and perhaps the original form is hínīy. “there” is hnūtiy or hnōtiy (fī ḍāk(-ah) is also used, hnuh occurs less), ġād, sometimes ġādiy (both with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)” (the opposite being ġāy “nearby”). “Thus” is kīdiy or kīdiyyih, “now” is ḫālhīn, “still” is lissā (and K-form lissa) and “afterwards, after that” is baʿadēn.

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

As a possible origin for the locative adverb niḥāʾ, one could think of *hinā or *hunā followed by the (postpositioned, see 3.1.9.1. of chapter III) deictic element hà, 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 (> *hinīhā or *hunihā, see 3.1.5.) 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 ā 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?) henāk (~ henāk) for ĞbA.

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

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

*bilḥēl “very, extremely”* was heard in ĠbA only in combination with a negation in the meaning of “at all”: *baṭla’ mašiy ’ana. bass b ilġamal ma ţili tiš. b iṣṣarāḥah, miš b ilḥēl ilbu rān ma baridhīnš “I go out on foot, but I have not gone out with a camel. Frankly, I don’t like camels at all”. Another example is *rawwaḥt iddēr, iw fataḥna šṣubiḥ. issuwwāḥ māš ilǧim ’ah suwwāḥ b ilḥēl “I went to the monastery, and we opened up (i.e. their souvenir shop) in the morning. There are no tourists, on Friday there are no tourists at all”.

3.15.4. **bišwēš “slowly, carefully”**

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

3.15.5. **min xōf “lest”**

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

Instead, a construction with *aḥsan* was recorded in HnA: *bitsawwwha, mumkin itxallha ġalī/dmacronbeloẉah, bass in tabga ṛfayy ’ah tabga ēh? aḥsan ibtístiwiy “you make it, you could make it thick, but if it is thin it what? Otherwise (lest) it becomes cooked”.

3.16. **Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>'ala</th>
<th>(i)m(i)</th>
<th>#4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>luh</td>
<td>lēhum</td>
<td>'ilēh</td>
<td>'ilēhum</td>
<td>im'uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>leha</td>
<td>lēhin</td>
<td>'ilēha</td>
<td>'ilēhin</td>
<td>mihha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lük</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>'ilēk</td>
<td>'ilēk</td>
<td>ūṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>lēkin</td>
<td>'ilēkin</td>
<td>'ilēkin</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>'ilēna</td>
<td>ūṃ</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*2 In ḤmA *lē uḳ* and *lēk or lēkiy.*

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94 In forms like *gāḷ lūk or gāḷ 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 ‘alīt-lu “she said to him”. Examples of such vowel lengthening or stress shift were not recorded in these dialects.
In ASA and ‘LA lay.


In ĠbA both ‘aláy and ‘ilēy (compare idēy “my hands”) were recorded.

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

In ĠbA near the monastery and in ‘LA forms without stressed original anaptyctic are current: (sg.) m‘uḥ, m‘uḳ, m‘ik and m‘i. In Mrēr (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) ĠbA forms are like those listed in the paradigm above (ími‘uḥ, etc.).

In ḤmA 3rd p. sg. masc. was recorded as m‘uḥ, and 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. as mṭ‘k and mṭ‘k resp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>fōg+*3</th>
<th>min+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>fīh</td>
<td>fōghā</td>
<td>minnuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>fīhum</td>
<td>fōghuṃ</td>
<td>minhuṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fīha</td>
<td>fōgha</td>
<td>minha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fīk*1</td>
<td>fōgik*4</td>
<td>minnik*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fī'kum</td>
<td>fōg’kum</td>
<td>min’kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fī*3</td>
<td>fīna</td>
<td>fōgna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fī*2</td>
<td>fōg*4</td>
<td>minnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fīkiy</td>
<td>fōgī</td>
<td>minna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ‘LA fīkiy.

*2 In ASA, ĠbA and ‘LA fīnī.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wara+</th>
<th>‘ind+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>warāh</td>
<td>‘induh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>warāhum</td>
<td>‘induhuṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>warāha*1</td>
<td>‘indaha*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>warā’k*2</td>
<td>‘induk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>warāk*4</td>
<td>‘indik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>warāy*3</td>
<td>‘indi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warāna*4</td>
<td>‘indina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following notes below a few remarks follow on negated suffixed forms. These remarks do not apply to ‘LA, since ‘LA does not use compound negation; negating suffixed prepositions in ‘LA is done with preceding mā, e.g. mā warāha, mā ‘indi, etc. (see also remarks in 3.1.12.3. and 4.2.).

*1 In ASA warāha (negated ma warāhaš), but in ĠbA warahi and (negated ma warahiš).

*2 Negated forms in SwA were recorded as (sg. masc.) ma warā’kšš and (sg. fem.) ma warākšš. Other dialects have negated forms (sg. masc.) ma warākušš and (sg. fem.) ma warākišš (compare negated ‘ala+ below).

*3 Negated ma warāyš.

*4 Negated ma warāniš.

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

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

| Negated: | ‘ala+*1 | fog+ *
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ileš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilehúṃš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilehiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilehínš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilekuš*2</td>
<td>ma ‘ilekúṃš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilekšš*2</td>
<td>ma ‘ilekínš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma ‘aláyš*3</td>
<td>ma ‘iléniš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

*2 In SwA negated forms are ma ‘alê’kšš and ma ‘alêkšš.

*3 In ĠbA ma ‘iléyš was also recorded.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i)m(i)+</th>
<th>min+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>má-m uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma míñhiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma m’ukšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma m’ikšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma m’išš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10
Independent cardinal numbers in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets):\(^{95}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wāḥid / wiḥdih} & \quad \text{1} , \\
\text{/tmacronbelowēn / /tmacronbelowintēn} & \quad 2 , \\
\text{/tmacronbelowāla / tmacronbelow} & \quad 3 , \\
\text{aṛba ʿah} & \quad 4 , \\
\text{xamsīh (xams)} & \quad 5 , \\
\text{sittih (sitt)} & \quad 6 , \\
\text{sub ʿih} & \quad 7 , \\
\text{/tmacronbelowamānyih} & \quad 8 , \\
\text{tis ʿih} & \quad 9 , \\
\text{ʿašaṛah} & \quad 10 .
\end{align*}
\]

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

\(^2\) /tmacronbelowēn and /tmacronbelowintēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. wāḥidēn “two boys” and īdēy i/tmacronbelow intēn “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ʿašaṛ t-ūlīf “ten people”, ʿalaṭ t-iyām “three days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10
Only three ordinals were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: awwil, īnāy, tālīṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: n and up
Numerals recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iḥdāšaṛ} & \quad \text{11} , \\
\text{iṭnā ̣šaṛ} & \quad \text{12} , \\
\text{/tmacronbelowālaṭṭašaṛ} & \quad 13 , \\
\text{aṛba ʿṭašaṛ} & \quad 14 , \\
\text{xamisṭā ̣šaṛ} & \quad 15 , \\
\text{siṭṭā ̣šaṛ} & \quad 16 , \\
\text{saba ʿṭašaṛ} & \quad 17 , \\
\text{/tmacronbelowamanṭašaṛ} & \quad 18 , \\
\text{tis ʿṭašaṛ} & \quad 19 , \\
\text{miyytēn} & \quad 20 , \\
\text{miyytēn alf} & \quad 21 , \\
\text{milyōn} & \quad 22 (and īnāy /tmacronbelowulīmīyīn).
\end{align*}
\]

\(^*1\) In ‘LA hīdāšaṛ

\(^*2\) Forms recorded in HnA have endings in -āšir. In ṢwA also shorter forms like sittāʾiṣ, sabī ʾtāʾiṣ and āmāntāʾiṣ were recorded in allegro speech. Informants for ASA claimed endings in -āʾiṣ are more current than those ending in -āšir or -āšar.

\(^*3\) In HnA and ‘LA milyōn.

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: ṭaḷaṭ t-ūlīf “three shapes”, ṭaḷaṭ t-ūlāf “three thousand”, ʿašar t-iyām “ten days”, xamis t-ūshur “six

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

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

3.1.18. The dual

Sufffixing -ēn (or -ān) to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. nuṣṣān “two halves”, šahārān “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”, riǧlēk “my (two) hands” and īdēy “my (two) hands” and īdēk “your (two) hands”.

* In ḠbA forms with initial a- were recorded: adēy and adēk, and also adēhum “their hands” (pl. adēn).

3.2. Verbal Morphology

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

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

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

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

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

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96 Nishio 1992:5 (I-36) gives sg. yīd and pl. yīdēn/yidēn, e.g. xamsɛ yidēn.
co-occurring with *intuw* and *-kuw*—in surrounding dialects of group VII GrA, ŠwA, 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 infirmæ). The perfect ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. may be *-at* or *-it*, depending on the vowel-type of the perfect (contrast group VI in chapter II).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kátab</td>
<td>kátabuw*4</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širbuv*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kátabat</td>
<td>kátabin</td>
<td>širbit*3</td>
<td>širbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>katáb</td>
<td>katáb<em>tuw</em>4</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>širbítuw*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>katábit</td>
<td>katábitin</td>
<td>širbitý</td>
<td>širbítin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>katáb*4</td>
<td>katábna</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>širbña</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

\(^{*3}\) Notice the ending *-it* instead of *-at* used in group VI.

\(^{*4}\) In HmA (and also in *LA*) often *katabtum* and *širbtum*. Notice that similar forms were recorded in the dialect of the Samarâ’nah in northern Sinai (see De Jong 2000:298). *-um* endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms were also recorded in HmA (like the situation in SaA), but were rarer, e.g. *ḥattum* “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 Samarâ’nah of group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:296–301. In this dialect of group II, older speakers also used the ending *-um* for 2nd and 3rd pl. masc. forms in the imperfect, see remarks in 3.2.1.2. below.
katabtum can be heard, of which the forms in –m are characterized as “sub-standard” (see Woidich 2006:75) (see also remarks on imperfect forms in 3.2.1.2. below).

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect
Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Like in group VI, this vowel harmony is also found in the 1st. p. sg. com. of i- and u-type 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).

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C1aC2 uC3, *yaC1 aC2 uC3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u-type perfect*1</th>
<th>“grow fat”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gūluḏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūluḏīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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. aḏrob ~ oḏrob “I hit” (p. 88 (XIII-11)) and enzil “I descend” (p. 107 (XV-15)).
The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain personal characteristic) may have $C_1 u C_2 u C_3$, $yu C_1 C_2 u C_3$ reflexes (imperfect paradigm is like that of $yugrub$ 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 $C_1 i C_2 i C_3$ and the imperfect then $ya C_1 C_2 a C_3$.

A paradigm elicited in ASA is: (sg.) $tuxun$, $tuxnit$, $tuxint$, $tuxintiy$, $tuxint$ and (pl.) $tuxnuw$, $tuxnin$, $tuxintuw$, $tuxintin$, $tuxinna$. The imperfect is $yutxun$.

In $GbA$, $SwA$, $HmA$, $GrA$ and $HnA$ also $guluḍ$ ($\sim giliḍ$ in $GbA$) (and imperf. $yuğluḍ$, in ‘LA $giliḍ$, $yuğluḍ$), but $tixin$ (imperfect yatxan) and $kibir$ (imperfect yakbar).

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

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles
Like in group VI, active participles in $TwA$, $HnA$ and ‘LA are formed with the patterns $C_1 â C_2 i C_3$, $C_1 â C_2 C_3 â/-i$ (sg. fem.), $C_1 â C_2 C_3 â$ (pl. masc.), $C_1 â C_2 C_3 â/-i$ (pl. fem.).

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

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives
Imperatives of regular verbs in $TwA$, $HnA$ and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. $\text{áftaḥ}$, $\text{áftaḥiy}$, $\text{áftaḥuw}$, $\text{áftaḥin}$ “open!”, $\text{úg}$ $\text{ýud}$, $\text{úgu}$ $\text{díy}$, $\text{úgu}$ $\text{duw}$, $\text{úgu}$ $\text{dín}$ “sit down!” and $\text{ínzil}$, $\text{ínzliy}$, $\text{ínzluw}$, $\text{ínzlin}$ “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. $yɔrid$ and $yɔgaf$.

In $HmA$ “stand” was recorded with an $i$-type imperfect: $yɔgif$ “he stands”, $yɔgifuw$ “they stand”, etc.

In two instances in ASA verbs without the wāw, i.e. with an initial short vowel, were recorded: $tάlíd$ “she gives birth” and $yisig bēhuṃ$ “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.).

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

But imperative forms were also recorded in ĠwA, HnA and ‘LA: $aw’a$ rāṣuk, $aw’i’y rāṣik, $aw’i’u w̱yasḵu̱m, and $aw’in ryūskin (although the pl. of rā’s in HnA and ‘LA is rūṣ).

In ĠbA: $aw’a$ rāṣuk, $aw’a$ rāṣik, $aw’a$ rūṣkum, $aw’a$ rūṣkin.

In ŚwA a particle $aw’$ was also recorded with pronominal suffixes for the person addressed: $aw’i’k tans, $aw’i’k tansiy, $aw’u’kum tansuw, $aw’i’kin tansin (notice also the insertion of anaptyctics in the last two examples).

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

The passive participle for the root w-ĝ-d was recorded as mawḡūd in all dialects, but in ĠbA and ŚwA the form mēḡūd was also heard, and in ĠbA also the form mērūs “inherited” (see remark on root w-r-t above).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similarly, plural forms are *ūkluw* (masc.) and *ūklin* (fem.) in ṢwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĠB co-occurring forms are *kluw*, *klin* and *ūkluw* and *ūklin*102 and in ḤmA forms are only without initial *u*-: *kluw* and *klin*. Like in ḤmA, imperatives in ‘LA are *kul*, *kliy*, *kluw*, *klin* and *xuḏ*, *xdiy*, *xduw* and *xdin*.

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

Active participles in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are with initial *m*-: *māxīd*, *māxīdih*, *māxīdin*, *māxīdat* 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 *inwākal*, *yīnwikil*, but in ĠB also *intākal*, *yīntikil* was recorded.

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

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

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

The perfect and imperfect paradigms are like in group VI (except for the ending -*tum*, see above in 3.2.1.1.), but instead of sg. masc. imperfect forms *t(u)gūm* / *tgūm* heard in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA we hear *túgūm* / *tgūm* and also *tūšil* / *tšil* and *tānam* / *tnām*.

However, during direct elicitation, my ḤmA informants rejected suggested forms like *tūgūm* and *tānam* and only accepted the form *tūšil* with difficulty. Some of my ĠB informants rejected *tānam*, but forms like *tūšil*,

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102 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists *oxosdmacronbelow ~ xosdmacronbelow, oxosdmacronbelowi ~ xosdmacronbelowi, oxosdmacronbelowu ~ xosdmacronbelowu,* *oxosdmacronbelowen ~ xosdmacronbelowen,* but (p. 20–21 (III-43)) *okul ~ kul.* okli, oklu and oklen for ĠBa.
túguļ, túguṃ were produced spontaneously, e.g. túguṃ 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 tišluš “don’t carry it!”, ma tišilhiš “don’t carry it (sg. fem.)”, bitǧibha “you bring her” and btu úźha “you want it (sg. fem.)”.

N.B. Imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. with a short base vowel are not characteristic of ‘LA. If ‘LA speakers use such forms, this is attributed (by other ‘LA speakers) to the influence of speakers of other dialects. Forms claimed as proper ‘LA are (imperfect) tšiš, tnām, tgūļ and (imperative) šiš, nām, gūļ. Sg. fem. and pl. masc. and fem. forms are like those described for ŤwA and HnA, e.g. šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūļy, gūļuw, gūļin and also nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin.

Participles in ŤwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. šāyil, šāylih, šāylīn, šāylāt.

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

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

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels. They may also have an initial short vowel (recorded in ĞbA) šiš ~ išil “carry!”, guļ ~ úguļ “say!” and also nam ~ ánam “go to sleep!”. In ĞbA the sg. masc. imperative with a short base vowel may or may not have an initial vowel as well (contrast with other dialects in this group, see below). This is concomitant with comparable imperative forms of primae hamzah verbs in ĞbA, see 3.2.2.3.

The other imperatives (for sg. fem, pl. masc. and pl. fem. resp.) are: šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūļy, gūļuw, gūļin and nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin.104

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

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103 For ĞbA Nishio 1992:30 (IV-37) for “sleep” gives nām, nām (sic.), nāmu and nāmen and for “say” (p. 72–73 (X-6)) ogol ~ gol ~ gūļ, gūli, gūlu and gūlen.
104 For ĞbA Nishio 1992:31 (IV-41) gives gom ~ gūm ~ ugūm, gümi ~ ugümü, but for the pl. only gümu and gümen.
forms for “eat” and “take” (see 3.2.2.3.), also have initial short vowels in imperatives of mediae infirmae verbs.

In some dialects, the initial short vowel spread through the whole paradigm (paradigmatic levelling): in SwA, for instance īšl īšwāl “carry the sacks!”, īšīlīḥī ~ šīlīḥī “carry (sg. fem.) them (sg. fem.)!”, īšīlūḥa ~ šīlūḥa’ “carry (pl. masc.) them (sg. fem.)!” and īšīlūnuḥ ~ šīlūnuḥ “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, SwA, ASA and HnA) a short base vowel does not appear after an initial vowel (compare this to sg. masc. imperatives in SwA and GrA of primae hamzah verbs in 3.2.2.3.). In ḤmA the sg. masc. does not have an initial vowel, but the form is gum or gūm.

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

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

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are formed with the patterns CāyiC3 or CāyC3ih, CāyC3īn and CāyC3āt.

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

3.2.2.5. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae)

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>“walk” (ḠBA)*1</th>
<th>“find” (ḠBA)*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>māša’</td>
<td>mášuw</td>
<td>līgiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>māšat</td>
<td>mášin</td>
<td>līgyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>mīšētuw</td>
<td>līgit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mīšētiy</td>
<td>mīšētin</td>
<td>līgitīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>mīšēna</td>
<td>līgit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“forget’ (ASA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nāsā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāsat/niyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisītiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the GrA informants had similar difficulties with the perfect of the verbs máša’ / míšiy. The paradigm he produced was: (sg.) mišiy / máša, mášat, mišēt, mišētiy, mišēt and (pl.) mišyuw / mášuw, mášin / mášin, mišētuw, mišētin, mišēna. He also produced a mixed paradigm for līgiy “find” (forms were: (sg.) līgiy, līgyit, līgit, līgitīy, līgit and (pl.) līgyuw, līgyin, līgituwp / līgituwp, līgitin, līgēna).

Also in HnA forms of both the i-type and of the a-type may be heard used for the perfect in verbs like laga / līgiy and nīsiy / nasa’. The verb mašā 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 ǦbA (above).\(^{106}\) Also nīsiy and mišiy are clearly i-types in ḤmA.

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

106 Nishio 1992:112 (XVI-5) lists nīsiy “forget” as an i-type perfect.
Notice that perfect conjugations in which \(a\)- and \(i\)-types have mixed also occur in groups I and VI.

Nishio 1992, however, does list many forms with such elision in ĠbA, see remark * in 3.2.1.1. above. This was not observed in ĠbA 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 shortened long base vowels (of mediae infrimae verbs) are absent from ‘LA (see 3.2.2.4.1.), apocopated imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infrimae verbs are current in ‘LA. ‘LA thus occupies a middle position between group VII dialects (which show both base vowel shortening and apocopation of tertiae infrimae) and TAṢ (Tuṛbāniy of Ṛās Šadr) (which shows none of these).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>“find”*(^1)</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yalga yalguw</td>
<td>yimšiy yimšuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga talgin</td>
<td>timšiy yimšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>talgy(^2) talguw</td>
<td>timš(^2) timšuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgiy talgin</td>
<td>timšiy timšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga nalga</td>
<td>imšiy nimsiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\(^1\) The type of raising of final \(-a\) (e.g. yansī) heard in group VI is not current here.
*\(^2\) Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are very regular.\(^{108}\)

Suffixed examples recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: algāʾk “I find you”, (apocopated) talgnī “you find me”, hayalgūnū “they will find you”, hayalgūn “they (fem.) will find you”. In the latter example, \(i\) of the verbal ending may colour (towards I.P.A. [u]) with velarization of the pronominal suffix, i.e. yalgunnu “they (fem.) find you”. Forms with measure 1: (apocopated) hatalghi “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 ĠbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. tagr “you read” (p. 76 (X-28)), tiğr “you run” (p. 66–67 (IX-17)).
her”, *hatilgāhi* (with prefix vowel *a* raised > *i*) “she will find her”, *hatalgihi* “you (sg. fem.) will find her” (for suffixed measure 3 forms, see 3.2.3.6.1).

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

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, e.g. *irm* (írim #) “throw”, *irmuh* “throw it (away)” and *imš* “walk; go!” . The other forms are *irmiy* / *imšiy*, *irmuw* / *imšuw* and *irmin* / *imšin*.209

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

Active participles have the patterns $C_1āC_2iy$, $C_1āC_2yih$, $C_1āC_2yīn$ and $C_1āC_2yāt$. Examples are *fādiy*, *fādyih*, *fādyīn* and *fādyāt* “having sacrificed”.

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

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

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ğī*1</td>
<td>ğum*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ğāt</td>
<td>ğīn*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ğīt</td>
<td>ğītuw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ğūty</td>
<td>ğītin*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ğīt</td>
<td>ğīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 When suffixes follow, final -*i*’ will be *ā* as in ğā*āk* “he came to you” and *ma ģāš* “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*: ğuw and ğītuw (which are also parallel forms in ḤmA).

In ‘LA only ğuw was heard, but given the several instances of 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms with final -*m* (e.g. kātabum “they wrote”), it seems safe to assume that the form ğum will also be heard in ‘LA, just as ğītuw co-occurs with ğītuw (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 ğum is also current in Cairene Arabic.

209 Also reported in ĞbA by Nishio 1992, e.g. īr*’ “see” (p. 9 (I-73)), āgr “run” (p. 76 (X-28)), but only imši “go” (p. 66 (IX-16)) and “run” eğri (p. 67–67 (IX-17)).
*3 When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the final -n is doubled, e.g. ġitinnuh “you (pl. fem.) came to him”, (and examples for TwA and ‘LA) ma ǧìnnuš “they (fem.) did not come to him” and ma tīġīnnuš “don’t (pl. fem.) go to him!”.

*4 Notice the long vowel i in the imperfect paradigm. In ġBA both long vowel i and short vowel i were recorded in this verb: yiġiy ~ yîği, nîği ~ iği, îği ~ ġği, but only tîġ as the apocopated form for the 2nd p. sg. masc.

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

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: taʿāl, taʿāliy, taʿāluw and taʿālin. In one instance in ḤmA taʿāluw ġguw “come (pl. masc.)” was recorded.

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

3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ġây, ġâyiḥ, ġâyîn, ġâyat in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

3.2.2.7. Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>xašš</td>
<td>xaššuw</td>
<td>yxušš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xaššat</td>
<td>xaššin</td>
<td>txušš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššētuw</td>
<td>txušš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xiššēty</td>
<td>xiššētin</td>
<td>txuššiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššēna</td>
<td>uxušš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ Raising of a preceding ē is regular in TwA, HnA and ‘LA (like in group VI and in the dialect of 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 i) are reported for ġBA in Nishio 1992:62 (IX-2), but parallel to ġum the forms jū and jow are also listed, and parallel to the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect form tīği the apocopated form listed there is tīği. The 2nd p. pl. masc. perfect form listed there is without final -m: jītu.

111 The same forms are listed for ġBA in Nishio 1992:62 (IX-2).
prevented by preceding x, although such raising does not take place when a is preceded by h (see remark below).\[112\]

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

*Forms elicited in ḤmA are (pl. masc.) yḥuṭṭum and ḥuṭṭum. In ‘LA ḥuṭṭum was elicited.

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

Imperatives of mediae geminatae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. limm, limmiy, limmuw, limmin “gather!” and with base vowel u: 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 ‘LA are e.g.: lāmm, lāmmih, lāmmīn, lāmmāt “having gathered”.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when \(C_1 = X\), e.g. maḥaṭūṭ “placed”, maxaṛūm “pierced”, ma ʿaṛūfah “known (sg. fem.)”, etc.

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure n-1

3.2.3.1.1. Measure n-1 sound roots

In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA the vowel in the preformative of measure n-1 is not stressable in the perfect, but may be stressed in the imperfect. The underlying patterns are: (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃, yinC₁aC₂iC₃. The a in the imperfect is raised to i in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(i)ndārab</td>
<td>(i)ndārabuw</td>
<td>yinDIRib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)ndārabat</td>
<td>(i)ndārabin</td>
<td>tīDIRib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>(i)ndārazīt</td>
<td>(i)ndārazītw</td>
<td>tīDIRib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)ndārazīty</td>
<td>(i)ndārazītin</td>
<td>tīDIRby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(i)ndārab</td>
<td>(i)ndārabna</td>
<td>ḫDIRib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles are: *minḍirib, minḍárbih, minḍarbīn, minḍarbāt*.

3.2.3.2. Measure n-1 $C_3 = C_2$ (*mediae geminatae*)

Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are: (i)nC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$ and yinC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$, e.g. inḥatt, yinḥatt “be placed”.

3.2.3.3. 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$_3$. Paradigms in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI, e.g. inšāl, yinšāl “be carried (away)”.

3.2.3.4. Measure n-1 $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (*mediae infirmae*) participles

Participles are shaped on the pattern minC$_1$āC$_3$ 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 ŠwA: tīthirig “it (sg. fem.) is burnt”.

3.2.3.3. Measure 1-t

3.2.3.3.1. Measure 1-t sound roots

Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: (i)C$_1$taC$_2$ $aC_3$ yiC$_1$taC$_2$ $iC_3$, with a of the imperfect being raised to i in open syllables (e.g. nīghtimī “we gather”), but ‘reappearing’ as a in closed syllables (e.g. yiğtamuw “they gather”).

Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect, e.g.: (i)štāgal, yistīgil “work”, (i)ttafag, yittīfīg “agree” and (i)stāwa, yistīwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”.

Paradigms in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yīštirīy</td>
<td>yīštiruw*2</td>
<td>īštāra</td>
<td>īštārw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštirīy</td>
<td>tīštirin</td>
<td>īštārat</td>
<td>īštāran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tīštir*1</td>
<td>tīštiruw*2</td>
<td>īštārāt</td>
<td>īštārātw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštirīy</td>
<td>tīštirin</td>
<td>īštārātīy</td>
<td>īštārātin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>īštirīy</td>
<td>nīštirīy</td>
<td>īštārāt</td>
<td>īštārāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yīštīrum and tištīrum and (perfect) ištārum and ištārātum were recorded.

Participles are: mištīry, mištaryih, mištaryīn, mištaryāṭ. Imperatives are: ištīr (apocopated), ištīry, ištīruw, ištīrin

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

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

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are miC₁tiC₂iC₃ (underlying miC₁taC₂iC₃) miC₁taC₂ ah/iḥ, miC₁taC₂iC₃ in, miC₁taC₂C₃ āt.

Examples are: mištīgīl “working”, miftarsih “predatory (of animals)”, mištīry “having bought (sg. masc.)”, mištaryih “having bought (sg. fem.)”, miyttīfīg “agreed (sg. masc.)”, miyttāfīgāt “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 ‘LA are like those listed for group VI.

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

---

*2 In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yīštīrum and tištīrum and (perfect) ištārum and ištārātum were recorded.

---

n4 Also reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4) (there: eštīr).

n5 Nishio 1992:109 (XV-24) reports e.g. xtāt (sic.), yīxtār “choose, select”.

n6 Alternating vowels are also reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. p. 109 (XV-27) and p. 113 (XVI-11) and p. 95 (XIV-22) sta’mal yīsta’mel “use”, but not in e.g. (p. 22 (III-50) stafraḡ, yīstafrag “vomit”.

---
3.2.3.4.3. Measure istsa-1 $C_3 = y$ (*tertiae infirmae*)
Measure istsa-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded in TwA or HnA. In ‘LA a verb istagda (1st p. sg. com. istagdēt), yistagdiy (3rd p. pl. masc. yistagduw) “take up a new habit by following an example” was recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure istsa-1 verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*)
Patterns for medial geminate measure istsa-1 verbs are: ista$C_1aC_2C_3$, yista$C_1icC_2C_3$, e.g. (i)sta‘ add, yista‘idd “prepare oneself”.

Forms (reflecting optional raising of a preceding stressed ē) recorded in ‘LA are: (sg.) ista‘add, ista‘addat, isti‘iddēt, isti‘iddētiy, ista‘iddēt and (pl.) ista‘adduw, ista‘addin, ista‘iddētuw, ista‘iddētīn isti‘iddēnē’, see also remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure istsa-1 participles
Participles of measure istsa-1 verbs have the pattern mista$C_1iC_2C_3$, e.g. mistaḡrib “finding strange”.

For measure istsa-1 verbs of medial weak roots the pattern is mista$C_1iC_3$: mistaḥīl “impossible, absurd” and (a clear MSA loan) mistaqīmih “straight”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mista$C_1iC_2C_3$: mista‘idd “having prepared oneself, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
In TwA, HnA and ‘LA the patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) y$C_1aC_2C_2iC_3$.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed $a$. The patterns are (perfect) ta$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) yta$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

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

Examples of sandhi elisions: twall‘ innārı “you light the fire” and bitṭall‘ i‘yūn “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 biykbab-bir il‘adim “the bones grow”. Examples with l in a similar elision-inhibiting role were not recorded.

---

117 For ĜbA Nishio 1992:104 (XV-6) reports e.g. stamarr, yistimirr “continue”.
When \( C_2 = C_\gamma \), the elision of \( i \) does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *bitgázzizuh* “you sow it (of watermelon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil”. A similar example from ‘LA is *biyballilīhā* “they moisten it (sg. fem.)”.

3.2.3.5.2. **Measure 2 tertiae infirmae**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sawwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3.2.3.5.3. **Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah**

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

3.2.3.5.4. **Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect**

In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are taC\( _1 C _2 C _2 aC _3 \), ytaC\( _1 aC _2 C aC _3 \).

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-*.

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

Nishio 1992:105 (XV-8) however lists many instances of such reduction for ḠbA, e.g. p. 105 (XV-8) tharrak, yitharrak “move, be in motion”, p. 72 (X-3) tharraf, yitharraf (ma’) “speak with” and tballal, yitballal “be(come) wet”.

Nishio 1992 does not report such reduction in ḠbA (see also preceding fn), e.g. on p. 113 (XVI-8) tit’allam.
Like in group VI, unstressed َ of the preformative ta- preceding stress may be raised, e.g. ُبَضَأ ُن.  

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns
Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1C2iC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) ُضَأ ُن “postponement”, ُلْبَضَأ ُن “hanging up” and a gahawah-form ُضَأ ُن “wounding” and a form ُضَأ ُن “taking aim” in ‘LA.

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

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles
In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA active participles of measure 2 have a mC1aC2aC3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC1aC2aC3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) pattern. Examples are like those listed for group VI.

Like in group VI, the ta- preformative of measure t-2 is often reduced to ِ in participles in ṬwA and HnA (though less so in ‘LA!), so that both patterns for t-2 active participles mtaC1aC2aC3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) and mit-C1aC2aC3 (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) occur, e.g. ُضَأ ُن ُضَأ ُن “married” and for C3 = ي mtaC1aC2aC3, mitC1aC2aC3 “having eaten lunch”.  

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3
Measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: ِ in the imperfect and َ in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C1ِaC2aC3, yC1ِaC2iC3.  

Also in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, measure t-3 has morphologically fixed َ 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: taC1ِaC2aC3, ytaC1ِaC2iC3. Like in measure t-2, intitial tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

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

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

The verb *läga, ylägiy* is often used alongside *ligiy, ylaga*, without apparent difference in meaning: *hanlägīhi* or *hanilgāhi* “we’ll find her” and *hatlāghin* or *hatalghin* “you (sg. masc.) will find them (fem.)”. Other forms recorded through direct elicitation are: (measure 3) *hatlāgīh “you* (sg. fem.) *will find him*, *hatalgīhin “you* (pl. fem.) *will find them (fem.).* *hatlāgūhum “you* (pl. masc.) *will find them (masc.)*” (for suffixed measure 1 examples, see 3.2.2.5.2.).

Examples for measure *t*-3 are: *iytašāgaluw ššwāl “they throw the sacks together”, taqāyag “he became angry”, tanāwaš (< *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 *mC₃āCᵢC₃* (-ih / ah, -in, -āt), e.g. *mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”, mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”* and in ’LA *m’awid “returning”* and *mlāgīuḳ “finding/meeting (sg. masc.) you”.*

A passive participle (pattern *mCᵢC₃*) is the origin for the loan *mwāṣalāt “public transport”*. 

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern *mtaC₃āCᵢC₃* or *mitC₁āCᵢC₃* (-ih / ah, -in, -āt). Not enough instances of participles of measure *t*-3 were recorded to draw conclusions on reduction of the *ta-* preformative, i.e. initial *mta-* > *mit-*. An elicited example is *mitkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”*. 

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and *t*-3 verbal nouns
A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is *mmāṛasat ilḥayāh “experience in life”. Verbal nouns of the type *tCᵢC₃* were not recorded. 

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

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

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121 Similar apocopation in ĞbA.
In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. *aṭa* ~ 'aṭa, *yiṭiy* (and participles *miṭiy* ~ 'āṭiy, *miṭiyih* ~ 'āṭiyih, etc.) “give”. Examples of its use as measure 1 are *aṭuw* “they gave” and *hinnih* *aṭinnuh* “they (fem.) gave him”. The paradigm for the perfect *aṭa* is thus a measure 1 a-type, i.e. like maša in HnA: (sg.) *aṭa*, 'āṭat, *aṭǟt*, *aṭǟtiy*, *aṭǟt* and (pl.) *aṭuw*, *aṭin*, 'aṭän, 'aṭän. In LA the verb is still full measure 4: *aṭa* (1st. p. sg. com. *aṭat*), *yiṭiy* and participles *miṭiy*, *miṭiyih*, *miṭiyin*, *miṭiyāt*.

Other verbs are *fāṭar*, *yifṭir* “have breakfast” (paradigms like *kātab*, *yiktib*, see 3.2.1.1.) and *ḍāwa*, *yidwiy* “return home before sunset with goats and sheep”. The measure 1 participles of these verbs co-occur with measure 4 participles: *fāṭir* ~ *mifṭir* and *ḍāwiy* ~ *miḍwiy*.

The patterns are aC 1C2aC3 for the perfect and yiC 1C2iC3. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI, including raising of unstressed initial a > i, e.g. *iftārt* “I had breakfast”. Such raising of unstressed initial a is also heard in ‘LA, e.g. *iṭāt* “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, -in and -āt, e.g. (‘LA) iza māhī ṛāyidtuh ibtuṣrud *aṭinnuh* “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, aṭa, yiṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects (in ASA, GrA, ŚwA and ḤmA). In HnA only measure 1 *aṭa* was recorded (see remark above) and in ḠbA only idda, yiddiy was heard for “give”, e.g. biddik tiddīnī lmiftāḥ “you (sg. fem.) need to give me the key” and (apocopated) bidduḳ tiddnī lmiftāḥ “you (sg. masc.) need to give me the key”.

The perfect and imperfect paradigms for *aṭa*, *yiṭiy* are:

*In e.g. the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, these verbs are all clearly measure 4: *aṭa*, *yiṭiy*, *afṭar*, *yifṭir* and *ḍāwa*, *yidwiy* with matching participles *miṭiy*, *miṭir* and *miḍwiy*. Also in ḠbA, ḤmA: *ḍāwa*, *yidwiy* and participles *ḍāwiy*, *ḍāwiyh* etc.*
“give”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ʿṭa</td>
<td>ʿṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ʿṭat</td>
<td>ʿṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ʿṭāt</td>
<td>ʿṭātūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ʿṭātíy</td>
<td>ʿṭātín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ʿṭāt</td>
<td>ʿṭāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect
A measure 4 prima wāw (and also tertia yāʾ) verb recorded in GbA is awfa yūfijiy, as in gaḅil ma yūfijiy ilaṛba’ sāʾat “before 4 hours have (fully) passed”.

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

Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the $i$-type imperfect (see: 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of $C_3 = y$ roots are: (apocopated) $iṭ$, $iṭiy$, $iṭuw$, $iṭin$.

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

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles
The participles for sound roots have a miC$^1$CiC$^3$ pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mifṭirih, mifṭirīn, mifṭīrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type mCiC$^3$, like mġūr, -ih, -īn, -āt “running fast”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA are the same as for group VI, except the diphthong ay in the endings of the perfect are monophthongal ā (with velarized consonants preceding ā is lowered to ā, i.e. I.P.A. [ɛ:]) in group VII, e.g. ihmarrāṭuw “you (pl. masc.) turned red”, participles are mihmarrah, -ah, -īn, -āt.

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123 The verb awfa, yūfijiy was also recorded in group 1 in the north, see De Jong 2000:219.
3.2.3.9. **Quadriliteral verbs**

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (vowel \( i \)) and perfect (vowel \( a \)).\(^{124}\) The paradigms listed for group VI zağiřat, yzağiřit “ululate” are the same in group VII. Other examples are: biykarikmūh “they add curcumin to it”, bitgāribluh “she sieves it”.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted \( wāw \) between \( C_1 \) and \( C_2 \): \( C_1ōC_2aC_3, yC_1ōC_2iC_3 \) has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gōṭar</td>
<td>gōṭaruw</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gōṭart</td>
<td>gōṭarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gōṭart</td>
<td>gōṭartuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gōṭartiy</td>
<td>gōṭartin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gōṭart</td>
<td>gōṭarna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

An example of such a verb recorded in ‘LA is (with diphthong!) biyrawš‘uw \( nnās \) “people perform the maṛbūšah”.\(^{125}\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>ta‘aknantum/-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ta‘aknantiy</td>
<td>ta‘aknantin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ta‘aknant</td>
<td>ta‘aknanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: mta‘aknin, mta‘akninih, mta‘akninīn / mta‘aknināt, mta‘akinnāt. Notice that elision of the the short high vowel \( i \) does not necessarily take place (compare this to the non-elision of high vowels in measure 2 verbs of mediae geminatae, see 2.1.2.5. and 3.2.3.5.1.).

For the verbal noun \( t‘iknin \)\(^{126}\) was recorded.

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\(^{124}\) Nishio 1992, however, reports a number of instances with ‘fixed’ \( a \) in perfect and imperfect, e.g. (p. 62 (IX-1) gōṭar, ygōṭar “leave”, and also (p. 72 (X-3) dardaš, ydardaš “debate”.

\(^{125}\) During night time festivities older men stand in a square (\( maṛbūšah \)) 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:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<td>tagahuw</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwətiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tagahwət</td>
<td>tagahwəna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

* When in pause, *tagáhuw #.*

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

### 4. Remarks on Phraseology

#### 4.1. Nunation

Tanwin is not a feature of ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, but in loans from MSA and in poetry nunation does occur. Recorded examples are: (all loans from MSA) *ṭab*’an “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, ʿāmmatan “in general”, ḍayman “always” (< MSA ʿaḍmān), 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 īza mā ligītiš ʿarğā-luh tāniyy* “keep looking (for it), (and) if you don’t find any, go back to him”, *ma bingaṭṭī isḥ siyyāl* “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, *ma farašāttiš (< ma farašat + hi’ + š†) “she did not spread it out”, *ma nā’arāfhaš* “we don’t know her” (for more detail on negated pronominals and negated verb forms with pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12).

A negated suffixed preposition is *ma luḵš 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

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verbal nouns of measure *t*-2 *tahussun* “Besserung”, *tuʾuhhud* “Verpflichtung” and *tukubbur* “Hochmut”.
negation, often accompanied by xālis “at all”. Examples are w Aļļāh mā ġāni “By God, he did not come to us” and biddakirna la ḥāḥṭ mā nā’arīffā “you remind us of things we don’t know (i.e. had forgotten about)”. In ‘LA verbs are regularly negated with single preceding mā (the compound negation is the exception in ‘LA). Also negated pronominials, prepositions etc. are negated with preceding mā. Examples in ‘LA are: mā ṭallāgithe “I had not divorced her”, fīh nās ḥalḥin ībyākl-āblalāh 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 ‘induh ḥalāl “if he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter)”, gāl ābw ibint ‘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 ‘LA. Some examples in ṬwA are āywah biyḥūṭṭūh f-āgraḥ “yes, they put it in goat skins”, ma bingaṭṭi’s siyyāl “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, innāgah biysībūha…ibtimšiy l waḥadha fi ʂṣahara. iw kull šahar aw šahirn wāḥid biy Çaḥa “the she-camel, they let her go…she goes alone in the desert. And every month or two months somebody sees her”. yōm akbaṛ, mumkin iykūn ‘induh sanah biy Çaḥu “if he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter)…‘induh fi lbēt iw huwwa ēš? biyṭabbūh. ya’niy 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 ‘LA are: ba’adēn ubūh…biyrawwiḥ larrīgāl…ābw ibint…iw biyxarrfuh “after that his father…goes to the man…the father of the girl…and speaks to him”, biyšūf bint ibti’iğbuh “he sees a girl that he likes”.

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” bidd + pron. suffix may be used in ṬwA, HnA and also in ‘LA.

Often not only volition or need is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb. Examples are: (futurity/volition) biddi-gūl luq ʿala ḥāḥih […] ilgasalah ḏiy…halhin xallēt Maḥmūd iyɡawwiz bintī “I want to/shall tell you something…this twig…. I have now (agreed to) let Maḥmūd marry my daughter”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g. hantaṣarraf lēha fi ljamūs “we’ll make do with it in the (preparation of) food dip” and iw ba’ad kidiy btāgasluh…gasl ġamid xālis, hatlaqīh tīry “and after that you wash it thoroughly, and you’ll find it is dry….”.
In these and other instances there was less emphasis on ‘inevitability’ than was noticeable in examples for group VI.

The future may however also be expressed with the simple imperfect, as in ássalag yizġatte...lamma yulguṭha. mā yākilha lamma yūjiba la šāḥbuḥ. iygūm šāḥbuḥ ḏābīḫhe’ “the hunting dog runs after it...until it catches it (fem.). He will not eat it (fem.) until he brings it to its master. His master then slaughters it”.

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. fīh wāḥid šāḥibna nīḥāniy mumkin nāxuṣ mīnnuh l’arabiyyah nkutt bēha bwādiy “there is a friend of ours here whose car we can take with which we go down the wadi” and (‘LA) fīh nāṣ biyṣūffâ’ “there are people who see her”.

The negation is usually ma fīš, also in ‘LA (!), e.g. w A’llāh ġār rišrēš maṭar mā fīš “by God, except for a few drops there hasn’t been any rain” and (‘LA) aza mā fiš ḥuṛmah faḏyāḥ lēhīn “if there is not a woman free for them (i.e. to take care of the animals)”.

Also māš may be used for negation: issuwāḥ māš ilǧim ‘ah suwwāḥ b ilḥēl “the tourist, on Friday(s) there are no tourists at all”. māš was not heard in ‘LA.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

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

4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. il’anz yōm taḥalibha kiṭiy w ithuṭṭuh fi ssi’īn kimān...illaban “the goat, when you milk it like, and you put it in the goatskin128 also...the milk”, ṭab’an illaban yōm iykūn kiṭir binaḥṭuṭuḥ fiḥ ēh? “of course, when there is a lot of milk we put it in what?”, ilmaṭar illiy nāzil ḏī, yōm yinzil ilā gizāz l’arabiyyah...ṭīn “this rain that falls, when it comes down on the glass of the car...it is mud” and (from ‘LA) yōm ṛawwāḥ ‘ind ḥuṛumtuḥ bidduḥ ynām ġambhī “when

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127 yizġatte > yizġat + ha.
128 A ġiṣn 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 ṭawāyânah byātīla’ “when the dam\textsuperscript{129} is watered it grows”.

4.6.1.1.2. \textit{yōm} in combination with \textit{in}

4.6.1.1.2.1. \textit{yōmin} used independently
\textit{yōmin} may also be used for “when”, like in the following examples: \textit{yōmin} ḍigīhi “when he found her…” and (from ‘LA) aṣṣubih \textit{yōmin} ma yiği ʾ l alfaxc ḍv lannha malgūṭah “when he comes to the trap in the morning, there she is, caught”.

4.6.1.1.2.2. \textit{yōmin} + obj. suffix as subject of the clause
There is an example of \textit{yōmin} suffixed with a dummy subject (-\textit{uh}); the subject is “I”: baʿadēn ḥawwalthuṃ hīniy \textit{yōminnuh} ḫṭarrēt iṭīy waṛa ʿyāl ʿašān ilmidāris “after that I moved them here, when I was forced to come with (lit. after) the children because of the schools” (\textit{tt} in ḫṭarrēt is assimilated < \textit{dt}). No such example in ‘LA.

4.6.1.1.2.3. \textit{min yōm}
\textit{min yōm(in)} is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. \textit{min yōm} ana-ddēt ilgaṣalah\textsuperscript{130} xalāṣ “from the moment that I give the twig, it’s done” and (‘LA) \textit{min yōm} aʾṭūh algaṣalah xalāṣ ʾirif ḥādiy ḫūruntuh, ib sīnnt Aḷḷāh w rasūl-aʾṭūh\textsuperscript{131} gāṣalatuh “from the moment that they have (i.e. the father of the bride) has given him the twig, xalāṣ, he knows that she (lit. this) is his wife… according to the tradition of God and his Prophet they have given him… his twig”.

4.6.1.1.2.4. \textit{min yōm} in combination with \textit{ma}
A combinations of \textit{min yōm} and \textit{ma} was only recorded in ‘LA: \textit{min yōm} maʾ āyzah tuṣrūd, marrah mārytēn ṭalāṣṭah xalāṣ lāzim iyṭalīgha… xalāṣ māhiʾ ayīzuh “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”.

\textsuperscript{129} The ‘dam’ is actually the soil behind a dam on which water collects.

\textsuperscript{130} A \textit{gaṣalah} “twig” is given to the groom by the father of the prospective bride in betrothal ceremonies. See also Bailey 2009:350 (glossary).

\textsuperscript{131} rasūl-aʾṭūh: rasūluh + aʾṭūh. The phrase \textit{b sīnnt 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 Şuqayr 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”: tiğb il’anz, iw tíshiga ṣayyah lamma tkün ‘atšānah walla ḥāğiḥ, iw ba’ad ma tašaʁab. timsikha, wāḥid ibyimsik-luŋ iw wāḥid ibyadbah. bitgul bismillāh Allāhu ‘akbar iw taḍbah “you get the goat, and you give it water when it is thirsty or something. And after it drinks you take hold of it, someone holds it for you and someone (else) slaughters. You say ‘in the name of God, God is great’, and you slaughter”.

Another example is: lamma nnās ibyasma uwx xabīṭ illibbah ki, ilkull ibyā arf inn fīḥ wāḥid ẓi’i... “when people hear such knocking on the loaf”, everybody knows that someone has come (as a visitor)...”. An example in ‘LA is (both in the meaning of “until” and “when”) bitsawwiy zziḥd, iw bitxu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉ assi in... itxu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉuh... lamma tṛawwbuh. lamma yrūb bitṭall’ 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 anāt, which is used for “when”: anāt ma yístiwiy biykūn tamiř layyin ṣār “when it matures it will have become tender (soft) dates”.

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in

The only recorded example (in ASA) of lamma + in (lumma + in was not recorded) is budxul’ād innd innās illiy baṛṛa, [kisdmacronbelowiy] fj ḥmāyithuṃ... lamman inšūf ilmūškilih sdmacronbelowiy, iw taxlaṣ “so I take refuge with people who are outside (i.e. outside my own community), like that in their protection... until we see (look into) this problem, and it is resolved”.

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”

Lamma (lumma was not recorded) maybe used in combination with laġāyyit for “until”, e.g. bitduggha dagg fi lhōn... laġāyyat lamma yun’um kidiy “you crush it (sg. fem.) in the mortar... until it becomes soft” and biyūgh mišwāt kidiy xašab, iw byuḍrubha bēḥa barḍuḥ āḥ? laġāyyat lamma taǧādiy... zayy izzibdah fi ba’adha “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 lağāyit is tīğib ilḥaṭab dī; imm isṣiyyāl, w itwall ḫanār lamma ēh yāḥaġīm yāgadīy ġamīr “you get this firewood, from the acacia, and you light the fire (and let it burn) until what? The flames die down (and) it becomes glowing embers”.

An example in ‘LA: ana xammn-ṭawwil bālī lamma ṣṣabāḥ yaṭla’…w arawwkh ilmag’ad w anām fīh “(addressing himself) let me be patient until the morning comes…and let me go back to the mag’ad and sleep there”.

4.6.1.3. lōm (+ in)
An example of min lōm in the meaning of “from the moment that” (in ASA): biyrawwi ‘ind ilAḥēwāt biyrawwi ‘ind ilGirārših biyrawwi ‘ind iliMzēnih, ana min lōm biyrawwih kidiy mā-garrib luh “he goes to the Aḥaywāt, he goes to the Garāršah, he goes to the Mzēnah, from the moment that he goes (like this), I didn’t go near him”. Another example is min lōm hū ġawwazha “from the moment he married her” and from ‘LA lōm tīq talqha lannha xaṭḏīt issi in, w imsawwyah libbah w fāṭītta “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. ḡām
ḡām used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was recorded only in ‘LA:36 iw ḥāl…ḡām xaṭlāha w ‘ugūb sanatēn…ẓabbaṭ álḥaṭab, iw ḡāb addabāyih, iw ḡāb ībyūt āssā’ar “and in case…he has then left her and

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

34 ḥ + ' often assimilates to 'u’, also in sandhi: biyrawwih ‘ind > biyrawwi ‘ind.

35 fattītta = (fattah) fāṭīt + 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 -īt. This appears to be typical of ‘LA (as I was told by a Turbâniy informant). Another example (provided by the same Turbâniy informant) is māklītha “having (sg. fem.) eaten it (sg. fem.)”. For such suffixation as a trait of fellāḥi dialects in Transjordan and Horān, see Cantineau 1946:22–225 and Palva 2008a:61. See also EALL 2006 (Vol. I):263 (Rosenhouse: Bedouin Arabic).

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

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

Examples of the use of ṛāḥ used as an auxiliary were recorded only in ḤmA: lamma ṛāḥ karrarha winha manganīz [...] manganīz nimrah wāhid... ġī gāl ġār itwaddīni ilmakān dī’... [...] ṛāḥ iywaddī’137 a-skandariyyih gāl itwaddīnī makānuh‘ “when he then (went and) analyzed it, lo it was (i.e. turned out to be) manganese [...] top quality manganese.138 He came and said ‘you have to take me to this place’ [...] he was going to send it to (a laboratory in) Alexandria, he said ‘take me to its place’ (i.e. where you found it)”.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān
An example of in + kān “if” in ṬwA and HnA: iw šūfuw-nkān talguw lē[s] bu’rān ‘induh “and look if you find camels of yours with him”, w inguṣṣ inkān ġürürt ilbu’rān fihi “and we follow the tracks if the camel tracks are in it” and in ‘LA w alfuṯūr ba’adīyyta139 nkān ‘awz itsawwha bitsawwha “and (the breakfast) after this (lit. it (sg. fem.) if you want to prepare it (sg. fem.), you prepare it (sg. fem.)”.

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

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān
Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza
The following example of kān preceded by iz is not very coherent: izkān...šāḥbuh-liy yḡibuh...‘ārif nimṛah-zkān nimṛīt baṭāgtuh...w ā’ārfruh bass “if...its owner who brings him...you know the number, if

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137 ywaddī ‘a is assimilated < ywaddīh ‘a.
138 In the area of Um Bugmah manganese deposits have been found. A Google search on the internet with search criteria “Um Bogma” or “Oleikat” (i.e. ‘Legat) 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 Sël Ba’ba’ ("Wadi Baba").
139 See also Greenwood 1997:35 (figure 3-6) (there transcribed as Um Bogma).
140 See remark in fn 135, p. 106.
the number of his I.D., I just want to know him (i.e. who he is)”. A more coherent sentence is: iw ba'ad kidiy xamis 'ašar digayiq xamistāšar digīgh binṭalliḥha-z kān ḡamīr ḥiluw “and after like five, ten minutes, fifteen minutes we take it out if it is (a fire of) good embers” and izkān wāḥid 'ayyān walla ḥāḡah biyḡibūḥ luḥ “if someone is ill or something, they bring it to him.”

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

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

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

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Conditional sentences are often not introduced by a particle. An example is: huṃma kānuw…huṃma rrğāl ʿayzīn yūgu’duw sāwa’, fih makān… ilmağma’ barra “they were… if they are men who want to sit together, there is a place…the meeting place is outside”. Another example from ‘LA is: māḥi lugūḥ, bitbarrīk ʿalēha ṭānīy “if she is not pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you have her covered (i.e. to be impregnated) again”.

4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. ir’ or ar’
Presentatives ir’ or ar’ were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ‘LA.

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

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

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

Another possibility recorded in ASA is hvk (in which v is the short high vowel colouring with the following vowel) followed by a pronominal of which initial h assimilates to k, e.g. hukwuwwa or hukkā “there you have him”, hikkīyyīḥ “there you have her”, hukkuṭṭmā “there you have them”, hikkinniḥ “there you have them (fem.)”.

This presentative element hvk or must have developed from a presentative hāk142 (< hā + k) of which the long vowel was shortened, due to its unstresed position in forms like hāk + huṃṭṭa or hāk + hiyya, after which the resulting short a (e.g. as in assumed intermediate forms *hakkuṭṭmā and *hakkiyya) could assume the colour of the following vowel: > hukkuṭṭma 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 bitḥuṭṭhā [. . .] fi nnār galiy galiy lamma tdīṣī fi ba’āḍ ḥamā b wādā ḥiyya bittuṭṭha w innha samīn šīḥīy “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 ǧuṛṛiḥ ǧamal hēhī giddāmna ḥīmrā’ “we went to Nmēr and there were the tracks of a camel and there she was in front of us, red (colour)” and ba’ād ṭalāṣ sā’āṭ kidīy w linni b xēr. ana banabbiṭ tanbīṭ fi līblād “after three hours or so I was alright again. (and) I was jumping about on the ground”.

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

141 For remarks on hay and hay (< hā + y) see De Jong 2000:235–236.
142 On the difference in deictic function between hay or hay and hāk, see De Jong 2000:236.
w lin / lan was also recorded in ‘LA, often in combination with hā- or hē- + pron. suffix and not necessarily with preceding w: lan hāhū ḫāras “there was the horse”, iw lan hēhū issēl ǧāy “and there is the flood coming” and a suffixed example yōm yiǧiy luḥ linnuh, linnuh lāgīţha ‘when he comes to it, there it (i.e. the trap)…, there it has caught her (i.e. an animal)”.

4.8.4. Particle wlā +

An example of the presentative particle wlā is probably w lannuh (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.) consisting of the elements w + lā + inn + uh.

In ‘LA the presentative lan co-occurs with lin, of which the former is probably the result of the reduction 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, e.g. ġāda ġār niǧǧār ingībuḥ lēhin w Allāh “…this we have to get a carpenter for them (pl. fem.), by God…”.

Also in ‘LA several examples of ġēr were heard, e.g.: gāl hū ġēr iǧīb issēf wa ṣagta’ ṭagabatuḥ “he said ‘I have to get the sword and decapitate him”. Instances of reduced ġayr were recorded as ir, e.g.: law kalāṭ’k bidduk, ir kān daktūr waļa bidduk, ʾiza f-albār ūmā mā ḥāwalā’k 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 ibyidirsiw b ǧūmīl, iw ġār insān ārif ʾysawwī “they thresh with the camel, and it should be someone who knows how to do it”.

4.10. Intensifying Particle la

The particle la intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in any of the dialects discussed here.

4.11. bidd or widd + pron. suffix

To express “want” or “need” speakers of ṬwA and HnA use suffixed bidd (~ suffixed badd in ĠbA), but in ḤmA suffixed widd was also heard. Exa-

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143 See Hopkins 1990.
phrases for “need” or “want” are: *biddna nkutt fī 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 *ihna zayy iḥtā talaṭ maṛṛāt* biddna nḏi fī lbaḥar “something like three times we were going to get lost at sea” (HnA).

*bidd* is also used in ‘LA, e.g. *ihna biddni* … *nirsīy ṣādiy* “so we’ll anchor (here) (i.e. make camp for the night)” and ana *biddi-tagaddam … māsīy* “I shall / want to continue walking”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *bitmad-did fī liblād. iw bṭaṭla’ bṭixah* … ḏid ayyfah kidiy ssā’, ‘awwil ma yatla’, iw byakbar iw ba’ād-ma yakbar, tūkun itḥāfa ṣādiy ‘ād intih … ‘an ḏarb iṣṣamš ilguwiyyīh.” 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 *hāḍa bīykaḍḍih ‘ād* “so this man is lying”.

An example of ‘ād in ‘LA is iw ‘uqūḥ kidiy ‘ād waddāha dāṛuh “so after that he took her home”, but often the forms ‘ādiy or ‘ādiyit also occur: ḥū ‘ādiyit ‘īnd adḍēf mistagra “so he is served a proper meal with the guest (i.e. who actually received the invitation and through whose company he is also invited for the meal)”.

4.13. yabga

Like in group VI, *yabga* is not very current in ṬwA, HnA or ‘LA, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in *w iṭṭa ṣārat bitǧīb xēr ak* “and its taste is oranges, so then it brings more good (i.e. it is even better)”.

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144 A proper meal fit to be served to a respected guest is called *grā‘* (n.u. *garwah*) and usually consists of rice and meat. Other ingredients instead of meat are also acceptable, if the host is unable to serve meat. Compare also Stewart 1990:222 (glossary), root *g-r-y*, 4th measure (*agra, yigriy*) “to entertain, feed guests” and *griy* “hospitality, the food etc. that is given to a guest”. See also Bailey 2004:173 (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 'LA.\(^{145}\)

4.14.2. *kān* as a temporal marker

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

However, *kān* was more frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, e.g. *kānat iliǧnēnah /dmacron below iy kullha kānat milyānih. kān milyān ēh? baṭātis w ix/dmacron below ŋāṛ. innās kānat ēh? kānat ibtiğiyy hina 'a ṭūl “this whole garden was full. It was full with what? Potatoes and vegetables. People used to what? They used to come here directly”.*

Findings for ‘LA were similar.

4.14.3. **Dativus ethicus**

Some instances of the ethical dative are: *w itwiğiyy innāṛ minnuh w iyṣir luk tamām xāliṣ “and you light the fire with it (i.e. firewood) and it becomes perfect for you”, iw ba’ad kidiy bitğıbb masfa ’imāmah-w ayyi ḥāṯīh, iw bitṣaff ‘ilēh iw biṭṭall’ izzēt iw bitsaww luk imraggaghah ‘ilēh aw bissaww luk ayyi ḥāṯīh “and after that you get the cloth-sieve or anything, and you sieve with it and you get the oil out and you make *mraggaghah*\(^{146}\) for yourself with it or you make anything for yourself” and mumkin yākul luk fatṣīh, yākul luk bahīmah mayyyīth, yākul luk ayyi ḥāṯāh xalāṣ “he could eat for you (meat of) a corpse”, he could eat for you (meat of) dead livestock, he could eat anything at all for you”.*\(^{147}\)

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\(^{145}\) This should not be taken to mean that these dialects lack this feature; it is simply not present in my material.

\(^{146}\) *mraggaghah* is like *fattah*: a dish with torn pieces of flat bread in oil and herbs.

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

4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

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

4.16. *Concord*

Limited or countable numbers of things tend to be referred to in the pl. fem. Examples are: (A) ‘āwzīn iṛṛakkb iššabābik w ḫibbān… (B) lá lá dīlīh ṣuglīthi dīlī ṭawīlah ‘ilēne… (A) walla ṣĪ gēb lēna niqqār? (B) hāda ġār niqqār ṣīgūb lēhīn w Allāh “(A) we want to fit the windows and the doors (B) No, no, the work on these things is too much for us (to handle). (A) or shall we get ourselves a carpenter? (B) (for) This (is something), we have to get a carpenter for them, by God”. Another example is *ilmīy žāb luh sittīn išwāl walla ḥāqāh biywaddīhi inalmāṭhānih, lákān išwāl wāhid biywaddīh ilbēt iblyṭhan ‘a ṭīhā… “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 *fiḥ amlakīn iğṣūr*149 innās imsawwāyīnīn zamān, fa biytaxazzan fiḥīn “there are places for storage that people made in the old days, so they store (goods) in them”.

The following is a reference to a pl. of animals (here camels): *w Allāh w ṭabbēna lGā* ‘aṣir, *w Allāh w ḫnām luq ‘ilēhīn… iṣrād iṣrād iṣrād iṣrād lamma ūna Ber Mūsa Abūw ‘Aṭwa “By God, and we went to lGā in the afternoon, by God, while we lay flat on them (for you),152 fleeing, fleeing, fleeing, fleeing until we came to Bir Mūsa Abūw ‘Aṭwa”.

Some examples in ‘LA are: *fiḥ iğṣūr ilīgṣūr dīlī biyhūṭṭuw alğirbah fiḥīn “there are storage caves. They put the girbah (a goat skin sack) in these

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148 Root *k-r-y*, I have also recorded *ikrih* and *krāh* “his pay”.
149 *iğṣūr* (sg. *gaṣr*), see fn 42, p. 47.
150 The (largely empty) sandy coastal plain near at-Ṭūr. See also fn 1, Chapter Two below.
151 *luq* “for you” is an instance of the ethical dative, see 4.14.3.
storage caves”, (talking about animals) *alqizlān dillāh mā biyṭīhīn fi bwāṭīy, gār fi ḥāḇāl, fi ḥāḇāl albi’ideh* “these gazelles don’t come down in low areas, (you’ll find them) only in the mountains, in the far mountains” and *ibtasraḥ ib bi rānuḵ, iw tiği’ a nayyt álɡada…itgayyidhin w itxalḥiḥin…fi ḡāl ‘an alḥalāl* “you go out grazing with your camels, and you come by lunch time, you hobble them and leave them…away (lit. aside) from the small cattle”.

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

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

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE 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 Saʿīd¹ 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 Ġbāliyyah. 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 Gāʾ asṢarm 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 description of the characteristics of both dialects is given, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of MzA and BWA is:

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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 bālūḵ—xuḏ bālīk (though — bālīk in BWA) "pay attention (sg. masc.—sg. fem.)" isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes.

*1 See remarks in 1.1.3. below.

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

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

Examples for *ṭ are: naharit "we plough" (MzA), tāniy “second” (both), tyāb “clothes” (BWA), (ʾ)atḥarhuw “their tracks” (BWA).

For *ḍ: nāxiḏ “we take” (both), migḏaf “oar” (MzA), mnaḍbaḥuḥ “we slaughter him” (MzA), ʾik “ear” (MzA), ḏikr “mention” (BWA), ḏimīṁiḥ “ugly” (BWA), xuḏ bālūḵ “pay attention, mind you” (BWA).

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” are with ṭ in both dialects: tillāḡah and talḡ.
In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *ṯ is s, e.g. ḥadīs “modern” (BWA) and also ḥaras (1)3 "he ploughed" (BWA), masalan “for instance” (both) and for *ḏ it is sometimes z, as in bizr “seed” (BWA) and kizāluk4 “as well”.

Emphatic ḥ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of *ḏ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *ḏ in) ṛawḏ (pl. riḏān) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), ṭuḏfur, pl. adḏāfīr “finger” (MzA), ḏayf “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) ṣydall “he remains” (both) and ḏāharuḥ “his back” (BWA) and ḍlḍaḍa’ “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

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

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥā-)ḏa “this (sg. masc.)” is without velarization.

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

Like in the other dialects of Sinai, *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes k and g.

Although in both dialects k and k are heard, only in MzA we find a true phonemic opposition in a minimal pair like īduḳ “your (sg. masc.) hand”—īdik “your (sg. fem.) hand”; in BWA (sg. fem.) pronominal suffixes -ik and -kiy are used as parallel forms5 (i.e. īdik, as well as īdkiy, the latter of which is the original BWA form and which is normally used). A true phonemic opposition between /k/ and /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 ṿ-k) parallel to the (sg. masc.) pronoun suffix -k in BWA.

In MzA “cigarette” is sigā ṭah (not like in many other dialects siṯārah).

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

4 Compare MSA ka-ḏālīk, 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 ź (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is particularly frequent in MzA. It was not recorded in BWA.

1.1.5. **Emphatic alveolar stop */ṭ/*

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

1.1.6. **Glottal stop (hamzah)**

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ* in the verb ask is ʾ: *saʿal, yaʿal.*

In *raʿs* “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 Taṛābīn (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned *kibbāyih* “(drinking) glass”, pl. *kibbābiy*, where a Turḅāniy would say *kuṭbāyih* and *kuṭbābiy*. MzA *rikbih* (pl. *rkabih*) “knee” is pronounced *rukḅah* (pl. *rkab*) 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) *yāxid* and *yākil*, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) *kūl* and *xuḍ*.

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

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative *ḥāda* (~ ḍah / dī ~), where TAN has *ḥāda*, and the pl. form (ḥā-) diil (-ih) or diilēl (-ih) (~ ḍādol in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms...
like ḥāḍāl (-ah) or ḥōḍāl (-ṭah). Another difference is (MzA) kimān(-īy)—(TAN) kumān “also”.

1.1.8. Liquids ולה and ṭ

On the other hand, MzA and BWA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TAN), have strong velarization in xāf “he feared” (and also xāyif “afraid” in MzA), ḡāb “he was absent”, ruġān “loaves (of bread)”, (in the first syllable of) xāyyif “light”, nār “fire”, xyār “gherkins” and (i)nṣār “persons” and ḥimār “red (sg. fem.)”, ʿīwrā “one eyed (sg. fem.)”, biʿrān “camels” and ṭās “head” (but no velarization in ṭrās “blanket”).

Uvulars followed by l or r are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature, e.g. aḡlabiyah “majority”, ʂuḡl “genitive exponent”, naxal “palm trees”, xall “let! (imperative)”, nuẓrā (pl. nxar) “nose”, baẓzārf “I speak”, nugar (pl. ngar) “pit, pothole”, baqra “I read (i.e. study)”, garār “decision”, grayyib “near”, qalb “heart”, qalat “she said”, ṭqayyil “few, little” (ṭql “few (pl.)” and agaḷ “less”) and ṭās Aḥuq Gaḷlūm “name of a cape between ḤDmacronbelowahab and Nwēbiḥhalfringleft”.

Generally, like in group I, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. for kītār “many”, which is kṭār in MzA and BWA (with a long ā almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛḥlengthfull]), but velarized kṭār in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized kḥār as the pl. for kībā “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized ār, of which some are: miṭmārāh “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”, xyār “gherkins” (BWA), sinmārāh “fishing hook”, nār “fire”, nahār “day (-light)”. Also: sigārāh “cigarrette”, xuwwār “inferior type of camel, raised for its meat”, byār “wells”, Badārāh “name of the tribe Badārāh”.

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

8 Combinations of a velar (g, x or ḡ) with l, r or b will often produce velarization, especially with u, ū or a, ā in their vicinity.
9 The articulation of uvulars involves some raising of the back of the tongue (towards the uvula). The process of velarization also involves a degree of raising of the back of the tongue.
10 miṭmārāh 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 precedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g. marākib “boats”, grāyah (cf. MSA qirā’ah) “studying (lit. reading)”, frāš “blanket” (cf. MSA firāš), Garāršah “name of tribe” (compare with MSA Qarārišah) and rākib “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like rās “head”, bārrād “teapot” and harārah “heat”.

1.1.9. Nasal n

No remarks.

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

Devoicing of voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause is regular in MzA and BWA.

One of my informants claimed that one feature of MzA is the type of glottalization of ā in a final sequence -āC in pause, by which the final consonant is no longer produced (compare the situation described in remarks on TyA in 1.1.10. of chapter III). I have not been able to verify his claim.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes

The inventory for vowel phonemes contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

short: i u long: ĩ ā ē ū

1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ī

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

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

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


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:

\[\text{rūh} \text{ “go! (imperative sg. masc.)” — rōh “soul”} \]
\[\text{gūl “say! (imperative sg. masc.)” — gōl “speaking”} \]

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː].

In verbs with wāw as C, the diphthong aw has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. nōgaf “we stand” and also tōgid “you light” (both in MzA and BWA). In both dialects the imperative of w-ʿy “pay attention, take heed” has an initial diphthong: awʿin rūskin “mind (pl. fem.) your heads!”.

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel ā
Allophones of the long vowel /ā/ are ruled by the same principles as in group VII.

1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels
Like in group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a characteristic of allegro style of speech in group VI dialects as well.

1.2.3. Short vowels

1.2.3.1. Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/
Minimal pairs listed for groups VII and VIII also produce the phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/ in MzA and BWA.

1.2.3.2. Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I
In principle, distribution of short high vowels i and u is governed by the same rules as described for group I in De Jong 2000:70–74: a short high vowel tends to be u (i.e. near I.P.A. [u]) in velarized and/or labial environment, otherwise i (i.e. near I.P.A. [i]).

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

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11 The imperative awʿa is often not inflected for number or gender, e.g. awʿa rūskew! or awʿa rāskīl! (instead of awʿaw 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 'irğ in BWA, but u in 'urğ in MzA and that of aʿama “blind” is 'imy in BWA, but 'umy in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern aC1C2aC3 used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a ĉ1uĉ2Ĉ3 pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. aḥamār) humr “red”, (sg. masc. azrag) zurg “black”;

12 (sg. masc. axaḍar) xuḍr “green”, (sg. masc. asfar) šur “yellow” and (sg. masc. aḥabal) hubl “dim-witted” (where labialization of the b triggers the appearance of u), (sg. masc. agraʾ) guṛ “bald”, tūrn (sg. masc. atram) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have i in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: yāxid and yākil “he takes” and “he eats”, but u in the sg. masc. imperative: kuḷ and xuḍ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ u: ʿıḍy and kḷy (sg. fem.), ʿulw and kḷu (pl. masc.) and ʿul 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:


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 yC1aC2iC3 (measure 2), yC1āC2iC3 (measure 3), yiC1C2iC3 (measure 4).

12 azrag lit. “blue” is often used euphemistically for “black”.
13 In MzA axaḍar was also recorded in the meaning of “wet”, as in iw hū yḡy mjūr kāṭiyih u i ḍāduh . . . iwj yil ḍūh ʿilēh, l issā axaḍar hū “and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear . . . with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was . . .”.
14 See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!
15 lagg, ylugg is listed as “snatch, grab” in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like “hit, strike”, as in [alğaṛṛah byirikdūha ēḥ?] fī ššams, itlugg fiḥa 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 rāyib.
16 The verb waṣṣ, ywišš is onomatopaeic.
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yiC1iC2iC3 (measure n-1) and yiC1tiC2iC3 (measure 1-t) and yistaC1C2iC3 (measure ista-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: C1āC2iC3 (measure 1), mC1aC2CiC3 (measure 2), mC1āC2iC3 (measure 3) and miC1C2iC3 (measure 4), mtaC1aC2CiC3 (measure ta-2), mtaC1āC2iC3 (measure ta-3), minC1iC2iC3 (measure n-1), miC1tiC2iC3 (measure 1-t) and mistaC1C2iC3 (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 tušġulḳ “she occupies you/keeps you busy” and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in nuxṛūt“k “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxṛuḳ “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels
Allophones of short vowels do not differ much from what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–77, although some allophones, notably of /a/, may appear in environments different—or are more frequent, or less frequent—from those in group I.

1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/
When in stressed and neutral positions, short high vowel /i/ will be realized near I.P.A. [ı] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes y, e.g. židd [ʒıdḥ] “grandfather”, nirmiy [nirmiviron] “we throw” and dišbih [dıʃbih] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ı ḥbarcomb], e.g. ṭibb [t ḥbarcombıḥbarcombıḥlengthfull] “(practicing) medicine”.

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

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

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

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17 See following fn.
18 When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C will be a in measures n-1 and 1-t (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. yingfarbuw “they are beaten” and minfarbah “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and yiştağlin “they (fem.) work” and mištağlīn “working (pl. masc.)”.
1.2.3.4.3. Allophones of /a/

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions.
The realization of short low vowel /a/ in neutral environments will be near I.P.A. [ɐ], e.g. tānam [ˈtemːə] “you sleep”, maddat [medːət] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. harīm [haˈrimː] “womenfolk”, ‘arġīy [ˈarðjǐː] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with h preceding, as in šahabīy [ˈaːbaˈbiːj] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [a], e.g. baḥar [ˈbɑːhɑːr] “sea” and nuqṭah [ˈnʊqːtɑːh] “police post” and ḥabṣah [ˈhɑːbʃɑːh] “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: kibūr “large; old”, šidid “strong”, ḡilid “fat, thick”, xīfīf “light”, ‘irīs “bridegroom”, ḥirīd “parrot fish”, and also ‘Ilīy “bridegroom”, ḥirīd “parrot fijish”, and also ‘Ilīy “male given name *‘Alī” and verb forms nisīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found”. Instances of a preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, sabˈin “seventy”.
- (preceding stressed Cē): ‘ilēh “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): ‘isākir “soldiers”, zimān “in the old days (used as adverb)”, timānyih “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): riǧǧāl “man”, siyyād “fisherman”, kiššāf “search light”, bitṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”. miṟrāt “times”, mi’nāt (ḥāǧih) “the meaning (of sth)”.
- (preceding stressed ā): ‘urūs “groom”, isSu’ūdiyyih “Saudi Arabia”, šu ur “emperor (fish species)”.20
- (preceding stressed a): ġimāl “camels”, giˈadna “we sat down”, xuḥār “information”, nihāb “he plundered you”.
- (preceding stressed u): kubūr “he grew”, ḡulūd “he grew fat”.
- (preceding stressed i): širīb “he drank”, birī “innocent”, guwī “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”, hawǧisat “she improvised song”, ánnixaḷ “the palmtrees”, álhiwi “the wind”, álʾiši “the dinner” and ádduwa “the medicine”.

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

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ıh]. This is not only a pausal phenomenon, but occurs sentence-medial as well. Examples are kull wāḥid ‘induh xuṛřāfah ḥilwih biyǧībhi “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, lamma llēlih gōṭarat “until the evening has passed”, țalla’ gišiđih fi wihdih rāyidhi “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 ḥur الشمال “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) binǧīb lēna farxah siminih, iw lihiy siminih bi lmaṛṛah “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: bīsiṭah “simple”, gišiđah “fat”, xuṭwah “step”, ʾiğāmah “snake-like species of sea fish”, ramlah “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and ḥ, e.g. ṣafīḥih “cannister (of 20 litres)”. 21 In verb forms like hawǧisat and yínḍirib and yítтиги́f, the raised a will again surface as a when it is in closed syllables, e.g. hawǧast “I improvised song”, yínḍarbuw “they are beaten” and yítтиги́fw “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).

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 btiːgliūḥ īla lmayyih “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, iw binǧaṭṭiṭiy ḥaṭab buh kuullīṭuh “we cover all the firewood with it”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw
In positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have in most cases become monophthongal ē and ō.

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

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

In forms like b’ayṭarān 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 Áyn Ḥuṭrah and of a family in Wādiy ‘Arādah) forms like meĝūd “present” and melūd “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)”
ībīh “bringing”—ĝēbuh “his pocket”—ĝābuh “he brought it”
gōm “enemy tribe”—gūm “get up!”

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

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCaCa) that come with the (sg. masc.) aCaCaC pattern for physical defects and colours, we do find raising like in group I, e.g.: šadfīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ḡawī “cross-eyed” and ḡablī “stupid”, unless such raising is prevented by phonetic factors, such as velarization, as in e.g. (colours) samrā “brown”, xaḍrā “green”, hamrā “red”, zargā “black; blue” and (physical defects) īvrā “one-eyed”, girā “bald” and dorā “absent minded”. The final stressed -ā may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. xaḍrā’ #.

N.B. “here” is nihā(‘) in MzA and BWA.

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

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-ā(‘) is not raised, while reflexes of *-ā have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: ḡṭā “covers”, ḡasā “stick”, ḡfīdā “free time”, ṛḥā “hand mill”, ḡādīy ṣṬarīfī “name of a wadi”,\textsuperscript{28} bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, hamrā “red (sg. fem.)”, xaḍrā “green (sg. fem.)”, ḡawā “flirting”, ḡuwā “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA dīwī), ṣaṛṭa “speckled (sg. fem.)”, zargā “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, samrā “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA álma(‘) “the water” and in MzA álmi were recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent \textit{māyīyīh}).

\textsuperscript{24} See De Jong 2000:81.
\textsuperscript{25} My Turbānī informant pronounced Wādiy Sliy. The name of this wadi is often spelled ‘ Isla ’ on maps (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.). The wadi is located somewhat to the south-east of at-Ţūr, where it disappears into the south-western high mountains.
\textsuperscript{26} Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:83.
\textsuperscript{27} See Blanc 1970:12 [123] and De Jong 2000:82.
\textsuperscript{28} The wadi is situated at the far high end of Wādiy Fēṛān in central Sinai and is Ġbālīy territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.
Final *-ā is not raised in the elative ahla "sweeter; more beautiful".

Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final -ā, although preceded by a in open syllable, does take place,29 e.g. duwá’ or diwi’ and verb forms like mišši and ligi’.

The forms with raised final *-ā (> -i’) do not only occur in pause, but also in sentence-medial positions. Such raising is therefore concluded to have led to morphological restructuring.

The—usually unreleased—glottal stop following the final vowel is not only highly regular when this vowel is stressed, but also when it is unstressed.

In MzA forms like ġānì “he came to me” were heard, but also forms with lengthened [ı], as in hū ġi:k “he came to you (sg. masc.)”: not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [ı]: [dʒi:] “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū ġi:k (IPA [dʒi:k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”. In BWA such lengthened [ı:] was not heard.

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ē, i, ō, and ē

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on i 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 i
An off-glide in the realisation of ē and i is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) gēḍ (I.P.A. [geːd] “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) ġeṛān (IPA [geːrən] “Wadi ġeṛān”, biḍ (I.P.A. [biːd]) “white (pl. com.)”, zīlīṭ (I.P.A. [zīliːt]) “young goat or gazelle” and mšēṭah [mʃətə] “type of herb”.

Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when h or ’ follow ē or i, e.g. ġinnēḥi I.P.A. [dʒiːnːəh] “brown surgeonfish”,30 bē’ I.P.A. [beːʔ] “selling”, tarsiḥ I.P.A. [təɾsiːh] “permission”, šīḥ [ʃiːh] “white

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29 Which is also the case in the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:82 (1.2.4.4.3.2.).
30 Lat. Acanthus nigrofuscus.
wormwood" and itbī I.P.A. [#ʔatːbiː] “you sell”, but less clearly audible in Nfē ạt [#ʔanfeːːturː] “name of a family of Baniy Wāṣil”.

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

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

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs
MzA and BWA have four diphthongs: ay, aw, iy and uw.

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments
In positions not preceded by or velarized consonants *aw and *ay have usually become ŏ 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, ħ, ’ 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”, āyn “eye”, but the only form with preceding h recorded is nhēdih “a type of herb (used to treat kidney disease)”.32

Examples with X preceding *aw are: xawf “fear”, ħawl “year”, āwdih “male given name” and a Bedouin verb33 hawǧas, yhawǧis “improvise singing”, ħawmal, yḥawmil “bring a ḥamūlah34 for a feast”.

31 Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare samn šīḥiy “ghee”.
32 Perhaps the reference was to the Egyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.
33 Verbs of the type CawCaC, yCawCiC (with inserted wāw) are considered to be typically Bedouin, see Palva 1991:155.
34 A ḥamūlah is an “animal led to a party to be slaughtered as a present”.
1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants.

Examples of *ay with a velarized consonant preceding: *ṣayf “summer”, *ḍayf “guest”, *ḥaṭṭayt “I put (perfect)”. Examples with the secondarily velarized consonants preceding are: *iṣṭarayt “I bought”, *ihmarrayt “I turned red”, *taharraynayk “we waited for you”, *kitrayš “how much?”, *dallayna “we remained” and also *ṣannayt35 “I kept quiet”, *ḍawayt36 “I returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and *ṭarabayzhī “table”.37

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

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw.

The diphthong in *gayr is often reduced to a and then complementary lengthened. Examples are: *gār ānnaxal, mā fīh izrā’ah zamān “only palm trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and ‘āṣān law daygat wāḥid minni’, *gār kān iyrawr l ittaktūr38 “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”), *sawly “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and *mawžūd “present (adj.)”. Another instance may be *aw’a “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)
*katab-*uw “they wrote”, *katabt-*uw “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) *yikitb-*uw “they (pl. masc.) write”, *tikitb-*uw “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes *bēt-*uw “their (pl. masc.) house” and *bētk-*uw “your (pl. masc.) house”. 38

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”, *yiqiy “he comes”, etc.

In MzA and BWA an -iy ending in the 3rd p. sg. masc. of i-type perfects is rare. Instead, final y verbs nearly all have an a-type perfect e.g. *nisī “he forgot”. 40 Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in (MzA) mīy “water”, (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCāʾ for physical defects) ʾarīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablīy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, anyīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCāʾ) sawdīy “black”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”. Although a regular reflex for final *-ā is stressed -i, -iy reflects *-ā in hniy “here” (in BWA only; “here” is nihā(-niy) in MzA). Final -iy reflects final *-i in birīy “innocent”, final *-iy in sībīy “boy”, *-ay’ in ʿiy “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. *ʿimiy # “(pl. com.) blind” (morphological base ʿimy) and ǧidīy # “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. ʿayš “bread”, ʿayb “disgraceful act”, xa:yṭniʾ “our (fishing) line”. Such lengthening of diphthongs is also heard in some of the dialects of group I (TAN, TAṢ, ĦwA, ĞrA and BdA, see chapter III) and also takes place without an apparent intention to express extra emphasis. 43

38 For further detail on the development of -uw in pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12.2.
40 Although labelling the form nisī as an a-type perfect may look like a contradiction, the interpretation of nisī < *nasā (after applying the rule described for raising of final *-ā, and subsequently the rule for raising of short a in open pre-stress syllable) is plausible (see remark 41 in 3.2.2.5.1).  
41 Final stressed -iy for *-ā is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same -i reflex was recorded for *-ā and also *-āʾ, 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 Dawāţrah 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 mákta bah-type. Verbal gahawah-forms of the $i$-type imperfect, like $\text{yáḥar}tu\nuw$ “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 $1$- 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 $\ddot{v}C(C)$ (including $\ddot{v}(h)$).

5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.).

6) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left if more than two syllables are available, otherwise stress the last syllable.

An exception may be made when of four syllables the first three syllables are open and contain $a$, and the last syllable is not heavy, i.e. $\text{CaCaCaCv}(C)$. In that case the sequence maybe resyllabified as $\text{CaCCIv}(C)$ and is stressed on the first syllable: $\text{CáCCIv}(C)$, e.g. $\text{dzárbituh}$ “she hit him” and $\text{rágbituh}$ “his neck”. This type of resyllabification was recorded in MzA, but not in BWA.

Also if resyllabification is absent, the first syllable is stressed: $\text{CáCaCaCv}(C)$, e.g. $\ddot{dárabatu\nu}$ and $\ddot{rágabatu\nu}$.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are: $\text{mádrasih}$ “school”, $\text{áštajal}$ “he worked”, $\text{áttifag}$ “he agreed”, $\text{ánjasal}$ “he was washed”, $\text{álbusal}$
“the onions”, álwálad “the boy/son”, īššít “the winter”, īl’īšš “the dinner”, árkab “the knees”, álğmam “the Moray eels”, álžkal “the jerrycans”, ʾlḥšy “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and šawlý “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, ʾšl n “we rose”, walád “your (sg. masc.) son”, waládk “your (sg. fem.) son”, āmmuk “your mother” (MzA), štšt “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)vCv(C)v is placed thus:
(C)vCv: akál “he ate”, axád “he took”, ugúm “stand up!”, īğý “I come”
(C)vCv(C): ʾasá “stick”, ʾišš “dinner”, mišš “he walked”, duwá “medicine” (~ ďwá).
CvCv: ġîmál “camels”, ʾišgár “trees”, ʾišt “he dived”; wugáf “he stood up”, waṛág “paper” and yiğgy “he goes”, sibiy “boy”, birý “innocent”, ʾirý “moist; soft”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)
Examples of stress in (C)vCvCvCv(C) sequences are:
(C)vCvCvCv(C): ákalat “she ate”, (gahawah-form) áhamar “red”, xásašabih “piece of firewood”, dárabuw “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms gáhaw “coffee”, ná’ağih “ewe”, áḥarit “I plough” and yáğatis “he dives”.
(C)vCvCvCv(C): ákalatuh “she ate it” (or MzA áklituh), dárabatuh “she hit him” (or MzA dárituh), fárašatuh “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA fáršituh), ʾrajatuh “his neck” (or MzA rájbituh) and gahawah-forms gáhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA gáhwituh), láḥmatuh “his (piece of) meat” (or MzA láḥmituh),tá ʿaṛagín “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, yá ʿaṛaguw “they sweat”.

alxásašabih “the piece of firewood”, albádawi “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) annáxal “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) ibtáhafruw “they dig”, īštágalat “she worked”, inbásatuw “they rejoiced”, ittáfagat “she agreed”, tiğáwwazat “she got married”, takállamuw “they spoke”.

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

2.1.2.1. Stress on reflexes of *-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.)”, ṣifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, girā “bald (sg. fem.)”, ’iwra “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.)”, šadīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, hawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and hniy “here” (only in BWA), although more regular for “here” is nihā.

Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -āʾ receives stress: (šaḥbaʾ >) šaḥabīy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are tanshi “forget her!”, qitah minhi “a piece of it (sg. fem.)”, ġādmi “our forefathers”, ba’ādni “(we) each other” and of the sg. masc. demonstrative álwalad di “this boy”. When velarization has spread, a in pronominal suffixes is not raised, e.g. uxahta “her brother”, binzabbita “we do it (sg. fem.) properly”.

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C3 = y are (perfect) mīši “he walked”, līgī “he found”, sawwī “he did” and ġī “he came”. Examples of imperfect forms are yansi “he forgets”, ytaǧaddi “he has lunch”.

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

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

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

2.1.2.3. Stress in al/il + *CaCiY

When the article precedes a reflex of CaCiY, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. īnnibiy “the Prophet” and īṣṣibiyy “the boy”.
2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms
In forms with consonant-initial suffixes closing the syllable with the gahawah-vowel, this vowel is stressed, e.g. baʿāḏhin “each other (pl. fem.)”, saḥānha47 “her plate”.

With the fem. morpheme becoming -at in construct state, stress is placed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. gāhawatuh “his coffee”.

In verb forms of i- or u-type imperfects, the gahawah-vowel is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, but stress is not placed on the gahawah-vowel, which then directly precedes the resulting consonant cluster, e.g. yáḥar/tmacronbelowuw “they plough”, táʿaḡnuh “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. xášbituh48 “his piece of wood” (contrast e.g. wákiltuh “eating it (sg. masc.)” and rıkibtuh “his knee”).

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv
A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence in which the consonant preceding it is phonetically close to, or identical with the consonant following it and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. ṭḥálliluh “you analyze it”, ġiddīti “my grandmother”.

2.1.3. Stress units

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

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

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b

2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l
Enclitic suffixation of the preposition l occurs only sporadically.49 The examples (all from MzA) are ġā-luḳ “he came to you”, gult-ilḥi “I said to

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47 I hear sin, rather than sād.
48 Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence xášbituh, not xášibtuh (contrast with a form like ʿilḥituh “his packet”).
49 In as far as such may be concluded; it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixing
her” (notice that the form is not lēha), aḥsāl-luḳ “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan+luk) and aʿmil-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:

∅ > a / (C)aX__C(V)

X = any of the back spirants h, ḥ, ḱ, ḫ, ḡ

The resulting vowel may be stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2. Exceptions to these rules with regard to stress in gahawah-forms are described in 2.1.2.4. Examples of gahawah-forms are: (*naxl) naxāḷ “palm trees”, (*sahl) saḥāl “easy”, (*axḍar) āxaḍar “green”, (*ahtal) āḥtaṭal “stupid”, (*šahbā’) šahbāṭī “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (*ḡahlān) ḡhalān “ignorant”, (*mahmūl) mahmūl “neglected”, (*maxrūm) maxrūm “pierced”, (*maḥṭūṭ) maḥṭūṭ “placed”, (*maxfīy) máxfīy “hidden” and verb forms (*yaxṭīb) yāxaṭīb “he proposes (for marriage)”, (*yahšūh) yahašūh “they fill it”, (*tā’rāguw) tā’rāguw “you (pl. masc.) sweat”.

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

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂aC₃(ah): maʿrakah “battle”, maḥkamah “court of justice”, maḥrīb “time of sunset”.

from a form gult+luh, since stress does not shift (as in e.g. gāḥāt-luḥ) and no vowel is lengthened (as in e.g. gāḥūluḥ “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) a’ta “he gave”, (measure ista-1) istahmal, yistahmil “bear, endure”, istaġrab, yistaġrib “wonder, be amazed”, ista’mal, yista’mil “use”. Quadriliteral verbs gahwa, yigahwiyy “serve coffee or tea to”, zaġrat, yzaġriṭ “ululate” and a passive participle mga’tal “handicapped in the legs” and ta-quadriliteral tagahwa, ytagahwa “be served coffee or tea”.

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

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like mahkamah (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: raḡmaʾann “although”, qaṭlabiyya “majority”, tahliyyih “analysis”, maqyah ma’danyyih “mineral water”, yaʿniy “that is, it means”, yaḥṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb yaʿmal51 “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 CaXCatv, 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-syndrome52 creates an intrusive vowel in a sequence Crv. The vowel created is inserted between C and r and is in phonetic quality guided by the vowel following r. A summary of the rule is:

\[
\emptyset > v_b / \text{-C--Rv}_a \\
v_b = v_a \text{ or } v_b = v_a \\
R = r \text{ or } ṭr \\
C = \text{any consonant}
\]

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51 Much more current for “make, do” is sawwa, ysawwiyy.
52 See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.
Examples of bukařa-vowels are (underlined): zağaraṭat “she ululated”, tzağirīt “she ululates”, tuṣūrūd “she flees”, gaṭaraḥ “drop (noun)”, kuburūw “they grew old”, tuḏurukha “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukařa-syndrome creating vowels: mitīr iw nuṣṣ “a meter and a half”, ǧamīr issīyyāl “the embers of the acacia tree”.

2.2.2.2. Influence of l

Like r, l may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) tākil imn álbaḥaṛ “you eat from the sea”, yinzīl išwayyīh “it comes down a little”, ʿayyil iṣḡayyir “a young child”, bỳahwamīl alḥamāyīl “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukařa-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukařa-vowels underlined): šuḡul iǧdūdna “of our forefathers”, ǧāṣīl anā ḡībit “because I brought”, gaḥīl irḏīy nafṣī “before I please myself”, gaḥīl īl ṭmānīyyīn “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *’ibil and *raḡil

One of the forms for she-camels is bil, and with article ālbi (BWA, not recorded in MzA). raḡil for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of yā raḡil). In MzA riǧġāl (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”, itṭafagəna “we agreed”, axādʾni “we took”, yibʾnīn “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) bithuṭṭuh fi ssiʾn iw bitxudduh “you put it in the goat skin and you churn it”.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ṣ’ayn following geminates

In isolated instances an articulatory delay of ṣ’ayn following a geminate can be heard, e.g. biḥuṭṭe alēh “we put on it”.
2.3. Anaptyxis

In terms of rule order, the anaptyxis rule follows the rules for elision and stress.

The rules are:

1.) In the anaptyxis rule speech pause has the same function as a consonant.
2.) Clusters of three or four consonants are usually resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster.

The rule for anaptyxis is:

\[ \emptyset > I / (C_a)C_bC_C_d \]

\[ I = \text{anaptyctic vowel} \]

The rule holds for word-medial clusters, as well as sandhi clusters.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis

Like in other dialect groups in Sinai, word-medial clusters (in bold print below) resulting from high vowel elision are resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel (underlined below) preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

\[ \text{yurbuṭ} + \overline{uw} \rightarrow *\text{yurbtuw} \rightarrow \text{yùrubṭuw} \ “\text{they tie}” \]
\[ \text{tuḍrub} + \overline{uh} \rightarrow *\text{tuḍṛbuh} \rightarrow \text{tuḍūrbuh} \ “\text{she hits him}”. \]

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

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

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

\[ ‘\text{ind Rģūm Zwayyid}’_{33} \rightarrow ‘\text{ind Ṣrģūm Ṣwawayyd} \ “\text{near Zwayyd’s rock piles}”. \]

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33 rģūm, sg. riģm 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:

```
# btiτw + ha w btihš + ha tamr # > # btiτwha w btihšha tamr # > # ibtígywha w ibtíyšha tamir # "you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates"
(both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).
```

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved, e.g. (clusters are bold, anaptytics are underlined):

```
# + ḥǧār kirīmah > * # ḥǧār kirīmah > # ịḥǧār kirīmah "precious stones" and Maṣr + # > * Maṣr # > # Maṣir # “Egypt (the mainland), Cairo”.
```

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

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

```
(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
w btịḷḥg iddagīg w bta’aĝnuh >
(after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)
* w btịḷḥg iddagīg w bta’aĝnuh >
(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
w ibtílịḥg iddagīg w ibtá’aĝnuh “and you take the dough and knead it”.
```

Another example is:

```
(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
yimṣik alfanāǧīl >
(after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)
* yimṣk alfanāǧīl >
(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
yimṣk 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 CVCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. yímsk alfanāǧīl) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is a semi-vowel, a nasal or a liquid followed by a voice-
less second consonant, e.g.: ilḥalb hāḍa “this milking”, alGlāʾyyih “location where water from šarafat ilGā’ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, āmaltha “I did it (sg. fem.)”, ālgrab “the water skins”, tušgūḷ “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, tanshi “forget her!”, fihint lay kēḥ? “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) mōt kīluh “a hundred kilometres”, ištarythī “I bought it (sg. fem.)”. But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in ġildha “her skin” (where $d$ is homorganic with $l$) and yinzluw “they go down”.

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

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (axadthā >) axattha “I took it (sg. fem.)”.

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


2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis

2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) biddna “we want, need”, nmiddhin “we stretch them (fem.) out”, thuttha “you place it (fem.)” ithamms ilbunn “you roast the coffeebeans”, tğammr īswayyih “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: nxušš fi “we enter into”, nuṣṣ kīluh “half a kilo”, bīḍḍallī tul yōmuq “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, sinn # “tooth” and ḥāṭṭ # “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 īNwēbi “going to (sg. masc.) Nwēbi’”, sitt īṣhūr “six months”.

2.3.3.3.2. Preposition īnd + C

The suffixed preposition īnd takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. īndaha “with her”, īnduķ “with you (sg. masc.)”, īndik “with you (sg. fem.)”, īnduhuwa “with them (pl. masc.)”, īndihīn “with them (pl. fem.)”, īndukīw “with you (pl. masc.)”, īndikīw “with you (pl. fem.)” and īndina “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 yišgīl) to u.
56 bīḍḍall: assimilated bitḍall.
Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): ‘ind Biniy Wāsil “with the Baniy Wāsil”, la ‘ind sulbūk “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, ‘ind ġidditi ṛḥă “my grandmother has a hand mill”.

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

Like in group II of the north (the dialects of Samā’nah and ‘Agāylah), the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. -ḳ and -ḳ (resp.), are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to decide whether an anaptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following k (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. illiy yaṭla’ min ẓimmīṯk iʿṭnī yyāḥ “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: ḥuṛmīṯuḳ # “your wife”, awṣūf uḳ # “I’ll describe to you”. nāgīṯ uḳ # “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, maṭrāḥuḳ # “your place” and nuxṛūtuḳ # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxṛīṯk # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

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

When more than one consonant directly precede, the personal pronominal suffixes take allomorphs -uḳ (for sg. masc.) and -ič (for sg. fem.) e.g. xalluḳ gā’id “remain seated”, ‘iṇḍuḳ “with you”, ṣadruḳ “your chest”, nafṣuḳ “yourself”, ‘umṛuḳ “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 an vowel-initial allomorph; n of the preposition min is only doubled in such cases (i.e. the suffixed form is not *mǐṅḳ or *mǐṅč) .

2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics

The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [i], towards [a], in front environments and a lax and centralized [v], towards a moderately rounded [a], 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.
Stress and phonotactics, anaptyxis

irm + ha > *irmha > ʾirmha “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šuɡl + ha > *šuɡlha > šúɡlha “hers” (suffixed genitive exponent)

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision
The phonetic quality of the anaptyctic resolving a cluster resulting from high vowel elision is the same as (or near to) that of the vowel from whose elision the cluster resulted (anaptyctic vowels underlined).

Example with i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yisriguw</td>
<td>*yisriguw</td>
<td>*yisrguw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“they steal”

Example with u:

tuktuluw > *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): xīlīgtuh “his ugly mug”, ʿīlibtuh “his packet” and (examples of u) hūṛumtuh “his wife” and šuɡuḷī “mine (suffixed genitive exponent)”.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

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

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics (underlined): # ʾītkān ʾirfayyīh “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, zīlīt īṣgāyyir “a young goat or gazelle”, # īyāmus īṣwāyyīh “it becomes a little soft/moist”, aḥād īmm īṣḥābuḳ # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs axād “take” and akāl “eat” are kul, # ukliy, # ukliw, # uklín and xuḍ, # uxdiy, # uxdiw, # uḍiin (initial u- in these forms is an anaptyctic resolving a cluster # CC).

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics
Anaptyctics resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [ʋ] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: baduw # “Bedouin”, ḥiluw # “sweet, beautiful”, daluw # “pail”, šuɡul # “of (genitive exponent)”, ṭuhur # “circumcision”, ħumur “red (pl. com.)”, zurug “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”), ʾiḍuk # “your (sg. masc.)
hand", *bētuḳ* # “your (sg. masc.) house", *min gabuḷ* # (~ *min gabiḷ* #) “before (adv.)”, *ǧamuṛ* # (~ *ǧamir* #) “live embers”, *rubu* # (~ *rubi* #) “quarter”.

Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı], e.g. *ši ib* # “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 *ṭṛḳab* or *āṛḳab* “knees”, *ihna* “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 # *ilhí* “to her”, # *ilḳúw* “to you (pl. masc.)”, # *ilkín* “to you (pl. fem.)”, etc. Forms in MzA are *lēha* or *lēhi* ʾ, *lēḳuw* and *lēkin*.

In MzA and BWA the preposition *m(ī)*’ followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed on the vowel of that suffix, e.g. *múḥ*, *múḳ*, *múk* and also *mū* (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type *ımūḥ*, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type *ma àḥ*, *ma àḳ* and *ma àḳ* (~ *ma kiy*) were also recorded in BWA (through direct elicitation).

### 2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

High short vowels *i* and *u* are dropped in open syllables. Short *a* in comparable positions is not dropped (with an exception, see below), which makes “BWA and MzA ‘diffférentiels’ in Cantineau’s terminology.60 The high-vowel elision rule comes before the stress rule in terms of rule ordering. The rule is:

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

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

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

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

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsory.

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

59 The regular reflex for the pl. pattern “CICaC in MzA and BWA is CCaC. Examples are: *gmam* "Morray eels", *rkab* “knees” (MzA), etc. cf. 3.1.9.2.

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

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_1 C_b V \]

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): \( nizil + uw > *nizi\text{\textgreek{l}}uw \) “they descended”, \( \text{\textgreek{simi}} + at > *\text{\textgreek{simi}}\text{\textgreek{at}} > \text{\textgreek{simi}}\text{\textgreek{at}} \) “she heard”, \( \text{\textgreek{kubur}} + at > *\text{\textgreek{kubur}}\text{\textgreek{at}} > \text{\textgreek{kubur}}\text{\textgreek{at}} \) “she grew older”, \( \text{\textgreek{t\textakh\texti}}\text{\textgreek{d}} + \text{\textgreek{in}} > *\text{\textgreek{t\textakh\texti}}\text{\textgreek{din}} > \text{\textgreek{t\textakh\texti}}\text{\textgreek{din}} \) “you (pl. fem.) take”, \( \text{\textgreek{mi\textakh\texti\textgreek{ti\textgreek{g}}}l} (= \text{underlying |\textgreek{mi\textakh\texti\textgreek{ti\textgreek{g}}}}\text{\textgreek{il}}) + \) \( ah > *\text{\textgreek{mi\textakh\texti\textgreek{ti\textgreek{g}}}\text{\textgreek{il}}l} > \text{\textgreek{mi\textakh\texti\textgreek{ti\textgreek{g}}}}\text{\textgreek{il}}l \) “working (sg. fem.)” and \( \text{\textgreek{ta\textakh\texti\textgreek{ri\textgreek{t}}}\text{\textgreek{w}}} + uw > *\text{\textgreek{ta\textakh\texti\textgreek{ri\textgreek{t}}}\text{\textgreek{w}}} > \text{\textgreek{t\textakh\texti\textgreek{r}}}\text{\textgreek{t}}\text{\textgreek{w}} \) “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_2 C_b C_c V \]

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision: \( tufru\text{\textgreek{s}} + iy > *tufru\text{\textgreek{s}}\text{\textgreek{y}} > tufru\text{\textgreek{s}}\text{\textgreek{y}} \) “you (sg. fem.) spread out”, \( yiktib + \text{\textgreek{in}} > *yiktib\text{\textgreek{in}} > yiktib\text{\textgreek{in}} \) “they (pl. fem.) write”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_2 C_\text{\textgreek{g}} C_b V \]

\( VC_2 C_\text{\textgreek{g}} = \text{geminate} \)

Examples are: \( yna\text{\textgreek{addif}} + uw > # yna\text{\textgreek{addif}}\text{\textgreek{w}} \) “they clean”, \( t\text{\textgreek{day}\text{\textgreek{y}}}f + uw + ni > # t\text{\textgreek{day}\text{\textgreek{y}}}f\text{\textgreek{in}} < t\text{\textgreek{day}\text{\textgreek{y}}}f\text{\textgreek{in}} \) “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): \( b\text{\textgreek{ti\textakh\texti\textgreek{h}}}\text{\textgreek{d}}\text{\textgreek{ag}}\text{\textgreek{i}} > b\text{\textgreek{ti\textakh\texti\textgreek{h}}}\text{\textgreek{d}}\text{\textgreek{ag}}\text{\textgreek{i}} > # b\text{\textgreek{ti\textakh\texti\textgreek{h}}}\text{\textgreek{d}}\text{\textgreek{ag}}\text{\textgreek{i}} \) “you take the dough”, \( \text{\textgreek{by\textakh\texti\textgreek{m}}sk} \text{\textgreek{is}}\text{\textgreek{s}}\text{\textgreek{i}}\text{\textgreek{n}} > \text{\textgreek{by\textakh\texti\textgreek{m}}sk} \text{\textgreek{is}}\text{\textgreek{s}}\text{\textgreek{i}}\text{\textgreek{n}} > # \text{\textgreek{by\textakh\texti\textgreek{m}}sk} \text{\textgreek{is}}\text{\textgreek{s}}\text{\textgreek{i}}\text{\textgreek{n}} \) “he takes the goatskin (used for churning butter)”.

2.4.3. Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi

The optional I-elision rule in sandhi may be applied after the execution of the anaptyxis rule, e.g. (the cluster is underlined and in bold print, the anaptyctics are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):
1) \textit{twakkil + yālḳ > twakkil yālḳ > twakkilī yālḳ > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # twakkilī yālḳ # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster \textit{ly} 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 \textit{re}-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example:

2) \textit{nīlbs + ġūdniʾ > nīlbs ġūdniʾ > nīlbs ġūldīnīʾ > nīlbs ġūldīnīʾ > nīlbs ġūldūnīʾ “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

In this second example the cluster \textit{sīl} 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 \textit{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 \( C_a C_b I C_a \) are phonetically close or identical, I (underlined in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: \( ġiddītī “my grandmother”, thāllīluh “you analyze it (sg. masc.)”.

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact assimilations can be identified: regressive (partial or total), progressive (partial or total) and reciprocal (total) assimilation (instances of contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization are treated in 1.1.7.).

Apart from contact assimilations of \( l \) of the article \( il- \) or \( al- \) to ‘sunletters’, \( l \) is also sometimes—this is by no means regular—assimilated to following \( ġ \) or \( k \), as in ġīġibneh “the cheese”. \( alxayṭ b āğğlab “the line with the hooks (used for fishing)” and also īkkīs “the bag.”

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\(^{61}\) The example in De Jong 2000:34–35 only illustrates the application of the I-elision rule after the execution of the anaptyxis rule (like the first example here). The second example here clearly illustrates re-application and cyclicity of the I-elision rule.
Instances of regressive total assimilation are:

- $n + r > rr$ birrağğid “we pile”
- $t + š > tš$ ššily “you carry”
- $t + z > zz$ zziid “it (sg. fem.) increases”
- $t + d > dd$ ddir “you turn (fem.)”
- $d + t > tt$ axatt “I took”
- $t + Š > šš$ ššidd “you pull”

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

- $t + z > dz$ dzid “it (sg. fem.) increases”
- $t + ţ > dţ$ dţib “you bring”
- $b + n > mn$ mnadbhah “we slaughter him”
- $n + g > ng$ mangad “fireplace”

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

- $aġlabīyyit + hin > aġlabīyyīttin “the majority of them (fem.)”$
- $ġimāʾat + huw > ġimāʾāttuw “their group of people”$
- $tuṭbux + ha > tuṭbūxxa “you cook it (sg. fem.)”$
- $naftāḥ + ha > naftāḥha “we open it (sg. fem.)”$

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

- $zaġraṭ + tiy > zaġráṭṭiy “you (sg. fem.) ululated”$

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

- $barağğī + ha > barağīḥhe “I return it (sg. fem.)”$
- $mablaģ + hin > miblāxxin “their (fem.) price”$

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is $sūģih$ (or $sūţih$) $> ŕāţih$ “game of $sūţah$”, in MzA $ṣaż$ (< $ṣāţ/sāţ$ or $sāţ/saż$), but in BWA $ṣāţ$ “iron baking sheet”. Additional examples in MzA are $ṣiţn$ (< $siţn$ or $siţn$) “prison”, $mṣazzil$ (> $saţţil$ or $saţţil$) “recorder” and $naţs$ (> $nasţ$ or $nasţ$) “weaving”, but in BWA $siţn$ and $taţţil$ “recording”.

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

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in $C_{a}C_{iC}(ah)$

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

Examples are: šidīd “intense, strong”; kitīr “many, much”, kibīr “large, old”, ġilāt “fat, thick”, īfīg, īrīs “groom”, xifīf “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: katīr, kabīr, ʿafīg, xafīf, etc.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i

For instances of raising of a in the $i$-type perfect (with underlying pattern $CaCiC$) of verbs, see 3.2.1.1. below.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in $CaCCīC(-ah)$

Raising of a in $CaCCiC(-ah)$ was not recorded, e.g. baṭṭīx “water melon”, xamsīn “fifty”, sab $i$“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”, šiyyād “fisherman”, šiyyāf $62$ “acacia tree”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”, šifṛā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, himṛā “red (sg. fem.)”, gir $a “bald (sg. fem.)”, miřrā “times”, mi $nāt (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 ‘, 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

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$62$ 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 $*g$ 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 ǧrām “gram”, which became sīǧāṛah and ǧṛām in many ǧīm-speaking dialects (though in MzA sigāṛah is current).
“a type of fish (pl. form)”, min muwālīd Dahāb “born in Dahab” and also (as an exception) durāhim “money” (but see remark below) and verb forms nisāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him”.

Such raising is however optional, since there are also many instances in which it is absent, e.g. masākinhuw “their dwellings”, Azāzmih “name of a tribe (living partly in Sinai and partly in the Negev)”, Ḥamādah “name of a tribe”, zamān “in the past”, gabāyil “tribes” and also verb forms ytawāgad “it (sg. masc.) exists” and yta ālaǧ “he receives medical treatment”.

When a is followed by l or r or preceded by ḫ or X, this type of raising is much less regular, e.g.: ṭalātīh “three”, Taṛābīn “name of a tribe”, warā“k “behind you”, marākīb “boats” and (with ḫ preceding) ṣasāśallūw “their origins”. ṣažānib “foreigners”, ṣāšībi “fingers” and ḡadāfīk “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which X precedes a are: ḫāsān “because”, ḥawālīy “about, approximately”, ḥarārah “heat”, xalāṣ “that’s it!”, ḡazāl “gazelle” and hawā“k “your desire”.

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

a in open syllable preceding stressed á is often—but only optionally so—raised to I in neutral environments, e.g.: sināh “year”, šīḡār “trees”, libán “milk”, ḡimāl “camel”, fidā “free time”, Dihāb “name of the town Dahab”, a gahawah-form šihār “month” and verb forms ligāt “she found”, kitāb “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: mā mʿūk duwā“ medicine”, wurāg “paper” (though more regularly warāg).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ḫ or X precedes, e.g.: (ʾ)ahād “anyone” and verb forms (ʾ)akál “he ate” and (ʾ)axād “he took” and (with X preceding) ḡaṭāb “firewood”, ḡanám “small cattle”, ʿadād “number”, ʿaṛāg “sweat” and xalāğ “He created”, but also ǧīṭās “he dived” and mā mʿūk xubār “you have no clue/idea”.

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A

Both types of a-raising described in 3.1.1.5. and 3.1.1.6. can be combined in one rule (see also De Jong 2000:147):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & > \text{I} / \text{C}_{r}–\text{C}_{b} \text{A} \\
\text{C}_{r} & \neq * \text{ or X} \\
\text{C}_{b} & \neq \text{l} \\
\text{A} & = \text{stressed a or a} \\
\text{I} & = \text{high short vowel i or u}
\end{align*}
\]

64 See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: a > I / C_{r}–C_{b} á, where C_{r} ≠ * or X and C_{b} ≠ l.
And like in group I, stress of A does not have to be primary for such raising to take place. Instances where stress on A is secondary are, e.g.: ǧibābil “mountains", min muwālīd Dihāb “born in Dahab", mikāni “my place” and ānwikal “it was eaten", hāwğisat “she improvised song", ānnīxal “the palmtrees” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -ā(ʼ), such as āddiwi “the medicine” and ássimi “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)

Like in the pattern CaCiC(ah), a is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are lugūnih “a child with keen intelligence", yuhūd “Jews", Suʿūdīyyih ~ Saʿūdīyyih “Saudi Arabia", guʿūd “young male camel", ġumūs “food dip", xurūf “lamb", but also ġānūb “south", ʿaǧūz “old woman", arūs ~ ʿūrūs “bridegroom", šaʿūr ~ šūr “emperor (fish species)" and also hakūmah “government”.

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

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed û

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", ġulūd “he grew fat”.

3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined

If we combine the different possibilities of raising in one rule, this rule is:

\[ a > I / C_\_Cİ(C) \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I} & = \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } Ï = ú \text{ or } ū, i \text{ if } Ï = í \text{ or } ĭ \\
\text{C} & = \text{any consonant}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice that the rule is more general than the (second) one formulated in De Jong 2000:150, since we do not need to make a provision here for the first C not being hamzah.

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65 The word was used in reference to a child, who is recognized at an early age to have a keen intelligence, and is therefore raised to become a hāwğī “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 ʼ is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).
3.1.2. Reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah) are: *badw “Bedouin (pl.)”, ḣady (BWA) “kid goat”, *taḥát – ṭḥát “under”, *faḥám “coal”, *šikl “shape”, *ṣahán – *ṣḥán “dish”, *kalb “dog”.

Also: wiǧh “face”, wiḥdih “one (fem.)”, nahyiḥ “direction”, ṣi ḏa ~ ṣa’ b (the latter perhaps a K-form; notice the absence of a gahawah-vowel), *ṣadr “chest”, *wakl “food” and ḡidd “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 C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are: *bunn “coffee beans”, *rizz (~ *ruzz in MzA) “rice”, *kull “all; every”, *āmnh “mother” (~ *ūmnh in BWA), *uxt “sister”.

Also: *Gimīḥ “male given name”, *ṣimniḥ “usage” (BWA), *middih “period”, *hinnih “they (pl. fem.)”, *zibdih “butter”.

Forms with sufficient backing show u, as in *šuggah “fishing net” (MzA), *xuṭwah “step”, *nuṭah “police checkpoint”, *γumsiḥ “food dip”, *rükbaḥ “knee” (BWA) (but *rikbiḥ (MzA)), *ḥurmah “woman”.

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

Like in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel i or u in open initial syllables of the type CiC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped, resulting in initial CC clusters. Examples are: *ğlūd “skins”, ḳyūnī “my eyes”, xšēšāt “little huts”, Ḥmēd “male given name”, byēt šaʿār “little tent”, *blād “land”, *ḥbāl “mountains”, *snūn “years”, *glayyil “little; few”, *glāl “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) *ṣuʿūn iğiṭimaʿiyyih “social affairs”, *nizām “system”. Another exception is *ṣayd furusiyyih “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of r may have prevented elision of u in furusiyyih (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type GiCā… or

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68 Notice also ẓ here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental ġ.
CuCā..., CiGī... or CuCī... and CuCū... or CiCū... see 3.1.7.–3.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. ygūl “he says”, tšīl “you carry”, tnām “you sleep”, nḥuṭṭ “we place”, tšiddiy “you (sg. fem.) pull tight”, ygōṭruw “they go”. Notice, however, that in the verb “come” the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, e.g. 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”, ṣfgayyir “thin”, ṣgayyir “small; young”, kwayyis “good” and šwayyih “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: sṛaybih “small group (of people)”, byēt šaʿāṛ “little tent”, xšēšāt “little huts”, bnayyih “little girl”, wlēd “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) ḥṛayyim “women”.

The hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I (especially dialects in the east like AḥA), was not heard in MzA or BWA.

3.1.7. Pattern aC₁C₂aC₃

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is aC₁aC₂aC₃ and aC₁aC₂aC₃ (stressed on the first syllable) where C₁ = X. Examples are: abyāḍ “white”, azrāq (euphemistically; the word aswād is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, ašḥab “light coloured, pale” (and with C₁ = X) áḥamar “red”, áxaḍar “green”, áḥawal “cross-eyed”, áḥabal “stupid”, áʿama “blind” and áxaras “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 C₂ when it is X and final ā is raised (to -ŷ) when C₂ is neutral, e.g. ʿarŷy and šahabŷ.

Most pl. com. forms have a C₁uC₂C₃ pattern, e.g. zuṛg, sumr, xuḍr, ŭmr and hubl, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a C₁C₂C₃ pattern, e.g. ʿirŷ, šihb. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are sūd (C₂ = wāw) and būd (C₂ = yā).

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69 See De Jong 2000:203–204.
3.1.8. The elative patterns \(aC_1C_2aC_3\), \(aC_1aC_2C_3\) and \(aC_1C_2a\)

The elative pattern is \(aC_1C_2aC_3\), e.g. \(ak\) “more/most”, \(akb\) “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, \(ash\) “easier/easiest”, \(a\) “more difficult/most difficult”.

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

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern \(aC_1C_2C_3\) (where \(C_2 = C_3\), e.g. \(a\) “less/least” and \(a\) “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: \(ál\) “the sea”, \(ál\) “the camel”, \(ádd\) “the medicine”, \(áss\) “the sky”, \(áss\) “the plate”, but (when preceding sequences other than \(Ca\)) \(íl\) “the rocks” and \(íl\) “the viper”, \(íš\) “the winter”, but \(í\) “the boy” (underlying form is \(í\)). With \(CCaC\) following: \(árr\) “the knees”, \(ánn\) “the noses”, \(áll\) “the bait (pl.)”, \(áš\) “the suitcases”.

When \(i\) or \(iy\) precedes the article \(al\), it is dropped, as in, e.g. \(f\) “in a-Tür” and \(f\) “in its (sg. fem.) beginning and even in its (sg. fem.) end”.

In some cases in BWA the possessive suffix -\(i\) was not dropped against initial \(a\) of a following verb, but an intrusive (voiced?) \(h\) was inserted instead, e.g. \(wddi\) “I want / am going to pray”, \(wddi\) “I want to (go to) sleep”. This not only occurred with following initial \(a\), but also in directly elicited instances like \(wddi\) “I want to hit”, \(wddi\) “I want to get up”, \(wddi\) “I want to stop”, \(wddi\) “I want to eat” and also with initial \(i\) - following, as in \(wddi\) “I want to carry”.

The relative pronoun is \(ill\), e.g. \(ill\) “(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want half a kilo”.

“Specifying” \(ha\) - was heard used only in adverbial \(hal\) “now”. 
3.1.9.2. *Other instances of initial a*

Another instance of initial a is *amn* “mother” (in MzA, in BWA *umn*), “we” is *ihna*, “sister” is *uxt*.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. *gmaṃ* “Morray eels”, *rkab* “knees” (MzA), *rxaṣ* “licences”, *ʿnab* “grapes” (BWA), *ḥgan* “injections”, *šnaṭ* “suitcases”, *ʿlaf* “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for (*ʿibrīh* is (*ʿabār* “needles”).

3.1.10. *The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction*

3.1.10.1. *T in genitive construction preceded by a in open syllable*

The feminine morpheme -*ah* ~ -*ih* in construct state becomes -*at* when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: *māṛatuh* “his wife”, *sānatuh* “his year”, *xašabāṭ uḳ* “your piece of wood”.

In the case of CaCaCT + v(C) sequences in MzA, a special provision needs to be made for a-elision in the rule for short vowel elision, which in terms of rule ordering precedes the rule for T. This should explain why T becomes -*it* in such cases: since a has been dropped from CaCaCTv (resulting in CaCCTv), T is no longer directly preceded by aC, but by CC. Therefore T > it, resulting in a sequence CaCCTv. Since the rule for short vowel elision has already been executed (and this rule is not cyclic!), such CaCCTv sequences will not be resyllabified to (after applying stress and anaptyxis rules) become CāCiCtv, but the sequence is stressed and appears on the surface as CāCCTv. Examples of such sequences are *ṛágbītuh* “his neck”, *xášbītuh* “his piece of wood”.

Verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. fem. a-type perfect + vowel are resyllabified analogous to the suffixed nominals; the rule was generalized to cover all (including verbal) sequences: CaCaCat + v > CaCCTv, e.g. (*farašat + uh >*) *fāršituh* “she spread it out” and *katabat + uh >*) *kābītuh* “she wrote it”.

The advantage of fitting the extra provision with regard to elision of a into the ordering of rules is that the T-rule, which holds in almost all Sinai dialects, does not have to be customized to fit the situation in MzA.

Also, an advantage of this rule-generalization is that no separate rule is needed for the sudden appearance of -*it* in the case of the 3rd p. sg. fem. of a-type perfects when vowel-initial suffixes are appended.⁷⁰

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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 ʔ
When not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ʔ 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. ʿilḥtuh “his packet”, ʿilḥitʻk “your packet”, fāṭrit arbaʼ snīn (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) fāṭirt arbaʼ isnīn “a period of four years”, nāgtuh “his she-camel”, nāgītʻk “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”.

In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as -ut, as in nuxrūtʻk “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxrūʻk “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 gāhwitu (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 gāhawtu.

The fact that the gahawah-vowel a is dropped from (intermediate) forms like *gahawatī and *gahawatuh thus illustrates that we are dealing with a full short vowel a (produced by the gahawah-syndrome), since only CaCaCT + v sequences are affected by the special provision made in the short vowel elision rule (as described above).

3.1.10.4. T following ā
T preceded by ā yields -āh, e.g. ḥamātuh “his mother-in-law”,

In one instance *maʿnā (spelled in Arabic with ʿalif maqṣūrah: معني) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): mīnāt ilkilmīh “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”, ǧaṭṭāytuh “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”.

MORPHOLOGY, NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY
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 btāʾ may also be heard. The form tabaʾ was heard only once in MzA.

The paradigms for suffixed šuġḷ(ah) and ḥagg(ah) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuġḷuh</td>
<td>šuġḷuhw</td>
<td>šuġḷtuh</td>
<td>šuġḷtuhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuġḷiha</td>
<td>šuġḷihan</td>
<td>šuġḷitha</td>
<td>šuġḷithin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuġḷuk</td>
<td>šuġḷukw</td>
<td>šuġḷitk</td>
<td>šuġḷitkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuġḷiik</td>
<td>šuġḷiikn</td>
<td>šuġḷitik</td>
<td>šuġḷitkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuġḷī</td>
<td>šuġḷina</td>
<td>šuġḷitn</td>
<td>šuġḷitna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms used for humans are šuġḷīn and šuġḷāt: e.g. iliwād šuġḷīn ilmādrasih “the boys of the school” and ilbanāt šuġḷāt ilmādrasih “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: ittalātah ġinēḥāt dillih šuġḷāt ‘k “these three pounds are yours”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ḥaggūh</td>
<td>ḥaggūhw</td>
<td>ḥaggūth</td>
<td>ḥaggūthw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggīha</td>
<td>ḥaggīhin</td>
<td>ḥaggītha</td>
<td>ḥaggīthin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ḥaggūk</td>
<td>ḥaggūkw</td>
<td>ḥaggūt‘k</td>
<td>ḥaggūt‘kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggīk</td>
<td>ḥaggīkin</td>
<td>ḥaggīt‘k</td>
<td>ḥaggīt‘kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ḥaggī</td>
<td>ḥaggīna</td>
<td>ḥaggīt</td>
<td>ḥaggītna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms for humans are ḥaggīn and ḥaggāt: e.g. iliwād ḥaggīn ilmādrasih and ilbanāt ḥaggāt ilmādrasih. Like in the case of šuġḷāt, the pl. fem. ḥaggāt is often used for smaller numbers: ittalātah ġinēḥāt dillih ḥaggāt ‘k.

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

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In MzA the following independent pronominals are used:
Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: māhū*, māhi*, mintah, mintiy, māni*, māhuṃna, māhinnah, mintuw, mintin, mīhna.

* In these forms stress is on the vowel of the first syllable.

For a likely development of the pl. masc. form huwwa—in which reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries must have played an important role—see 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter and also De Jong 2000:163.

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In MzA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(C)(C)-u(h)*, ū-(h)</td>
<td>-huw*^4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>C^-k, CC-uk, ū^-k*^2</td>
<td>-kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>C^-k, CC-ik, ū^-k*^2</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(C)(C)-i, ū-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 ū 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 hurmūt“k “your (sg. masc.) wife” and nāgīt“k “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: īlītēk “your (sg. fem.) pack”, nāgītēk.

When -k is suffixed to ū, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before k is released, e.g.: īlē-k “on you”, fī-k “in you”, gīfā-k “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: īlēk, fīk and gīfāk.

When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of uḥūk “your (sg. masc.) father” and uḥūk
“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel ƙ preceding ƙ is more tense than ƙ 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 -nī also occur.

*4 Parallel to independent pronominals, the 3rd p. pl. masc. suffix is formed with -w, rather than with -m (although a few instances with final -m were recorded).

For the development of second person pronominal suffixes -k and -k see NOTE in 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter.

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis

Near deixis*2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā)dah*1</td>
<td>(hā)dill(ih)*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)diy</td>
<td>(hā)dillih / dillēl(ih)*2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms without initial hā- are much more regular than in group I.

Far deixis*2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā)dāk(ah)</td>
<td>(hā)dāllāk(ah)*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)dīk(ah)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In pause often dīh or dīš.

*2 The forms listed here with initial hā are current in BWA, but occur only sporadically in MzA. Another pl. form recorded in MzA was hādēlah. For presence / absence of velarization in these forms, see remarks *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 ǧī “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.

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha-, which is especially current in group I dialects (see De Jong 2000:172–173), was heard only in halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA) “now” and once in halyōm “today” (the latter only recorded in BWA).

3.1.14. Interrogatives

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

“What?” is eš? (~ 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 niḥāʾ or niḥāniy* in MzA and hniy in BWA (fi hāda is also used), “there” is hnuh or hnūtiy (fi hādāk is also used), ġād (with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)”. “Thus” is kīdiy or often kīdiyyih (and less often kīdiyyāniy), “now” is halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA), “still” is l issāʾ and “afterwards, after that” is baʿādēn.

* When min precedes niḥāʾ, one syllable is haplographically dropped, e.g. ʿimšin mi-nhāʾ or mi-nḥāniy “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. biḥayl “very, extremely”

b ilḥayl “very, extremely” is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. iw hāliyyan fi liyyām hādiy fi Sīnah māhuw kātri n [...] miš kātri n b ilḥayl [...] “And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai [...] They are not very many...”. Another example is [...] iw zayy ki ṭiy b īdēk, bitgaṭṭiʿ...alkāʾikh w tuf “rakah w bithuṭt ʿālēha lēha...issāmin iwliāha hīlwi ʾa 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...".
3.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”
The adverb bišwēš was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih is current.

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

3.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

In BWA the pron. suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. -k co-occurs with -kiy, e.g. fik ~ fikiy “in you (sg. fem)”. and also lik ~ likiy “to you (sg. fem.)”.

In direct elicitation, the -aƙ suffix was also recorded for the 2nd p. sg. masc., though in spontaneous texts only -ƙ or -uƙ was heard.

Suffixed prepositions in MzA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>suffixed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>li + *₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luh</td>
<td>lēhuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēha</td>
<td>lēhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luk</td>
<td>lēḵuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik</td>
<td>lēkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay(عقد)</td>
<td>lēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿala + *₂</td>
<td>ʿalā + *₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilēh</td>
<td>ʾilēhv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilēhā</td>
<td>ʾilēhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilēḵuww</td>
<td>ʾilēḵuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilēkin</td>
<td>ilēkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilēna</td>
<td>ilēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(i) + *₃</td>
<td>m(i) + *₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʿuh</td>
<td>mihhton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihha</td>
<td>mihhhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʿuk</td>
<td>miḵuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʿik</td>
<td>miḵkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m i</td>
<td>mi na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The paradigm is mixed; forms like lēḵuww and lēh are much less frequently used than luh and lēh. A similar paradigm is used for b +. The suffixed proposition l+ may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. ʾgāluḵ “he came to you”, gultilhi “I said to her” (notice that the form is not lēha), aḥsāl-luḵ “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan + luḵ), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. gāḷat luh “she said to him”, tfakkir luh “you look at him” (i.e. these examples are not stressed gāḷat-luh and tfakkir-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, lthin, lkūw, 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 -uƙ and -iƙ), but stressed when consonant-initial suffixes are involved and ʿ and h reciprocally assimilate to become hh.

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{fi} + & \text{fōg} + & \text{min} + \\
\text{fīh} & \text{fīhuw} & \text{fōghu} & \text{fōghuw} & \text{minnuh} & \text{minhuw} \\
\text{fīha} & \text{fīhin} & \text{fōgha} & \text{fōghin} & \text{minha} & \text{minhin} \\
\text{fīk} & \text{fīkuw} & \text{fōgk'u} & \text{fōgkuw} & \text{minnuk} & \text{minkuw} \\
\text{fīk} & \text{fīkin} & \text{fōgk'i} & \text{fōgkin} & \text{minnik} & \text{minkin} \\
\text{fay(y)} & \text{fīna} & \text{fōgna} & \text{fōgna} & \text{minni} & \text{minna}
\end{array}
\]

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

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

*3 \textit{fay} must have developed in analogy to \textit{lay} and \textit{ʿaláy}, see remark above.

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{warā} + & \text{‘ind} + \\
\text{warāh} & \text{warāhuw} & \text{‘induh} & \text{‘induhuw} \\
\text{warāha} & \text{warāhin} & \text{‘indaha} & \text{‘indihin} \\
\text{warāk} & \text{warākuw} & \text{‘induk} & \text{‘indukuw} \\
\text{warāk} & \text{warākin} & \text{‘indik} & \text{‘indikin} \\
\text{warāy} & \text{warānya} & \text{‘indi} & \text{‘indina}
\end{array}
\]

*1 In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding \textit{r} is gradually lost during articulation of the following \textit{ā}. Thus an opposition between \textit{warāk} and \textit{warāk} is maintained.

*2 Notice that the allomorphs used with this preposition are all vowel-initial.

3.1.17. \textit{Numerals and counted plurals}

3.1.17.1. \textit{Cardinal numbers 1–10}

Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): \textit{wāhid / wihdih\textsuperscript{*1}}, \textit{tnēn / tintēn\textsuperscript{*2}}, \textit{talātih (tālat or talāt)}, \textit{aṛbaʿah (aṛba)}, \textit{xamsih (xams)}, \textit{sittih (sitt)}, \textit{sabʿih (sabʿ)}, \textit{ṭamānyih (ṭāman or ṭāman)}, \textit{ṭisʿīh (ṭisʿ)}, \textit{ʿašarāh (ʿašar)}.

\textsuperscript{73} Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists \textit{ḥard} in the meaning of \textit{bi ḣānīb “beside”}. 


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

*2* *tnēn* and *tiṭēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn* “two boys” and *īdēy i/tmacronbelowintēn* or *iṭēy tiṭēṇin* “my two hands”.

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

3.1.17.2. **Ordinal numbers 1–10**

Only three ordinals were recorded: *awwil*, *tāniy*, *tāliṭ*.

3.1.17.3. **Numerals: 11 and up**

*ḥidạ̄šiṛ*, *īṭnā ̣šiṛ*, *tmacronbelowalaṭṭạ̄šir*, *aṛba ʿaṭạ̄šir*, *xamisṭā ̣šir*, *siṭṭā ̣šir*, *saba ʿaṭạ̄šir*, *tmacronbelowamanṭạ̄šir*, *tisi ʿaṭạ̄šir*, *išrīn*, *talaṭēn*, *sabīn*, *tamanāṇin*, *tisīn*, *miyytēn*, *ṭaṭmīyytēn*, *rubī müyytēn*, *xamsmüyytēn*, *suttmüyytēn*, *subī müyytēn*, *ṭūmnmüyytēn*, *tusi müyytēn*, *alf*, *alfeṇ*, *talaṭ t-ālāf*, *xamis t-ālāf*, *aṛbai t-ālāf*, *sabai t-ālāf*, *taman t-ālāf*, *tisi t-ālāf*, ʿašar t-ālāf, *miyyit alf*, *miyytēn alf*, *malyūn*.

3.1.18. **The dual**

Sufffixing -ēn or -ayn to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *šaharaṛayn* “two months”, *sbūʿayn* “two weeks”, *nōʿayn* “two kinds” and -ēn (in neutral environments) ʿarabiyyēn “two cars”, müyyēn “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 *riǧlēuḳ* “my (two) hands” and *iṭēy* “your (two) hands” and *iṭēy* “my (two) hands”.

3.2. **Verbal Morphology**

3.2.1. **Regular verbs**

3.2.1.1. **Regular verbs perfect**

In all vowel-types of the perfect and imperfect, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. ending is -uw, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is -in (including the a- and i- types of the tertiae infirmiae) and the ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is -at (except in the verb ‘come’, see below).74

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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: $C_aC_2aC_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$a$-type perfect*1</th>
<th>$i$-type perfect*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kitāb</td>
<td>kātabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širīb</td>
<td>širībuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kātabat*2</td>
<td>kātabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širbat*4</td>
<td>širbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
<td>kītabtaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širībt</td>
<td>širībtaw*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kitābtiy</td>
<td>kitābtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širībiy</td>
<td>širībitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
<td>kitābna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širībt</td>
<td>širībna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice that $a$ (in the first syllable) is raised to $i$ in pre-stress syllables. In a labial environment raising of unstressed $a$ in the first syllable tends to be towards $u$, as in wugāft “I stopped” and wugāftin “you (pl. fem.) stopped”, but wāgafat “she stopped” and wāgafin “they (pl. fem.) stopped”.

*2 When suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix forms are: kātabitu or kātabatu “she wrote it (sg. masc.)”. The latter form may be due to influence from one of the neighbouring dialects (such as TAN), where the form is not resyllabified.

*3 The short high vowel $i$ of the first syllable is actually underlying |a| and is therefore not dropped in open pre-stress syllables. This underlying |a| does not ‘reappear’ in closed syllables (in contrast with reappearing |a| in some -not all- of the dialects of group I).

*4 Notice that the ending here is -at in the $i$-type perfect, not -it (contrasting with surrounding dialect groups).

*5 ‘Almost’ širībtum: one of my informants had a tendency to almost close his lips (approximating I.P.A. [m]) when articulating $w$ of pl. verbal endings; one had to look carefully to see that he was not actually producing $m$, because it often sounded as such, also because of the high degree of nasalisation which accompanied his realisation of such final wāw75 (see also remarks on the situation in HmA (of group VII) and ‘LA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. **Regular verbs imperfect**

Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Another interesting feature is that this vowel harmony has spread through the entire paradigm and that it includes the 1st. p. com. sg. This accounts for the absence of initial $a$- in

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75 This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.
the 1st. p. sg. com. of \( i \)– and \( u \)-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: \( yaC_1C_2CaC_3 \), \( yuC_1C_2CuC_3 \) and \( yiC_1C_2iC_3 \), all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( a )-type imperfect*1</th>
<th>( i )-type imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yášrab</td>
<td>yiktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yášrabuw</td>
<td>yiktibuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tásrāb</td>
<td>tiktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tásrābin</td>
<td>tiktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tásrāb</td>
<td>tiktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tásrābiy</td>
<td>tiktiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ášrab</td>
<td>iktrib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nášrab</td>
<td>niktib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( u \)-type imperfect*2

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yuṇrub</td>
<td>yúṇdurbuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yuṇrub</td>
<td>yúṇdurbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tuṇrub</td>
<td>títuṇdurbuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tuṇrub</td>
<td>tínuṭbur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tuṇrubiy</td>
<td>tínuṭbir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>uṇrub</td>
<td>nuṇrub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice the lack of vowel harmony in the endings of 2 sg. fem., 2 pl. masc. and fem. and 3 pl. masc. and fem. (in contrast with group I).76

*2 In the \( u \)-type—provided velarization is lacking—the anaptyctic vowel in the imperfect forms tends to vary, i.e. either \( i \) or \( u \). One may hear e.g. \( t̜águḏu \) as well as \( t̜ágiḏu \) for “you (pl. masc.) sit”, but in velarized forms the anaptyctic \( u \) is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with \( C_1 = X \) have the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( i )-type<em>1 imperfect</em>2</th>
<th>( a )-type imperfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yáḥarīt</td>
<td>yáḥarītw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yáḥarīt</td>
<td>yáḥarītin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḥarīt</td>
<td>tāḥarītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāḥarīt</td>
<td>tāḥarītīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḥarīt</td>
<td>tāḥarīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḥarītiy</td>
<td>tāḥarītiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>áḥarīt</td>
<td>áḥarīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>náḥarīt</td>
<td>náḥarīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in \( i \)-type imperfects like \( yaharīt \) 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. \( yihrit \) are not heard in these dialects).
Active participles are: ḥārīt, ḥārtih, ḥārtīn, ḥārtāt.

Active participles of the type C₃+aC₂iC₃ (etc.) for the verb ‘irīg, yā’arag are not really used, instead for “sweating” one may hear: ‘argān, ‘argānih, ‘argānīn, ‘argānāt.

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *CᵢC₂uC₃, *yaCᵢC₂uC₃

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>u-type perfect*₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kubur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kubrat*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kuburtiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The Classical Arabic 'Eigenschafts' verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) CᵢC₂uC₃, yaCᵢC₂uC₃ has CᵢuC₃, yuCᵢC₂uC₃ reflexes (imperfect paradigm like yuṭrub, see 3.2.1.2.). Notice that, like in reflexes of C.A. *CᵢC₂iC₃a (such as, e.g., širīb), 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 CᵢC₂uC₃ perfects, the u of the first syllable is actually underlying | a | (i.e. like i in the first syllable of CᵢC₂iC₃ perfects, see *³ in 3.2.1.1.).

Other u-type perfects are: tuxunt “I became fat”, hī ġul/dmacronbelowat “she became fat”, hinnih ġul/dmacronbelowin “they (fem.) became fat”, iddīnyah sux unat “the weather became hot” (for superscript “, see 2.2.2.3.) and innās kuṭruw “people became many”.

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

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

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Active participles are formed with the patterns CᵢC₂iC₃ (sg. masc.) CᵢC₂C₃ah/-ih (sg. fem.), CᵢC₂C₃īn (pl. masc.) CᵢC₂C₃āt (pl. fem.).

---

⁷⁷ Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form yukburun, recorded in the dialect of the Rmēlāt in the north, see De Jong:2000:391.
When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: bāniyṭuh “having built it (sg. masc.)”, hī mīhīʿāyizṭuh “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 īktīb, īktībiy, īktībuw, īktībin “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (primaes wāw)

Imperfect paradigms of verbs with wāw as C₁ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-type*</th>
<th>a-type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>yōrid</td>
<td>yōrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
<td>tōrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>nōrid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ō in this paradigm reflects older a in the preformatives of i-type imperfects as well, as in e.g. *yawrid, and these are presumably older than the forms with harmonized vowels like e.g. yiktīb. Diphthongal preformatives were not recorded.

The imperfect of the verb “light, kindle” was recorded as yōgid.

The perfects of prima wāw verbs are C₁C₂C₃ or C₁aC₂aC₃ (see above).

The imperatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>ōrduw</td>
<td>ōgaf</td>
<td>ōgafuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ōrdiy</td>
<td>ōrdin</td>
<td>ōgafiy</td>
<td>ōgafin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The imperative áwʿa was said to occur in that form only (i.e. uninflected for number or gender): “mind your head(s)!" is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>áwʿa rāsʾk</td>
<td>áwʿa rūskuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áwʿa rāsʾk</td>
<td>áwʿa rūskin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles:

Active participles have a C₃aC₁C₂ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wāgif, wāgifh, wāgifin, wāgifāt “standing”.

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: bāniyṭuh “having built it (sg. masc.)”, hī mīhīʿāyizṭuh “she does not want/love him”.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<td>tōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
<td>tōrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>nōrid</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áwʿa rāsʾk</td>
<td>áwʿa rūskin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles:

Active participles have a C₃aC₁C₂ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wāgif, wāgifh, wāgifin, wāgifāt “standing”.
The passive participle for the root \( w-\dual{\ddash}d \) was recorded as \textit{maw\dual{\ddash}ød} (see 1.2.4.1).

3.2.2.2. \textit{Verbs} \( C_1 = y \) (\textit{primae yā'})
The only verb recorded with \( C_1 = y \) is \textit{yibis}, \textit{yēbas} “dry (intrans.).”

3.2.2.3. \textit{Verbs} \( C_1 = \' \) (\textit{primae hamzah})
The two verbs “eat” and “take” have similar conjugations. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for “eat” are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{akāl}</td>
<td>\textit{ākaluw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{ākalat}</td>
<td>\textit{ākalin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{akalt}</td>
<td>\textit{akaltuw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{akaltiy}</td>
<td>\textit{akaltin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>\textit{akalt}</td>
<td>\textit{akalne}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

The verbal nominal is \textit{wākl} “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is \textit{ānwikal}, \textit{yīnwikil}.

3.2.2.4. \textit{Verbs} \( C_2 = w \) or \( y \) (\textit{mediae infirmæ})
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 \textit{mediae infirmæ} are:

\( C_2 = w \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{gām}</td>
<td>\textit{gāmuw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{gāmat}</td>
<td>\textit{gāmin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>\textit{gunt}</td>
<td>\textit{guntuw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>\textit{guntiy}</td>
<td>\textit{guntin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>\textit{gunt}</td>
<td>\textit{gunma}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles are: ǧāyım, ǧāymih, ǧāymīn, ǧāymāt (no velarization).

The verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in MzA with short vowel u, as in šuft, as well as with i, as in šift “I saw”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“sleep”</th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nām</td>
<td>nāmuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāmat</td>
<td>nāmín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīmtuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nīmtiy</td>
<td>nīmtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīmne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: nāyım, nāymih, nāymín, nāymāt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“carry”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šāl</td>
<td>šāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šālat</td>
<td>šālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šīlt</td>
<td>šītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šīltiy</td>
<td>šītin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šīlt</td>
<td>šīlna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Where there is variation in group I dialects between the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms biyšīl and bišīl, both meaning “he carries” (see De Jong 2000:199), in group VI a form like bišīl “he carries” (after reduction of the diphthong iy > i) has become homophonous with the form for the 1st p. sg. com. “I carry”.

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels and may have a short vowel preceding, as in šīl “carry!”, ugūm “get up!” Examples are: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin, gūm / ugūm, gūmiy, gūmuw, gūmīn.

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

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns CāyiC3y, CāyiC3ih, CāyiC3in and CāyiC3ät.

A passive participle is mašyūl etc.
3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_y$ = $y$ (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_y$ = $y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect

Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of tertiae infirma verbs that are actually mixed; some forms originate from the $a$-type perfect, while other forms in the same paradigm are originally $i$-type forms:

In MzA the following paradigms were elicited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“forget”</th>
<th>“go, walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i$-type perfect</td>
<td>$a$-type perfect*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nisī$^*$</td>
<td>miší$^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisyuw$^*$</td>
<td>mišyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisītuw</td>
<td>mišētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
<td>mišēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisītn</td>
<td>mišētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
<td>mišēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisīnā</td>
<td>mišēnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Another informant, however, claimed that forms like ligyuw and ligyin are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are ligūw (< *laguw) (a suffixed example is ligūh) and ligín (< *lagin) (a suffixed example is ligin-nuh) and by analogy one would then also expect ligát for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagat). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form nisī$^*$ (< *nasā)—instead of nisīy—must then have crossed over from the $a$-type perfect (compare miší$^*$, see remark below). For the paradigm of the $i$-type elicited in BWA, see below.

*2 The verb is listed here as an $a$-type perfect, since miší$^*$ must have developed from *mašā, and endings in -ē + clearly belong to the $a$-type (for raising of the $a$ preceding the stressed ē see 1.2.3.4.3.2.), but the endings of the 3rd p. pl. and 3rd p. sg. fem. (i.e. those with $y$) are identical with the $i$-type endings. For similar $a$-type forms recorded in the dialect of Bilay of group I in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:201. The forms of the $a$-type perfect in BWA are the same as in MzA.

Suffixed forms are, e.g.: nisītuh “I forgot him” and nisīnāh “we forgot him”, which are quite straightforward $i$-type, but forms like nisāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him” point to the $a$-type. Similarly: hī nisīyituh or nāsatuh “she forgot him” and ligyituh or (less current) lágatuh “she found him”. Other examples (with doubling of $n$) in nisīnnuh “you (pl. fem.) forgot him” and nissyinnuh or (alternatively) nisyinnuh “they (f.) forgot him” and alternatives like ligyuh / lagūh (after raising ligūh) “they found him”.

Imperatives of tertiae $yā$ verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs yirmiy “throw” and yimšiy:
When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears, e.g. (underlined): írim # “throw!” and írimha “throw it (fem.) away!”.

The paradigm of the i-type perfect recorded from BWA informants is almost identical to that of group I, however (De Jong 2000:201).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>irm* / imš</td>
<td>irmuw / ímšuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>írmiy / ímšiy</td>
<td>írmin / ímšin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

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<th></th>
<th>“forget”</th>
<th>“go, walk”</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-type imperfect*</td>
<td>i-type imperfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nisíy</td>
<td>nisyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisyat</td>
<td>nisyín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nísít</td>
<td>nísítuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nísitíy</td>
<td>nísitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nísít</td>
<td>nísína</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, i‘ > ā, as in e.g. yansāhi “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in *2 on treatment of final -i‘ in ġi “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 ağálábiyyah lliy btalghuw sakanuw fi wiğiōh gibil aṣṣa‘id “the majority of those you find settled down in the south in Upper Egypt”, hatlāguh “you’ll find him”, aw‘a tans! “don’t you forget!” and iw bitiġluh “and you boil it (a long time)!”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current, e.g. írimhi “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 $C_3āC_2iy$, $C_3āC_2yih$, $C_3āC_2yin$ and $C_3āC_2yāt$. E.g. $lāgyiy$, $lāgyih$, $lāgyin$, $lāgyāt$ “having found”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
No instances of verbal nouns of tertiae infirmae were recorded.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“come”</th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 3. masc.</td>
<td>$ǧi^∗2$</td>
<td>$ǧuw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. fem.</td>
<td>$ǧat$</td>
<td>$ǧin^∗3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 2. masc.</td>
<td>$ǧit$</td>
<td>$giatan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. fem.</td>
<td>$ǧit$</td>
<td>$giatan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1. com.</td>
<td>$ǧit$</td>
<td>$giatan$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Apart from stress in the imperfect paradigm, these forms are reminiscent of forms heard in the dialect of Biliy (see De Jong 2000:204).

*2 But when suffixed: $ḥū ǧānī”he came to me”$, but both $ḥū ǧā$’k and $ḥū ġi”k$ (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒi:]”) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also $ḥū ǧīck$ (IPA [dʒi:\k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.

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

*4 In rapid speech $biɣiy$ may be realized as $biɣiy$, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. $fi šṣayf biɣiy rīḥ kīṭūr, iw fih fi lmašti$ “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 yā’ verbs.

*6 The form $aɣiy$ came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form $iɣiy$ is more logical and was indeed recorded regularly in MzA and also in BWA.

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: $tā’āl, tā’āliy, tā’ālw, tā’ālin$. 
3.2.2.6.3. **The verb “come” participles**
Participles of the verb “come” are: ġāy, ġāyih, ġāyīn, ġāyāt.

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

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

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

* Raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē is regular (like in the dialect of Bily of group I in the north and also in groups II78 and VII. See also remark to the perfect paradigm in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the 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 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) imperatives**
Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. šidd, šiddiy, šidduw, šiddin “pull!” and with base vowel u: ḥuṭṭ, ḥuṭṭiy, ḥuṭṭṭuw, ḥuṭṭin “place!”.

3.2.2.7.3. **Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)**
Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: mādd, māddih, māddin, māddāt.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C₁ = X, e.g. maḥaṭṭūṭ “placed”, but this was not heard in maxṣūṣ “special”.

3.2.3. **Derived measures**

3.2.3.1. **Measure n-1**

3.2.3.1.1. **Measure n-1 sound roots**
Measure n-1 is used to express the passive. The underlying patterns are anC₁aC₂aC₃, yinC₁aC₂iC₃. The vowel of the preformative (in both perfect and imperfect) may be stressed in positions eligible for stress and surface

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78 For the dialect of Bily, see De Jong 2000:205. For group II, see ibid.:309.
forms often show raised \( a \), e.g. \( ángiṭa' \), \( yínğiṭi' \) “be cut”, \( ánwikal \), \( yínwikil \) “be eaten”. The paradigms are:

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```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ánbiṣaṭ inbāṣaṭuwa yínbiṣiṭ yínbāṣṭuwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭat inbāṣaṭin tínbiṣiṭ tínbāṣṭin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt inbaṣāṭtuwa tínbiṣiṭ tínbāṣṭuwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtiy inbaṣāṭtin tínbāṣtiy tínbāṣṭin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt inbaṣāṭna tínbiṣiṭ nínbiṣiṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the imperfect forms the underlying \( |a| \) ‘reappears’ in syllables closed by \( C_2 \) (here \( ʂ \)) after elision of \( i \) preceding \( C_3 \) (here \( ţ \)). The fact that the \( i \) preceding \( ʂ \) is actually underlying \( |a| \) can also be concluded from the fact that it is not elided from forms like \( yínbiṣiṭ \) (i.e. the form is not \( yín(i)bṣiṭ \); a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like \( yíkitbuw \)). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern \( \text{minC}_1\text{a}_1\text{C}_2\text{i}_1\text{C}_3 \), e.g. \( \text{mínbiṣiṭ} \), \( \text{minbaṣṭah} \), \( \text{minbaṣṭin} \), \( \text{minbaṣṭāt} \) “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 \( \emptyset \) (see also below \( \text{inšāl} \) in 3.2.3.1.3.).

3.2.3.1.2. **Measure \( n\text{-}1 C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)**

Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure \( n\text{-}1 \) of medial geminate verbs are: \( \text{inC}_1\text{a}_2\text{C}_3 \) and \( \text{yinC}_1\text{a}_2\text{C}_3 \), e.g. \( \text{inḥaṭṭ} \), \( \text{yinḥaṭṭ} \) “be placed” and \( \text{inṣabb} \), \( \text{yinṣabb} \) “be poured”.79

3.2.3.1.3. **Measure \( n\text{-}1 C_2 = y \text{ or } w \) (mediae infirmae)**

The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure \( n\text{-}1 \) of medial weak verbs are: \( \text{inC}_1\text{ā}_3 \) and \( \text{yinC}_1\text{ā}_3 \), e.g.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>inšāl inšāluwa yinšāl yinšāluwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat inšālin tīnšāl yinšālin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšīlt inšīltuwa tīnšīl tīnšīluwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšīltiy inšīltin tīnšīliy tīnšīlin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšīlt inšīlne tīnšīl* nīnšīl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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79 It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is \( a- \) (i.e. \( \text{anḥaṭṭ} \)) or \( i- \).
3.2.3.4. Measure n-1 $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern $\text{minC}_1\text{C}_3 : \text{minšāl}, \text{minšālah}, \text{minšālin}$, $\text{minšālāt}$ “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: $\text{aC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{aC}_3, \text{yiC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3$. Like in measure n-1, raised $a$ is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: $\text{áštiġal}, \text{yíštiġil}$ “work”, $\text{áttifag}, \text{yíttifijig}$ “agree” and $\text{áštawa}, \text{yístiwiy}$ “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms for $C_3 = y$ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>áštara</td>
<td>áštaraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>áštarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ištarayt</td>
<td>ištaraytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištaraytiy</td>
<td>ištaraytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ištarayt</td>
<td>ištarayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb is $\text{iḥtāḡ}, \text{yiḥtāḡ}$ “need”.

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

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are $\text{miC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{iC}_3$ (underlying $\text{miC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3$), $\text{miC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{C}_3\text{ah/ihih}, \text{miC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{C}_3\text{in}, \text{miC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{C}_3\text{at}$.

Examples are: $\text{místiġil}$ “working”, $\text{miftársih}$ “predatory (of animals)”, $\text{mistāwy}$ “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, $\text{mistāwiy}$ “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”. $\text{mittifig}$ “agreed (sg. masc.)”, $\text{mittafgāt}$ “agreed (pl. fem.)” and $\text{mítiniy}$ “taking care of, providing for”.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: $\text{miḥtāḡ}$ “in need”, $\text{mittammān}$ “having gathered (pl. masc.)”.

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

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots
Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>istafham</td>
<td>istafhamuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamat</td>
<td>istafhamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>istafhamtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamtiy</td>
<td>istafhamtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>istafhamna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 \( C_2 = y \) (mediae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 \( C_2 = y \) (tertiae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-1 verbs \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC\( _1aC_2C_3 \), yistaC\( _1iC_2C_3 \), an example is (i)sta’add, yista’idd “prepare oneself”.

Short a in the perfect preceding stressed \( ē \) may be raised (e.g. ista’add\( ēt \) > ista’idd\( ēt \)), see also remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-1 participles
Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC\( _1C_2iC_3 \), e.g. mista’\( ĝ \)il “in a hurry”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC\( _1iC_2C_3 \); mista’idd “having prepared, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
Measure 2 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The patterns are: C\( _1aC_2C_3 \), yC\( _1aC_2C_3 \).

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are taC\( _1aC_2C_3 \), ytaC\( _1aC_2C_3 \).

3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots
Like in group I, the high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: y\( ẓ \)abb\( ṭ \)uw “they do a proper job”, bittall\( ūw \) giṣ\( ā \)yid “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems”, biybarrkuw ’āsil “they let a throughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [b\( i^\prime \)bark\( ʊ \)w ]\( ʔ\)ā’s]\( ɪ \)l].
Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in *thamms ilbunn “you roast the coffee beans” and *w itxalîyy tjammr iswayyih “and you let it (burn) a little (to) become glowing embers”.

*r* or *l* following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. *itfassiruh “you explain it” and biy’assirin im’úk iswayyih “they (pl. fem.) have some influence on you”.

When *C₂* = *C₃*, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *thalliluh “you analyze it” (I.P.A. *[a’ḥalhlo]*).

### 3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae

Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*₁</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwi*₂</td>
<td>sawwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
<td>suwwētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwēni’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ For raising of *a* in closed syllable preceding stressed *ē* see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

*₂ Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final *-i* > *-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 ywakkilne # “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, gi’adna šaharayn, fi ḥbāl ḥādiry bînḥūm. innās kānat bitxmāf 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 *taC₄aC₂C₂aC₃, ytaC₄aC₂C₂aC₃,*.

Unlike the situation in group I dialects (especially so in those of the Rmelāt and Sawārkah, see De Jong 2000:212), the *ta-* prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure *t*-2 is stable and is hardly ever reduced to *(i)t-.*

When the imperfect preformative *t-* of the 3rd p. sg. fem. and of the 2nd. p. sg. and pl. masc. and fem. precedes, the resulting sequence *tte*- is reduced to *ta-*.*₈₀ For tertiae infirmae *t*-2 verbs the paradigms are:

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*₈₀ I have referred to this before as a haplological drop of the verbal prefix *ta-* (from an initial sequence *tata*). This interpretation however pre-supposes verbal imperfect pre-
“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taġaddi’</td>
<td>taġadduw</td>
<td>ytaġaddi’</td>
<td>ytaġadduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
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<td>taġaddin</td>
<td>taġaddi’</td>
<td>ytaġaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>taġaddētuw</td>
<td>taġadd*2</td>
<td>taġadduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>taġaddētin</td>
<td>taġaddiy</td>
<td>taġaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taġaddēt</td>
<td>taġaddēni’</td>
<td>ataġaddi’</td>
<td>ntaġaddi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 With a verb like ta’ašša, yta’ašša “have dinner” raising of a in the ta- prefix is regular, e.g. (perfect) tī’aššat, tī’aššēt and (imperfect) 2nd p. sg. masc. tī’ašš.

Notice that the 3rd. p. pl. masc. and fem. of the perfect have become homophonic with the 2nd p. pl. masc. and fem. (respectively) of the imperfect. And the 3rd p. sg. masc. of the perfect is homophonic with the 3rd p. sg. fem. of the imperfect.

Raising of final *-ā is indicated here as -ʾi’, but phonetic values may also be slightly lower (i.e. nearer to I.P.A. [eʔ]).

*2 Notice also apocopation.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1C2īC3 pattern, e.g. taḡlīb “throwing out (of a fish line)”, taḡbīs “drying (trans.)”, taḍrīb “training (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taḥadīr “coming down”.

A C3 = y verbal noun is found in tirbāt álǧimal “training the camel”.

Verbal nouns for measure t-2 were not recorded. For the 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 mC1aC2C3C (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) pattern, e.g. mʾaggid “travelling”, mʾalliq “keeping suspended”, for C3 = y msawwiy, msawwyih etc., “making, doing” and for C2 = C, mḡaddid, mḡaddidīh (without elision of the short vowel i), etc. “renewing”.

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is mC1aC2C3C ( -ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g.: mlawwan “coloured”, mnaššaf “dried, hardened” and mtallal “piled up”, for C3 = y msaww, msawwayih etc., “made, done” and for C2 = C3, mḡaddad, mḡaddadih etc. “renewed”. 

fixes like ta-, ya-, and na-, whereas these are actually t-, y- and n- (the latter two implying the first). The interpretation of reduction of the initial geminate is therefore preferred here.
The pattern for measure $t-2$ active participles is $mtaC_{1}aC_{2}C_{3}$ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), but in participles often the $ta$- prefix has been reduced to $t$- (pattern $mitC_{1}aC_{2}C_{3}$ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. $mit'aṣṣil$ “deep-rooted”, $mithaddir$ (min) “originating (from)”, $mitgauwiz$ “married” and for $C_{3} = y$ $mtaġaddiy, mtaġaddyih$ etc. “having eaten lunch” and also $mithcryy$, $mithcryiy$ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“quarrel”</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kāwan</td>
<td>kāwanew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kāwanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kāwant</td>
<td>kāwantin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kāwantiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kāwant</td>
<td>kāwanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some suffixed examples are: suffixed: $kāwanatu$ (stressed on first syllable) “she quarrelled with him”, $kāwannā$ “we quarrelled with him”, $kāwantinunn$ “you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him” and (imperfect) $tkāwni$ “you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him”, $ykāwninnu$ “they (fem.) quarrel with him”, $ykāwnu$ “they (masc.) quarrel with him”.

$A_{3} = y$ verb has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“meet”</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>lāga</td>
<td>lāgweew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lāget</td>
<td>lāgetew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lāget</td>
<td>lāgena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*1 Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.
*2 Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms also occur in measure 3.

Some examples of suffixed forms are: hū lāgāh “he met/found him”, hī lāgāt’k “she met/found you (sg. masc.)”, hī lāgatuh “she met/found him” (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and hinnah biylāginnuk /-innik “they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.)”.

Examples for measure t-3 are: [kān] bintarāfag īw bintasābag “we used to travel together and race together” and (for C₃ = y) bukrāh 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 mC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -ät), e.g. mǧāhdin “fighting (pl. masc.) in a ġihād”, mkāf ’ih “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC₁āC₂aC₃) is mṭāradin “having been pushed back (in a fight)”.  
Active participles of measure t-3 have the pattern mtaC₁āC₂iC₃ or mitC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -ät); like in participles of measure t-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.6.), the ta- preformative is often reduced to (i)t-. Both mtawāǧdih and mitwāǧdih “present (sg. fem.)” were recorded and also mithāyig lay “it seems to me” (cf. MSA root h-y-).

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns
A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is ġihād “war against unbelievers” and another is msāʿādah “help, assistance”. Verbal nouns of the type tC₁ēC₂iC₃ 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 $aC_1aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1iC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“have breakfast”</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>perfect</strong></td>
<td><strong>imperfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>áfṭar</td>
<td>áfṭaruw$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áfṭarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭartuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ifṭartiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭarna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings
$^2$ The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) $tifṭiruw$ and $yifṭirin$ is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure $4 C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmæ) perfect and imperfect
Patterns for measure 4 mediae infirmæ are: $C\bar{a}C_1(C_iC_t)\ yC_1iC_3$, e.g. rād "he wanted", rīdt (I.P.A. [rıt]) “I wanted”, yrīd "he wants". The paradigms are like those of šāl, yšīl (see 3.2.2.4.).

Some examples of suffixed forms are: rādatih “she wanted him”, rīdnāh “we wanted him”, intuw rīdtih “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, intin rīdtin-nuh “you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and rādinnuh “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure $4 C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmæ) perfect and imperfect
The patterns for measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmæ) are $aC_1C_2a$ (perfect) and $yiC_1iC_3y$ (imperfect). The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“give”</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>perfect</strong></td>
<td><strong>imperfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ā ṭa</td>
<td>ā ṭuw$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ā ṭat</td>
<td>ā ṭīn$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>āṭyṭ</td>
<td>āṭyṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>āṭyṭiy</td>
<td>āṭyṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āṭyṭ</td>
<td>āṭyna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings in tertiae yā’ perfects as well: -ūw and -īn instead of -aw and -an current in group I.
$^2$ Notice the presence of the apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in measure 4 as well.

Some suffixed examples are: hinnah āṭinnuh “they (fem.) gave him” and hinnah āṭinnuh iyyāh “they (fem.) gave it to him”. 
3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect
An example of a measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (primae wāw) verb is awǧa’, yūǧi’ “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. ibtūǧ uh “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and ‘idnī awǧa’atnī “my ear hurt me”.

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

3.2.3.7.6. Measure 4 imperatives
Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the $i$-type imperfect (see 3.2.1.5.).
Imperatives of $C_3 = y$ roots are: $i’ṭ$ (apocopated), $i’ṭiy, i’ṭuw, i’ṭin$. Suffixed examples are: $i’ith-īyyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, $i’ṭuh 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, mifṭriḥ, mifṭrīn, mifṭrāt “having eaten breakfast”.
For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type mrīd, -ih, -īn, -āt “wanting”.
Another example is mġīr “running”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛ</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛat</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛayt</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛaytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛaytiy</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛaytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛayt</td>
<td>Ḣmārṛaytayne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particples are: mihmārṛ, -ah, -in, āt.

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect ($i$) and perfect ($a$).

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82 Though for the verb rād, yrīd measure 1 participles ṛāyid, -ih etc. were also accepted by my informants.
“ululate”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>zağrat</td>
<td>zağratuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zağratat</td>
<td>zağratin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>zağrat</td>
<td>zağratuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zağratṭiy</td>
<td>zağraṭṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>zağrat</td>
<td>zağratne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1  ṭt is assimilated to ṭṭ, e.g. zağraṭṭiy.
*2 Initial tz is assimilated to dz or zz, e.g. (partially) # idzağriṭ or (totally) # izzağriṭ.

“improvise rhymed song”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hawḡas</td>
<td>hawḡisuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawḡisat</td>
<td>hawḡisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>hawḡast</td>
<td>hawḡastuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawḡastiy</td>
<td>hawḡastin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>hawḡast</td>
<td>hawḡasna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms like hawḡisat and hawḡisuw show raising of a > i (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is hǧēsiy or thīǧis. Similarly, the verb hawḡan, yhawḡin “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: ṭab’an “of course”, tagriban “approximately”, ʾaṣlan “in origin”, ʾiʿlan “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 \( iw \ bīytaraǧǧuw \ lmaṣāyix \ illy \ kān \ ḥīnha \ mawḏūdin \ mā \ ywaddāhuw \ Falaṣṭīn iywaddāhuw \ Maṣir \) “and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…” and \( hāḏ-illy \ ya’niy \ btākluh, \ l(aw) \ mā \ liḥāg \ daktūr \ aw \ hāwiy \ bīymūt \) “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 \( iw \ biddugg \ bi`id \ ilhōn \ ingūl`i`ālēh \ `id \ ilhōn, \ iw \ ba`ad \ kidīyyih \ . . . \ ibbaryād \ hū \ ibyīgīly \ bīnhūṭt \ ēh? \) “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 \( hū \ mūhū \ fāhīm \ kidīy, \ hū \ mūhū \ ʾārif \ . . . \ inna \ mā \ bitrīduh \ “he did not understand this, he did not know…that she did not want him” \) \( w \ A’llah \ btug`ud \ kidīyyih \ w \ btgahwiy \ nnās \(^{84}\) \ iw \ btaxaṛraf \ iw \ bitǧīb \ . . . \ bithawǧis \ ilkalām \ illy \ zimān \ “By God, you sit down like this and you give the people coffee (or tea)\(^{85}\) and you talk and you get…you improvise the type of talk of old times”.

See also remark in 3.2.2.4. on reduction of the diphthong in a form like \( biyšīl > bišīl \).

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” MzA uses \( bidd + \) pron. suffix (see also 4.11.).\(^{86}\)

Often not only volition or need is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb. Examples are: (futurity)

\(^{83}\) It is current in all dialects of Sinai, except in that of the Dawāǧrah, see De Jong 2000: 224–226, 318–319, 394, 478, 527 and 691 (map 69).

\(^{84}\) \( btgahwiy \ nnās \) or \( btgahw \ innās \) (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.
halhinit bidd-aḫd 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. yaʼniy halhinit alwalad ilʾašil iliyy hū ʾindina nihā’...hatlağuh ibyasma’ kilām uḥāh “that is, the true son that we have here with us, 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 ʾa liḥkāyah diy, hayagtaʼ-aššiǧar;  hayagtaʼūh “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 gaʾatt bukrāh hinih, aššuluḫ wāḫid iygūltūk ēh? ʿal-ēh? ʿala ttadrīb /dmacronbelowih. “If you stay here tomorrow, I’ll get you someone who will tell you what? About what? About this training (of camels)”. 4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. iw fīh išāb fi laḫr bitdāwiy ssukkaʁ “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually mā fīh (or K-form ma fiš), e.g. ġār āñnaṣal, mā fīh ʾizrāʾah 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): gaḫl ifaṣil kān yaʾniy hwēl alfēn ittalā...yaʾniy māš kaṭīr “before the separation there was, that is, around two thousand, three...that is, there was not much” and w Aḷḷāhiy māš isdūd fīhe...iblādna hādiy “By God, there are no dams in it...in (this) our land”.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

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

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87 hayagtaʼūw + aššiǧar.
89 For use of yōm in dialects of northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:692 (map 71).
4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. yōm liḥguw war-ābil, šar īlkōn . . . yōm šar īlkōn gāmuw gasamuw miʿ iZwayyid innusṣ “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then90 divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”. Another example is yaʿniy kilu . . . itnēn kilu yōm ma fiš hawa xālis “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and fih māyyīh, hallēn ilgūbāl yōm tīghī, subhān Allāh ṛabbna mītiniy kull šīy “there is water. If you come to the mountains now—God be praised—our Lord takes care of everything”.

4.6.1.1.2. yōm in combination with in

4.6.1.1.2.1. yōmin used independently

yōmin may also be used for “when”, like in the following example: yaʿniy kunna šabāb ʿala zzamil w intasābag w insābig yōmin nŷ-āl arab,91 fihīmt 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 ilgūlāt hāḍōlah ʿala ʿyūnī w aná fiji Maṭariyyāh law-dānūn min yōmin fakkat Sīnih, law kull yōm alf iḥnēḥ 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 addāʾk gaṣalatha ḥurnūtʿk “from the moment that they have given you her twig,93 she’s your wife”.

90 gāmuw (lit. “the stood up”) is here translated as “then”, i.e. like unconjugated gām, which is often used in narrating a chain of events that took place in the past, see De Jong 2000:231.

91 nŷiy + āl- arab.

92 Many members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai (following the 1967 war) as refugees in the Egyptian Nile Delta.

93 A twig is traditionally given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies as a token of the girl’s engagement to him.
4.6.1.2.4. min yōm in combination with ma

4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma

Both lamma and its variant lumma (probably a hybrid form of lamma and yōm ma) are often used for “when” and “until”.

4.6.1.2.1. lamma and lumma “when” used independently

Examples of lamma used for “when”: alḥīnit lamma bigūl luḵ intah min wēn? bitgūl luḥ ana Mzēniy “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him ‘I am a Mzēniy’”, inhum gōṭaruw hnuḥ aṣil lamma ṭfakkir Sīna zamān alblād hēdiy maḥāl “they went there because when you would see (as it was) before this land was dry”.

An example of lumma (current in MzA, but not in BWA) intha ḥīn aḏḏayf lumma biyīḵ, lumma biyīḵ yḏḏayf, taʿmal luḥ gahwah94 “Now when the guest comes to you, when the guest comes, you make coffee for him”.

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in. lamma or lumma + in was not recorded

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”

lumma (see also remark below in 4.6.1.3.) or lamma may be used in combination with laḡayit for “until”, e.g. (prosodically lengthened a in the first syllable) laḡayit lumma ddaxanah btāba bēdā’ “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without laḡayit, as in iw byinḥaṭṭ luḥ 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...ḡamir issiyūl nār lamma tāḥaḡam “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 ḡīna Ḍihāb nihāniy lōmma midāris fātaḥin...“and we came to Ḍahab 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 luḥ gahwah, proper MzA would be more something like itsaww luḥ gahwah or tgahwih.
95 “Become coal” is a gloss from my informant. I could not find a dictionary which lists this verb, but I suppose that the root h-ḡ-m is in some way related to the root ḡ-m-r, as in ḡamrīyyīh “glowing ember”.
4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta “until”, “so that

ḥatta “until” was recorded in bitdugguh īw bitiḡluḥ96 ʿala lmayyih aw mā ḥatta tiḡluḥ ʿala lmayyih “you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water”

ḥatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: yaʾniy halḥīnit ālwālād ilʾaṣīl illiy hūʿ ʿindina niḥāʾ... hatlāgūh ibyasma ʿkilām abūh. ibyardaʾ... yaʾniy ḥatta ʿabhūk ibyarda ʿalēʾk w aṃmuk ibtarḍa ʿalēʾk “that is, the decent son that we have here (in our community)... you’ll find that he listens to (the words of) his father. He is pleased... that is, so that your father is pleased with you and your mother is pleased with you”.

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. gām

Unconjugated gām used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects. In only one instance (but conjugated) gāṃuw was used in a narration of events: yōm šār ilkōn gāṃuw yōm liḥguw waṛ-ābil, šār ilkōn... yōm šār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw miʾiZwayyid 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

ṝāḥ 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 ʿaḥyād aw zilīṭ ġanām mā yḍurr bass inkān min zilīṭ iṣṣa;yd aḥala l ilʾukkah... “(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 bitlīfūh ‘ala miyyīh “and if you're going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and ra‘āniyy[ yīh]…alimsimmīh diyyīh. diyy iz kān nilgāha fi šgāgni”…gār nagāta’ ašṣuggah kidiy …w intuššhi” “a scorpion fish, this venomous one. If we find this in our nets, we have to cut the net like this…and throw it away”.

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: iḥna bnīftixīr bēha ḥatta kān biygūluw waddiy w hāṭiy “we are proud of it (sg. fem.) even if they treat us like slaves (lit. they say “bring (this), get (that)!”)”.

Another example is: law žīn ib tafkīr, kān iddarāhim ḍillīh…masalan alḥīnit ‘ašar t-ālāf…ixlāl arba‘ t-ušhur xamis t-ušhur…i‘l‘ašar t-ālāf ḍillīh talghīn išrīn 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 sīnih ṭārid…min Sīnih b ilmarāḥah ḥatta mà ywakklūne…kān wālidī w uxtī w ya‘niy nāsī “they sentenced them to a year of total exile…from Sinai, so that they would not (be able to) feed us, be it my mother and my sister and my brother and…(all) my family, that is”.

Another example is: w inḫuṭṭuh fiḥa. kān ġilī/aw irfayyi lāzm iykūn miš ya‘niy nō‘ayn “and we put it in there. Be it thick or thin, it shouldn't be two kinds (mixed), that is”.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Often conditional sentences are not introduced by a particle, e.g. il…alḥīn ákalat ib sinina, hū yitf kiḍiy f-īdu, iw yaxabatha kiḍiy “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 līgātnāh fi lxēṭ. iw mnā…mnimšiy šwayyah zayy‘aṣarāh mitti, iw bīnumṣur ťāniy “if we have
caught it in the net, (and) then we what? We walk a little farther, like ten metres, and we throw out (our net) again”.

### 4.8. Presentative Particles

#### 4.8.1. ir‘ or ar‘

Presentatives ir‘ or ar‘ were not recorded.

#### 4.8.2. ḥē + suffix

To draw the listener’s attention to something or someone, a presentative particle ḥē may be used followed by a personal pronominal, e.g. ḥēhū ǧi! “there he is!”, ḥēḥī ḡat “there she is!”, ḥēhuwwa ḡuw “there they (masc.) are!”, ḥēhinnah ḡin “there they (fem.) are!” (lit. “has/have come”).

#### 4.8.3. Particle wlin ~ wilin, win

The particle wlin is used mainly to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration, but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: ‘ašaṛ dagāyig iw tigibha ma fiš dig . . . kam digīgih w tigibha ’a lṭāl iṭṭāniy w linnhī yōm āstawat . . . bitṭallīhha “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 diyyih . . . ilinnih irkāb ḡin “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 ’a šṣāg gašībtēn ṭalāτīh wlāha mistawyih “and you put it on the šṣāg and flip it two or three times, and there it is: cooked!” (recorded in BWA).

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98 The fishing technique described is with nets (sg. šuggah, pl. šgāg) on a line (xayṭ; here xēṭ) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (’ala ḥarf ilbāḥah) and throw out their nets on the deep side.


100 rkāb is pl. (of small numbers) of irkābih. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see ‘concord’ in 4.16.
4.9. ġayr

ġär (< ġayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. īlimḥilliy ġär įyxaddim ‘a ġdayf “the host should serve the guest” and ārawwāhna luh, ana gult ēh? ġär ārawwih luh. awaddin l alḥurmah ġiy, yimmīn āšṣifī ‘al-īdhī “we went to him, [and] I said what? I need to go to him. I’ll take him to this woman, maybe she can cure him (lit. the cure is by her hand)”.

4.10. Intensifying Particle la

The particle la intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded.

4.11. bidd or widd + pron. suffix

To express “want” or “need” speakers of BWA use bidd and widd side by side (the latter is heard more inland, the former nearer to the coast). In MzA only suffixed bidd is common. Examples for “need” or “want” are: widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Slii “we want to go to Wadiy Islah” (BWA), ēš biddku? “what do you want?”, bidduh yāxišāq mi-nhāniy iyḥālluluh “he wants to take plants from here to analyze them (sg. masc.)”.

Like in other dialects as well, often not only volition is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb, e.g. halḥīnit bidd-āx/dmacronbelow iššuggah w uxušš...w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread (it) out”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express ”so, thus, then”. Examples are: ‘ād yōm tišrif ‘ala šarafat ilGā’ ibyinṣabb ġād fijī sēl Wādiy Fēṛān “so when you look out at the highest point of alGā’ it flows there into the flood course of Wadi Fēṛān” and ‘ād wēn laggā? “so where did he go?”.

4.13. yabga

yabga is not very current, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in yabga taʿāmhin ḥilaw “so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet”.

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194 In group I widd is current.

195 Wādiy Islah (as it is usually indicated on maps) runs from almost due east of at-Ṭūr into the mountains. In group I the name of this wadi is pronounced Sly (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 \( w \, \text{ashabu} \, w \, \text{syuf}, \, \text{zimân} \, \text{gâr} \, b \, \text{isyuf}. \). \( iv \, \text{taxx} \, \text{taxx} \, \text{taxx} \, w \, \text{asla} \, \text{u} \, \text{w} \, \text{kitif} \, \text{wâhid}, \, iv \, \text{hi} \, \text{yuşurud}, \, \text{uşurdu} \, \text{rawwu} \, \text{w} \, \text{Taṛâbin} \) “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 Taṛâbin”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) \( \text{innâs} \, \text{ţiw} \, \text{ilêh} \, \text{dammu} \, \text{fi} \, \text{ddag} \, \text{ah}, \, \text{nâzîl} \). “And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody’s shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛâbin”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) \( \text{innâs} \, \text{ţiw} \, \text{ilêh} \, \text{dammu} \, \text{fi} \, \text{ddag} \, \text{ah}, \, \text{nâzîl} \). “And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody’s shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛâbin”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) \( \text{innâs} \, \text{ţiw} \, \text{ilêh} \, \text{dammu} \, \text{fi} \, \text{ddag} \, \text{ah}, \, \text{nâzîl} \). “And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody’s shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛâbin”.

4.14.2. \( kân \) as a temporal marker

As another characteristic of the narrative style, unconjugated \( kân \) can be used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. \( \text{bass} \, \text{zimân} \, \text{fi} \, \text{sSu} \, \text{üdiyyah} \, \text{hnûtiy} \, \text{kân} \, \text{innâs} \, \text{mâ} \, \text{btalga} \, \text{tâki} \) “but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat”, \( \text{ilmayyah} \, \text{kân} \, \text{bitganniy} \, \text{fi} \, \text{bwâdiy} \, \text{hâda} \) “water used to flow through (narrow) canals in this wadi”. In most cases, however, \( kân \) is conjugated for number and gender.

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Several instances of the ethical dative were recorded. Examples are: \( \text{kân} \, \text{İyindin-ayw-marâkib} \, \text{..} \, \text{marâkib} \, \text{bass} \, \text{isgâyyrât} \, \text{ya} \, \text{nîy} \, \text{..} \, \text{isgâyyrât} \, \text{..} \, \text{tâlâtah} \, \text{mitir} \, \text{aw} \, \text{arba} \, \text{ah} \, \text{mitir} \, \text{ya} \, \text{nîy} \, \text{timšiy} \, \text{bêhin} \, \text{min} \, \text{ba} \, \text{ad} \, \text{aşşâ} \, \text{ab} \, \text{timš} \, \text{luk} \, \text{itten} \, \text{bêha} \, \text{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: \( \text{min} \, \text{yôm} \, \text{itcuüş} \, \text{luk} \, \text{talât} \, \text{arba} \, \text{mitir} \, \text{ba} \, \text{id} \, \text{an} \, \text{işşâ} \, \text{ab} \, \text{ma} \, \text{biyği} \, \text{xalîş} \, \text{lakîn} \, \text{lakîn} \, \text{la} \, \text{mişët} \, \text{aşşâ} \, \text{ab} \, \text{byimşiy} \, \text{warâ} \, \text{“when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Morray eel) will not come to you at all. But if you walk on the (edge of the) reef, it will come after you”}. \)
4.15. Pluralis paucitatis

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: *tamān faṭīrāt ‘ašar 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 itḥuṭ ‘alēhin ēh? gadd ‘ašar īḍrāmāt minhin* “and you put what on them? About (the quantity of) ten grams of these (lit. them (pl. fem.))” (see remark in fn 63, p. 148) and *‘ašar kilāt (~ ‘ašarāt kilu)* “ten kilos”.

4.16. Concord

Limited or countable numbers of things are referred to in the pl. fem. and so are plurals of animals. Examples are: *binǧīb arṛuṅfān iw birraġğidhin f-āssḥāhan* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *il ‘ašar t-alāf dillih talghin išrīn alf* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halḥīn ilwidyān…āqlabīyytin la Bīniy Wāṣil…ka milkiyyih, tawġad lēhin warāq fī ddér, tawġad lēhin warāq kīdīy…ya’niy…āqlabīyt ilwidyān inNabig…išṢarim…* “nowadays most of the wadis belong to the Baniy Wāṣil…as property, you’ll find a piece of paper on them in the monastery, you’ll find a piece of paper on them like that…that is…most of the wadis near Nabg, Šarm…”. Also plurals of animals are referred to in pl. fem., e.g. *iw fīh ḥūt ki/tmacronbelowīr f-ālbīḥař iw fīh igrūš, bass igrūš diy mā-ḥadd ya’niy mā-ḥadd ibyākilhin.bass ya’niy ibnīṣṭādhin barḍūh b ilxayt biyğīn fi lxayt barḍūh* “and there is a lot of fish in the sea, and there are sharks, but these sharks, that is, nobody eats them. But, that is, we fish for them also with a line, they also come on a line”.

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch often heard in the speech of (predominantly older) men of group I was not heard in MzA or BWA.103

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103 I merely conclude the absence of this feature in my material. I do not exclude the possibility of its existence in this group.
CHAPTER THREE

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE TARĀBĪN,
ḤWĒṬĀT, ĖGARĀḠRAH, TAYĀHA, BADĀṚAH,
,DBŪR AND MALĀLḤAH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the Bedouin dialects of the Taṛābīn¹ (of Rās Ṭṣadr on the Gulf of Suez, abbreviated as TAṢ, and of Nwēbiēhalfringleft on the Gulf of ēhalfringleftAqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ėyid in Sinai,² abbreviated as ḤwA), Ėgarāḡrah (of Malbad, some 40 km to the southeast of Rās Ṭṣadr,³ abbreviated as GrA), Tayāha (on the Tiḥ plateau of central Sinai, abbreviated as TyA), Badāṛah (in aṛ-Ramlah,⁴ abbreviated as BdA), Dbūr (some kilometres south of Qalēhalfringleftat al-Ǧindiy,⁵ abbreviated as DbA) and Malālḥah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,⁶ abbreviated as MIA) are described as forming the southern continuation of group I.⁷ This is also the dialect type spoken in the northern Sinai by the tribes Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Masāēhalfringleftīd, ēhalfringleftAyāydah, (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 Ḫullām in the Negev Desert, described in Blanc:1970. The same dialect type is spoken by branches of the Bedouin

¹ The Taṛābīn claim descent from the Bugūm of the southern Ḣiǧāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).
² Geographical coordinates of Ėgal al-Ǧidy are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddi).
³ Geographical coordinates of nearby Ėgal 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 33.39.39 East, see Google Earth. Another recording session was conducted farther towards the east a few kilometres south of Ėgal Fōgah or Fawqa, 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-Ǧindy are appr. 29.51.00 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth. If my memory serves me well, it is the settlement visible on Google Earth around the coordinates 29.48.30 North and 33.07.30 East.
⁶ Al-Gṣaymah is at appr. 30.40.08 North and 34.22.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Quseima).
⁷ The Malālḥah are actually on the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. They were included here, since their dialect was not discussed in De Jong 2000.
tribes Tayāha, Taṛābīn and ‘Azāzmah living in the Negev Desert, and has been succinctly described in Henkin 2008. The dialects of the same group I (or Negev-) type, but spoken more toward the central parts of Sinai (ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA)\(^9\) will be collectively referred to here as ‘southern group I dialects’.

1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA (in the northeast) is identical to that of group I in De Jong 2000:\(^{10}\)

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\(\text{vd} = \text{voiced}, \text{vl} = \text{voiceless}, \text{emph.} = \text{emphatic/velarized}\)

Of consonants listed here, those in brackets are heard in loans, such as q and ‘ in the word *qur’ān* “Koran”. They are marginal as a phoneme, such as ż in *zabbat, yżabbiṭ* “do properly”, or are allophone, such as ż for ġ; in

\(^{8}\) The triangular area in the central north of Sinai which is indicated on the map as Ḥwēṭiy territory (between the drāhs of AyA, nTA and AhA) was not visited during this research. For the maps in the appendix I have simply followed the findings for ḤwA as spoken by Ḥwēṭāt to the southwest of this area to colour in this area as well.

\(^{9}\) See remark in fn 7, p. 193.

\(^{10}\) Cf. De Jong 2000:59.
some of the dialects ź 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.\textsuperscript{11}

\subsection{1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t/, /d/ and /ʒ/}

Reflexes of *ṭ and *ḍ are interdentals ṱ and ḏ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð]) respectively. Emphatic ȭ (I.P.A. velarized [θ]) is the interdental reflex of both *ḍ and *潟, e.g. (as reflex of *.divide in) rawd̪ (pl. riḍān) “small watercourse between low mountains” (DbA), ḥāmiḍ “sour” (BdA), ḍayf “guest” (TyA) and (as a reflex for *ḍ in) ydall “he remains” (TAN) and ǧaharah “his back” and ḍimy “thirst” (both ḠrA).

In a number of lexemes ẓ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in zābiṭ “officer”, b aẓẓabṭ “precisely”, maẓbūṭ “correct”, muḥāfiz “governor”, niẓām “system”, żurūf “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”, ḥāwūẓ (pl. ḥawāwīẓ) “large storage tank for oil” (in ḤwA and TAṢ), ḥāǧih fijiẓ “a disgusting thing” (DbA), etc.\textsuperscript{12}

In all dialects both ḥāḍa and velarized ḥāḍa “this (sg. masc.)” may be heard, except in ḤwA, where such velarization as in the latter form is not current.

The reflexes for *ṭ and *ḍ are interdentals ṯ and ḏ. Examples for *ṭ are: naharīt “we plough” (ḠrA), tillāḡah “refrigerator” (BdA and tallāḡah and tal̄ “ice, snow” in TAṢ),\textsuperscript{13} biyṭannw lha “they come back to her” (ḤwA).

For *ḍ: nubḍur “we sow” (ḤwA), kiḍb “lying” (BdA) and adḥbahah “I slaughter it (masc.)” and miḍrāḥ “winnowing fork” (both ḠrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA *ṭ in “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” has a reflex t\textsuperscript{15} tillāḡah, tal̄ and also ḥaddūtih “story; fairy tale” (BdA, TAṢ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *ṭ is s, e.g. taṣīr “influence” (TAN), biṭ’assār’ālēh “it (fem.) has an

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\textsuperscript{11} For remarks on the notation of ṛ or ṛ, see De Jong 2000:65–67.

\textsuperscript{12} Additional examples may be found in De Jong 2000:60. In TAN mḥāfiji with emphatic interdental as final consonant was also recorded.

\textsuperscript{13} In winter temperatures below zero are not uncommon in the higher parts of the mountainous region of southern Sinai.

\textsuperscript{14} I was told that the ‘older’ word for “winnowing fork” in ḠrA is actually digrān, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.

\textsuperscript{15} t for *ṭ in lexemes tal̄ and tillāḡah is also regular in dialects of groups VI and VII in 1.1.2. of chapters I and II.
influence on him” (TyA), *turās “legacy” (HwA), *hādsīh “accident”, *bi ḥays (cf. MSA *bi ḥaytu) “so as to…” (TAṢ) and *masalan “for instance” (all dialects), and for *dā it is z, as in *zakālak* “likewise” (DbA) or *kazālak (TAṢ), *bala m’āxza “no offense intended” (DbA) and *bizr “seed” and *bizrih “seed (n.u.)”, but *hū byubdur *ibdār “he sows seeds” (TAṢ).

1.1.3. **Velar stops /k/ and /g/**

Like in other group I dialects *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes k (I.P.A. [k]) and g (I.P.A. [g]). These group I dialects do not have a separate phoneme /k/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4. **Post alveolar affricate /g/**

A regular realisation of /g/ in southern group I dialects is [dʒ] (with varying degrees of the plosive onset [d] of this affricate; also [tʃ]). The fricative allophone ẓ (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /g/ is more regular in southern group I dialects than in those of the north and it is particularly frequent in HwA.

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 *ṭi’mih “bait”, which must be related to the root ṭ-l-ʿ (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 (ḥamzah)**

Like in many other groups in Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb “ask” is ʾ: saʾal, yasʾal. Also the presentative arʾ or irʾ “behold!” shows ʾ for *ʾ (< root *rʾ-y)."}

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16 Compare MSA ka-ṭālik, after metathesis > ḍakālik, and after reinterpreting morpheme boundaries of ḍa-ṭālik as ḍakā-liḵ, after which -liḵ could be interpreted as the suffixed preposition l used as a presentative. See also remark on kizāluk in fn 4, p. 117.

17 Also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:418.
In *ra’s “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. ʾryūs in TAṢ and TAN.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern *CiCaC (or *CuCaC) are often CCaC in these group I dialects, e.g. ʾrkab “knees”, šnaṭ “suitcases”, ḥgan “injections”, nxar “noses”, etc.

1.1.7. Secondary velarization

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:63–65), secondary velarization is a feature typical of southern group I dialects as well. In many cases a combination of a velar (g, x or ġ) with l, r or b will produce velarization, especially with u, 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” (ǦrA), āmnaxaḷ “the palm tree” (ǦrA), ḡrāb “crow” (ǦrA), ḡaḷḷah “grain, cereals” (ǦrA), ḡuḷah “desert giant” (ǦrA), šuġḷ albaṛṛ “of the desert” (ǦrA), ʾugḅah “after him” (DbA), gaḷḅ “heart” (DbA), gāḅiḷha “before her” (ǦrA), xaḷḷaḥum “he let them” and xaḷḷah ytagaḷḷa “let him go free” (both BdA), ḡḷayyil “little”, agaḷḷ “less; least” (both TAṢ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between guḷḷah, pl. glaḷ “pitcher, jug” and ġillih “lack, paucity”:¹⁸

1.1.8. Liquids l and r

In ḤwA there is a phonemic opposition between /r/ and /ṛ/ in the minimal pair drās “threshing” and dṛās “the hard remains of the stems after threshing (thrown away as refuse)”. In TyA a near minimal pair dāriy “knowing (sg. masc.)”—dāṛī “my house” (though stress differs) may be used to isolate /r/ and /ṛ/ as phonemes as well.

Generally, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). There are many examples, of which some are: mitmāṛah “storage for grain”, škārah “sack

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¹⁸ There is a phonemic difference, but to identify the different phonemes causing this difference in meaning is problematic.

A guḷḷah “waterjar” (pl. glaḷ) is referred to as bittiyyih (pl. batāṭiy) in TAṢ, while older people refer to the waterjug as zimzimiyih (which reflects underlying a in the second syllable, hence not *zimzimiyih), cf. the well Zamzam in Mecca. The word guḷḷah is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. karnifffah (pl. karānīf), originally refers to the thick part of the palm leaf where it attaches to the stem, but is now also used metaphorically for the head of a tank-fired shell.
for grain” (ḤwA), ḥaxṣār “pottery”, nār “fire”, nahār “day(-light)”, ġrār “jar (pl.)” and ktār “many (pl. com.)”, kbār “old (pl. com.)”. Also: mixšār “large wooden fork used to stir food”, zwārah “visit to (the tomb of) a saint” (DbA), xuwwār “inferior type of camel, bred for meat”, byār “wells”, Badārah “name of the tribe Badārah”, hwār “one-year-old camel” (all TyA).

Notice, however, how following (either present or elided) i within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g.: albāriḥ “yesterday”, šārib “lip; having drunk (sg. masc.)”, ʿagārib “scorpions”, sāriḥ “taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)” and (elided) ʿârfīn “knowing (pl.)”, Bšāriy “of the tribe Bišāriyyah (referring to a type of camel)”, šarı “street, xarārif “stories” and tāri “history”.

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in bindārǧih mdārāǧih “we take it (in travel) in stages” and in the plural form in Sēl liXbār “the Wādiy (lit. Stream) of the fields”, but the other pl. form 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 > -ā’, 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:  ĭ  ū  ā  ā
1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ĕ
Like in group I dialects of the north, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ĕ/ occurs in most southern group I dialects as well. However, in TAŠ, ĞrA and TAN this feature was found to be less regular than in the other group I dialects. Examples are sīf “sword” (TyA), zīn “good” (TyA).

Notwithstanding such phonetic overlapping, the phonemic status of phonemes /ē/ and /ĕ/ can be established with a minimal pair like šēn “bad”—šīn “name of letter š”.

In several dialects of group I imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root y-b-s) monophthongization has remained absent, keeping the morphological pattern transparent, e.g. yaybas “he dries (intrans.)” (recorded in ḤwA, ĞrA, TyA, TAŠ).

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū
In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as ē and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through a minimal pair like: rūḥ “go! (imperative sg. masc.)”—rōḥ “soul”.

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː], but phonemic clash with reflexes of *aw is avoided, since *aw tends to be realized as a diphthong aw in such positions.

In verbs with wāw as their first radical, the diphthong aw has often not been monophthongized, which keeps verb forms morphologically transparent, e.g. nawgaf “we stand” as opposed to monophthongization in tōgid “you light” (both in DbA and ḤwA) and tawṣafnī “you describe to me” and tōzin “you weigh” (both in TAŠ). But in TyA both yawṣal “he arrives” and yawrid “he gives water” have diphthongs. In ĞrA there appears to be a tendency to monophthongize aw in closed syllables, e.g. yawrid “he waters”, but yōrduw “they water”. Examples in BdA: yowgaf “he stands” and yōkīha “he ties it (fem.) closed”.

Some C1 = w verbs in ḤwA also have imperfect forms occurring without incorporated wāw,19 e.g. tīgīf “she stands”, tāqfin “they (pl. fem.) stand”, yīrid “he waters” and tāridīy “you (sg. fem.) water”, but a form like tīzin for “you weigh” was not accepted during direct elicitation.

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19 Shawarbah 2007:432 also reports yīr(i)d and yīṣil for TyA.
Notice that in the forms tigíf and yiríd the vowel of the first syllable is actually underlying a, hence it is not dropped in open unstressed syllable (which would have resulted in forms like •tgif and •yrid) and ‘reappears’ as a in closed syllables (cf. the sg. fem. forms quoted).

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel ā
The long vowel ā may have a realization as high as I.P.A. [eː], 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 ġāriy “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. [eː]) and in nākil “we eat” and nām “he slept” (both nearer to I.P.A. [aː]) is clear. Another example is /āː/ (near I.P.A. [aː]) in šāl “he carried” and šāyil “carrying”, where /āː/ is nearer to I.P.A. [aː].

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

The difference in realizations of ā in rāsi and rāsī may be explained by recognizing either /āː/ and velarized /ạ̄ː/, or /r/ and velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. In the case of differences in a near minimal pair like nāsiy and nāsī, absence or presence of velarization is irrelevant. We could isolate /ɛː/ and /aː/ as separate phonemes.20

However, since nāsī is stressed on the final syllable, whereas nāsiy is stressed on the first, concluding stress as being phonemic would be equally justified, if we would choose to regard [ɛː] and [aː] as allomorphs of /āː/.

1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels
Like in northern group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a feature of allegro style in southern group I dialects as well.21

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20 The problem of identifying phonemes in cases such as described here was discussed before in De Jong 2000:65–67.
21 Shawarbah 2007:421 reports for TyA of the Negev that shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions only occurs in open syllables; in closed syllables their length is retained.
1.2.3. Short vowels

1.2.3.1. Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/

In a number of minimal pairs short high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be isolated as phonemes:

- Xiḍr “male given name” – xuḍr “green (pl. com.)”
- xirm “elongated species of fish” – xurm “hole”
- ‘iğb “offspring” – ’uğb “after”
- gîrbîh “watersack” – gûrb “nearness”
- ḥîbb “kiss!” – ḥubb “love”
- šîfr “zero” – šufîr “yellow (pl. com.)”
- šîggah “his guest section of the tent” – šûggah “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 ĠrA, TyA, ḨwA, BdA, DbA, but šudf in TAṢ “left-handed (pl. com.)”;
- ʿimy in ĠrA, ḨwA, BdA, DbA, but ʿumy in TyA and TAṢ “blind (pl. com.)”;
- ʿirǧ in ĠrA and BdA, but ʿurǧ in TyA, ḨwA and TAṢ “limping (pl. com.)”;
- ziṛg in ĠrA, TyA and ḨwA, but zuṛg in TAṢ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”; hîbl in BdA, but hubl in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.).”

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, u is regular in ḥumr “red (pl. com.)”, xuḍr “green (pl. com.)” and šufîr “yellow (pl. com.)” in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are tûrš “deaf” (TyA), ḥûmg “stupid, silly” and xuṛs “dumb” (both ḨwA and TyA).

The short vowel in the imperfect of the verbs “eat” and “take” is i in all dialects discussed here: yākil and yāxi/dmacronbelow. Imperatives of these verbs tend to have u in the velarized forms of the sg. masc.: xuḍ and kuḷ (velarization is
indicated here with a subscript dot in \(d\) and \(l\). In the other forms \(u\) is dropped, but velarization remains, as in (sg. fem.) \(x̣diy\), \(kliy\), (pl. masc.) \(x̣law\), \(klaw\) and (pl. fem.) \(x̣lìn klin\). When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near I.P.A. \([u]\) is regular: \(yā nās uklūw “eat, people!”\) and \(yā ḥrayym uklīn “eat, women!”\) (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”, ydur “be harmful to”, yxudd “churn”, ykuudd “bite”, ymus “suck”, ysubb “pour”, yтubb “find, encounter; go to”, yxuš “enter”, ytuš “throw”, yhuṭ “place”, yrudd “be related to; answer”, ytuwx “shoot, fire”, yluwx “be soaked in”, yruš “sprinkle”, yğukk “churn, shake” and ykitt “go downstream in a wadi” (ḤwA, B다, but ~ ykitt in TAṢ). 23

\(i\) is heard in: \(yšidd “pull, tighten”, yfikk “loosen”, yiff “go around, turn”, ymidd “stretch out”, ytiff “spit”, yšīr “let dry (of dates) in a mašārrah”, yriфф “flutter (of tent cloth)”, yğiff “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.

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22 A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in \(x\) or \(k\), e.g. \(x̣ud\) and \(kul\), or throughout, e.g. \(x̣ud\) and \(kul\), but since velarization spreads, marking it in one location may be sufficient.
23 Again we see variation of the high vowel in the contiguity of \(k\), see remark in fn 18, p. 30 above.
1.2.3.4.3. **Allophones of /a/**

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions

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

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*/a/* preceding long stressed vowels

Although raising of /a/ in the pattern CaCiC has been characterized as regular and therefore morphophonemic in dialects of group I of the north, such raising is optional in most southern group I dialects, except in ḤwA, where it is also concluded to be morphophonemic. In DbA raising of /a/ tends to be inhibited by preceding h, ’, x or ġ (with preceding h was not recorded in DbA).

Except when /a/ is preceded by ’, such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors in the other southern group I dialects. Examples recorded are (illustrating all dialects, except ḤwA and DbA): ṣarīmih ~ ṣirīmih “bridle”, al’Arīş ~ al’Irīş “name of the town al-Arish”, xāliǧ ~ xīliǧ “gulf”, arīş ~ īris “bridegroom”, rāhil “travelers”, ḏağiǧ ~ diğiǧ “flour”, ṭafīǧ ~ rīfīǧ “companion”, rahiǧ “thin”, ġalīd ~ ġilič “thick”, rağiǧ “thin”, xalīǧ ~ xilīǧ “gulf”, ʿarīs ~ ʿirīs “bridegroom”, ṭarīg “travellers”, ṭarīf “light” and also ǧanīy “rich”.

Forms only recorded with raised /a/ are: gibīlah “tribe”, ki/tmacronbelowīr “much, many”, ǧimī “all”, bi/tmacronbelowīr “camel”, kībūr “big; old”, siğiär “small; young”, gidīm “old”, ʿirīs “bridegroom”, ʿiġin “dough”, ḥīzin “sad”, dīxīl “guest taking refuge”, ʾiţiḡ “brother”, ʿiṣrīf “honourable”, riğiţ “loaf of flat round bread”, bixīl “stingy”, ʿIlīy “male given name ēhalfringleftAliy” and ʿiţiyy “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)ajīb “I bring”, (ʾ)asīl “I carry”, (ʾ)ajīk “I come to you”, (ʾ)arīd “I want” and (ʾ)abiš “I sell” (see however remarks in 3.1.1.8. and 3.2.1.2.). Forms with the b-imperfect are treated similarly, e.g. babī, barīd (raising of /a/ in mediae yā verbs of the type (b)ibī for the 1st p. com. sg. is rare in the dialects discussed here, see also remarks in 3.2.1.2.).

– No instances were recorded of raised /a/ preceding stressed CCī, examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrīǧ “alumnus”, sakkinah “knife”, garnīṭ “octopus”, sabīn “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabīrīt “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. ʿilēha ~ ʿalēha “on him”). Such raising in the suffixed
preposition ‘ala (e.g. ‘alēh > ‘ilēh) was not observed in TAŠ, TAN, ĞrA, MIA or BdA.

In verb forms we find optional raising in ḤwA, TyA, ĞrA like mašēt ~ mišēt “I walked” (~ mišit in ḤwA), lagēt ~ ligēt “I found” (~ ligit in ḤwA, TyA), fadēt ~ fidēt “I sacrificed”, though in MIA, TAŠ and BdA such raising was absent; forms there are e.g. mašēt, fadēt (ligit only appears as i-type). Notice that in verb forms of the a-type imperfect raising of a may take place when it precedes ē, but not in forms with diphthongs (i.e. when it precedes ay), so e.g. ramayt “I threw”, ǧawayt “I went home before sunset”.

– raising of a preceding CCē is not current in MIA, TAŠ, 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 (‘Abd anNāṣir)”, ribā “camel in its sixth year”, gināh “small irrigation canal”, ēlarādil ~ ēlirādil “buckets”, bahāyim ~ bihāyim “cattle (pl.)”, gazāzih ~ gizāzih “bottle”, Sawārkah ~ Suwārkah “name of tribe Sawārkah”.

– raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: fissāy “expert farter”, giṣṣāṣ “tracker”, bīllās “thief; extortionist”, biṛṛād “teapot”, wiǧ ʿān “suffering pain”, milyān “full”, hiǧǧān “camel rider”. Such raising was heard mainly in BdA, ḤwA, ĞrA and TyA, but was found to be much less current in MIA, TAN, TAŠ and DbA.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -ā(‘) (if not raised).


– raising of a preceding stressed a: (all dialects have a CaCāC stress-type) ġimāl “camel”, libān “milk”, šiḏār “trees”, (a gahawah-form) šihār “month”, šibāg “race”, mīʿāh “with him” and verb forms mišā “he walked”, kitāb “he wrote” and (gahawah-form) yixāzin “he stores”. Here

too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (ʾ)adáb “good manners”, a verb form (ʾ)axád “he took” (TyA) and gahawah-forms like (ʾ)ahál “people”, (ʾ)aʾáma “blind”, (ʾ)aʾárāq “limping, lame” and (ʾ)axáḍar “green”.

– raising of a preceding stressed u does not occur when *hamzah precedes the a: (ʾ)axušš “I enter”, (ʾ)aḥuṭṭ “I place” (in contrast to such forms as uxxušš 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, áttifág, etc. (see 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.3.3.). The article is stressed in a sequence álCvCv(+) (see 2.1.1.1.), e.g. álǧimal “the camel”, álbusal “the onions”. Like in groups VI–VIII, when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḏirib “he is beaten”, yítīfīg “he agrees”.

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ɪ].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: ġibǎl alÍgmih bāʿád atTīh “The ʾĪgmah mountain lies behind the Tīh”, (first word in) kilmih magyūlah “a spoken word”, baʾád kidiy ağaṭṭīha b almallih xālis “after that I cover it completely with hot sand”,27 tíṭil allibbih w lannha ēh? mistawyih tamām attamām “you take out the libbih and there it is what? Perfectly cooked”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. šurtah “police”, ġilīḏah šwayyīh “a little thick”, (second word in) kilmih magyūlah “a spoken word”, algiiṣṣah “the story”, baxūřah “incense”, xūxah (velarized throughout) “peach”, āḏmah “bone”, màsk alxūṣah f-īdi “holding the knife in my hand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ’ and h, e.g. mà tukfurha āsān mà tiʾaffān itxallha fāṭíhī “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 yítīfīg, the raised a will again ‘reappear’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yinḍirībaw and yīttīfīgw, see also 3.2.3.1.1.

27 mallih is the hot sand under the glowing embers in which the loaf of bread (libbh) is baked. A libbh 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 āḥ? iysawwlūh yōm yabṛa* “and after that what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container”, *mahāl mā biyījīy maṭār wala kān ligīt alhamād hāda axaḍar* “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. [eː] and [oː].

Examples listed for group VI for *ay* may also be heard in group I. Some additional examples are: *ḡēšna* “our army”, *šēn* “bad, ugly”, *swēkīn* “(dim. of) living”, *aśSwēs* “Suez”, *zēt* “oil” and examples for ō listed for group VI may also be heard in group I, *nō* “type, sort”, *ḡōz* “husband”, *gōltak* “what you said (lit. your saying)”, *lōnah* “its (sg. masc.) colour”, *gōm* “enemy tribe”, *ḡōz* “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*) *ʿaʃ* “eye”, *ʿaʃ* “food”, *xaʃ* “goodness”, *xaʃl* “horses”, *ḥaʃ* “walls”, *sawd* “hunting”, *ḍayf* “guest”, and examples of verbs are *ḥaṭṭayna* “we placed”, *xaʃdayna* “we churned”, *iʃtaʃayna* “we bought”, *ʃaʃl* “I stayed” and (for *aw*) *ḥawʃl* “year”, *ʿAwdih* “given name ‘Awdah”, *xawʃf* “fear”, *sawt* “sound; voice”.29

There is a tendency to prosodically lengthen the first element of the diphthong *ay* (which has an I.P.A. value between [a] and [ɛ]), especially in positions with primary stress. Forms with such lengthened diphthongs were heard mainly in TAṢ, TAN, ǦrA and BdA. Examples are *ʿaʃ* “food”, *ʿaʃn* “eye”, *ʿaʃb* “disgrace”, *xaʃf* “thread”, *xaʃynih* “severe cold (as a disease)”, *ḥaʃl* “strength”, *sawf* “summer”, *sawd* “hunting”, *Fraʃyʃ* “male given

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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 ĩ) and *aw* (as ō) is general and not conditioned by phonetic environment.
name Frayg". Similar lengthening of aw was heard in tga:wtir “you go” and bya:wtuw “they travel (on foot?)”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawgūd “present (adj.)”, aw’ā “watch out!”⁰ and also šawlîy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and also verb forms like awrid “I water” and awgaf “I stand up” and ġawnâ “they came to us”. The advantage is that the arrangement of root consonants in a morphological pattern like aC1C2aC3 (as in awgaf instead of ōgaf, compare e.g. ašrab “I drink) has remained transparent.

The suffixed preposition lay “to me”, bay “with me” are better interpreted as lay + y and bay + y. In analogy to these forms, one will also hear fay “in me” in all dialects (~ finī in ĞrA).

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes
In many dialects of group I the phonetic difference between /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments is often minimal, and in some lexemes the phonemes overlap. Such overlapping results from the higher realisation of /ē/, rather than from a lower realisation of /ī/. Examples are sif “sword”, šīx “sheikh”, bit “house”, ḵtnīn “two”, sanatīn “two years”, zīn “good”, ḡayfīn iftītāt (< ḡītāt) “tiny children”. In such examples the ē is not quite full ĭ, but it is very near [iː].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MLA, TyA, HwA, DbA and ĞrA but none were heard in TAN, TAṢ and BdA.³ 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”
ḡībih/-ah “bring it!”—ḡēbih/-ah “his pocket”—ḡābih/-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. [ɛː], but this is the case usually only when i follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. ḡārif “knowing” and mizārī “fields for agriculture”, but ḡāyīb “curdled (of milk)”), or ‘vanished’ i disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. drās “threshing”. In other

⁰ In HwA, ASA and HnA aw’ā is conjugated: aw’ā tansī, aw’īy tansiyīl, etc. “don’t you forget!”. In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. aw’ā tansīn “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”.

³ My Taṛābīniy informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmēlāt and Sawārkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).
(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æː],\textsuperscript{32} as in for instance in šāyī “my tea”. Thus also the phonetic difference in /ā/ in the examples šāl (near I.P.A. [æː]) “he carried” and šāyīl (nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː]) “carrying”.

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ɛː] as in dāṛ “house”, xalāṣ “and that’s it!”, dārūbah “thoroughbred (fem.) camel”, etc.

Minimal pairs, or near minimal pairs like ḥārī “my neighbour” and ḥāriy “running” thus become possible. Similarly dārī “my house” and dāriy “knowing” (both with [ɛː] and [ɛː] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.\textsuperscript{34}

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(’)

Like in dialects of group I in the north, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments is often -iy.\textsuperscript{35} Some examples found in all dialects discussed here are: štīy / ášštīy “(the) winter”, šīy / álišīy “(the) evening”, hniy “here”, griy “villages”,\textsuperscript{36} miy / ámiy “(the) water”. Colours are: sawdīy or sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, (a gahawah-form) šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”, ḫamṣīy “a darker shade than šaḥabīy (sg. fem.)”. Physical defects: ṣarğīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, ḫamgīy “stupid (sg. fem.)”, xarsīy “dumb, mute (sg. fem.)”, ḫawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”, sadīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ṣamīy “blind (sg. fem.)” and a diminutive form gray’īy “little bald (dim., sg. fem.)”.

Raising was also heard in the forms ḣtīy (compare CA ūlyā) “upper grinding stone of a hand mill” and dinīy “world”, atTrayyīy “the Pleiades” (in TAṢ, but in BdA atTrayyīy), Ġawzīy “Gemini” in BdA and ḡniy “singing” in TyA.

In the perfect verb form ǧa’ “he came” such raising is absent (contrast the DwA form ḡy, see De Jong 2000:416). Raising is also absent in the pron. suffix of the 1st p. pl. com. -na “our; us”, e.g. w im’aggīd f-alwādíy w aššāyib, ʿAllāh yaṛḥamih, [mā] ḥmāṛ nāgīl igrayybhī fī ḏahārīh lḥnā “and he was going in the wadi, and the old man—God rest his soul—

\textsuperscript{32} Similar remarks on the phonetic quality of /ā/ were made for nTA in De Jong 2000:69 (there abbreviated as TA). \textsuperscript{33} Shawarbah 2007:423–44 reports a high degree of imālah for medial ā in specified neutral environments in the speech of the Qdīṛāt sub-confederation of the Tiyyāha of the Negev, e.g. wēdy “wadi”, Sēlim “male name Sālim”, ʿēyiš “alive” and ḥēmiy “hot”, etc. \textsuperscript{34} See also remarks in De Jong 2000:65–66. \textsuperscript{35} Such extreme imālah is also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:424. \textsuperscript{*} Griy (as a pl. of ḡaryih) was recorded in HwA. However, Blanc 1970:225 [14] gives griy as a pl. for ḡaryih and glosses griy as “hospitality”. If the ancestral form would be *qurā (i.e. like in Classical Arabic), the pl. reflex griy instead of griy 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. ṭabbayṭ[y]37 w māt aḥāḥiy w hī mā ṭab‘anat, wala ḥatṭ-āḍāriy ǧa’ ‘alēhiy. īw fī ǧızitti ... maʾiṭ ... yamʾaṭawhiy mn īḥnīy min-hāda. w iykāwnūhiy lā tǧiy ‘indī, “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 ihṭa t‘īmhiy38 b xūxah ... itǧīb min ġuṣn alxūxah w itraggidiḥiy 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 (MIA). The form iykāwnūhiy in the former example also shows that preceding ū does not inhibit raising of the final a in -ha.40

In the other dialects (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĞrA, DbA and BdA) raising of *-ā in this pronominal suffix is absent. Instead, an interglottal catch, especially in pause, often accompanies the final (short) -a, e.g. b addastah baǧibha’ # “by the dozen I get it (sg. fem.)” (TAṢ), yaʿniy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīnha ... ifwāġ ʾa talaṭ 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 -a’ (with glottal stop, also in sandhi, and usually stressed) reflex. Examples are: min-ihniy bnāxaṭir asḥatt ... ʾala zzamil [...] īw binǧīb ‘alēhin īḍrā “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 ʾindaṣ safrāʾ ... āṣṣafrāʾ āḥdīy mānī ārīfa biygūluw ʾalēha ēs ... “if you have jaundice ... this jaundice I don’t know (it) what they call it ...”. Other examples are: bēḍāʾ “white (sg. fem.)”,

37 Assimilated ṭabbayt + hiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.
38 Assimilated t + taʾ inhiy, 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 xatar, 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: biḍāʾ.
zargá’ ~ zirgá “blue” (in all dialects)\(^{43}\) (often as a euphemism for “black”), xafrá “green (sg. fem.)”, āwrå “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gar’ā “bald (sg. fem.)” (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by \(y\)—in the diminutive form gray’iy)\(^{44}\).

N.B. In MIA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final -ā, safrā, zargā, xafrā and also ḍāḥā “morning”.

When historical \(a\) in open syllable directly precedes, raising of final *-ā(’) remains absent, e.g. gifā’ “neck”, anā “I”, gaṭā’ “cover, lid”, gadá “lunch”, ašā “dinner”, dawā “medicine”, samā “sky”, sawā “together”, tanā “young boy”.

In a form like raxā “abundance”, ḍāḥā “morning” there is a combination of inhibiting factors preventing such raising (historical \(a\) in open syllable preceding and \(X\) preceding in combination with the spread of velarization).

When \(a\) in preceding open syllable is not historical, but a gahawah-vowel, such raising of final *-ā(’) is not inhibited, e.g. šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kahalíy “variety of blueweed”.

In TAṢ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives ḥawlíy and ḥáwliy: saxaḷah ḥawlíy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—ǧídiy háwliy “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. ‘ašá “dinner”, ġadá “lunch”, nidá “moistness, dew”, gifá’ “nape of the neck”,\(^{45}\) anā “I” and also in velarized forms like ṭarā “moist ground”, warā “behind”, ḍarā “buttons”, gaḍā “law”.

Final -\(a\) in verb forms of the perfect of tertiae infirmiae is not raised, e.g. fiḍā’ “he sacrificed”, mašā “he walked” and also velarized forms like ṭamá “he threw”, waṭá “he went to buy”.

When the preceding \(a\) is a gahawah-vowel, raising in neutral environments is not prevented, e.g. šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kahalíy “variety of blueweed”.

These reflexes of final *-ā, whether raised or not, are usually stressed, even when a heavy sequence precedes within morpheme boundaries, e.g.

\(^{43}\) Contrast zargíy in DA, see Blanc 1970:124 [13].

\(^{44}\) In TyA of the Negev the un-raised stressed endings are also short and are cut off with a glottal stop, e.g. biḍā “white (fem.)” and ṥorā “one-eyed (fem.)”, see Shawarbah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.

\(^{45}\) The vowel \(i\) in the forms nidá’ and gifá’ is raised (underlying) \(a\).
sōdíy or sawdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, ʿarğíy “limping (sg. fem.)” and xaḍrá’ “green (sg. fem.)”, ʿarmá “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. ášštiy “the winter”, álif ʿiy (al + ʿiy) “the viper”, álgada “the lunch”, ānnida “the moistness, dew” and gillt álḥaya “impudence”.

N.B. “here” is hniy in all dialects (although in MA ~ 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-ḥisnīy ʿala griy wa ḍriy (3 instances of raising) “he who’s received benefaction must feed and shelter”, but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in man ad’ā li ḫisnāh yāxīd garāh “he who’s invited his benefactor will feed him”.

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

1.2.4.5.1. **Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on i and ū**
Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following i and ū towards (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

1.2.4.5.2. **Off-glide in ē and i**
Off-glides in /eː/ and /iː/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:85–86.

1.2.4.5.3. **Off-glide in ō and ū**
Off-glides in /oː/ and /uː/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:86.

1.2.4.6. **Diphthongs**
Dialects of group I have four diphthongs: ay, aw, iy and uw. Although the transcription of poems recorded from the Tihiy poet “Tayāhā” (Ḥusayn bin ʿId bin Ḥamad bin Miṣliḥ bin ʿAmīr at-Tayāhā) and the Turbāniy poet “ʿUnayz” (ʿUnayz Abruw Sālim Swaylim al-Urdī) in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 does not reflect diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw when preceded

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46 Such reappearance of ā in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. mīṣiy, but mīzāna “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: gēr (p. 53, l. 6), ēbin (p. 53, l. 8), raḍēnā (p. 56, l. 10), ēn (p. 57, l. 21), ḥōl (p. 60, l. 19), hēṯ (p. 61, l. 4), ĝebat (p. 61, l. 9) though guddaynāhin (p. 54). In Tayāhā’s poetry: al-gusēmā (p. 69, l. 5), fırān (p. 69, l. 13), xēš (p. 72, l. 11), ōn (p. 77, l. 5), ēnāh (p. 79, l. 3), dēf (p. 79, l. 10), xēr (ibid.), ġēnāh (p. 80, l.11), but also ḡallaw (p. 80, l. 21).
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 h, ’, x, ġ or h) or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become ǣ and ǭ, cf. 1.2.4.1.

In final positions, verbal endings ay and aw have also remained diphthongal, as in e.g. tansay “you (sg. fem.) forget”, yansaw “they forget”, harataw “they ploughed” and also ḡaw “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)”, sawdīy (~ sōdīy) “black (sg. fem.)”, mawḏūd “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) yībis “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”, ḡay/tmacronbelow “rain”, Aḥaywāt “name of tribe (dim.)”, ’ayb “disgrace” and min yŏm ūṭulāʾ iSḥayl, iyxall-atamir ḡayl “when the rising of Canopus” (is there), it causes the dates to fall” (recorded in BdA), (for *aw) ḡawḏal “wooden threshing board”, ḡawlīy “cross-eyed”, ḡawl “year”, ḡawṛāʾ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, xawf “fear” (an

48 Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of *ay and *aw (> ē or ĩ and ŏ resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.
49 One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late Nēz.
50 Although I recorded a few instances of endings -iy and -aw in TAN and TyA in a-type imperfects (as in e.g. tāṣrābiy and yāṣrābaw), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. tāṣrābay and yāṣrābaw.
51 Canopus (Ar. Suhayl) is visible just above the horizon in the southern sky around mid-October. See also the proverb in Bailey 2004:275: suhayl iyxallī ar-ruṭab ḡayl (in my own transcription this would be iSḥayl iyxall-ārṭab ḡayl) “Canopus makes the ripe dates fall”. Dates are said to be ripe for harvest as early as July in Nwēbi, then two months later in Fēṛān, another month later in Rās Ṣadr and again a month later in the Delta.
example of ġ preceding aw was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are yadbahaw ['yædbæhau] “they slaughter”, tâzra’aw ['tæzɾæau] “you (pl. masc.) grow (crops)”.

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

Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants have remained diphthongal. The phonetic value of the first element of the diphthongs tends to be slightly raised and is higher than when preceded by X: [ei] and [ou]. Examples listed in De Jong 2000:87–88 may serve to illustrate the situation in the group I dialects discussed here as well: (for ay) t’ayr IPA [t’eir] “birds”, dayf [ðeif] “guest”, sayf [seif] “summer” and (for aw) sawm [soum] “fasting”, tawr [t’our] “overhanging cliff”.

Other diphthongs were heard in tawr “bull” and tawf “garment”, where velarization has spread backwards (i.e. from right to left) through the word.

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

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

Like in other dialects of Sinai, the diphthongs īy and āw occur in a variety of positions.

Unlike the situation in group VI, i-type perfect forms of the tertia yā˚ verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CīCy (underlying |CāCy|) commonly occur in group I. Examples are: ligīy “he found”, fīhīy “he was surprised”, dirīy (b) “he became aware (of)”, nīsīy “he forgot”, ǧīlīy “it became expensive”.

Final -īy may also reflect older final *-ā˚, as in mīy “water”, in the saying alhisniy tnazzl algidir ʿan algidir, lit. “benefaction removes one cooking pot (over a fire) (to make place) for another”,52 (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CāCcā˚ for physical defects) ’ārgīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablīy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, ʿamyīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CāCcā˚ sawdīy “black”, šahabīy “sand-coloured”. -īy may also reflect *-ā˚, as in hniy53 “here”, mižīy “goats”.54 In groups VI–VIII the reflex for *-ā˚ is often -ī˚, except in patterns for sg. fem. forms for colour or physical defects. The regular reflex then, like in group I, is -īy.

52 A saying expressing the right of a host to come to someone else who has a fire, to cook food there for his guests; the man with the fire then as a deed of benefaction will remove his own pot to make place for the pot of the man acting as a host. See also Bailey 2004:164 (saying 419). In a more general sense the saying may also call for a special favour for those who have special obligations (like having to receive a guest).
53 Final stressed -īy for *-ā˚ is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same -ī˚ reflex was recorded for *-ā˚ and also *-ā˚˚, see De Jong 2000:89.
54 See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root m-˚2.
Like in group VI, final -iyy may reflect final *-i in birīy “innocent”, final *-īy in ṣibīy “boy”, ǧanīy “rich”, ʿṭirīy “moist; soft”, *-ay in šīy “thing” and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. ʿAbbādiy “(member) of the Ḍābdāḥ”.

Instances of final (but unstressed) -iy sequences created by anaptyxis are: ḥākiy # “telling” and ǧīdiy # “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: biyṣūf “he sees”, kāwiyha “its (sg. fem.) cauterization” and alāwlād “the boys”.

For remarks on diphthongal endings in a- and i-type perfections of tertiae infirmae see 3.2.2.5.1.

The adverb “here” is in most dialects hniy, which may derive directly from hunāʾ(ʾ) or hināʾ(ʾ).

Final -iy reflects final *-i in birīy “innocent”, final *-īy in nibīy “Prophet”, ṣibīy “boy”, ǧīwīy “strong”, final *-ay in šīy “thing” and the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Suʿūdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels may be lengthened: (expressing a long duration of time) w iytaxālaṭaw w yal ʿabaː w lamma yītīfuw “and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired”, (expressing an extreme degree) aliḥrayyim ẖaḍallāk ibʾāːd “those women faaar away”, ṭayyitta bāːrdih “its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold”.

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ǦrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. ʿayš “bread; food”, ḥayṭ “walls”, ʿayn “eye”, xaʾyṭ “thread”. Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

55 The Ḍābdāḥ 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 Maʿazah.
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: \(\text{vCC(C)}\) and \(\text{vC(C)}\) (including \(\text{vēmacroncomb(h)}\)).

5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.)

6) a) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left (all dialects except TAṢ), or
   b) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left (TAṢ).

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\(^{56}\) The same rule order is reported for TyA of Negev in Shawarbah 2007:425. Stress in Negev TyA can be characterized as: *fa ʿāl, fi ʿil/fu ʿīl* or *fa ʿāl, fa ʿālah/-ih, fa ʿālatth, fa ʿāt(/)/fi ʿy, yif ʿiy/yafʿa* (tertiae inf.), *alfa ʿal* (stressed article), *anfa ʿal, yinfa ʿil* (*surface form yinfi ʿil*), *anfu ʿalat* (verb measure \(n-t\)), *afṭa ʿal, yifta ʿil* (surface form *yifti ʿil*), *afṭa ʿalat* (verb measure \(1-t\)).
2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are:

ášštiy “the winter”, ál’ašá’ “the dinner, álif iy “the viper” (first i is anaptyctic), šalát ál’išiy (first i is anaptyctic) “evening prayer”, ál’ilab (first i is anaptyctic) “the tins”, mádrasah “school”, ášṭaḡal “he worked”, áṭṭaḡag “he agreed”, ʾánḡasál “he was washed”, álwašal “the onions”, álwalad “the boy/son”, ḏarábít “I hit (perfect)”, ūlīna “we rose”, ḏarábīth “I hit (perfect) him”, waḷádkiy “your (sg. fem.) son”, zēnīn (i stressed) “good (pl.masc.)”.

For forms like líbsitih “she wore it”, libístih “I wore it” and šírbítih “she drank it”, širíbtih “I drank it” recorded in ĞrA, see remarks in 2.4.4.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Examples of stress in (C)v 1Cv(C)57 are:

(C)v CvC: in all dialects: abáṛ “needles”, ahál “people, family”, akál “he ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; kal in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA), (“I come” is aḡíy in all dialects of group I).

Cv(C): ʿašá “dinner”, mašá “he walked”, dawá “medicine”, ḥayá “shame, bashfulness”.

Cv(C): hanáš “spider”, malág “hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)”, gaṭás “he dived”; wagáf “he stood up”, warág “paper” and sibý “boy”, biríy “innocent”, tiríy “moist; soft” (“he comes” is yŷíy) and gahawah-forms ṣaḥán “plate”, šahár “month” and baʿád “after”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)

In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

(C)v CvCv(C): stress in TAṢ is only on the initial syllable: xášabah “piece of firewood”, fárašat “she spread out”, (and gahawah-forms) gáhawah “coffee”, áxdaṛ “green”, áḥarit “I plough”, áʿarag “I sweat”, táḥarit “he ploughs”, yáʿarag “he sweats”, dáraḡaw “they beat (perf.)”. Also when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v CvCv(C) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: ìnvákatal “she was eaten”, ištángalat “she worked”, ìttáfagaw “they

57 When v_i in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|. 
agreed”, *al’ārabiyy “Arabic*, *albādawiyy “the Bedouin*, and also *(i)*byāhafrew “they dig” (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) and *aláhamar “the red* and *aláxaḍar “the green”.*\(^58\)

Stress in TAN, ĞrA, TyA, ḢwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MlA see \(*1\) below) is on the second syllable: *xašábah, farášat, ḥarábaw, Tawáṛah or (with raised pre-stress *a*) *Tuwáṛah “Tawarah (tribes)”, akálat “she ate”* (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḢwA) and (gahawah-forms) *gaháwah, axáḍar, aḥári/tmacronbelow, aʿárag, taḥári/tmacronbelow, yaʿárag*.

When *(C)(v)C* precedes a sequence *(C)vCv(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”, annnahášal “the (big black) ant”, ingaḷábat “she overturned”, ixtaláfat “she was different”, iṣṭaġálaf “she worked”, aššaǧáṛah “the tree; bush”, alwarágah “the paper (n.u.)”, azzaʾātar “the thyme”, annaxáλah “the palm tree”, iṣṭaġálaf “they worked”, iṇḍáraban “they (fem.) were beaten”, azzalámah “the man”, iṇḍárabat “she was beaten”, assabágah “the race”, aʿḡabátih “she pleased him”, but also (gahawah-forms) *alaxáḍar “the green” and alaḥámar “the red”*\(^59\) and also *azZaġáṛah “Wādiy Zaġaṛah (a tributary of Wādiy ēDmacronbelowahab)”.*

When the heavy sequence preceding *(C)vCv(C)* is created by a long vowel, stress is usually also on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *káwanátih “she fought him”* (recorded in TyA, ḢwA, BdA, ĞrA), but *káwanatih in DbA and also mgáḅalatak “the meeting with you”* (the latter two stressed on long *ā*) in BdA.

*(C)vCvCv(C):* stress in TAN, TyA, ḢwA, DbA and BdA is on the third syllable from the right: *ṛagábatih, naxálatih, yaʿáragaw, yaʿaṛagan, yahártuw, etc.*

Stress in such sequences in TAṢ and MlA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *rågabatih, nåxālatatih, yāʿāragaw, yāʿaṛagan, yāḥartūw, etc.* (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) (for a remark on ĞrA see \(*3\) below).

In forms which become like a CvCvCvCv(C) (‘surface’) sequence as a result of bukara-insertion (see 2.2.2.1.), the bukara-vowel is ignored for the placement of stress, e.g. *(bukara-vowel underlined)* *zāygraṭat “she ululated”.*

\(^{58}\) The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *al’axaḍar and al’ahamar.*

\(^{59}\) See preceding fn.
*1 In MLA stress varies in ((C)(v)C) (C)vCvC(C); both (al)gáṣalah and (al) gáṣalah, (al)gaháwah and (al)gahawáh, sákanaw and sakánaw “they settled”, etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)vCvC(C): aššágərah “the tree; bush” algáṣalah “the twig”, minθá’amah “grafted (sg. fem.)”, but also mašlaḥátaθ “your interest”.

*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”, ingáṭa “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: yá araθag “they sweat”, tá araθag “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, ta araθaθay “you (sg. fem. sweat)” (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are ya araθag, ta araθag, ta araθaθay 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. xaθráʾ (“green (sg. fem.)”), ʿaθfiráʾ (“yellow (sg. fem.)”), bēdáʾ (“white (sg. fem.)”), gaθráʾ (“bald (sg. fem.)”), ʿaθráʾ (“one-eyed (sg. fem.)”).

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final -iy, see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. sōdý ʿiy “black (sg. fem.)”, ṣaθfiy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ḥawlíy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and also with a gahawah-form šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.) (i.e. yellowish light brown)”. Notice that stress in forms like ʿaθá, 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. álʿaθaʾ, áḍḍawaʾ and also miy “water”, ʿaθiy “winter”, ʿaθiy “evening” and álmiy “the water”, áššiθiy “the winter” and šaθáθ aθlíθiθy (where the first i is anaptyctic) “the evening prayer”.

Reflexes of -ā in pronominal suffixes, whether raised or not, will not be stressed (unless they are part of the only syllable available for stress, e.g.

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60 Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Taʼribin, Sawârkah and Rmēlât, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).
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”, nābīy ~ nībīy “prophet”, ṣībīy “boy”.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCīy
When the article precedes a CaCiy sequence it is stressed, e.g. ānnībiy or ānnībiy “the Prophet”, āṣṣābiy or āṣṣābiy “the boy” and āwilīy “the holy man”.

2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms
Examples of stress in gahawah-forms (see also 2.1.1.2.2.) are: baʿāḏhum “each other”, naxālha “her datepalm”.

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv
A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC,aIC,aV and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. biyḥallūw “they make heaps” and biyḡaffiḫūn “they dry them (fem.)" and saddiṭi “my dam”. The geminate is in these cases reduced.61

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAṢ is sg. fem. mʿayyyīh, pl. masc. mʿaṛyyīn and pl. fem. mʿayyyāt (sg. masc. mʿaṛyy) (i.e. the forms are not •m ayyīyih, •m ayyīyīn and •m ayyīyāt) for “feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)".

For active participles of the verb taʿaknan “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

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61 The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.
2.1.3. Stress units

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

Like in group VI, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in mín-taḥat “from below”, mín-ki/dmacronbelowiy “from this”, mín-ihniy “from here”, mín-ihnuh “from there”, mín-warā “from behind”.

In negated pronominals stress is on the first syllable: mānī, minta, mintiy, mīhna, mintuw, mintin mūhū, miha (also mīhī), mūhūn, mūhin or māhin (in forms like mūhūmna and mūhinna stress is on the second syllable).

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b

2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l

Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition l is less regular than in group VII, but does occur. An example (in ĞrA) is ‘ala hittah ygūl-ilhā’, iygūl-ilh-Amn Saʾīd “to an area he calls, he calls (it) Aṃn Saʾīd”. Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form lha is used instead of the 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”, saxálah “lamb”, šahaṛayn “two months”, yahalbūha “they milk her”, Zaġārah “name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy Ğahab some 10 km northwest of the town Ğahab”, 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 C₁ = X: maXC₂ūC₃) like maʿarūf “known”, maʿazūl “separated, isolated”, maʿagūl “reasonable”, maḥaruṭ “ploughed”, maḥaruū “burnt”, maḥatuṭ “placed” and maxarūm “pierced”, but also maxlūṭ “mixed”, maxṣūṣ “special”, mahyūn “insulted”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂vC₃(ah): maḡarīb “time of sunset”, maḥawiy “treated by a ḥawiy (i.e. a snake charmer)”, maxazan “storage place”, but also (a loan) maḥraḡān “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 (zwārah)” was recorded, in MIA taḡarīb “going north”, in ĠrA taḥawiš “collecting”, taʾašīb “removing weeds”, taḥabiš faḥām “making (by controlled burning) of charcoal”. But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. taḥwilna “our transfer”, taʿḏīb “punishment” and taḥbiš faḥām (in TAṢ).

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

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures (for exceptions in verbal nouns of measure 2, see remark in the preceding paragraph 2.2.1.2. above). Examples are like those listed for group VI.

The examples of elatives listed for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are also found in our group I dialects discussed here: aḥsan “better/best”, aḥla “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, aḡlab “more/most” (and also a loan aḡlabiyyah “majority”) and aḡla “more/most expensive”.

In loans (from Standard Arabic or Cairene) the gahawah-syndrome is usually absent, e.g. baḥs “research” and aḥlan! “welcome!” and also yaʿniy “that is; it means”, and yaʿmal “he makes”.

Like in group VII, the fem. morpheme in construct state becomes -at when it follows XaC (also where a is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the resulting CaXaCatv sequence is not resyllabified (contrast MzA of group VI). Examples are naxaḷatī “my palm tree” and gāhawatak (TAṢ and MIA) or gahāwatak “your coffee” (other southern group I dialects).

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

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

Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): hiǧirīh “his lap”, yašaṛaban “they (fem.) drink”, zaġaraṭat “she ululated”, kaṭuṭṇa “they became many”.

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63 baḥs instead of MSA baḥt; s for t is an indication that the loan came via a sedentary dialect such as Cairene, which lacks interdentals in its phoneme inventory.
64 See remark in fn 51, p. 137.
65 Since a of the first syllable only appears in closed syllables (e.g. kuṭūr, but kaṭrīt), the underlined u is here interpreted as a vowel created by the bukaṛa-syndrome, rather than a vowel whose elision is inhibited by it.
Examples of the bukara-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are *alikbāṛ taʃātir alisgār “old people are the records of young people” and *ykassir albiʃārīg “he smashes the coffee pots”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: Ṣadīr alḤayṭān “Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān; name of the mountain range between Rās Ṣadr and Nīxl”.

The form núbu/dmacrbelowur alʿayš “we sow the (seeds for making) bread” is comparable to the form yūduktur ānnibi 66 discussed in De Jong 2000:114. The application of rules is as follows (here the high vowel eligible for elision is in bold print; the anaptyctic is underlined; the bukara-vowel is bold and underlined):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>sandi elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
<th>bukara-insertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yūduktur + v</td>
<td>yūduktur v</td>
<td>yūdykr v</td>
<td>yūduktur v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>núbu + v</td>
<td>núbu v</td>
<td>núbdr v</td>
<td>núbudur v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Since the bukara-rule is a late phonetic surface rule, the vowels produced by it are inconsequential for the placement of stress (i.e. the stress rule is applied before the bukara-rule), e.g. zāgaratān “they (fem.) ululated”, also in dialects that would otherwise stress CavāCaCv(C), as in e.g. raʃābatkar “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 gibāyīl alliy hin-nih...alliy humma Badārah “of the oldest tribes, which are...who are Badārah”, nīzl alxawāɡīh “the foreigner got out (of the car)” and min awwil alʿumr “from the beginning of (his) life”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukara-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (“greater” bukara-vowels underlined): asīl alwādiy fīh imlūḥih barḍak “because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi”, arramīl assāxīn “the hot sand”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *’ibil and *raḫil
The forms bil “camels” and álbil “the camels” and bílha “her camels” were recorded several times in HwA (not in the other dialects).

66 taʃātir, cf. MSA daʃar, 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 ʿindihin “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 alʿayš “they (fem.) see the bread”. The (relatively) high sonority of n may also create a preceding vowel as in assamin aššīḥiy “the white wormwood ghee”. Articulatory delay in (fōgna =>) fōgəna “above us” was also recorded several times.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of 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 *):
2.3.2.4. Resyllabication of word-medial CVCCICV, and of CVCCIC VC sequences in sandhi
Like in group VI, the resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCCICCV (e.g. yiktibuw > yikitbuw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCCIC VC (e.g. mihnit alḥuṛmah > mihnīt 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.\footnote{For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.} 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. ištajalt fi Šarm aštēx “I worked in Šarm aštēx”, gult ʿanha “I said about her” and ʿind baʿaghum “with each other”, gāmat albint maḥḥa “the girl got up with her”, širt 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 kitīr “I gained a lot” (< istafāt).

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

2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis

2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates
When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) widdna “we want, need”, gillt alʿilm “lack of science” and lih aḍḍwēw ʿād “so it (sg. masc.) had the little light”. Examples of such reduction listed for group VI may be heard in group I as well.
2.3.3.2. Preposition ʿind + C
The suffixed preposition ʿind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʿindaha “with her", ʿindak “with you (sg. masc.)", ʿindikiy “with you (sg. fem.)", ʿinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)", ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)", ʿindukuw “with you (pl. masc.)", ʿindikin “with you (pl. fem.)" and ʿindina “with us”.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ʿind ʿammih “with his uncle”.

2.3.3.3. The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters
The 2nd p. sg. masc. pronominal suffixes C-ak / ʋ-k behave predictably in group I.

2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics
The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [ı], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [u], towards a moderately rounded [a], in back environments.68

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctic in clusters form “colliding” base forms
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:128).

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:129).

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of i from T
The situation is like in group VI.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

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

Examples listed for group VI (and also for group I in De Jong 2000:330) also illustrate the situation in TwA and HnA.

Imperatives of the verbs (a)xad “take” and (a)kal “eat” are ʾxd, ʾxdy, ʾxduw, ʾxdin and ṭul, ṭly, ṭlw, ṭln.69 When a speech pause precedes, the

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68 This is the same as described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
69 All these imperative forms show considerable velarization.
anaptyctic vowel resolving an initial cluster will be near I.P.A. [v], e.g. # ukelas, # ukelow, # ukelin (not recorded in MIA).

2.3.4.2.2. **Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics**
Anaptyctic vowels resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [v] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı]. Examples for group VI (and those listed for group I in De Jong 2000:130–131) can also be heard in group I dialects discussed here.

2.3.5. **Stressed original anaptyctics**
The reflex of the pattern CICaC (i.e. *CuCaC or *CiCaC) is CCaC. Stress is then placed in conformity with rules described in 2.1.1. When a consonant or speech pause precedes, the cluster # CC or C CC will often be resolved by an anaptyctic (indicated here as ə): # əgráb, áləgrab “waterskins”, # əhgán, áləhgán “injections”, # əwṛás, áləwṛás “workshops”. But when assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis will not take place, e.g. # əswagen, áتنسيق əswagen “pictures”, # ənxár, álənxár (pronounced ánənxár) “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 + lhía >) álālhía “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 compulsory.

2.4.1. **Morphophonemic I-elision**
Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

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70 The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.
2.4.2. \textit{I}-elision in sandhi

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

2.4.3. \textit{Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi}

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

\[
yrawwiḥ + lhin > yrawwiḥ lhin > yrawwih ilhin > yrawwih ilhin \quad \text{“he goes to them (fem.)”}.
\]

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

Like in group VI, the \(I\)-elision rule may also be re-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example:

\[
tūdrub iḍ\text{ṭ}ufak > tūdrub iḍ\text{ṭ}ufak > tūdrub iḍ\text{ṭ}ufak > tūdrub iḍ\text{ṭ}ufak \quad \text{“you beat your children”}.
\]

In this second example the cluster \(bḍ\) 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 \(C_aC_b\) are phonetically close or identical, the short high vowel \(I\) is not dropped. Examples are (a suffixed noun) \textit{saddīti} “my dam (where crops are grown)”, (a verb form) \textit{yḥāllīlaw} “they make heaps” and (participles) \textit{mballilīh}, \textit{mballilīn} and \textit{mballilāt} “having made wet”.

Also in sandhi this type of elision does not take place, e.g. \textit{šiddīt alḥarārah} “the intensity of the heat” (with clearly audible reduction of the geminate \(dd\)).

Like in TwA, ḤmA and HnA of group VI, elision of the high vowel does not take place in the act. participles (sg. fem.) \textit{mta‘aknīnīh}, (pl. masc.) \textit{mta‘akninīn} and (pl. fem.) \textit{mta‘aknināt} “irritated”. This was the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, but in GrA direct elicitation produced the forms \textit{mta‘aknīn}, \textit{mta‘akninīn}, \textit{mta‘akninān}, \textit{mta‘aknināt} (the forms were not recorded in the other dialects).
As another exception to this I-elision rule, forms recorded in ĞrA like (preserved high vowel is underlined) ḙibṣṭīḥ or ḙābṣīṭīḥ “she wore it” and šīrḵīṭīḥ or šāhrīṭīḥ “she drank it” should be mentioned; the forms recorded were not (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyctics in bold print) ḙibṣīṭīḥ or ḙābṣīṭīḥ and šīrītīḥ or šāhrītīḥ, which one might have expected. Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: šīrīṭīḥ “she drank it” as opposed to šīrītīḥ “I drank it” (see remarks in 3.2.1.1.).

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact assimilations 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 /ʾ/, as in e.g. aḡṭamr “the live embers”. Assimilation of /l/ to initial /k/ was not recorded. For examples of these types of assimilation, see De Jong 2000:136–137. In addition to examples listed there, an example of progressive total assimilation recorded in TyA is:

\[ t + h > ṭṭ \] as in bnaḥarīṭṭiy (< bnaḥarīṭḥiy) “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 šāḡ “iron baking sheet”, sīḡh “game of sīḡah”, sīḡ “prison” and tasḡīl “recording”, etc. are current.

In these central and southern group I dialects šams is current for “sun” and šaḡar for “trees”.

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in \( C_{a}C_{j}C_{j}C \) (ah)

Raising of \( a \) in the nominal pattern \( C_{a}C_{j}C_{j}C \) (ah) occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in HwA, 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. In HwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when ʿ, ḡ, h or x precedes, e.g. ʿaḍīm “enormous”, ʿgāliṯ “fat, bulky”, ʿgarīb “strange”, xalīṭah “mixture”, ʿḥaġīy “real” (instances with preceding h were not recorded). For examples see 1.2.3.4.3.2. of this chapter.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in *CaCīy (C₃ = y)
Raising of a preceding *CaCīy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. birīy “innocent”, (reflecting final *-īy) in ṣibīy “boy”, ʿgāniy “rich”, ʿtīrīy “moist; soft”, nibīy ~ nābīy “Prophet”, guwīy “strong”, wilīy ~ wālīy “saint”, ʿIlīy ~ ʿAlīy “male given name”.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i
For raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i in verb forms (with underlying C₁aC₂iC₃ pattern for the i-type perfect), see 3.2.2.1.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in CaCCīC(-ah)
The short vowel a preceding stressed CCī is not raised. Examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrīǧ “alumnus”, sakkīnah “knife”, garnīṭ “octopus”, sabīn “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Karīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabrīt “matches”. Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. tarqī “grafting”, tašgīl “putting in operation” and also in a gahawah-form like taqarīb “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: giiṣṣā “tracker”, billāš “thief; extortionist”, fīssāy “expert farter”, birrād “teapot”, tillāġih “fridge” and wīḡān “suffering pain”, mīlān ~ malyān “full”, galtān ~ gilṭān “mistaken”, Silmān “male given name Salmān”, mirḏān “ill”, fīhyān “surprised”, kislān “lazy”, hiğiġān “camel rider”, sīyāl ~ sayyāl “acacia trees (coll.)”, but also ʿaṭšān “thirsty”, ʿaṭlān “broken, not functioning” and bakkākah “lighter”. Although such raising was heard in all dialects, it is less current in TAN and TAŞ.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -āʾ (if not raised) (except in MIA, where long final -ā is also heard).

71 This situation is the same as what has been described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273.
72 The word bakkākah is used in TyA; in most dialects of Sinai the word for “lighter” is giddākah.
The *a* in closed syllable may then be raised, but this is optional, e.g. *himrā* “red (sg. fem.)”, *himgā* “stupid (sg. fem.)”, but also *zargā* “black; blue (sg. fem.)”, *safrā* “yellow”, etc.

Like in group VI, raising of *a* in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final -ā(’) has not been raised to -y.

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”, *şinayin* “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: *talaṭīn* “thirty”, *nahr* “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”, *farašīḥ* “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāj”, *marāḡīḥ* “swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)”, *halāl* “small cattle”, *axawāt* “sisters”, *ašān* “because”, *hayātak* “your life”, *hamādīḥ* “flat barren land”, *garāyir* “large sack (pl. of *garāṛah*)”,73 Also when *’* precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. (’)asāyil “thoroughbreeds”, (’)ašān “his origin”.

3.1.1.6. Raising of *a* in…CaCā…

*a* in open syllable preceding stressed á is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [i]) *ǧimāl* “camel”, *risān* “halter”, *libān* “milk”, *sibāgah* “race” (sábagah in TAṢ), *šiǧāṛah* “tree” (šáǧaṛah in TAṢ), a verb form *misāk* “he took” and (towards [u] in labial and/or velarized environment) *muṭār* “rain”, *duwā* “medicine”. And also in gaha-wah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. *tihāt* “under”, *šihār* “month” and in verb forms like *yiʿārif* “he knows”.

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Such raising is generally absent when the \( a \) is preceded by \(*\), e.g. \( \check{\text{a}} \)ab\( \check{\text{a}} \)r “needles” and \( \check{\text{a}} \)ax\( \check{\text{a}} \)d “he took”.

Also, when \( a \) is followed by \( l \), such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. gal\( \check{\text{a}} \)m “pen”, mal\( \check{\text{a}} \)g “hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)”, zal\( \check{\text{a}} \)mah “man”, or when \( X \) precedes, e.g. ha\( \check{\text{a}} \)g\( \check{\text{a}} \)r “rock, stone”, \( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)n\( \check{\text{a}} \)m “goats and sheep”, xa\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)b “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

\[
a > 1 / C_a=C_bA
\]

\[
C_a \neq * \text{ or } X
\]

\[
C_b \neq l
\]

\[
A = \text{stressed } a \text{ or } \check{\text{a}}
\]

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

N.B. Raising of \( a \) may also take place when stress on \( A \) is secondary, e.g. f\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)s\( \check{\text{a}} \)ib\( \check{\text{a}} \)g “in the race”, verb forms án\( \check{\text{a}} \)k\( \check{\text{a}} \)tal “he was beaten”, ástu\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)wat “it (sg. fem.) became ripe/cooked” and mu\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)l\( \check{\text{a}} \)d “births”, mu\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)ž\( \check{\text{a}} \)n “weighing scales (pl. of m\( \check{\text{a}} \)z\( \check{\text{a}} \)n)”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of \( a \) in Ca\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)C(ah)

Raising of \( a \) preceding \( \check{\text{u}} \) is optional, e.g. \( \check{\text{g}} \)\( \check{\text{m}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)s ~ \( \check{\text{g}} \)\( \check{\text{m}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)s “food dip”, \( \check{\text{x}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)f “lamb”, \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{g}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)n\( \check{\text{u}} \)b} \) ~ \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{g}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)n\( \check{\text{u}} \)b} \) “south” and yuh\( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)d} \) ~ yah\( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)d} \) “Jews”, \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{d}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)b\( \check{\text{a}} \)h} \) ~ \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{d}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)b\( \check{\text{a}} \)h} \) “beautiful young camel”, 75 \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)r\( \check{\text{u}} \)s} \) ~ \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)r\( \check{\text{u}} \)s} \) “bride”, \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)g\( \check{\text{u}} \)z} \) ~ \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{u}} \)g\( \check{\text{u}} \)z} \) “old lady”. With initial ham\( \check{\text{z}} \)h\( \check{\text{a}} \) such raising is absent in most dialects (contrast with groups VI–VIII): \( \check{\text{a}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{u}} \)y “my father” and \( \check{\text{a}}\check{\text{x}}\check{\text{u}} \)y “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae \( \check{\text{w}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)w verbs ag\( \check{\text{u}} \)m “I get up”, ag\( \check{\text{u}} \)l “I say” (see remark * below). However, in dialects indicated below, isolated instances of such raising were heard when “hamzah preceded, as in u\( \check{\text{b}}\check{\text{u}} \)h ~ u\( \check{\text{b}}\check{\text{u}} \)h “father” (TAN), u\( \check{\text{x}}\check{\text{u}} \)k ~ u\( \check{\text{x}}\check{\text{u}} \)k “your brother”, u\( \check{\text{g}}\check{\text{u}} \)m ~ ag\( \check{\text{u}} \)m “I rise” (both HwA), Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in TA\( \check{\text{S}}, \check{\text{G}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{A}}, \check{\text{B}}\check{\text{d}}\check{\text{A}}, \check{\text{D}}\check{\text{b}}\check{\text{A}} \text{ or MIA}.

Underlying C\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{C}} \) with reduced \( \check{\text{a}} \); m\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)n}} \) “container”, bab\( \check{\text{u}} \)r “tractor”, gan\( \check{\text{u}} \)n “law”, ba\( \check{\text{u}} \)\( \check{\text{d}} \)lah “mosquitos”. In one instance in TyA raising in bab\( \check{\text{u}} \)r yielded bab\( \check{\text{u}} \)r.

The gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding C\( \check{\text{u}} \) is not raised, e.g. m\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{h}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)t\( \check{\text{u}} \)t “placed”, m\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{g}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)d “tied”, m\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{h}} \)\( \check{\text{a}} \)b\( \check{\text{u}} \)s “locked up”, maxan\( \check{\text{a}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)g “constricted; suffocated”.

74 See also De Jong 2000:147.
75 \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{d}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)b\( \check{\text{a}} \)h} \) ~ \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{d}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)b\( \check{\text{a}} \)h} \) is used to refer to a recently acquired beautiful camel or car. It can also be used to refer to one’s recent bride, e.g. \( \check{\text{\( \check{\text{d}} \)\( \check{\text{r}} \)\( \check{\text{u}} \)b\( \check{\text{a}} \)t}} \).
3.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u
Unstressed a in open syllable preceding stressed u (in the following syllable) is regularly raised, e.g. kubūr “he grew”, kuṭur “he became many”, tuxūn “he became thick”, ġulūd “he became fat”.

The raised a has remained underlying |a| however. It (as a surface u) is therefore not dropped in unstressed open syllables. In addition, in many dialects the vowel ‘re-surface’ a in closed syllables, e.g. kabīt “she grew”, ġalīt “she became fat”.

3.1.10. a-raising rules combined
Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:150), we can combine the rules for raising of a preceding a long stressed high vowel:

\[ a > I / C_a C_b ÊC \]

\( Ê \) = long vowel ū or ī
\( I \) = short high vowel u if Ê is ū; short high vowel i if Ê is ī
\( C_a \) ≠ *’ (hamzah)
\( C_b \) = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to u

Notice that, like in group I dialects of the north (see De Jong 2000:150), the provision of \( C_a \neq *’ \) is made for the group I dialects described here, i.e. preceding “*hamzah” inhibits such raising. However, in TAN and ḤwA a few forms were recorded which did show such raising: uḅūh – aḅūh and ugūl – agūl “I say”.

3.1.2. Reflexes of \(*C_aC_bC_3(ah)\)
For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): badw “Bedouin”, tahāt “under”, faḥām “charcoal”, wahdīh (but – wiḥdīh in ġrA) “one (sg. fem.)”, nāḥih “direction”, sa’āb “difficult”, šakl “shape”, šāḥan “dish, plate”, ǧīdy “billy goat” (TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, MIA, ḠrA), ǧady (BdA), šadr “chest”, (’)akl (TAṢ, TAN, DbA, MIA), wakl “food” (BdA), kirš (TAṢ) “(fat) belly”, kalb “dog”, ǧidd “grandfather” and ǧifn “eyelid” (TAṢ).

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* Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like tuxnit “she became thick” in ġrA, ġulīn “they (f.) became fat”; here the a did not ‘resurface’, although the vowel is still to be regarded as underlying |a|, since it is not dropped in open unstressed syllables, e.g. also in these dialects the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms are tuxūn (not •txun) and ġulūd (not •ğluď).
3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: _wirk_ “thigh” (TAŠ), _kitf_ “shoulder” (ḤwA, ḤrA, TAŠ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), _kilmiḥ_ “word”, _širkiḥ_ “company”.

_xabšin_ in TyA, _xšin_ in TAŠ

3.1.4. Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Some reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): _bunn_ “coffee beans”, _rizz_ “rice”, _kull_ “all; every”, _amṃ_ (all except BdA;⁷₇ ~ _umṃ_ in ḤrA), _umṃ_ “mother” (BdA), _uxt_ “sister”, _Ǧim’ih_ “male given name” (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), _muddih_ “period”, _ḥurmah_ “woman”, _zibdih_ “butter”, _rukbah_ “knee” (ḤwA, TyA, TAŠ, ḤrA, TAN, not recorded in other dialects), _ḫinnih_ “they (fem.)”, _šuggah_ “a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)” (TAŠ, 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”, _ʿyūn_ “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), _šinā’iy_ “artificial” (TAŠ), _tiǧārāh_ “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), _ʿumūman_ “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 _ṯ_. In the example _tuṛās_ we have sibilant _ẓ._

⁷₇ Also _amṃ_ in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.
s instead of more typically Bedouin t (compare MSA turāt). These are additional indications that we are dealing with loans.

Other instances of non-elision include: tulūḥhin “their (fem.) rising (of stars)” (BdA) and all dialects have gizāzih (after raising of a in the first syllable of gazāzhah) for “bottle”.

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in our group I dialects and the verb “come” has the imperfect form yğiıyor “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 hrayynn is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāhā, e.g. ʤayfīn iftītāt “tiny children”, swēkin “living (more or less)”, wleddi “my little son”, gray’iy “bald (sg. fem.).”

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is C1C2ayC3ūC3 (i.e. C3 is reduced) in baṭṭīxaṣģayrūr “small watermelons”.78 The same pattern is used in TAṢ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) ṣģarūrah, ṣģarūrin, ṣģarūrāt and also graybūb “nearish”. Another diminutive heard in TAṢ is ődah ṣganṭūțah is a “tiny house/room”,79 îlēğān, iygasğsūh gṣaygṣāt iṣgāyyrāt “they cut it up into little pieces”.

A lexical item coined on the CaCCūC(-ah) pattern in kaṛṛūsah “wheel chair” (TyA).

The hypochoristic -ān sufffix, 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: hnīyyān “here” and ki/dmacronbelowiyyān “thus” and alternatively hniyyāniy and ki/dmacronbelowiyyāniy (see 3.1.15.1.).81

3.1.7. Pattern aC1C2aC3

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is (for sg. masc.) aC1C2aC3 (e.g. abyad) and aC1aC2aC3 (e.g. áhamar, stressed

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78 Diminutive patterns are reported to be very common in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427.
79 ṭdah is also used for “small (stone) house”.
80 See De Jong 2000:153. It thus appears to be mainly in use among tribes of the eastern central and northern Sinai.
81 The -ān suffix is also heard in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427–428.
on the first syllable) where $C_1 = X$. Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a $C_1aC_2C_3$ pattern, with a final *-ā that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. bēdāʾ, hamrāʾ; in MIA some forms were recorded with long final -ā). There is an additional a following $C_2$ when it is X and final *-ā is raised to -íy when $C_3$ is neutral (e.g. šahābíy). 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: $aC_1C_2C_3$, e.g. aktar “more; most”, $aC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. agall “less; least” and $aC_1C_2a$ (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. aḥla “sweeter; sweetest”.

3.1.9. Initial a

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is al- in all dialects of group I and the relative pronoun is alliy. The article is a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.).

Examples are: yōm iyṭīḥ álmaṭar [...] biyḥuṭṭuw bdārhum “when the rain falls, they plant their seeds”.

The relative pronoun is alliy. Examples are: alliy byašrāb imm alḥāmiḍ ħāḍa w alliy biyfīṭt minnīh “there are those who drink from this sour (milk) and there are those who make fattah with it”.

The vowel in the preposition fi is often dropped when it collides with a- of the article, as in e.g. f-āšṭiy “in the winter” and f-ālḡibal “in the desert (lit. the mountains)” and also with unstressed a of the article, as in f-ālwādiy “in the wadi”.

Prepositioned ha- was heard used predominantly in adverbial halḥīn “now”.

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82 Like in the dialect of the Dawāġrah, see De Jong 2000:446 and 661 (map 9).
83 Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214 also report al- and alliy as the current forms in their corpus of Bedouin poetry; the exception is their poet Ŝbaylāt (of Baniy Ḥasan in northern Jordan), who uses il- and ili thus “aligning himself [...] with the ‘sedentary’ dialects”.
84 alliy is often elliptically used for something like fīh (mīn an-)/nās alliy...
Only in a few instances *ha-* was used in its ‘specifying’ function: *fi ha-
ddikmih ‘a ṭāl là šilēḥāt wala ġayrhī f-āddkam* “there are no chalets in (i.e. near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills” (ḤwA), *šuft miy . . . ṭāfih fi ha-lgiddāf* “I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat” (TyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned *ha*, e.g. *alliy āwiz iy . . . tynawwi f-ālbil āssibag imn āssibag 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 3.1.9.2.).

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial *a*

Other instances of initial *a*- are: *aṃm* (except *uṃm* in BdA and *aṃm ~ uṃm* in ĞrA) “mother”, *uxt “sister* in all dialects, *aḥna* is “we” in ḤwA and *aḥna ~ iḥna* in ĞrA (in the other dialects only *iḥna*) and the pl. for (’)ibrah “needles is (’)abār. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCA*C are current, e.g. *ṣwar “pictures* and *gṛab “waterskins*.

*yā yuṃma* is used in many group I dialects (also those that have *aṃm* for “mother”) for “oh mother”.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme *(T)* in genitive construction

*T* in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samā’nah of group II in the north; 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.

3.1.10.1. *T* in genitive construction preceded by a in open syllable

Like in group VI, the feminine morpheme -*ah ~ -iḥ* in construct state becomes -*at* when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: (dual) *sanatēn “two years* and *ragabatih “his neck* (for stress, see 2.1.1.2.2.).

Notice that resyllabication of a (nominal or verbal) CaCaCTv sequence does not take place in group I dialects (contrast MzA of group VI), e.g. *darabatih “she hit him* and *ragabatih “his neck*.

---


86 In TyA of the Negev *T > -at* when historical aC directly precedes, otherwise > -*t* or -*it*, see Shawarbah 2007:424.
3.1.10.2. The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or (OS
Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah
becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel v directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in
construct state.

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 situa-
tion 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 'histori-
cal'. Examples are: gahawatī "my coffee", gahawatah "his coffee" and gaha-
watāk "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 con-
bstruction, T > -t, as in ḥamātāk “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. lágatah “she found him”.

3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is šugl for sg. masc., šuglah (sg. fem.), šuglın (pl. masc.)
and šuglāt (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ilbēṭ +</th>
<th>il’ilbih +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>šuglāh</td>
<td>šuglıṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>šuglıḥum/-w*2</td>
<td>šuglıṭhin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuglıḥ</td>
<td>šuglıṭak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuglıḥa</td>
<td>šuglıtkiyy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuglık</td>
<td>šuglıtkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuglık</td>
<td>šuglıtkiyy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuglı</td>
<td>šuglıṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šuglına</td>
<td>šuglıtna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87 In TyA of the Negev T preceded by gahawah-vowel a > -it, e.g. rā’āwit ghanām "grazing
small cattle", see Shawarbah 2007:244.
A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In group I dialects of the central and southern Sinai the following independent pronominals are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>int(ih)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aná</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 huwwa was also heard used for the pl. masc. in TAN, MIA, but not in the other dialects of group I discussed here.*9
*2 In ḤwA aḥna; in ĞrA iḥna ~ aḥna.

Negated90 (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in mūhūṃna and mīhūnna)*1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mūhū*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mīhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mint(ih)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mintiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mānt*6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ĞrA direct elicitation yielded ‘double’ forms like aná mānī, int(ih) mint(ih), intiy mintiy, hū mūhū. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.
*2 mūhū ~ māhū in ḤwA

---

*1 t + h will often assimilate to tt, e.g. šuqlittuw, see 2.5.
*2 For a remark on the suffix -huw, see 3.1.12.2.
3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In group I the following pronominal suffixes are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>masc. C-ah / C-ih *1, v-(h)</td>
<td>-hum*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem. -ha*2</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>masc. C-ak, v-k*3</td>
<td>-kuw*7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem. -kiy*4</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>com. (C)C-i, v-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni (obj.)*5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assimilation of initial \(h\) to preceding voiceless consonants is current in our group I dialects, e.g. simi’tta “I heard her”, tbuxxa “you spray it (sg. fem.)”, hissa “her noise”.91

For allomorphs used in combination with the preposition ‘\(ind\), see below 3.1.16.

*1 Group I, has with -ah/-ih, contrasting with -u(\(h\)) of groups VI–VIII.

*2 -ha ~ -hiy in MIA and in TyA (-hiy is predominant in the latter).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 û calling for the appearance of -ha there instead of -hiy),93 is concluded not to be operative in MIA and TyA. Examples in MIA are: iw minnih biyṭa“mūhiy, iw yagṭa’aw w iyguṣṣūhiy “and then they graft it (sg. fem.), and they cut and clip it (sg. fem.)” and abūhiy “her father”.

*3 Contrast C-ak and v-k with heavily velarized -k/ -uk of groups VI–VIII.

*4 Invariable -kiy is characteristic of group I, see also De Jong 2000:164. Contrast with -k and -ik of groups VI–VIII.

*5 Suffixes -i and -ni for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed -i and -ni also occur.

---

91 The spelling with 3 identical consonants is for reasons of morphological transparency. These forms are not different from tbuxxa and hissa.

92 For -ha or -hiy among sub-confederations of Tiyāha in Negev see Shawarbah 2007:426.

93 See De Jong 2000:164–166 and 674 (appendix), map 35.
*6 -huw ~ -hum in ḤwA, MLA, ĠrA 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis*1</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda*2</td>
<td>com. hādał*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td>com. hōdāl̃(ah)*4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The same forms were heard in TAN.

*2 Unvelarized hāda is sporadic in TAṢ, but hāda ~ hāda in TAN.

*3 hōdal was also elicited in TAṢ, but did not occur in spontaneous speech.

*4 The same forms were heard in TAN.

“There . . . is/are!” hayhū ǧa’, hayhī ǧat, hayhum ǧaw, hayhin ǧan.

Demonstratives in TyA are:

Near deixis

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>hōdīy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>hōdāl̃(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms without initial hā-, hē- or hō- are rare.

During direct elicitation, the existence of forms like hēhū or hayhū in TyA was denied. Instead, forms like ar’ih ţa‘ “there he has come”, ārîhiyy ģat
“there she has come!”, annās árīhhum ġaw “there the people have come!” were said to be current (see 4.8.1).

Demonstratives in ḤwA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāḍal(lah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēdiy*</td>
<td>hēdik(īh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>fem.</strong></th>
<th><strong>pl.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hē/dmacronbelowiy*</td>
<td>hē/dmacronbelowīk(ih)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hādiy 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 yaṣrab minnih ā…alḥāmi/dmacronbeloẉ “and there are those who want to drink from it, what . . . (from) this sour (milk)” (for a remark on the elliptic use of alliy, see fn 84, p. 235). Another example is aṣṣgayyrāt ha “these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)”.

“There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!“ is hayhū ġa’, hayhī ġat, hayhum ġaw and hayhin ġan.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th><strong>pl.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masc.</strong></td>
<td>hāda – hāḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fem.</strong></td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masc.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

hayhū . . . “there he . . .” was recorded once.

---

94 For a discussion on attributive hā, see Fischer 1959:56.
Demonstratives in MLA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. hāda</td>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>com.</strong></th>
<th><strong>pl.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hēdīkt alhīn was recorded three times for "now, at this moment".

The system of demonstratives in BdA is clearly mixed; hā- or hē- initial demonstratives for near deixis only occur in the singular, while the only pl. form dillīh must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Sawālḥah (group VII) and Lēgāt (group VIII).

Demonstratives in BdA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. hāda</td>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>com.</strong></th>
<th><strong>pl.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sentence-final di’ was recorded twice.

* Sentence-final diy was recorded three times and also hādiy was heard twice.

* hā-initial demonstratives for pl. com. were not recorded, whereas dillīh was recorded five times.95

* hādāk was recorded twice, and once dākah.

ar’ih was recorded for “there he is!”

Demonstratives in ǦrA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. hāda</td>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>com.</strong></th>
<th><strong>pl.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hādāk(ah)</td>
<td>hēdīk(ah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 diy was recorded three times.

*2 In one instance a separate demonstrative for the pl. fem. was recorded during direct elicitation: alihrayim hāḍan “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 héhū ṣa’, héhī ṣat, héhumma ṣaw and héhinnaḥ ṣan. Alternatively ir’ + pron. suffix is used: ir’ih ṣa’, irihha ṣat, irihhum ṣaw and irihhin ṣan (see 4.8.1.).

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha- is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are bīnitt halfattih a tāl “we immediately make this fattah” (DbA), bitgībra mīn hassāg “you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market” (MlA), w allīy msawwiy ... mitmārah f-alblād—bingūl ‘alēha mitmārah—halmitmārah hēdiy byilīghūha ttībīn ... “and there are those who have made ... an underground grain storage in the ground—we call it (sg. fem.) a mitmārah—this mitmārah they add the straw to it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA), and in all dialects halḥīn is current for “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives
Interrogatives recorded in southern group I dialects for

in ḤwA and DbA: 1) mīn, 2) wīsh, ēš / ēḥ, 3) lēḥ, 4) matān / mitān, wagtēḥ, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām + sg., 9) kūṭrayh, gaddēḥ.

in TAṢ (marked with * were also recorded in TAN): 1) mīn*, 2) ēš* / ēḥ*, 3) lēš* / lēḥ*, 4) matā(‘) / matā, wagtēš, 5) wēn*, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kām* + sg., 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

in ḠrA: 1) mīn, 2) ēḥ, ēš (the latter much less), 3) lēḥ, 4) matā / mitā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām*+ sg., 9) kūṭrayh, gaddēḥ.

*1 kām (with long ā) was elicited, kām (with short vowel) was not recorded.

in TyA: 1) mīn, 2) ayyš / ēš / ēḥ, 3) lēš, 4) ?, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām + sg., 9) kūṭrayš.

in BdA: 1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēḥ, 3) lēš / lēḥ, 4) matā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām + sg., 9) kūṭrayš, gaddēš.

in MlA: 1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēḥ, 3) lēš / lēḥ, 4) ?, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf / kīf, 8) kām + sg., 9)?

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Adverbs

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

Adverbs recorded are:

- “there”  
  - *hnų* (all dialects)
  - *fį hądı̄k* (MLA, ĞrA, TyA, DbA, BdA)
  - *fį hądı̄kah* (DbA)
- “over there (far away)”  
  - *ġād* (all dialects)
  - *ġādiy* (TyA, TAṢ, TAN)
- “here”  
  - *hnų* (all dialects)
  - *hnıyih* (all dialects)
  - *hnıyān(iy)* (TAN, TyA)\(^*2\)
- “here”  
  - *fį hądā* (MLA, TyA, DbA)
- “thus”  
  - *kıdı́y* (all dialects)
  - *kıdı́yyih* (all dialects)
  - *kıdı́yyān(iy)* (TAN, TyA)\(^*2\)
- “now”  
  - *halḥīn* (all dialects)
- “still”  
  - *lässā* (GrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ, TAN, ḤwA)
  - *assā* (TyA, ḤwA)
- “afterwards, after that”  
  - *’uğb kıdı́y* (all dialects)
  - *ba’ adēn* (all dialects)

\(^*1\) *mīn-ihnıy* “from here; this way”, *mīn-hnų* “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 *’uğb ma* (‘ugh + ma) is sometimes shortened to *’ugma*, e.g. *’ugma halāfaw* ’alēhum addīn “after they had sworn an oath on their religion to them” (BdA).

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

For “maybe” direct elicitation in TAṢ yielded forms based on the root *x-w-f* (e.g. *xōfālässah*) and *k-w-d* (e.g. *kı́d*). *xōfālässah / xawfālässah* / (sometimes reduced as) *xāfālässah* is used to refer to undesired possibilities, while *kı́d* refers to desired possibilities.\(^*8\) *kı́d* may also be suffixed, examples are: *ałğı̄mal kıdnı̄n näh “maybe (let’s hope) the camels are good”, arrağāgil*

\(^97\) See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.

\(^98\) See also Holes and Abu Athera 2009:226 and De Jong 2000:177–178.
“maybe (let’s hope) they are good men” and *alihrayyim kūdinhuṃ ṭayybāt* “maybe (let’s hope) they are good women”.

Forms elicited for (variations on) *xawf* are: *xawfaḷḷah (inkin) mintin ṭayybāt* “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good”. *xạ̄f* (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. *xạ̄fihinn māhū šayyib* “perhaps he is no good”, *xạ̄finkin mintin ṭayybāt* “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good” and an unsuffixed form *xạ̄fin*, as in *xạ̄fīn mā nalgāha* “perhaps we won’t find it (sg. fem.)”.

3.1.15.3. bahayl “very, extremely”

*bahayl* for “very, extremely” was recorded twice, but only in MLA: *(A) iw tākil…(X) ḥāǧih…(A) ḥāǧah ḥibwah xālis…(X) bahayl! w Āllah bahayl… “(A) and you eat…(X) A thing…(A) something very tasty…(X) Very! By God, very (tasty) …”

3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”

The adverb *bišwēš* was not recorded in any of the group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”

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

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

Suffixed prepositions *l* “for”, *ʿala* “on” and *ma* “with” in TAṢ, TAN, BDA, MLA, ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DBA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>l</em></th>
<th><em>ʿala</em></th>
<th><em>ma</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>lah/lēh*2</td>
<td>ʿalāh*7</td>
<td>maʿāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>lehuṃ*5</td>
<td>ʿalēhā*8</td>
<td>maḥḥun*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>lēhuṃ*5</td>
<td>ʿalēhuṃ*5</td>
<td>maḥḥun*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lakw*4</td>
<td>ʿalēkw</td>
<td>maʿk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>ʿalēy(y)</td>
<td>maʿk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lēha</td>
<td>ʿalēha</td>
<td>maḥḥa*8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lēhin</td>
<td>ʿalēhin</td>
<td>maḥḥa*8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʿalēkiy</td>
<td>ʿalēkin</td>
<td>maʿkiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 For the paradigm of *l* in TAN, TyA, DBA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is *l* ~ *lī*.

For an alternative paradigm in BDA, see below.

*2 The vowel in TAṢ and ĠrA 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: ʾilēk, ʾilēhuṃ etc.,
but usually absence of raising in ʾalāy. The independent preposition is ʾalā ~ ʾa.
*7 In TAN, BdA, MlA ʿalēh. In TyA, ḤwA and DbA ʿilēh ~ ʾalēh. In ĞrA ʿalīh.
*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: miʾāh, miḥha etc. Raising of a in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. miʾāh (but a in stressed closed syllable, e.g. máʾkuw).

The prep. l+ in TAN,
TyA, DbA, ḤwA (and as alternative in BdA):

The prep. m(i)+
in TAN*4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>lāh*1</td>
<td>lḥum*5</td>
<td>mʾāh</td>
<td>mʾḥum<em>5</em>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lḥa*2</td>
<td>lhin*3</td>
<td>mʾḥa*6</td>
<td>mʾḥin*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lāk</td>
<td>lkw</td>
<td>mʾāk</td>
<td>mʾkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lkiy</td>
<td>lkin*3</td>
<td>mʾkiy</td>
<td>mʾkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>lnaʾ(ʾ)</td>
<td>mʾay</td>
<td>mʾna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In TyA līh.
*2 In TyA lhiy.
*3 In ḤwA lhin and lkin ~ lhinnih and lkinnih.
*4 The independent preposition is mʾ, e.g.: tāxād imʾāk libbtak fī ǧēbtak...fīdak “you take your libbah (a thick round loaf of bread baked in hot sand) with you in your pocket...in your hand”.
*5 In ḤwA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).
*6 ʾ + h often assimilates to ḥḥ: miḥha, miḥhuṃ, miḥhin.

101 Notice that such raising remains absent when the short a is the product of reduction of ā in pre-stress position, as in maqʿād šāsēh (< šāsēh “a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as magʿad in Malbad (Ġarāğrah)" (ĠrA).
Suffixed prepositions ʻin “in”, min “from” and wara “behind” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ḠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>min+</th>
<th>wara+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fāh*₁</td>
<td>fīhum*₅</td>
<td>minnih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fem.</td>
<td>fīha*₂</td>
<td>fīhin</td>
<td>minha*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fāk*₃</td>
<td>fīkuw</td>
<td>minnak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>fīkiy</td>
<td>fīkin</td>
<td>minkiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fay(y)*₄</td>
<td>fina</td>
<td>minni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ fīh (with short i) in MIA, fīh (with long ī) in TAN, BdA, ḠrA, 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, ḠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA.

*₄ fīnī in ḠrA.

*₅ -huw in ḠrA and -hum – -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions ʿind “with”, hāwāla “around” and fōg/fawg “over” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ḠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ʿind+</th>
<th>hāwāla+*₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ʿindah</td>
<td>ʿinduhuṃ*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fem.</td>
<td>ʿindaha*₁</td>
<td>ʿindihin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ʿindak</td>
<td>ʿindukuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>ʿindikiy</td>
<td>ʿindikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ʿindi</td>
<td>ʿindina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fōg+*₅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fōghah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fem.</td>
<td>fōgha*₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fōgak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>fōgkiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fōgi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ -hiy in TyA.

*₂ -huw in ḠrA and -hum – -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

*₃ This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ḠrA and MIA.

*₄ An alternative hāwālah was recorded in TAṢ and hāwelāh in TAN.

*₅ In ḤwA the preposition is diphthongal: fawgah, fawgha, etc.
An interesting grammaticalisation recorded in DbA is *byākluw min iğnūbāha* “they eat from all sides (around them)”. Suffixed prepositions are negated with single preceding *mā*, e.g. *mā 'indī “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 / ūntēn*[^2], *talāţih (tálat), arba’ah (arba’)*, *xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt), sab’ih (sab’), ūtamānyih (ūtamán), tiś’ih (tiś’), āšaţah (aśár)*.

[^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 *ūntēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn “two boys” and īdāy attīntēn “my two hands” and riţlāy attīntēn “my two legs” (TyA, TAŞ, ĢrA, ḤwA). The form adāy “my hands” was recorded in DbA. Direct elicitation in ḤwA yielded īdānī instead of īdāy for “my hands”.[^102]

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. *arba’ t-infār “four people”, xamis t-iyyām “five days”.*

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded: *awwil, ūniy, ūliţ.*

3.1.17.3. Numerals: 11 and up

Numerals 11–19 recorded are: *hdāšaţ, tnāšaţ / i/tmacronbelownāšaţ, /tmacronbelowalattāšaţ, arba’tašaţ, xamistāšaţ, sittāšaţ, sab’tašaţ, ūtamantāšaţ, tiś’tašaţ* in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in -ašaţ co-occurred with forms ending in -ạ̄’iš, e.g. *talattā’iš, arba’ta’iš, xamistā’iš,*[^3] etc. In MlA the months of November and December were referred to as *šahār iḥdā ạ̄’iš* and *šahār itnạ̄’iš* (resp.).

[^102]: This is perhaps a hybrid form of īdāy “my hands” (like in other dialects) and aḏānī “my ears”, or the pl. ūdan was directly suffixed with the pron.: ūdānī “my hands”.

[^3]: In the forms ending in -ašaţ velarization is indicated in ṛ, in the forms ending in -ạ̄’iš, it is indicated in the long: ā.
Numerals 20–90:

ʾišrīn, ṭalāṭīn, arbaʾin, xamsīn, sittīn, sabʾīn, ṣamānīn, tīsʾīn.

Numerals 100–900:

miyyīh, miyītēn, tūltīmīyyīh, rubī miyyīh, xumīsmiyyīh, suttīmīyyīh, subī miyyīh, tūmīnmīyyīh, tusī miyyīh.

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

alf, alfēn, ṭalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arbaʾ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabī t-ālāf, ṭamān t-ālāf, tisiʾ t-ālāf, ʾašar t-ālāf.

Long ā of the first syllable is usually reduced to short a, e.g. ṭalat t-ālāf “three thousand”.

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

ḥdāšar alf, mit alf, miyyītēn alf, miyyōn / malyōn (and ṭalat mālāyīn).

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: tisiʾ t-ālāf “nine thousand”, ʾašar t-īyyām “ten days”, sitt t-ušhur “six months”,104 sabī t-infāʾr “seven persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. šahār wāḥid “January”, f-awwil ḫdāʾiš “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. ṛafffayn “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”, ʾidāy “my hands” (unsuffixed pl. forms are riǧlān and ʾidān).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: ʾid “hand”, ʾidān “hands”, ʾidāha “her hands”, ʾidāhin “their (fem.) hands”, but ʾidānī “my hands”. A form heard in ĞrA is ʾidāhw “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 ṭamān t-ušhur “eight months”.

105 It is not certain that these forms in final -ān, and suffixed as -ā +, are older dual forms (see also remarks in De Jong 2000:387 (+ fn 341); one could also imagine a perhaps more likely analogy with pl. forms like siġān (sg. sāg) for “thighs”, kīʾān (sg. kūʾ) “elbows”, dirān (sg. drāʾ) “forearms”).
Plural forms in BdA and DbA are with initial $a$: adēk “your hands”, adēhum “their hands”, adēhin “their (fem.) hands” and “my hands” in DbA is adāy, but was recorded as adayy in BdA.

Forms recorded in MlA are only sg.: $uđ “hand” and $idi “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 biygussinhin, ŏw byuḍufrinnah ḏafar . . . āl-īdāhin . . . āšša ʿar ḏāda “they (fem.) shave them (fem., i.e. the goats), and they (fem.) plait it (sg. masc.) into a saddle girth . . . this hair” and īb riǧlāhin ibyidirsin “they (fem.) thresh with their (fem., i.e. animals) feet”.

### 3.2. Verbal Morphology

#### 3.2.1. Regular verbs

##### 3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

For measure 1 the two principal underlying patterns for the perfect are ($i$-type) $C_{1a}C_{2i}C_{3}$ and ($a$-type) $C_{1a}C_{2a}C_{3}$ (for $C_{1a}C_{2u}C_{3}$ see 3.2.1.3.).

The paradigms in TyA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect “drink”$^*$1</th>
<th>perfect “sit”$^*$2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>širibt$^*$1</td>
<td>širibna$^*$1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>širibt$^*$2</td>
<td>širibuw$^*$2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>širibtiy$^*$1</td>
<td>širibtin$^*$1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>širib$^*$2</td>
<td>šarbuw$^*$2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šarbit$^*$2</td>
<td>šarbin$^*$2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^*$1 The short vowel $i$ of the open and unstressed first syllable is underlying $|a|$ and is therefore not elided in these group I dialects (i.e. forms are not *šrib*, *šribt*, etc.) (cf. the verb ġulūd in 3.2.1.3.).

$^*$2 Notice that the underlying $a$ ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ǦrA, MlA; forms there are širbit, širbuw and širbin. Other examples are: tilfuw “they grew old”, wiqfit “she stood”.

Like in TyA, the $a$ does ‘reappear’ in HwA: ʿargit “she sweated”, yabsuw “they dried”, waslīt “she arrived, reached”; DbA: fahyit “she was surprised” and daryit “she became aware”; BdA: nasyit "she forgot", žarmit “she was fined”; TAN: fahmit “she understood” (cf. the verb ġulūd in 3.2.1.3.).
*3 Raising of a in open syllable preceding stress is regular, but optional, e.g. fitāḥ “he opened”.

*4 Stress is CâCaCv in TAṢ. The other group I dialects discussed here (including TAN!) stress CaCâCv (but MIA 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: širibtáḥ “I drank it (sg. masc.)” (< širib + ah) and širibtah “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 líbsítih “she wore it”, hī širbitih “she drank it”, hī lígyítih “she found it”, but aná libístih “I wore it”. No such forms were recorded in MIA.

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect

Like in most dialects of Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes, and like in group VI, this vowel harmony is also found in the 1st. p. sg. com. of i- and u-type imperfects of some of the group I dialects discussed here: ĞrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. lēš inzil? “why should I dismount?”). The other group I dialects (TAṢ, TyA, DbA, ḤwA and also the large majority of forms in TAN) have initial a- in all vowel types, see also De Jong 2000:299.

There are three imperfect patterns: yaC 1C2CaC3, yuC 1C2CuC3 and yiC1C2iC3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-type</td>
<td>ášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>yāšrāb yāšrābaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-type</td>
<td>ášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>yāšrāb yāšrāban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-type</td>
<td>ášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>tášrāb</td>
<td>yāšrāb yāšrāban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigms for i- and u-type imperfects are like those listed for group VI with differences in initial vowels in the 1st p. sg. com. as described above here (i.e. aktib and adrub or iktib and uđrub).

Measure 1 verbs i-type (e.g. yaharit) and a-type (e.g. ya’arag) with C₁ = X have the following paradigms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$i$-type imperfect*1</th>
<th>$a$-type imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“plough”</td>
<td>“sweat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yahārit</td>
<td>yahārtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahārit</td>
<td>tahārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tahārit</td>
<td>tahārtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahārtiy</td>
<td>tahārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aḥārit*2</td>
<td>naḥārit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 For stress in these forms see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.4.

*2 Notice that in gahawah-verb forms the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel of an $i$-type imperfect.

For the morphological status of the $i$, and reasons for not indicating its elision (i.e. the forms are not written here as e.g. $yahārt$), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfects and participles of these verbs $ḥārāt$ and $ʿirīg$ are like those of $gaʿād$ and $širīb$ (see 3.2.1.1.).

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *$C_1aC_2uC_3$, *$yaC_2C_2uC_3$

The verb “grow fat” as example of an ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type elicited in ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$u$-type perfect*1</th>
<th>$u$-type imperfect*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“grow fat”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ġulūd</td>
<td>ġalduw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġaldīt*2</td>
<td>ġaldīn*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ġuluḍt</td>
<td>ġuluḍtw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġuluḍtiy</td>
<td>ġuluḍtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ġuluḍt</td>
<td>ġuluḍna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In unstressed open syllables the surface $u$ (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not •$ğlūd$, •$ğlūdt$, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying $|a|$ (cf. the verb $širīb$ in 3.2.1.1.).

*2 Notice that the underlying $|a|$ of the pattern ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ĞrA, MIA; forms recorded there are $ǧulīt$, $ǧulduw$ and $ǧulīn$. For TAN I have extrapolated ‘reappearance’ of $a$ here based on its ‘reappearance’ in the $i$-type perfect (compare $širīb$ *2 in 3.2.1.1.).

*3 Due to the relatively high sonority of the preceding $l$, the high vowel $u$ is usually dropped when $d$ is word-final, e.g. $yağāld$ # and $tağāld$ #. See also remarks *1 and *2 in 3.2.1.2. on ordering the gahawah-rule and the rule for high vowel elision in the imperfect.
Like in *ahárit* (see 3.2.1.2. above) the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel.

For the imperfect this paradigm with gahawah-forms was elicited in ḤwA. In other dialects a paradigm like that of *yuḏrub* (i.e. *yuḏluḏ*, etc.) is current.

3.2.1.4. *Regular verbs participles*

Like in group VI, active participles are formed with the patterns $C_1āC_2iC_3$, $C_1āC_2C_3ah/-ih$ (sg. fem.), $C_1āC_2C_3in$ (pl. masc.), $C_1āC_2C_3āt$ (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *rāydtih* “she wants/loves him”, *Šāribtih* “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. masc.)” (both ḤwA), *Šārbitha* “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” (TAṢ).

3.2.1.5. *Regular verbs imperatives*

Imperatives of regular verbs are like in other dialects of group I, e.g. *ašrab*, *ašrabay*, *ašrabaw*, *ašraban* “drink!”, *ūg’ud*, *ūgu’diy*, *ūgu’dav*, *ūgu’din* “sit down!” and *imsik*, *imiskiy*, *imiskuw*, *imiskin* “grab, take hold!”.

3.2.2. *Irregular and other verbs*

3.2.2.1. *Verbs $C_j = w$ (prima $wāw$)*

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.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-type imperfect with $wāw^*$ “arrive”</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yawṣal</td>
<td>yawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣalay</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>awṣal</td>
<td>nawṣal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*4* See De Jong 2000:192.

*106* Holes and Abu Athera 2009:212 recorded initial *yā*- in poetry from south Jordan and Sinai. Two instances of forms with initial short vowel (*yagá* and *tíjíf*), typical of dialects on the periphery of the Syrian desert, were also recorded. These prefixes (i.e. *yā*- etc.) were also reported for the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt in southern Jordan, see Palva 1984–86:300.
In ḤwA two parallel imperfect paradigms were recorded for the C₁ = wāw verb warad “give water”: one without wāw (yiríd), and one with incorporated wāw (yōrid):

The i-type imperfect has the following paradigm:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect without wāw*₁</th>
<th>imperfect with wāw*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yiríd</td>
<td>yōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tiríd</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tirdiy</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tardiy</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(ʾ)aríd</td>
<td>nārid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

*₁ Notice that the vowel of the first syllable is underlying |a|: it is raised to i in open unstressed syllable (except when ʾ precedes), but appears as a in closed (and stressed) syllables. Compare this to the perfect paradigms of širíb (see 3.2.1.1.) and ġulūḏ (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for yigíf (paradigm like yiríd above) ~ yawgaf (paradigm like yawṣal above).

*₂ In ĞrA 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. yōrdw “they give water”, but yawrid “he gives water” (the paradigm for the perfect warád is like ʿaḏ, see 3.2.1.1.)

Other primae wāw verbs are: waḡaʾ, yōḡi “hurt”, wağaʾ, yawliy “come near”, waḵaʾ, yōkiy “tie closed”, waṭāʾ, 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 raskín “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 ĞrA the imperative of the sg. masc. was left unconjugated for grammatical number and gender and used as a general particle of warning (a similar particle was recorded in some dialects of group VII): awʿa rāsak, awʿa rāskiy, awʿa rūskw, awʿa rūskin for “mind your head(s)!” (BdA) and also awʿa tans, awʿa tansay, awʿa tansaw and awʿa tansan “don’t
forget!" (ǦrA). Other dialects have regular imperative forms like *awʾan rūskin* and *awʾaw tansaw* (Forms in MLA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel *i* in most dialects have ʾō as in yōği “it hurts”, yōkī “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 yaw gid (both TAṢ), yawkīy “he ties closed” but yōkiha “he ties it (sg. fem.) closed (both BdA) and diphthongs in *a*-type imperfects yawṣal “he arrives”, yawṣaf “he describes” and yawḏaʾ (all three TAṢ), yowgaf or yowgaf “he stands” (ḤwA and TAṢ). Sometimes such verbal imperfects are without wāw, e.g. agīf “I stand”, tigīf “you stand” (both ḤwA).

Participles:

Active participles have a C₁āC₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. wārid, wārdih, wārdīn, wārdāt “having watered”.

maC₁C₂ūC₃ is the pattern for the past participle, as in mawǧūd (−ah, −in, −āt) “present” for the root w-ḏ-d in all dialects except ḤwA, where twice māǧūd was recorded. Roni Henkin lists a form maylūd co-occurring with mawlūd, see Henkin 2008:362 for tribes in the Negev (see also fn 101, p. 83).

### 3.2.2.2. Verbs C₁ = y (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 širib (see 3.2.1.1.), the vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is underlying |a|, so that it ‘reappears’ in closed syllables (in those dialects that also have šarbit): yibís “it (sg. masc.) dried”, but yabsit “it (sg. fem.) dried”.

### 3.2.2.3. Verbs C₁ = *ʾ (primae hamzah)

The verb “eat” has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*₁</th>
<th>perfect*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāḳil</td>
<td>yāḳlw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳlw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳliy</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āḳil</td>
<td>nāḳil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The long vowel ʿā is clearly lower than in the present participle (without velarization) māḳil, but velarization in the imperfect (as indicated here in k)
is only limited in most dialects. Velarization is clearly stronger in BdA. Such velarization could perhaps be described as ‘phantom’ velarization.\footnote{108}

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel $i$ in the imperfect.\footnote{*2}
The perfect is without initial $a$- in TAŠ, ĞrA, MIA (TAN is uncertain). Stress is then kalát, kaláw and kalán.

The paradigms for the verb “take” (‘-x-d) are comparable (in the perfect $d + t$ usually assimilates to $> tt$, e.g. axattuw).

Present participles are with initial $m$: mākil, māklih, māklīn, māklāt.
Past participles are: māx̣̣ū, -ah, -īn, -āt (all forms are velarized).
Imperatives are: kul, kliy, kluw, klin

The verbal noun is (‘)akl “eating” (also “food”), but wakl was recorded in BdA. The passive verb “be eaten” is ánwakal, yínwikil.

3.2.2.4. Verbs $C_2 = w$ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“say”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*\footnote{2}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>ygūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>gālaw\footnote{1}</td>
<td>ygūlaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gūlt</td>
<td>tgūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūlat</td>
<td>ygūlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gułt</td>
<td>tgūl\footnote{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gułtiy</td>
<td>tgūlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gułt</td>
<td>agūl\footnote{4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gułna</td>
<td>ngūl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{*1} In TAŠ and ĞrA the ending -aw varies with -uw. In the other dialects the ending is regularly -aw.

\footnote{*2} Media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel $ī$) have the same endings.

\footnote{*3} Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. tanam, tugul and tšil) were not recorded in these group I dialects.

\footnote{*4} See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (ugāl) in ĞrA and BdA.

For media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel $ā$) ḤwA, BdA, ĞrA, TyA and TAŠ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: tnāmay, ynāmaw, ynāman, tnāmaw and tnāman. Situation in MIA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).
The verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in all dialects with short vowel u only: šuft "I saw".

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

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Short base vowels in the sg. masc. imperative in mediae infirmae verbs are rare; I have heard it in BdA in imperatives gum "get up!" and nam "go to sleep!", but other imperatives in BdA all had long base vowels, e.g. gūl "say!", šīl "carry, take away!", although there are also isolated instances of gül "say!".

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>long ū</th>
<th>long ů</th>
<th>long ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>gūl</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
<td>nām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūliy</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
<td>nāmiy*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in ḤwA, BdA, TyA, TAṢ and ǦrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: nāmay, nāmaw, nāman (not recorded in TAN and MIA).

Imperatives used with the verb ḡāb, yḡīb "bring" are: hāt, ḥāṭiy, ḥāṭuw, ḥāṭin.

N.B. Often the diphthong iy is reduced to i in forms like biygūl, biyšīl > bigūl, bišīl.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Present participles are like in other groups, e.g. gāyil, gāylih, gāylīn, gāylāt.

Past participles are magyūḷ, -ah, -īn, -āt, but more current is mīngāl, -ah, -īn, -āt.

3.2.2.5. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect
Like in the other groups of the south of Sinai, a-type and i-type perfects of tertiae infirmae verbs have often become mixed.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;walk***₁</th>
<th>&quot;find***₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mašā(ʾ)</td>
<td>ligīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mašāw</td>
<td>ligyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašāt</td>
<td>ligīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašaw</td>
<td>ligyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>ligīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašētin</td>
<td>ligītūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>ligīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašēna</td>
<td>ligīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raising of a in open pre-stress syllable is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. *misá(‘) and *misēt.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA, BdA, though in the latter the 3rd p. sg. fem. was produced as *māṣyīt.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. *māṣá ~ *māṣiy, *māṣīt ~ *māṣīyt and *mīṣēt (< *maṣēt) ~ *mīṣīt.

*2 The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA.

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also līgīy, but the underlying [a] of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: lāgīyt, lāgyuw and lāgyīn. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an a-type perfect: līgēt (< lāgēt), etc.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. līgā ~ līgīy, līgāt ~ lāgīyt and līgēt ~ līgīt.

The perfect paradigm for “forget” recorded in TAṢ is mixed: (sg.) nasá(‘), nasāt, nasīt, nasīṭy, nasīt and (pl.) nasāw, nasān, nasātuw, nasātin, nasānā. In these forms a of the open first syllable is usually raised to i, as in e.g. *nisīt.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: nasá(‘) ~ *nisīy, the conjugation elicited for “forget” in ḤwA is unmixed i-type: *nisīy, *nasīyt, *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
Paradigms for the imperfect in TAṢ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“find”*₁</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yalga</td>
<td>yimṣiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yalguw*₃</td>
<td>yimṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yimṣiy</td>
<td>yimṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>timṣiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>timṣiy</td>
<td>timṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgān*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgīy*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgān*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgīy*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*₂ Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are current only in BdA and TyA (where both full forms and apocopated forms may be heard used

*₁ Raising of a in open pre-stress syllable is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. *misá(‘) and *misēt.

*₂ The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA. In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also līgīy, but the underlying [a] of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: lāgīyt, lāgyuw and lāgyīn. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an a-type perfect: līgēt (< lāgēt), etc.

*₃ The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA. In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also līgīy, but the underlying [a] of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: lāgīyt, lāgyuw and lāgyīn. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an a-type perfect: līgēt (< lāgēt), etc.

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect
Paradigms for the imperfect in TAṢ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“find”*₁</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yalga</td>
<td>yimṣiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yalguw*₃</td>
<td>yimṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yimṣiy</td>
<td>yimṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>timṣiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>timṣiy</td>
<td>timṣuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgān*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgīy*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgān*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgīy*₃</td>
<td>timṣin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>amṣiy*₄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
side by side). Only few instances were heard in ĜrA, 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. (îmšiy) in ĜrA 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 ĜrA 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: talgīhuw “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 ĜrA, DbA and TAN, see remark *2 in 3.2.2.5.2.), may also use apocopated imperatives for the sg. masc.

3.2.2.5.4. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns C₁āC₂iy, C₁āC₂yih, C₁āC₂yín and C₁āC₂yāt. E.g. nāsiy, nāsyih, nāsyín, nāsyāt “having forgotten”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
A verbal noun of a verb C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) is mašy.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect
The verb “come” was recorded in all group I dialects as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ĝa(’)</td>
<td>yĝiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĝaw</td>
<td>yĝuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ĝat</td>
<td>tĝiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĝan</td>
<td>yĝin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ĝit</td>
<td>tĝiy*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ĝitûw</td>
<td>tĝiy*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĝitîn</td>
<td>tĝín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ĝît</td>
<td>aĝîy*³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ĝîna</td>
<td>nĝîy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ In ĜrA forms with initial t- often showed a following vowel as well: tiĝîy ~ tîyî, tiĝûw ~ tîuw and tiĝîn ~ tîîn.
3.2.2.6.2. *The verb “come” imperatives*

Imperatives used with the verb “come” in ĠrA, BdA and TyA are: taʿāl, taʿāliy, taʿālaw and taʿālin. The same forms are used in TAṢ, but there the pl. fem. shows vowel harmony: taʿālan.

In ḤwA the sg. masc is taʿā (‘) and in DbA taʿāl. In both ḤwA, DbA the endings of the other forms also show vowel harmony: taʿālay, taʿālaw and taʿālan.

Material for MlA and TAN is too limited for conclusions.

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb “come” participles*

Participle of the verb “come” are: ġāy, ġāyih, ġāyin, ġāyāt.

3.2.2.7. Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

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

Paradigms for mediae geminatae verbs are:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect*₁</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šadd</td>
<td>šaddaw*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šaddētiy</td>
<td>šaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

*₁ Raising of a preceding a syllable with ē may occur in ḤwA, DbA and ĠrA (e.g. šīddēt), but it is much less regular than in the other dialects, see also remark in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the ē of the ending is diphthongal ay. E.g. hāṭṭayt “I placed” and hāṭṭaytuw “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that a is not raised, so not ħiṭṭayt or ħuṭṭayt, or something similar).

*₂ Notice vowel harmony in the 3rd p. pl. endings in BdA, ḤwA, DbA, ĠrA, MlA and TAN.

In TAṢ and TyA, however, both -aw and -uw were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. hāṭṭaw ~ hāṭṭuw “they placed”. In TAṢ froms with the ending -uw are most commonly heard.

*₃ In ĠrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. anā biḥībb “I love”, bišidd “I pull” (~ aḥībb 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*: *xuṣš*, *xuṣšiy*, *xuṣšuw*, *xuṣšin* “enter!”.

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

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *lämm*, *lämmih*, *lämmūn*, *lämmāt* “having gathered”.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when $C_1 = X$, e.g. *maḥaṭūt* “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: an$C_1aC_2aC_3$, yin$C_1aC_2iC_3$. The $a$ in the imperfect is raised to $i$ in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect$^*$1</th>
<th>imperfect$^*$1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ánbiṣaṭ</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭaw$^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭat</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt$^*$2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtuw$^*$2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtti$^*$2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtin$^*$2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt$^*$2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^*$1 For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.

$^*$2 $ṭ + t$ assimilates to $ṭt$.

$^*$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)n$C_1aC_2C_3$ and yin$C_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. *indabb*, *yindabb* (miy) “be filled (with water)”.

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-1 $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae)

The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: in$C_1aC_3$ and yin$C_1aC_3$. The paradigm for the perfect is:
"be carried"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšiltiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings

3.2.3.1.4. Measure n-1 $C_z = y \text{ or } w$ (mediae infirmae) participles

Participles are shaped on the patterns minC₃āC₃, -ah/-ih, -in, -āt.

3.2.3.2. Measure t-1

Measure t-1 was recorded once in TAṢ in (the loan from presumably Cairene) yittākil “it (sg. masc.) is eaten”, but the verb current in TAṢ for "be eaten" is (perf.) ánwakal, (imperf.) yánwikil. No other instances of measure t-1 were recorded in these group I dialects.

3.2.3.3. Measure 1-t

3.2.3.3.1. Measure 1-t sound roots

Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: aC₃taC₃aC₃ yiC₃taC₃iC₃. Like in measure n-1, $a > i$ is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect (such raising is compulsory) and also in the perfect (where such raising is optional), e.g.: áštiġal ~ áštaġal, yístiġil “work”, áttifag ~ áttafag, 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, e.g. yíxtilif + verbal suffix -uw > yixtálfuw, no $a$ ‘reappears’ in the example yíyiburf “he considers” + pron. obj. suffix -ih > yi tibrüh “he considers him” (recorded in TAN).

“buy” in TyA, BdA, TAṢ, ĞrA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>áštara</td>
<td>áštaraaw*₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>áštaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ištaryyt</td>
<td>ištaryutuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištaryyttiy</td>
<td>ištarytinn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ištaryyt</td>
<td>ištaryyna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

110 Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. yittafguw “they agree”, see Shawarbah 2007:296.

111 The fact that $a$ does not ‘reappear’ in this case suggests that the “reappearance” of $a$ is not a rule which is synchronically executed.
In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings

In BdA and TyA apocopated imperfects (like tištir) are possible. In other dialects the form is tištiriy.

Notice that the base consonant y is not dropped here. In DbA the forms are without the base yāː tištiriy, y/tištiruw and y/tištirin. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ĞrA as well.

In ḤwA the base yāʾ was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: tištiriy, but the pl. forms were y/tištárwyw and y/tištárwyin.

The verb was not recorded in MIA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb ástuwa, yístiwiy: (e.g.) yístawyin “they (pl. fem.) ripen”.

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb was not recorded (in the verb ástawa, yístiwiy the wāw is not a weak radical).

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is iftakk, yiftakk “be solved (of a dispute/problem)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are miC₁tiC₂iC₃ (underlying miC₁taC₂iC₃), miC₁taC₂C₃ah/ih, miC₁taC₂C₃in, miC₁taC₂C₃at.

Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. masc.</th>
<th>sg. fem.</th>
<th>pl. masc.</th>
<th>pl. fem.</th>
<th>translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mixtīlīf</td>
<td>mixtīlīfh</td>
<td>mixtīlīfn</td>
<td>mixtīlīfāt</td>
<td>“differing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mištirīy</td>
<td>mištāryih</td>
<td>mištāryīn</td>
<td>mištāryāt</td>
<td>“having bought”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittīfīg</td>
<td>mittīfīgh</td>
<td>mittīfīgīn</td>
<td>mittīfīgāt</td>
<td>“agreed”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are not available.

3.2.3.4. Measure ista-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots
Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI. An example is istahwan, yistahwin b “consider to be hayyin, i.e. unimportant”.
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), yistaʿiš (fi) “choose to live (in a certain place)”).

Measure ista-1 \( C_3 = y \) (tertiae infirmae)
A measure ista-1 verbs \( C_3 = y \) (tertiae infirmiae) is istawla, yistawliy. An example of a participle is kān mistawlīnna “they occupied us (i.e. our land)”.

Measure ista-1 verbs \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: ista\( C_1aC_2C_2, yistaC_1iC_2C_2 \). Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
<th>perfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yistaʿidd</td>
<td>istaʿadd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yistaʿiddaw</td>
<td>istaʿaddaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tistaʿidd</td>
<td>istaʿaddat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tistaʿiddin</td>
<td>istaʿaddan*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tistaʿidd</td>
<td>istaʿiddēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tistaʿiddin</td>
<td>istaʿiddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tistaʿiddiy</td>
<td>istaʿiddētīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tistaʿiddin</td>
<td>istaʿiddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>astaʿidd</td>
<td>istaʿiddēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nistaʿidd</td>
<td>istaʿiddēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Raising of \( a \) preceding stressed \( i \) occurs, but is limited (perhaps under influence of following \( j \)). 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 -\( an \).

Measure ista-1 participles
Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mista\( C_1C_2C_3 \), e.g. mistaʿgil, mistaʿiğlih, mistaʿiğlin, mistaʿiğlāt “in a hurry”.

No instances were recorded of measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mista\( C_1iC_2C_3 \): mistaʿidd, mistaʿiddih, mistaʿiddīn, mistaʿiddāt “(having) prepared”.

Measures 2 and -t-2
The patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) \( yC_1aC_2C_3 \) (imperfect) \( yC_1C_2C_3 \).

Measure -t-2 has morphologically fixed \( a \). The patterns are (perfect) ta\( C_1aC_2C_2C_3 \).
3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots
Like in other groups, the high vowel \( i \) of imperfect measure 2 is elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of (compulsory) morphophonemic elisions are: \( i^t g a l l b i h \) “you flip it (sg. masc.) over”, \( b i^y a^m m r u w \) “they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms”\(^{a2}\).

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: \( n r a w w h \ a l^m i d\d a n \) “we go to alMidān”\(^ {a3}\) and \( b i^u n r a k k b \ a l^f r r u d \) “we mount the ploughs”\(^ {a4}\).

\( r \) following the high vowel \( i \) may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. \( b i^y f a k k r u w \) (fi) “they look (at)” and in sandhi \( y^d a w w i r \ a l i g s\ddot u r \) “he looks for the safe storages”\(^ {a5}\).

When \( C_2 = C_3 \), the elision of \( i \) does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. \( b i^y h a l l i k u i m \) “they make little heaps” and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) \( m h a l l i l \ i b n a k k l i h \ y^\ddot a \ r a^j\ddot i l \) “(it’s) ḥalāl, we eat it, oh man!”.

The paradigms for measure 2 verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fākkar</td>
<td>fākkaraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fākkarət</td>
<td>fākkarən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fakkárt</td>
<td>fakkártuw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fakkárty</td>
<td>fakkártn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fakkárt</td>
<td>fakkárna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* TAṢ and TyA have varying -aw and -aw endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. \( r a w w a h a w \) “they went” and \( k a r r a b u w \) “they tied (ropes)”. In TyA the -aw ending appeared during direct elicitation, but -aw came out in spontaneous texts.

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmæ
In the imperfect apocopated forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. may again be heard mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in: \( t s a w w \sim t s a w w i y \) “you do”, \( t f a s s \sim t f a s s i y \) “you fart”.

Paradigms for tertiae infirmæ verbs are:

---

\(^{a2}\) A \( \ddot g i m r \) (pl. \( \ddot g m \ddot w r \)) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.

\(^{a3}\) The meaning of the verb \( r a w w a h, y r a w w i h \) is “go”, rather than its more specific meaning of “go home” (e.g. in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).

\(^ {a4}\) \( f a r d \), pl. \( f r a d \) is the current word for “plough”.

\(^ {a5}\) For \( g a^s\ddot r \), pl. \( g s\ddot u r \) see fn 42, p. 47.
“make, do”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwa</td>
<td>sawwaw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>sawwēt</td>
<td>sawwētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwētiy</td>
<td>sawwētín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>sawwēt</td>
<td>sawwēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Raising of a preceding stressed ē (> sawwēt) is a feature of GrA, HwA and somewhat less so of DbA. Such raising is much less, or not current in MIA, TAŞ, 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 TAŞ and TyA: sawwaw ~ sawwuw “they made/did” (other dialects only sawwaw).

*3 Apocopated forms are regularly heard only in BdA and TyA.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
Like in many other dialects, the verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil “give food” and wadda, ywaddiy is “bring, take to”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC aC C aC, ytaC aC C aC.

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

“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tağadda</td>
<td>tağaddaw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tağaddat</td>
<td>tağaddan*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tağaddēt</td>
<td>tağaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tağaddētiy</td>
<td>tağaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tağaddēt</td>
<td>tağaddēna*3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The ending is -uw ~ -aw in TAŞ and TyA.

*2 The ending is -in in TAŞ and TyA.

*3 a of the ta- prefix in the perfect may be raised, e.g. tiğaddēt.

*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. yitrāfag “he is accompanied on his travel” (Shawbarbah 2007:394), yitlāgaw “they meet” (ibid.:296).
3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns
Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1C2iC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) tahrīb “smuggling”, taybīs “drying (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taǧarīb “going north”\footnote{For the system of orientation, see remarks in De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.} (for more examples see 2.2.1.2.).

Verbal nouns recorded for t-2 are tsubbug “racing (on camels)” (ḤwA) (see fn 126, p. 100) and tkissir “breaking into pieces” (ǦrA).

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles
Active participles of measure 2 have a mC1aC2iC3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC1aC2aC3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern.

An example of a C3 = y verb is mlaggiy, mlaggyih, mlaggyīn, mlaggyāt “going”.

The ta-preformative of measure t-2 is often reduced to t- in participles, so that for t-2 active participles the pattern is mitC1aC2iC3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. mitraḥḥil “being on a trek”, mitḏakkir “remembering”, mitkassir “having been broken into pieces”, mitḡaffīl “not paying attention” and (for C3 = y) mitḡaddiy “having eaten lunch”. This is generally the case in TAŞ, 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 mitaʾallim ~ mitā’llim “educated” (TAN, TyA) and in several dialects mtaʾaknin “irritated” was elicited (data for BdA are insufficient for a conclusion).

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3
Measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels: i in the imperfect and a in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C1āC2aC3

Measure t-3 has morphologically fixed a in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure t-2, reduction of the ta-preformative to t- does occur, but such reduction is rare. Patterns for measure t-3 are: taC1āC2aC3, ytaC1aC2iC3. Like in measure t-2, intital tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3
Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) yāʾwid “return”, yrāfijig “be a travelling companion for (someone)”, ylāgiy “find”, (perfect) sāfāraw “they (masc.) traveled”, sāfāran “they (fem.) traveled”, ḥārebaw “they fought a war against”. Apocopation in 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of tertiae ya’ verbs was again only noticed in TyA and BdA.
Examples of measures 3-3: (imperfect) biytawāfagaw “they agree (with each other)”, biytawā‘adaw “they set a time (for a court session)”;\(^{118}\) (perfect) tarāfagt “I was accompanied (on a trip)”, talāğena “we met each other”, talāgan “they (fem.) meet each other”, taḥārabbaw “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 (“*talāgin”) “they (fem.) meet each other”, but talāgan “they (fem.) met each other”.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and 3-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mCāC1iC2 (-ih / -ah, -ín, -āt), e.g. mwāfig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”. mkāwnin “fighting (pl. masc.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mCāC1aC2) is the origin for the loans mhāwalah “attempt” and msā‘adah “help, assistance”.

Like in measure 3-2, active participles of measure 3-3 often have a reduced preformative (ta- > (i)t-) in the pattern mitC1aC2iC3 (-ih / ah, -ín, -āt) (see also remarks in 3.2.3.5.6.). Among the few instances of participles of measure 3-3 recorded are: mitdāxlīn “having sought refuge as daxīl (pl. duxala) with each other”, mitwāsyih “flat, even”.

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect
Verbal measure 4 is active in group I. The patterns for this measure are (perfect) (’)aC1C2aC3, (imperfect) yiC1C2iC3 and the active participle has a pattern miC1aC2iC3 (-ih, -ín, -āt).

Of many examples are: arkab, yirkib, active participle mīrkib “cause (someone) to ride”, asnad, yisnid was heard in MĀ for “go to Palestine”\(^{120}\) and ar‘ad, yir‘id in DBA for “thunder”.

The verb aftar, yiftir “have breakfast” is in most dialects of group I a measure 4, but in some cases (like in TyA) measure 1 may also be used:

\(^{118}\) 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 mā’axza is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence z as a reflex for *d, see also fn 63, p. 221.

\(^{120}\) Measure 2 for this root sannad, ysannid is current for “go upstream in a wadi” (being the opposite of the verb katt, ykutt (or ykitt) “go downstream in a wadi”.

fitir (and, remarkably so, with the ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables of the i-type perfect: fitrit),

3.2.7.2. Measure 4 C = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
The verb rād, yīrid “want” has become measure 1 in ḤwA, ḠrA, TAṢ, BdA with participles rāydīd, rāydīh, rāydīn, rāydāt.

In TyA participles are mrīd, mrīdīh, mrīdīn and mrīdāt, but verb forms are without initial a: rād, rādat etc. (situation in MLA, DbA and TAN unknown).

3.2.7.3. Measure 4 C = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb aʿta, yīṭiy is verbal measure 4.

In DbA, ḤwA, ḠrA, TyA, BdA the verb ḏawāʿ, yīḏwīy “return home before sunset (with small cattle)” is measure 1, the participles are then ḏawīy, ḏawīyīh, ḏawīyīn, ḏawīyāt.

In the other tribal dialects TAṢ and ḤwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then miḏwīy, miḏwīyī, miḏwīyīn, miḏwīyāt (situation in MLA unknown).

Another tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb is agrā yigriy, with the participle migriy “serve a proper meal to a guest”.

Like in group VI, aʿta, yīṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects of group I. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for this verb are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“give”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>āʿta(‘)</td>
<td>āʿtaw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>āʿtat</td>
<td>āʿtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>aʿṭayt</td>
<td>aʿṭaytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aʿṭaytiy</td>
<td>aʿṭaytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aʿṭayt</td>
<td>aʿṭayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Also in TAṢ the ending is -aw (but often -uw elsewhere).
*2 Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

---

121 The term ‘reappearing’ could be a misnomer here, since there may never have been an original perfect form with a in the first syllable. The a only appears in closed syllables here because the entire measure 1 paradigm (compare simi above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root f-t-r.
122 Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.
123 Such -aw endings appear to be phonetically conditioned in TAṢ (i.e. they appear following velarized consonants), at least more so than morphologically conditioned; -uw endings also occur in tertiae yāʾ verbs, provided the environment is neutral (i.e. no velarized consonant precedes). The ending -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: \textit{tíʾit} when followed by # or C.

3.2.3.7.4. **Measure 4 \( C_1^i\ = \text{w} \) (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect**

\textit{awkā, yūkiy “tie (closed) tightly”} is a prima wāw/tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb.

3.2.3.7.5. **Measure 4 \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect**

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

3.2.3.7.6. **Measure 4 imperatives**

Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the \( i \)-type imperfect (see: 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of \( C_3 = y \) roots are: for the sg. masc. (apocopated) \( iʾṭ \) (\( ~ iʾṭiy \)) in TyA and BdA, but only \( iʾṭiy \) was heard in the other dialects of group I. For sg. fem. \( iʾṭiy \), pl. masc. \( iʾṭuw \) and pl. fem. \( iʾṭin \).

3.2.3.7.7. **Measure 4 participles**

The particles for sound roots have a \( \text{miC}_1^i C_2 C_3 \) pattern, e.g. \textit{mifṭir, mifṭriḥ, mifṭrīn, mifṭrāt} “having eaten breakfast”.

Particiles of the prima wāw/tertia yāʾ verb \textit{awkā, yūkiy} are (act. partici- ples) \textit{mūkiy, mūkyih, mūkyīn and mūkyāt} and (pass. part.) \textit{mawka, mawkayah, mawkayin, mawkayāt}.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type \( \text{mC}_1 C_3 \) (-ih, -in, -āt) like \textit{mrīd “wanting”} (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also \textit{annās tallaw mġīrīn “people appeared (while) running fast”} (DbA).

3.2.3.8. **Measure 9**

Paradigms for measure 9 are:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
  & sg. & pl. & sg. & pl. \\
3. masc. & iḥmarṛ & iḥmarṛaw & yihmarṛ & yihmarṛaw*
  fem. & iḥmarṛat & iḥmarṛan & tiḥmarṛ & tiḥmarṛan
2. masc. & iḥmarṛayt & iḥmarṛaytuw & tiḥmarṛ & tiḥmarṛaw*
  fem. & iḥmarṛaytiy & iḥmarṛaytin & tiḥmarṛiy & tiḥmarṛan
1. com. & iḥmarṛayt & iḥmarṛayna & aḥmarṛ & nihmarṛ
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

* In TAṢ the endings are -\( uw \).

Particiles are \textit{miḥmarṛ, -ah, -in, āt}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Morphological \( i + w > ū \), see De Jong 2000:90.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
An interesting measure 9 verb heard in ḤwA and TAṢ is *iḥlaww, yiḥlaww* “improve (intrns.)” (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root ḥ-l-w in BdA see 3.2.3.9. below.

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a). The paradigms listed for group VI *zaġraṭ, yzaġriṭ* “ululate” are the same in group I.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted wāw between C₁ and C₂, C₁ōC₂aC₃, yC₁ōC₂tC₃ may show a full diphthong like in *gawṭar, ygawṭir* (often so in DbA, ḤwA), a slightly diphthongal ow, e.g. *gawṭar, ygowṭir* (especially so in BdA, but also in other dialects) or monophthongal o (usually so in TAṢ, ḠrA, TyA, MIA and TAN). The paradigms for the verbs (including bukara-vowels, see 2.2.2.1.) are like those listed for group VI.

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a ta- preformative. The vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed a. A quadriliteral verb with C₄ = y is *tagahwa, ytagahwa* and has the paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwa</td>
<td>tagahwaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwat</td>
<td>tagahwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwētiy</td>
<td>tagahwētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Endings -aw tend to be -uw in TAṢ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!” (the final cluster hw # is then resolved: tagáhuw #).

Participles are mtagahwiy, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahwiyin, mtagahwiyāt.

Other examples (recorded in TAṢ): *tagahraṣ, ytagahraṣ* “wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)”, *tagarmaṣ, ytagarmaṣ* “wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep”, *taṭawṭaḥ, ytaṭawṭaḥ* “swing, sway (e.g. of a tree in the wind)”. Another verb heard in TAṢ is *karkam, ykarkim* “add turmeric”.

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125 Realizations listed here are how they were heard as predominant in the dialects mentioned (following in brackets).
In BdA a quadriliteral *ihlawla, yahlawliy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *hilw* “sweet; good; nice”) “get better and better”, e.g. *algirbih ihlawlat* “the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)”.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. Nunation

Tanwin 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 -\textit{in})\textsuperscript{126}

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: \textit{tab\'an “of course”, masalan “for instance”, ‘āmmatan “in general”, dāyman (in ĠrA dīman was recorded) “always” (< MSA dā\’imān), hāliyyan “currently”, ahyānan “now and then”, tagriban “approximately”}.

4.2. Negation

A verb is usually negated with single mā + verb form\textsuperscript{127}. Examples are: \textit{albi\’īr hāḍa laḥ arba\’ t-iyyām mā waṛād “this camel had not drunk for four days”, azzar\’ah hāḍa mà biykallif ya\’niy sbū\’ isbū\’ayn “this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks’ (ĠrA), albi\’rān alimxawwarāt mā bništirīhin xalās “the bastard camels, we don’t buy them at all’ (TyA).\textsuperscript{128}

A negated suffixed preposition is \textit{w inn mā fīnī lay ḥa\lī “and suddenly there was no strength in me” (ĠrA). For the negation of ‘existential’ \textit{fīh} see 4.5. below.}

4.3. The b-imperfect

Like almost everywhere in Sinai,\textsuperscript{129} the b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: \textit{alkilmah hē/dmacronbelowiy bit\’assir ‘alēh kibīrih “this word has a great effect on him” (TyA), min tum-

\textsuperscript{126} Tanwin (ending -\textit{in}) was noticed by Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214–219 to be “particularly common in the more traditional diction” in the poetry of the two Sinai poets recorded by them (‘Unayz (TAN) and Tayāha (TyA)) and the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan. Its use is optional and often for metrical reasons.

\textsuperscript{127} Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) found no instances in their corpus of poetry of verbal compound negation mā . . . š.

\textsuperscript{128} Compare \textit{xawwār “non-thoroughbred camel”}, see Bailey 1991:436.

\textsuperscript{129} The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāγrah, see De Jong 2000:478.
mak\textsuperscript{130} ibtúnufxah “with (lit. from) your mouth you inflate it” (MIA), gult ‘ǧimali mā biyʿūz banzīn wala šiy’ “I said ‘my camel doesn’t need petrol or anything’” (BdA).\textsuperscript{131}

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” widd + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of widd expressing futurity/volition are: asma, widd-axarrafak ‘ala giṣṭ aṣādabb hāḍa… “listen, I’ll tell you the story of this lizard” (ǦrA), awṣafnū addarib… law widdī ʿarawwiḥ mīn sābagat ilʿIrīṣ fi lMiḍān… mīn ‘indak mīn-iḫniy… “describe the way to me… if I want to go from the race of alʿArīṣ at Miḍān…\textsuperscript{132} from your place from here…” (TAṢ), widd-dhin… widdhin mākan… mākan, mā fīh mākan mint mā tǧīb wala hāḡīḥ… “these things (lit. “they (pl. fem.)”)… they need (spending of) money… money… if there is no money, you don’t get anything” (MIA).

Examples of imperfect forms with prefixed ha- to express futurity are: iw yom tḡilbih, ḥayṣīr annāʿim taḥāt w alxaṣīn fōg “and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up” (MIA), law ka/tmacronbelow/taḥāt lēha… fa: algamiḥ… 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 hatāʿarfaw tištarkuw maʾ bāʾaḍkwaw “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 Allāh lḥīn law tasʿal nuṣṣ annās iygūl lak w Allāh mā-driyʿ anha… “by God, if you now ask half the people they’ll (lit. he’ll) tell you ‘by God, I don’t know about it (sg. fem.)’” (BdA).

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

Examples of fīh used to express existence or availability of something are ā fīh garyah ismīma Miḍān assībāq hāḍa “yes, there is a village named Miḍān (where) this race (is held)” (see fn to 4.4.) (ḤwA), mīn hāḍa… ‘arāb

\textsuperscript{130} “Mouth” is more regularly afām or āfām.

\textsuperscript{131} Holes and Abu Athera (2009:212–213) report that in their Sinai poetry the b-imperfect is much less current than in casual speech, but does occur. The “dominant imperfect form [in their Sinai material] is bi-less”. In their southern Jordanian material it is rare, but in the material from their northern Jordanian poet “bi-forms occur very frequently”.

\textsuperscript{132} An annual camel race is held on the plain of Miḍān in northern Sinai, some 22 km west of alʿArīṣ, see map in De Jong 2000:654 (in appendix), location nr 26.
ihné w fīh 'aráb zayy 'aráb iFrayü... “from here... (there is) a family here and there are people like the family33 of Frayü” (MIA).

The negation is usually ma fīh, but sometimes (K-form) mā fīš may also be heard. An example is: hāḍa sāfiy mā fīh xaṛrāf “this is a thoroughbred, there’s no discussion (about it)” (both ḠrA).

Another current negation is māš, e.g. habbit rāsak lā yṣūfak alğazāl... alğazāl law tār xalāṣ almīgrab biyrāh māš ġizlān “keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn’t see you... if the gazelle flees, that’s it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren’t any gazelles” (TAN).

4.6. Some Conjunctions

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

4.6.1.1. yōm used independently
An example of yōm used in the meaning of “when”, e.g. garrib garrib yōm ‘Awdih ǧa’ widdah ymidd ‘a lğazāl iw lan īlimhāfād biy arrid ib rāsiḥ “he came34 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, āribt alWatyih lliy bēn ali'Lēgāt iw bēn a...iw bēn aṣSuwālhiḥ...yam taxālātow...ali'Lēgāt w iMzēnih...yōm gāl at’an yā aṭṭā’in “yes, the war at Watyah that took place between the ‘Lēgāt and...the Sawālḥah...when they attacked each other...the ‘Lēgāt and the Mzēnah...when he said ‘let war break out!’ (BdA).35

A variant of yōm is yam, as in the example iw yam baḥuṭt allibbih w baẓammirha, iw ‘uguḫ ma-żammirha šwayyiḥ kidīy, baḥuṭt 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 ‘arab (pl. ’urğan), see Stewart 1990:199 (glossary).
134 garrib is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.
135 at’an yā tā’in “lit. let the bubonic plague break out” is reported (oral communication in the field) to be the war cry of the great tribe of Ḥarb, of whom the Mzēnah are said to be an offshoot, cf. Introduction, I. d. remark *12.
4.6.1.2. yōm in combination with in

4.6.1.2.1. yōmin used independently
An example of yōmin used independently for “when” is iw yōmin tistiwiyyiś... biyhuṭṭiś iḥāʾ assamin iw minniḥ byigilbhā “and when it becomes cooked... they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA).

4.6.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause
There is an example of yōmin suffixed with an object suffix as subject; the subject is we: fīzāʾaʾišāʾ, iw yōminna fīzāʾa... sawwēnā ġīna, iw limmēnā laḥāmiḥ kullah fi gašl ṣāšāntih “so we ran away, and when we ran away... we did [...] we came, and we gathered all his flesh in the bag” (DbA).

4.6.1.2.3. min yōm
An example of min yōm(in) used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”: kēf bitsawwiy allibbih... min yōm ma btaʾāḏinha, lamma bitṣaṭiwīha w ithākhīkha “how do you make libbah... from the moment that you knead it (fem.), until you slap it and scrape it” (TAṢ).

4.6.1.2.4. min yōm in combination with ma
An example of min yōm in combination with ma: laġāyit bitagaṭṭaʾ taqṭī kidiy... laġāyit ma yanšaf, lamma yanšaf... yōm ma yanšaf biṅīb iṣ... šwālāt xayš... šikāyiršīsh kidiy iw biytaʾāḇba fiḥin “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 stufffed 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 tsawwiyy fiḥa ėš lamma tṭalliḥha? “and after that what do you do with it (fem.) when you

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136 The story is about a man who died after he had stepped on a land mine; some areas in Sinai are still extremely dangerous because of land mines from past military conflicts.

137 The libbah is baked in hot embers in the sand. When it is ready, the cook will slap the loaf to clean it of sand and scratch and scrape it to remove other irregularities. The two quadriliteral verbs clearly express repetitive actions here.

138 škāṛāh, šakāyir “gunny sack”, see Wehr 1980.
take it (fem.) out?” (TAṢ) and lamma titliḥha w ilhā ēh? w ilhā bastawik139 “when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit” (ḤwA) and rabbna lamma biyṛid azzalāmah yikirmih byikirmih “When our Lord wishes to be generous to a man, he is” (BdA).

A form lam was also recorded several times, e.g. iw lam byaṭla’ ašši‘īr gadd kidiy, ibyanšaf, w ibyahaṣđūh “and when the barley has grown (lit. comes up) this high, it dries and they harvest it” (ǦrA).

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in Examples of lamman are few, and were only recorded in ĞrA and TAṢ: in ĞrA bindarrīh lamman laġāyit itsīr gamih šāfiy “we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat” and in TAṢ bass lamman intah lam ḥaṭṭayt kidiy w šaddēt ibrān kirib, 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 ẖiluw la ẖiluw laġāyit . . . lamma biyṣīr . . . ǧamal “one (grows) from beautiful to (more) beautiful until . . . it becomes . . . a (full grown) camel” (GrA) (for an example of lamman + laġāyit see 4.6.1.2.2. above).

An example of lamma used as “until”: tusxun lamma tiġliy ki/dmacronbelowiy “you heat (it) until it boils” (BdA).

An example of luṃṃa recorded in TAṢ: kull ḥamāmih ‘alēha šarāk, āššarāk fi ktāfha min-iḥniy, iw mín ǧoḡ ēš? alliy hū bi ẖṣīf ḥāḍa, xiṭān […] zayy kidiyyih, luṃma ēš? ibyinzil ʾašṣaḡir ‘a lḥamāmih ‘a ḍaharha “there is a net on every pigeon, the net is under her shoulders here, and on top what? this (thing) with this wool, threads […] like this, until what? (until) the falcon comes down on the pigeon, on its (fem.) back”.

4.6.1.3. lōm (+ in)
lōm—but only in TyA and ĞrA—was also heard in the meaning of “when”: ithuṭṭha f-aḥšams. lōm itġiy, linn hi ṭaybih “you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)” (ĞrA).

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139 bastawik is a metathesis of baskawit “biscuit”.
140 The technique described here is used to lure precious falcons to a live pigeon tied to the claws of a nagal (a cheaper bird of prey). When the sagrab 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 ʿAllāhiy ʿinna gaṭāʾ ablād 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 lMaṣrīyyih, 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 kidīy 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 ilhā masalan ilhāː… maṭabb iddrās biʿīd… biyšīlūw ʿa lbiʿrān “if there is for it (fem.), for instance there is for it (fem.) a threshing floor far away, they carry (it) on camels” (ḤwA).
izkān lih ṭalāb, binǧībih lih...māš ṭalāb, ibyitawakkal ‘a-zbollah “if he has a wish, we get it for him...if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey” (TyA).\textsuperscript{141}

kān may also be suffixed, as in izkānnih ḏayf gāliy bnadbah lih...iw izkānnih ḏayf min iligrayybīn hōdaľ bin’āssīh “if he is a dear guest we slaughter for him...and if he is a guest of these relatives we give him a (regular) dinner” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional

An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: kān ġītnī f-allēl axarrfak ṛawāy-akṭar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) iw kān āyz itsawwah faṭṭih... (“I) aywah gūl lay kēf ādiy bitsawwīha faṭṭah yā Slēmān...“(S) And if you want to make it (fem.) as a faṭṭah (food dip)...’(Ī) Yes, so tell me then how you make it a faṭṭah, oh Slēmān” (DbA).

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives

kān may introduce alternatives, like in šūfūhum kān ali’Lēgāṭ walla šṢawālḥīh “go see (pl. masc.) them (to see if they are) Lēgāṭ or Šawālḥāh” (BdA). Another example is yōm táḥaṣdih bitdawwir lak hitt-alliy fiḥ...iǧbāl fiḥ malāg...tālīgha\textsuperscript{142} ēḥ? mitwāsyih. bitgūm itkawwāmah kullah fōg ba’aḏāh. iw minnih bitǧīb alḏīmāl, kān ‘indak bi rān ikṭār walla bi rēn...“when you harvest it, you look (for yourself) a piece (of land) in which there is...desert (land) with hard ground...you’ll find it (sg. fem.) what? Flat. You (then) start piling everything on top of each other. And then you get the camel, whether you have many camels or (just) two” (ǦrA).

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle

Examples of conditional clauses not introduced by a particle are: ’indak bahāyim ibtafza’ itǧīb la qāḏayf jadā “if you have cattle you run and bring lunch for the guest”, widdhin mākān...mākān, mā fiḥ mākān mint mā tǧīb wala ḥāḡih... “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 fiḥa ḥařig, bitḥukkha...ib xuṣah...mā fiḥa ḥařig hi bitnaffadha-nta lak b ayyi ḥaḡah kiḏīy “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...”.

\textsuperscript{141} tawawkkal, ytawawkkal ‘-Allāh lit. “put one’s trust in God” is the current phrase used for “set out on a journey”.

\textsuperscript{142} tālīgha: talg (apocopated talga) + ha; the short vowel i is an anaptyctic vowel.
4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. ir’ or ar’

Examples of presentatives ir’ or ar’ are: ar’ihum\(^{143}\) all-akbar minni mūhum ‘ārfīnhin “see those, who are older than I am, don’t know them (fem.).” Forms with apocopation are: ar’ih ḡa’ “there he is (lit. has come)!”, ārīhūmn ḡaw “there they are (lit. have come)!”, ārīḥḥiy ḡat “there she is (lit. has come)!” (TyA). Forms with ar‘ + were also heard in TAṢ and in ĞrA ĥrīḥḥw “there they (masc.) are!” and ĥrīḥḥin “there they (fem.) are!”.

4.8.2. hē + sufffix

The presentative particle hē followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. (recorded in ĞrA) hēhū ḡa’! “there he is!”, hēhī ḡat “there she is!”, hēhumma ḡaw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ḡan “there they (fem.) are!”. In TAṢ forms with hā + were recorded, e.g. hāhī ḡa’ /dmacronbelow-almīšiklih “there’s the problem!”, but also with initial hay +, as in hayhū ḡa’, hayhī ḡat, hayhum ḡaw, hayhin ḡan. 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 alḡuṛun biyxallūh mṣallab, iwlinn alʿayš waḥād w attibin waḥād “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).

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\(^{143}\) Notice that ar’ihum is not an apocopated imperative. The question is also whether full grammaticalization as a particle has actually taken place. Since these recorded examples were directed to one male interlocutor, it cannot be concluded whether or not it (i.e. ir’y or ar’y 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 salība: salībit ṭuzz “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 wāhid ligītih w ba'dēn iw linnih biyṭālih fay wlin biygūl lay ġāṛ itsūg inta ġīt 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)’” (ḠrA). Another example is *iwlin mā fīh ‘āšā* “and there’s (suddenly) no dinner” (TAN).

An example of suffixed *winn* is: *iw ġīna, w Allāhiy w innah lįjaww zēn “and we came, by God, and (suddenly) the weather was fine” (DbA).

A variant *wlan* was also recorded, as in *iw lan ʿilimḥāfiji ʾbī 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.).

4.9. ġayr

*Kār* (< *gayr*) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *albuʿrān ġār ʿibyitatabba’an. ya’niy ʿibīʿir iw ġū ėš, min fōg ʿassīnah ʾibtabda miʿāh taṭbiʿ itṭabbiʿ ʿalbiʿir* “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 ʿawiz iy...īynawwi f-ābil āssībag.imn āssībag. ha ʿbihwaddih imn ālīgīm al hamal...* “if he wants to diversify the camels (for) the race and this (other) race, he’ll take him from this camel... (there is) for instance a good reputation, the other camel has a good reputation, he then needs to let her be covered by him, for instance...” (TyA).

A particle *irkān* (presumably < *gayr kān*) “need be, be only” was heard in TAṢ: *alḥīn intuw sūgkuw...iw ṭalābātkuw rkān alMasūraḥ “now, you, your market... and your shopping goods are only from alMāsūrah* and in BdA *hāda-rkān māk maʿāk yūktulak āḍḏama fīh “(in) this (place) you need to have water with you, otherwise thirst will kill you there (lit. in it)”.

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146 This presentative was also heard by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:227) in the poetry of the Hwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan.
4.10. **Intensifying Particle la**

The particle *la* intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in these southern group I dialects. There is an example however in which *la* intensifies: *hāda la rāsniy Tīhiy* . . . “he’s really officially a Tīhiy” (BdA).

4.11. **bidd or widd + pron. suffix**

To express “want” or “need” speakers of group I dialects use suffixed *widd*. Examples for “need” or “want” are: *widdī-yyāk itxarrīfni* “I want you to tell me” (TAṢ) and *alblād bass lissā‘ widdha tākrīm* “but the land still needs to be prepared for agriculture” (ḠrA) and *wudd* being translatable with “want” or “in order to” in *garrib garrib yām ‘Awdih ġā‘ widdah ymīdḍ a lğazāl ḏw ǰan ilīmḩāfīd bīy’arrid ib rāsīh* “he came nearer and nearer, when ‘Awdah came he wanted to (or: in order to) take aim at the gazelle, there suddenly the Governor stuck his head out (becoming visible)” (TAN).

Examples of *widd* used to express futurity rather than wish are: *mūhū ‘ārif zayy intih . . . (interviewee) lā hā/dmacronbelowa ‘ād widd-agūl lak, šallīy ‘ā-nnibiyy “he doesn’t know (about it) like you . . . (interviewee) No, this I’ll tell you then, pray for the Prophet . . .”,*148 *widd-agūl lak ‘ala ttamir “I’ll tell you about the dates” (both examples BdA). An example of *widd* expressing necessity from the viewpoint of the speaker is: *ṭayyib, halḥīn widdak itgūl lay kēf biysawwuw ssamin aššīhiyy “okay, now you need to tell me how they make šīhiy ghee” (TAṢ).*

4.12. **‘ād**

The particle *‘ād* is extremely current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *rāyib . . . biyḩuṭṭūhā fi ssi’in ‘ād bitsīr ēh? imsawwyīn rāwāġīh l assi’in . . . “curdled milk . . . they put it in the goat skin so then it becomes what? They’ll have made a tripod for the goat skin” (Hwa), lagga yāt iblād, lagga ‘ād itlāwah Ṣādir walla tlāwah Dahāb? “to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Ṣādr or towards Dahab?” (TAS) and iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ‘ādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyyām ḥarib . . . “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

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147 A *kaṛm* (pl. *krūm*) is a private orchard or garden in which people grow their agricultural products.

148 The phrase *ṣall(iy) ‘ā-nnibiyy* 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 hāda wāhid alḥīn ṭilī... min alliy byafhamow “so this was then someone now... who came forth from those who have a sound understanding” (TASN) and wagit ma dannat allibbah taharkalat hassētha, yabga libbah āstuwat “and when it has sounded (it produces a knocking sound) the libbah it moves a little when you touch it, then the libbah has become cooked” (HWAT). ālījimal byiddīha ġamil... yabga šārat fiha ġimál... “the (male) camel gives her a camel... so then there has come a camel in her...” (BdA). Another example in ĠRA is kull biyrāwwiḥ bēṭīh xalāṣ... yabga... kull rawwah bēṭīh, biyḍall alʿarīsʾād w alʿarūs ǧāʾīn... yōm, yōmīn talāṭīh ʿind baʾadhīw... “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 mḥāfij/dmacronbeloẍ iw garrib iw garrib, iw ʿAwdah mʾah iw garrib w úxumrww iw garrib... alimḥāfij/dmacronbeloẍ biyʾarrid ib ʿāsih ki/dmacronbelowiyyān alġazāl šāfijih šāṭīd... “the Governor came nearer150 and nearer and nearer while ēhalfringleft‘Awdah was with him and he came nearer and they hid and he came nearer... the Governor sticks his head out like this (and then) the gazelle saw him and fled”. Another example is wadd arrḡāl iw hāt arrḡāl “(many) men came and went (lit. send the men and bring the men)” (both examples TAN).

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

Unconjugated kān is very frequently used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. yaʾniy kān aḥna mnāẓẓmīnha’... ifwāḡ ʿa talaṭ t-iyyām... “that is, we used to organize it (fem.)... in heats (held) over three days...” (HWAT),

150 The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) “Come nearer, oh Governor.”
phraseology, characteristics of the narrative style \[283\]

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\text{ingiblak karrūsih walla ḡhāzāt? gult la' inšūf aliḡhāzāt...law karrūsah}^{53} \text{ kān lagētni l alḥīn al'amaliyyah ta'bāniḥ “shall we get you a wheel chair or artificial legs? I said ‘No, let’s see the artificial legs’... if (I would have taken) a wheel chair you would have found me... the whole business until now in poor condition” (TyA) and basma' xarārif zamān biygūl lak int taḡawwaz w int mintah ‘ārifhiy,}^{53} \text{ mā bitšūfha gṽ kān bitţiy ‘indak “I hear stories of old times that tell you you’d get married (to a girl) that you didn’t know (lit. while you didn’t know her), you’d not see her until she came to live with you (i.e. on the wedding day itself)” (TAŞ) and ṭab īw kān biybiʻūh wēn? “Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?” (TAŞ), īw kān alimḥāfiji īymīː l’alā-lǧimal īw kāːn ỹyfassīy “and the Governor (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted...” (TAN) and ana mānī ‘ārif, mā-na kān batasaqayyad ma’ nās bass ḥū fi ‘ēss? f-āxīr aṣṣayf “I don’t know, I used not to go hunting with people, but it is when? At the end of the summer” (TAŞ).

kān was much less frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, but one such example is alḥuṛmah hā/dmacronbelowiy kānat zamān alliy biygūluw lēhiy Šēxah biṭṭill lay “this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used to come and look in on me” (TyA) (biṭṭill < biṭṭill).

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Some instances of the ethic dative are:\textsuperscript{53} lamma biyšūfah ṣagir, biygūm ibyīṭilg lak ānnigal hāda “when a falcon sees it, he’ll then set the nagal free (for you)” (TAN), aṣīl fiḥ ṭattaqūb, lamma ḥīn hāḏīl ibyiḥnūw mā fiš maṭār mīn xams isnin, mūḥum ‘ārfin ṭabi it Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fi hittah w xalāṣ “because there is nature, when these (people) are now building while there hasn’t been rain for five years, they don’t know (about) how the nature of Sinai is. They built (something) in a (certain) place (for you) and that’s it” (TAŞ).\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{karrūsih}, lit. “little chair” shaped on the dim. pattern C₂aC₂ūC₃ah. The text was recorded from a man who had lost his legs after driving over a land mine. He lives in an area where a wheel chair would be useless, since there are no paved roads or paths.

\textsuperscript{54} The interviewer, who is a Tuṁbāniy from Rās Ṣadr, here imitates a more north-eastern type of dialect by substituting -ha with -hiy, the latter of which is also characteristic of TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAŞ).

\textsuperscript{53} Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

\textsuperscript{54} In the past people have built in the wadi that runs straight through Ḍahab. When in 2004 a flood came, it washed away a MacDonald’s restaurant, which had been built too near the sēl (actually, almost right in the middle of it).
4.15. Pluralis paucitatis

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used instead of the ‘broken’ plural. Some examples are: *luġuṃ min aḥuw rḥāyāt* “a mine with disks” (broken pl. *rḥiy*)⁵⁵⁵ (*DbA*), *dawyāt* “(types of) medicine(s)” (broken pl. *ádiviyih*) (*TAṢ*), *arba’ sanawāt* “four years” (broken pl. *snīn*) (*MlA*), *talāt marṭāt* “three times” (*TAN*), *ḥāzāt* “artificial legs” (broken pl. *āḡihzih*) (*TyA*).

4.16. Concord

An example of a limited number of men is (in the first part of the sentence reference is in the pl. masc.; in the second part the reference to the same men is in pl. fem.):¹⁵⁶ *biytsābagow lēhuw aṛba’ ḥuǧǧān mi’ ba’aḍḥuw… xamsih, ibyiḡrin lēhin iṯnēn kīlīh ṭalāṭah kīlīh…* “four camel riders race (for themselves) each other…five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres” (*ĞrA*). Another example is: *ḥaṣa lbān, ḫwēṭāt ḫwēṭāt…* “(‘I) when I (the women) saw…”, *bīhin aṣṣubuḥ ‘ā-xal-arrīg…*(‘I) ʿā-xal-arrīg…(X) awyah saba’ t-iyyām…* “rosemary, white (lit. silver) sugar and fenugreek…(‘I) and fenugreek…(X) Yes, these you have for breakfast in the morning on an empty stomach…(‘I) On an empty stomach…(X) Yes, (for) seven days…from the moment you start with these until you have finished them (fem.) completely…” (*MlA*).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.

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⁵⁵⁵ The disks of the landmine are metaphorically compared here to handmills used for grinding, which have a similar shape and size.
⁵⁶ 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.
⁵⁷ For the verb *awfū, yūfīy* (or *yūfīy*) “achieve in full”, see De Jong 2000:219, fn 430.
CONCLUSIONS

I. Comparing Dialects

a. Methods of Comparing Dialects

To present an overall picture, a number of maps have been added in the appendix, which show a number of features of the dialects spoken in the area. To facilitate direct comparison, data used in maps in De Jong 2000, which cover the dialects of the northern Sinai littoral, have also been incorporated in these maps. A total of 13 maps have been added, which illustrate dialect features not used in De Jong 2000. In these additional maps dialect features are set as criteria for comparison to show differences between dialects spoken by tribes in the centre and south of Sinai; setting the same features as criteria for a comparison to be illustrated in maps would not have yielded very significant results in De Jong 2000, but these criteria do offer new perspectives when the entire area of Sinai is represented in a map.

In De Jong 2000 the northern Sinai littoral was shown to be an area of transition. This transition is between a largely Bedouin type of dialect (labelled group I), spoken by the majority of the Sinai tribes, and which has also been referred to as Negev Arabic (described in Blanc 1970) on the one hand, and the sedentary dialect of the eastern part of the Šarqiyyah province in the Nile Delta of Egypt.

Dialects in De Jong 2000 were compared using the 'step method'. Since the dialects form a geographical continuum, the linear nature of the comparison (i.e. only dialects bordering on each other were compared, mainly in a west-east (or vice versa) distribution) does not present a problem; after having made the comparison the continuum proved to be linguistic as well.¹

However, since the dialects of central and southern Sinai do not form such a geographical continuum, a comparison using the step method becomes too two-dimensional, since more dimensions are needed to group dialects that do not lie along a more or less neat two-dimensional line.

¹ One of the reasons is that in the case of the Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral we saw—from east to west—a gradual disappearance of 'Bedouin' dialectal features, yielding to more sedentary features also found in the dialect of the eastern Nile Delta. The central and southern regions of Sinai do not form a continuum in the same or a comparable manner.
For this reason the method of multi-dimensional scaling yields more reliable results for the grouping of dialects. All dialects (also the ones that do not geographically border on each other) are compared to each other on the basis of all features used as criteria for comparison. This means that also dialects that are far apart will receive a full comparison in this method, whereby the relative typological distance between these geographically far removed dialects can also be established. The advantage is clear: the fact that for instance TAN and TAṢ are clustered relatively near to each other may be interpreted as the result of a common history of these dialects; both are dialects of the same tribe (Taṛābīn), although today these two varieties are spoken at locations hundreds of kilometres apart.²

Another advantage of the multi-dimensional scaling method is that parallel forms are more easily fitted into the comparison; every feature receives its own column in which every dialect is marked for the presence or absence of this feature. When two parallel possibilities exist, their presence in the same dialect will be marked in the two columns created to record these features.

To give an example: When dialect A shows the use of interdentals, in dialect B interdentals have been replaced by stops, and in dialect C both forms with interdentals and forms with stops (which were originally interdentals) occur, this will be marked as follows:

E.g. in dialect A we heard: \( \text{\textipa{axa}} \), \( \text{\textipa{t\text{ā}}}} \), \( \text{\textipa{d\text{ār}}} \), In dialect B: \( \text{\textipa{axa}} \), \( \text{\textipa{t\text{ā}}}} \), \( \text{\textipa{d\text{ār}}} \) and in dialect C: \( \text{\textipa{axa}} \sim \text{\textipa{axa}} \), \( \text{\textipa{t\text{ā}}}} \sim \text{\textipa{t\text{ā}}}} \), \( \text{\textipa{d\text{ār}}} \sim \text{\textipa{d\text{ār}}} \)

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc|cc}
 & \text{t} & \text{d} & \text{d} \\
\hline
\text{dialect A} & + & - & + \\
\text{dialect B} & - & + & - \\
\text{dialect C} & + & + & - \\
\end{array}
\]

The programmes Proxscal and Alscal will then plot dialect C exactly between dialects A and B (C sharing characteristics with A inasmuch as it shares (other) characteristics with B). Distances between the different points in the plot represent differences between dialects; the greater the distance between two points, the greater the difference between the two dialects represented.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\circ & \circ & \circ \\
A & C & B
\end{array}
\]

² From Nwēbi (centre of TAN territory) to Ṛās Ṣadr (centre of TAṢ territory) is approximately 200 kilometres as the crow flies.
II. Remarks to the Maps in the Appendix

The maps in the appendix are ordered (with a few minor modifications) in conformity with the numbering used in De Jong 2000 (Maps referred to there are indicated in italics and with ‘in 2000’). Dialect features were used as criteria for comparison between dialects and the outcome of these comparisons between dialects is illustrated in maps in the appendix of De Jong 2000. When a comparison based on the same criteria yielded no differences inside central and/or southern Sinai, no map has been drawn for that feature in the appendix of the volume in hand. Such features are, however, briefly mentioned in the remarks following below, and have been treated in the relevant paragraphs of the respective descriptive chapters of this study.

When a map was drawn for De Jong 2000, and not for the study in hand, this should be taken to mean that difference(s) with respect to the feature discussed only shows up in the dialects of the northern region discussed in De Jong 2000. References to the paragraphs discussing such features follow the remark in brackets as: ‘(cf. + numbering)’.

a. Criteria for Comparison from De Jong 2000 Producing Differences/ Similarities in Central and Southern Sinai

Before going into the various differences that are found in dialects of central and southern Sinai, and the maps that illustrate these differences, first a number of characteristics shared by all dialects in the central and southern Sinai are listed here:

NB, in the text below:

– ‘No map in this volume’ means that the feature discussed is not illustrated in a map in the appendix of this volume, since no differences were found inside central and southern Sinai for that feature set as criterion for comparison.

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3 The reasons for incorporating the features listed below as a basis for dialect comparison are given in footnotes to the text in De Jong 2000:37–47.

4 Since there is little point in producing maps that only illustrate shared characteristics throughout the area, such characteristics are listed here separately. For a comparable summary of shared characteristics of dialects in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:30–38. To facilitate comparison I have followed the same numbering here, but have had to rearrange the order of listing in a few cases. Where additions had to be made for central and southern Sinai (when differences not found in northern Sinai do occur in this area), this is specifically mentioned.
‘No map’ means that neither in De Jong 2000, nor in the volume in hand a map has been produced, since the feature set as criterion does not produce a difference in the entire region of Sinai.

‘New MAP (followed by a number from 75 to 87)’ means that an additional map appears in the appendix of this volume below (for a feature for which no map appeared in De Jong 2000). The new maps for additional features set as criteria for comparison have been numbered from MAP 75 to MAP 87 (the last map—MAP 88—shows the subdivision into dialect groups in the entire region of Sinai).

‘MAP (followed by a number from 1 to 73)’ means that both in De Jong 2000, as well as in the appendix in this volume a map has been produced to illustrate differences between dialects in the entire region of Sinai. The numbering of these maps is parallel to the numbering used in De Jong 2000.

Features used in De Jong 2000 to establish relative ‘Bedouinness’ or ‘Sedentariness’ (in a linguistic sense) of dialects under discussion are marked ‘(B-S)’.

For further remarks see ‘Remarks to the maps in the appendix’ below.

(the numbering/capital letters used here are in reference to the list in De Jong 2000:37–47).

2. and 3. All dialects in central and southern Sinai have three interdental reflexes \( t, d \) for respectively \( *t, *ḍ \) and \( *d \) in which \( *ḍ \) and \( *d \) have merged (additional difference for central and southern Sinai) (cf. 1.1.2.)\(^5\) (B-S).

No MAP 2 in this volume (MAP 2 in 2000).
No MAP 3 in this volume (MAP 3 in 2000).

A. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects in central and southern Sinai have affricate \( ġ \) or fricative \( ż \) (or both in free variation) for \( *ḡ \) (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).

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\(^5\) In the north dialects were identified where \( d \) and \( t \) were disappearing (Axrasiy, AxA), or had already disappeared (Biyaydíy, BA), see De Jong 2000:331–332 and maps 2 and 3 (in ibid., appendix).
C. Like in northern Sinai, none of the dialects in central and southern Sinai show affrication of *k or *q (no map, cf. 1.1.3.) (B-S).

D. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects have three short vowel phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/. The short high vowels i and u can be isolated through minimal pairs, but like in northern Sinai this phonemic opposition is limited (no map, cf. 1.2.3.2.) (B-S).

E. Like in northern Sinai, reduction of geminated C₂ (CₐCₐ) when Cₐ (Cₐ) is followed by V, i.e. a cluster CₐCₐCₐV > CₐCₐV: this reduction occurs regularly in all dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 2.3.3.3.1.) (B-S).

F. See remark below.*

G. Like in northern Sinai, a preference for the construct state instead of direct annexation was not unequivocally apparent in central or southern Sinai. Instead, a comparison is made on the basis of the use of btā', šuqt, hagg (MAP 29, cf. 3.1.1.) (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 (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 ‘alām + pron. suffix “why, what for?”: like in northern Sinai, this interrogative has been recorded in several dialects, like the example ‘alāmuḳ y-Aḇuw Zēd? (GrA) “what’s the matter with you, Abu Zayd” (no map, cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).

* F. Like in northern Sinai, the second pl. masc. pron. suffix -kuw is regular in groups I and VI, but in groups VII and VIII we have -kuw (or -ḳuw) ~ -kum (or -ḳum) (see new MAP 80, 3.1.12.2.).

Of characteristics used for maps in De Jong 2000 (pp. 37–47, numbering of maps used there again runs parallel to numbering of maps presented here), the following remarks can be made for Bedouin dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

1. /k/ and /ḳ/ as separate phonemes in the phoneme inventory: not in group I, but both are present in phoneme inventories of groups VI–VIII (cf. 1.1.1. and 3.1.12.2.).

MAP 1 in this volume (MAP 1 in 2000).

In northern Sinai only two tribal dialects (ʿAgA and SaA) showed the presence of /k/ as a separate phoneme. It was surmised then that this was in fact a feature more commonly present in dialects of southern Sinai. It was also reported in De Jong 2000:246 that the Samāʿnah had migrated from the southern mountainous region of at-Ṭūr to the Gayyah oasis, where they reside today. This migration, as I was told one day by an older Smēʾniy, would have taken place around the year 1900.⁷

The assumption in De Jong 2000:283–285 of /k/ being a more typically southern Sinaitic feature can now indeed be corroborated; we see that the southern groups VI, VII and VIII all show this separate phoneme in their phoneme inventories. The MAP also shows that in ʿAgA and BdA the /k/ in the pronominal suffix -aḳ was heard with a degree of velarization, in any case a higher degree of velarization than in (other) group I dialects. In ʿAgA such velarization would be attributable -k, resulting in a compromise form by transferring its velarization onto the new pron. suffix -ak (hence -ak). In BdA velarization may be due to dialect contact; the Badāṛah are surrounded by Sawalḥah, and—no longer being on the Tīh plateau, but to the south of the escarpment in the reddish sands of aṛ-Ramlah near Ġabal Ḥmayyir—have considerably less contact with other group I tribes like Tiyāḥa, Ḥwēṭāt and Taṛābīn (of Nwēḥi)⁸.

2. and 3. See remarks made above (no maps in this volume, cf. 1.1.2.) (both B-S).

4. Secondary velarization, or emphatization: several differences were recorded in the centre and south of Sinai (cf. 1.1.7.).

MAP 4 in this volume (MAP 4 in 2000) shows the degree of velarization generally present in the dialects compared here. To illustrate this for central and southern Sinai the pl. forms of kibūr and kīṭūr are adduced.

⁷ Von Oppenheim 1943:164 mentions that (in my translation) “parts of the ʿOlēḵāt have settled in Upper Egypt [. . .] Nowadays they mostly call themselves ʿOgelāt”. These ʿOgelāt may well be related to the ʿAgāylah (i.e. speakers of ʿAgA) whom we find today as neighbours of the Samāʿnah in Bir Gayyah, see map in De Jong 2000:656.

⁸ Geographical coordinates of their current abode are appr. 29.02.53 North and 33.33.39 East. The white rectangular shapes, already plainly visible from an elevation of 1,000 metres on Google Earth, are their tents, which are made of flour sacks (donated by USAID).
These pl. forms can be velarized, as in *kbār and *ktār, or velarization lacks and /ā/ is even realized relatively high (near IPA [ɛː]), as in *kbār and *ktār. In group VI realizations are *kbār, but no velarization in *ktār.

5. Partial or complete monophthongization of older diphthongs *ay and *aw and possible phonemic overlapping of /ə̝/ and /i̯/ (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 /ə̝/ and /i̯/ (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. katābt > kitābt and bakāriǧ > bikāriǧ).

8. Raising of the feminine suffix (T) (often referred to as ’imālah of *-ah).

The map reflects a generalized situation (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

MAP 8 in this volume (MAP 8 in 2000) shows the different degrees of raising of the fem. morpheme -ah (either as a pausal feature or a sandhi feature).

9. Extreme raising of final *-ā or *-āʾ > -iy, or less extreme raising > -iʾ (MAP 9, cf. 1.2.4.4.) (B-S).

MAP 9 in this volume (MAP 9 in 2000) illustrates the different reflexes of final -āʾ in neutral (i.e. non-velarized) environments encountered in Sinai.

10. Absence of raising of final -ā or -āʾ (MAP 10, cf. 1.2.4.4.).

MAP 10 in this volume (MAP 10 in 2000) shows reflexes of final -āʾ in non-raised positions.

11. Diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw (cf. 1.2.4.1., 1.2.4.6. and 1.2.4.7.).

MAP 11 in this volume (MAP 11 in 2000) shows the reflexes of diphthongs *ay and *aw when directly preceded by back spirants (X) or emphatics (M) present in Sinai dialects.
12. Stress in mediae geminatae where the geminate is word-final. (cf. 2.1.1.).

No MAP 12 in this volume. \textit{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. \textit{yhuṭṭ} “he places”, \textit{tšidd} “you pull”, \textit{tinhāṭṭ} “it (sg. fem.) is placed”, \textit{aššāṭṭ} or \textit{iššāṭṭ} “the coast”) and thus the whole central and southern region shows no difference in this respect.

13. Stress in maCCaCah (cf. 2.1.1.1.).

No MAP 13 in this volume. \textit{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. \textit{waṛagah} “piece of paper”, \textit{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. \textit{MAP 17 in 2000} shows the presence/absence of the Naḍdiy type of resyllabification: CaCaCV > CCvCV. This type of resyllabification was not heard in central or southern Sinai.

18. The article and preformatives of measures \textit{n-1} and \textit{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 \textit{n-1} (of VII) and \textit{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. \textit{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_{i1}aC_{i2}C_{i3} ah (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.1.).
MAP 21 in this volume (MAP 21 in 2000) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in pre-stress open syllable in a sequence CaCiC(ah).

22. Raising of a in *CaCCäC (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.4.).
MAP 22 in this volume (MAP 22 in 2000) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in a pre-stress closed syllable in a sequence CaCCaC(ah).

23. Raising of a in open syllable preceding 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 *āCCaC for colours and physical defects. In southern and central Sinai the current reflex for this pattern is aCCaC in all dialects.

25. The definite article and the relative pronoun (cf. 3.1.9.1.) (B-S).
MAP 25 in this volume (MAP 25 in 2000) shows the form of the article and the relative pronoun.

26. Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable of a number of irregular nouns (cf. 3.1.9.2.).
MAP 26 in this volume (MAP 26 in 2000) is on the short initial vowels in the lexemes for “mother” and “sister”.

27. Treatment of T (the feminine suffix morpheme) (cf. 3.1.10.).
MAP 27 in this volume (MAP 27 in 2000) shows the behaviour of the fem. morpheme (T) in construct state.

28. Elision of the T-vowel in construct state (cf. 3.1.10.).
MAP 28 in this volume (MAP 28 in 2000) is on the elision of the short vowel of the fem. morpheme (the T-vowel).

29. The genitive exponent (cf. 3.1.11.).
MAP 29 in this volume (MAP 29 in 2000) shows the different genitive exponents used for the analytical genitive in Sinai dialects.

30. Gender distinction masc./fem. in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. (cf. 3.1.12., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
No MAP 30 in this volume. MAP 30 in 2000 is on the absence or presence of gender distinction masc./fem. in plurals of personal pronouns, adjectives and verb forms. In all dialects of central and southern Sinai this distinction is made.
31. The independent personal pronouns of the 3rd p. sg. masc. and fem. (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   MAP 31 (MAP 31 in 2000) is on the shapes of the pronouns for the 3rd p. masc. sg. and the 3rd p. sg. fem. “he” and “she”.

32. The 1st p. sg. com. pronoun (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   No MAP 32 in this volume. MAP 32 in 2000 is on the shape of the pers. pronoun for the 1st person sg. com. “I”. The form used in the entire central and southern Sinai is *ana*, stressed either on the first or on the second syllable (covered in MAP 14).

33. The 1st p. pl. com. personal pronoun (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   MAP 33 (MAP 33 in 2000) is on the shape of the pers. pronoun for the 1st person pl. com. “we”.

34. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.) (B-S).
   MAP 34 (MAP 34 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. masc. “him (obj.)” or “his (poss.)”.

35. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 35 (MAP 35 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. fem. “her”.

36. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 36 (MAP 36 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. masc. “you (obj.)” or “your (poss.)”.

37. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 37 (MAP 37 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. fem. “you (obj.)” or “your (poss.)”.

38. The pronominal suffix for the 1st p. sg. com. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   No MAP 38 in this volume. MAP 38 in 2000 is on the shapes of the pronominal suffixes (obj. and poss.) for the 1st person sg. com. In all of central and southern Sinai “me (obj.)” or “my (poss.)” (stressed) *i* (possessive) and (stressed) -nī (object) (usually ~ unstressed -i and -nī).

39. Emphatization of *d* in demonstratives of near deixis if not followed by -i (cf. 3.1.13.) (B-S).
   MAP 39 (MAP 39 in 2000) gives the demonstratives for sg. masc. near deixis “this”.

40. The sg. fem. demonstrative (cf. 3.1.13.).
   MAP 40 (MAP 40 in 2000) gives the demonstratives for sg. fem. near deixis “this”.

41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives (cf. 3.1.13.1.) (B-S).
   No MAP 41 in this volume. MAP 41 in 2000 is on gender distinction in pl. demonstratives. In central and southern Sinai no such distinction is made, except in MzA, but material is insufficient for definitive conclu-
sions. In MAP 32 the pl. com. forms of demonstratives are given for central and southern Sinai (information is incomplete for northern Sinai).

42. Interrogative “who?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
   MAP 42 (MAP 42 in 2000) compares the different shapes of the interrogative “who?”.

43. Interrogative “where?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
   No MAP 43 in this volume. MAP 43 in 2000 is on the shapes of the interrogative “where?” In central and southern Sinai this interrogative is wēn in every dialect.

44. Interrogative “how?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
   No MAP 44 in this volume. MAP 44 in 2000 is on the different forms for the interrogative “how?” In central and southern Sinai the current form is kēf or kīf.

45. Adverb “there” (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
   MAP 45 (MAP 45 in 2000) gives forms used for the adverb “there”.

46. Shape of the adverb “here” (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
   MAP 46 (MAP 46 in 2000) gives forms used for the adverb “here”.

47. The preposition l “to” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.) (B-S).
   MAP 47 (MAP 47 in 2000) compares the different varieties of the preposition “to” + 3rd person. sg. masc. suffix: “to him”.

48. The preposition m(a) “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.).
   MAP 48 (MAP 48 in 2000) gives the different varieties of the preposition “with” + 3rd person sg. masc. suffix: “with him”.

49. Numeral “one (fem.)” (cf. 3.1.17.).
   No MAP 49 in this volume. MAP 49 in 2000 shows forms of the sg. fem. numeral “one”, The form wihdih is current throughout central and southern Sinai.

50. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
   MAP 50 (MAP 50 in 2000) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. perfect.

51. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
   MAP 51 (MAP 51 in 2000) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. a-type perfect.

52. The i-type perfect (cf. 2.1.1.2.2. and 3.2.1.1.).
   MAP 52 (MAP 52 in 2000) is on the i-type perfect of verbs *CaCiC: 3rd person sg. masc., 3rd person sg. fem. and 1st person sg. com.

53. Vowel harmony in the preformative of the imperfect of verbal measure 1. (cf. 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
   No MAP 53 in this volume. MAP 53 in 2000 is on the absence/presence of vowel harmony in the preformative of the a-type imperfect:
yaCCaC or yiCCaC. All dialects of central and southern Sinai show such vowel harmony, e.g. yašrab “he drinks”.

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.

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.

MAP 56 in 2000 is on the vowel in the imperfect preformative of primae wāw measure 1 verbs. This vowel is not i (as in e.g. yiwsal) in central or southern Sinai dialects, but a as in yawṣal, or (aw >) monothongized to õ (~ ū) as in yöṣal.

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-.

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.

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, māxi/dmacronbelow.

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 iǧa for “he came”) is current.

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.

No MAP 62 in this volume. 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 \((i)staC_1C_2aC_3\), \(vistaC_1C_2aC_3\) 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 \(wāw\) \(C_1\tilde{o}C_2aC_3\) (or \(C_1awC_2aC_3\), \(yC_1\tilde{o}C_2iC_3\) (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 construct state will result, e.g. \(hī\ mrīđtah\) or \(rāyīdtdah\) “she wants him”.

68. Negation: single \(mā\) or compound \(ma\ldots + š\) (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 ’LA it was recorded a few times.

73. Use of widd or bidd (cf. 4.11.) (B-S).
MAP 73 (MAP 73 in 2000) is on the use of widd or bidd to express “want” or “need”.

74. No MAP 74 in this volume. MAP 74 in 2000 shows the dialect groups identified in northern Sinai. A map showing dialect groups in the entire Sinai is MAP 88 in the appendix of the volume in hand.

b. Added Criteria for Comparison of Dialects in Central and Southern Sinai

In addition to comparisons based on the 73 features listed above, a total of 13 features are added here to serve as criteria for comparison to further illustrate differences/similarities in dialects of central and southern Sinai. These features (numbered 75–87) are listed below:

75. Raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē: lammēt > limmēt, sawwēt > suwwēt (new MAP 75 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.3.5.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

76. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ē: mašēt > mišēt (new MAP 76 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.2.5.1.).

77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds: metathesis in forms like 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 pronouns “not he”, “not she”, “not you (sg. masc.)”, “not I” (new MAP 79 in this volume, cf. 3.1.12.1.).

80. The 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix (new MAP 80 in this volume, cf. 3.1.12.2.).

81. The pl. com. demonstrative “these” (new MAP 81 in this volume, cf. 3.1.13.1.).

82. Interrogative “when?” (new MAP 82 in this volume, cf. 3.1.14.).

83. Shape of the preposition ʿala “on” with 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (new MAP 83 in this volume, cf. 3.1.16.).

84. The 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of mediae geminatae verbs (new MAP 84 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.4.1.).
85. The sg. masc. imperative of mediae geminatae verbs (new MAP 85 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.4.2.).
86. The 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of tertiae yāʾ verbs (new MAP 86 in this volume, cf. 1.2.4.4., 3.2.2.5.1.).
87. The apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae imperfect (new MAP 87 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.5.1.).

III. ISOGLOSSES

a. The Identified Isoglosses in Central and Southern Sinai

Below follows a list of isoglosses which result from the comparison of dialects based on features treated in the maps in the appendix, which were set as criteria for this comparison. The numbering of the criteria corresponds with the numbering of the MAPs in the appendix. The numbering of the criteria (nrs 1–73) here again corresponds to the numbering used in De Jong 2000:600–601. In addition to these, criteria nrs 75–87 (in MAPS 75–87, see preceding paragraph) illustrate further differences between dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

In some cases—mainly where new features were set as criteria for comparison within the centre and south of Sinai—the data for the dialects in this comparison were incomplete; the dialects discussed in De Jong 2000, which now border on our more northern dialects discussed here, were not compared before on the basis of the additional criteria introduced for the dialects discussed here.

The totals of differences listed below have been calculated as follows: a partial difference has been counted as half in the total; often parallel forms result from dialect contact, so that one form may be identical to a form heard in a neighbouring dialect, while parallel to this form (in the same meaning) another form was heard, which was not heard in the same neighbouring dialect.

In cases where the comparison was incomplete due to the lack of data in one (or both) of the dialects compared, the uncertain outcome has been counted as half as well. The total numbers of isoglosses were calculated to be drawn into MAP 0 in the appendix.

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9 N.B. the numbering of the isogloss bundles here does not correspond to the numbering of isogloss bundles in De Jong 2000.
The percentages listed below were however calculated on the basis of a corrected total; uncertain outcomes have been subtracted from the total of the 95 features serving as criteria for comparison. Isogloss bundle number –1– may serve as an example: we count 4 full differences and 5 partial differences. These add up to \((4 + 2.5 = 6.5\) differences. We also count seven uncertain differences. From the total of 95 we subtract this 7, which brings the corrected total to 88. We then calculate 6.5 as a percentage of 88: \(6.5 : 88 \times 100 = 7.386364\). This is rounded off to be 7.4%. This means that 7.4\% of a total of 88 features set as criteria for comparison between the two (geographically bordering) dialects yield differences. These percentages were calculated to be used in the ‘step method’ calculation.

N.B.

* The absolute numbers of isoglosses drawn into MAP 0 as bundles cannot be compared to the absolute numbers forming isogloss bundles drawn in MAP 0 in De Jong 2000, since the two maps illustrate comparisons based on different totals of dialect features set as criteria for comparison.

* The numbers between hyphens refer to the numbering of isogloss bundles in MAP 0 in the appendix (these numbers are not related to the numbering of isogloss bundles in De Jong 2000). The numbers followed by a bracket ) refer to the numbering of the maps in the appendix in De Jong 2000 and in the appendix of this volume (but the maps numbered 75–87 only appear in the volume in hand).

–1– Isogloss bundle nr –1– distinguishes SA from MlA.

4 differences: \(23), 39), 48), 87)\)
7 uncertain differences: \(4), 27), 37), 72), 77), 79), 82)\)
5 partial differences: \(14), 45), 46), 47), 78)\)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 88) 7.4% 

–2– Isogloss bundle nr –2– distinguishes MlA from nTA.

2 differences: \(16), 58)\)
11 uncertain differences: \(4), 23), 57), 72), 76), 77), 78), 79), 81), 82), 87)\)
5 partial differences: \(14), 40), 45), 46), 47)\)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 84) 5.4%
-3– Isogloss bundle nr -3– distinguishes nTA from TyA.

5 differences: 21), 48), 52), 58), 83)
9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
4 partial differences: 14), 15), 23), 86)

Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

-4– Isogloss bundle nr -4– distinguishes ’AyA from AḥA.

4 differences: 16), 23), 52), 85)
9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 82), 87)
6 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 46), 48), 58)

Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

-5– Isogloss bundle nr -5– distinguishes ’AyA from ḤwA.

7 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 16), 33), 39), 52), 75), 83)*
10 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
5 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 48), 58)

* The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 13,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 85) 10%

-6– Isogloss bundle nr -6– distinguishes ḤwA from AḥA.

11 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 23), 33), 35), 39), 72), 75), 76), 82), 83)*, 85)
1 uncertain difference: 27)
1 partial difference: 46)

* The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.1%

-7– Isogloss bundle nr -7– distinguishes ḤwA from TAṢ.

16 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 7), 15), 16), 21), 22), 33), 39), 52), 57), 71), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*
0 uncertain differences
1 partial difference: 25)
* The difference is in raising of a (‘alēh > ‘ilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 15,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 16.3%

–8– Isogloss bundle nr –8– distinguishes TyA from AḥA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–9– Isogloss bundle nr –9– distinguishes AḥA from DbA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–10– Isogloss bundle nr –10– distinguishes DbA from TyA.

6 differences: 21), 35), 48), 75), 82), 87)
0 uncertain differences
1 partial difference: 81)

Total 6,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 6.8%

–11– Isogloss bundle nr –11– distinguishes TAṢ from ĠrA.

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 ĠrA 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 'LA.

37 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 11), 22), 23), 26), 31), 34), 35),
36), 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 71), 72),
73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83)*, 87)
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 7), 8), 14), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47)
and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 37,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 39.5%

-14– Isogloss bundle nr –14– distinguishes ĠrA from 'LA.

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 'LA 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 (‘alēh > ‛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 (‘alēh > ‛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 (= 95) 11.7%

–20– Isogloss bundle nr –20– distinguishes ‘LA from BdA.

39 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10, 11), 15), 16), 23), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 82), 83), 85) 0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 14), 25), 42), 45), 58), 78), 81)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 41,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 43.7%

–21– Isogloss bundle nr –21– distinguishes TyA from TAN.

8 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 11), 22), 35), 76), 81), 83)*, 87) 0 uncertain differences
4 partial differences: 42), 46), 78), 86)

* The difference is in raising of a (ʿalēh > ʾišēh 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 ḨmA.

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*) 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 (ʿalēh > ʾišēh 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%
306 CONCLUSIONS

–26– Isogloss bundle nr –26– distinguishes SwA from GrA.

1 difference: 22
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 7, 39, 40, 46, 79)

Total 3,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

–27– Isogloss bundle nr –27– distinguishes SwA from MzA.

25 (minus 2*) differences: 4, 7, 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 26, 31, 48, 52, 57, 58, 61, 62, 68, 71, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86
0 uncertain differences
8 partial differences: 16, 25, 27, 28, 29, 42, 46, 81)

* The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 27 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 28.4%

–28– Isogloss bundle nr –28– distinguishes MzA from TAN.

35 (minus 3* 1*2) differences: 1, 4, 9, 10, 15, 16, 22, 23, 27, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 60, 61, 73, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 25, 28, 29, 45, 78)

*1 The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 48) is already covered in MAP 34.
*2 The difference is in raising of a (‘alēh > ‘ilēh in 83), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 34,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.3%

–29– Isogloss bundle nr –29– distinguishes GrA from MzA.

24 (minus 2*) differences: 4, 7, 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 26, 31, 48, 52, 57, 58, 61, 62, 68, 71, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 16, 25, 27, 28, 29, 39, 40, 42, 81)

* The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 26,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 27.9%
–30– Isogloss bundle nr –30– distinguishes GrA from ĠbA.

1 difference: 79)

0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 29), 31)*, 39), 40), 61), 82), 85)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 4,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 4.7%

–31– Isogloss bundle nr –31– distinguishes ĠbA from MzA.

21 (minus 2 *1 *3) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 26), 31)*, 48), 52), 57), 58), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 84)*3, 86)

0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 42), 61)*1, 81), 82), 85)*2

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, but the difference is greater than in bundle –30–, therefore the difference is here not concluded to be partial.

*2 The difference here is partly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

*3 The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 23,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 24.7%

–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 ĠbA.

27 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 31)*, 37), 46), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 80), 82), 83), 84), 85), 86)
o uncertain differences
12 partial differences: 10), 25), 39), 40), 42), 49), 73), 75), 77), 79),
80), 81)
* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, the difference is here concluded to be not partial, (contrast remark * below in –34–).
Total 33 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 34.7%

–34– Isogloss bundle nr –34– distinguishes ASA from BwA.
26 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 37), 46), 48), 52),
57), 61), 62), 63), 71), 78), 79), 80, 82), 83), 84), 85), 86)
o uncertain differences
11 partial differences: 10), 25), 31)*, 39), 40), 42), 58), 73), 75), 77), 81)
* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.
Total 31.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.2%

–35– Isogloss bundle nr –35– distinguishes ASA and ĠbA.
1 difference: 22)
o 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)
o uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 45), 58), 71)
Total 3.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

–37– Isogloss bundle nr –37– distinguishes ASA from MzA.
23 (minus 3*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 48), 52),
57), 61)*, 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)*2, 85)*2, 86)
o uncertain differences
10 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 31)*, 42), 45), 46), 58), 81

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

*2 The difference here is in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 25 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 26.3%

–38– Isogloss bundle nr –38– distinguishes ḤmA from ṢwA.

7 differences: 20), 47), 48), 60), 71), 81), 85)

0 uncertain differences

13 partial differences: 7), 18), 25), 31)*, 37), 50), 54), 58), 68), 79), 83), 84), 86)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

Finally, to have an idea of the typological distance between the dialects of the Mzēnah and the Baniy Wāṣil, we compare these dialects on the basis of the same criteria:

–39– Isogloss bundle nr –39– is ‘virtual’ and distinguishes BWA from MzA.

9 differences: 37), 39), 40), 46), 79), 82), 83), 84), 85)

0 uncertain differences

9 partial differences: 10), 16), 22), 27), 28), 73), 75), 77), 81)

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

b. The Step Method to Calculate Relative Typological Distances between Dialects

The comparisons are made using a total of 95 criteria (73 in maps in De Jong 2000, criteria A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I (see De Jong 2000:37–38)

Since the Awlād Saʿīd (who live more inland in the high mountains towards the east than indicated on the map, see fn 1, p. 15) are not physically located between the two dirahs of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil, the dirahs of the latter two tribes in actual fact border on each other.
and 13 criteria represented by maps 75–87 added in the appendix of this volume):

Score card:

Below the isogloss bundles between dialects have been ranked from low to high.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between dialects</th>
<th>of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses of total incl uncertain</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–36–</td>
<td>(ASA–HnA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5 (3.5/95) 3.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–26–</td>
<td>(ṢwA–GrA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5 (3.5/95) 3.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–35–</td>
<td>(ASA–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5 (4.5/95) 4.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–30–</td>
<td>(GrA–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5 (4.5/95) 4.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–2–</td>
<td>(MIA–nTA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10 11 (4.5/84) 5.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–10–</td>
<td>(DbA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>6.5 (6.5/95) 6.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1–</td>
<td>(SA–MIA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10 7 (6.5/88) 7.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–4–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11.5 9 (7/86) 8.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–3–</td>
<td>(nTA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5 9 (8/86) 8.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–18–</td>
<td>(BdA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>8.5 9 (8.5/95) 8.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–21–</td>
<td>(TyA–TAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9 (9/95) 9.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–8–</td>
<td>(TyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10 2 (9/93) 9.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–9–</td>
<td>(AbA–DbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10 3 (9/93) 9.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–5–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–ḤwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5 10 (8.5/85) 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–12–</td>
<td>(ṢwA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9.5 (9.5/95) 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–22–</td>
<td>(‘LA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>10 (10/95) 10.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–15–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10 (10/95) 10.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–11–</td>
<td>(ṬAS–ṬrA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5 (10.5/95) 11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–6–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5 1 (10.5/94) 11.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–17–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–BdA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11 (11/95) 11.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–19–</td>
<td>(AbA–TAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11 1 (11/94) 11.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–39–*</td>
<td>(BWA–MzA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>13.5 (13.5/95) 14.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–38–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>13.5 (13.5/95) 14.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–23–</td>
<td>(‘LA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>15 (15/95) 15.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–7–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–ṬAS)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>15.5 (15/95) 16.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–25–</td>
<td>(‘LA–GrA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>16 (16/95) 16.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–31–</td>
<td>(ǦbA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>23.5 (23.5/95) 24.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–27–</td>
<td>(MzA–ASA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>25 (25/95) 26.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–29–</td>
<td>(GrA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>26.5 (26.5/95) 27.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–27–</td>
<td>(ṢwA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>27 (27/95) 28.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Our figured calculations using the step method show a few results that do not appear to be in concord with earlier results in De Jong 2000: the subdivision into groups is not as clear-cut here in terms of percentages as it was in De Jong 2000. The reason appears to be that in De Jong 2000 we were looking at dialects that form a geographical continuum, which makes the comparison between the groups largely uni-directional (i.e. east-west or west-east, depending on preference).

Our dialects in the centre and south of Sinai do not form a comparable continuum, which makes the comparison between more than two groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) multi-directional. Such a garbled picture is also the result of a comparison between dialects of tribes that—even within certain identified groups—have arrived at different times and have over these different periods of time influenced each other to a lesser or greater degree. In addition, the comparison is between dialects of tribes, who can vary greatly with regard to numbers of members.

To give an example: the tribe Ḥamāḏah is considerably smaller (in terms of numbers of members) than the neighbouring tribes of Ḥājāt 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between dialects of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses of total incl uncertain</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain</th>
<th>percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–34– (ASA–BWA) VII–VI</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>(31.5/95)</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–32– (BWA–GrA) VI–VII</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(32/95)</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–33– (BWA–ḠhA) VI–VII</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(33/95)</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–28– (MzA–TAN) VI–I</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>(34.5/95)</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–14– (ḠA–La) I–VIII</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(35/95)</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–13– (ṬAṢ–La) I–VIII</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>(37.5/95)</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–20– (*La–BdA) VIII–I</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>(41.5/95)</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–16– (*La–ḤwA) VIII–I</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(42/95)</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–24– (BdA–ṢwA) I–VII</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>(45.5/95)</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* isogloss bundle –39– is ‘virtual’ in the map (but ‘real’ on the ground), see remarks above and in fn 1, p. 115.
The reason to assign ḤmA to group VII is that ḤmA can be concluded to be developing into the direction of this group; ‘originally’ group I features are being replaced by group VII features, as is to be concluded from the variation that occurs. For this reason, ḤmA and ʿLA have been assigned to different groups, even though the MDS plots and the step method both show relative typological proximity. The choice to isolate ʿLA as a group by itself is thus partly subjectively inspired, and it is not being fully illustrated by the quantifying methods applied here. The only exception is the dendrogram (see p. 375 in the appendix), where ʿLA is clearly branched separately, although inside group VI, for instance, the two dialects assigned to the same group (MzA and BWA) branch at exactly the same height. The subjective argument for the decision to nevertheless assign ʿLA to a separate group is in the type of characteristics that distinguish ʿLA from ḤmA (see next paragraph). In any case, ḤmA is not a proto-typical representative of group VII.11

c. A Continuum: From Group VII Through Group VIII Towards Group I

One may conclude a continuum (albeit on a much smaller scale than the situation on the northern littoral), which is best illustrated in the Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see p. 374) MDS plot: from the typically southern dialect type of group VII (ḤmA is here excluded from VII for not being prototypical, see remark in the preceding paragraph), the continuum moves through ḤmA, via ʿLA to group I, for although there is always the question of relative ‘typological weight’, some differences in features set as criteria in a comparison tend to be more illustrative than differences found in other features, especially when seen in combination with features present in other groups. One could say that in this sense, although ʿLA and ḤmA show relatively few differences, in cases where they do, ʿLA tends to ‘lean towards’ group I, while ḤmA tends to ‘lean towards’ group VII.

To give an example: in 2.1.1.2.1. some imperative forms present in ṬwA and ʿLA are cited. We see here that ʿLA leans towards group I with its imperative forms kul, gūl, gūm, šīl and nām (without a stressed initial vowel), whereas ṬwA dialects generally do show such vowels, e.g. (ṬwA) úḳul “eat!”, úgum “stand up!”, íšil “carry!” and ánam “go to sleep!”.

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 *kitār* (*kbār* and *ktār* in ’LA), but lack of velarization in both forms in ṬwA (*kbār* and *ktār*), and ’LA thus takes up an intermediate position between groups VII and I (the latter having *kbār* and *ktār*).

Another illustration of ’LA occupying such an intermediate position between groups VII and I is placement of stress in CvCvC (see 3.2.2.4.1. and 3.2.2.4.2.). Group I dialects surrounding ’LA all have CaCáC or CiCiC, while group VII will stress CáCaC and CiCiC, but in ’LA both possibilities exist as parallel options. This shows that the situation in ḤmA is in these respects more in conformity with the situation in (other) group VII dialects, than it is with the situation in ’LA, or even group I for that matter. The situation in ’LA would then be an indication of influences from surrounding group I dialects, if it is not an original feature of ’LA itself.

There is also the example of a stressable article in the sequence alCa-CaC (see 2.1.1.): in ’LA, like in group I, álCaCaC is the rule, whereas in group VII (excluding ḤmA) îlCáCaC 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 îlbaṣal and īnwākal), while ’LA will stress the article, but not the initial vowel in preformatives of the perfect of n-1 or 1-t measures (álbaṣal, but īnwākal and īttáfag).

In the negation of verb forms (see 4.2.), we see that ’LA uses the single mā + verb form, which is like the situation in group I. ṬwA dialects other than ḤmA will use compound mā / ma + verb form + -š(i). ḤmA in this case takes up the intermediate position allowing both possibilities as parallel options (without any apparent differences in meaning, such as is the case in some dialects where the single negation with mā is used when extra emphasis is intended).

Finally, both ’LA and ḤmA take up an intermediate position between groups VII and I in the allomorphs of the 2nd p. sg. fem. pronominal suffix (see 3.1.12.2.); where group I has invariable -kiy and group VII has v-k, vC-k or CC-ik, both ’LA and ḤmA have -ik when not directly preceded by v, but -kiy when v directly precedes (i.e. a situation comparable to the allomorphs current in Cairene Arabic, where we have similarly conditioned appearance of allomorphs -ik and -ki).

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Although both 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 disappearance of parallel forms, interdialect forms may provide such clues.\footnote{See Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and also Woidich 1997.}

An example to cite here is the parallel existence of -"k and -ak pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. masc. in the dialect of older speakers of group II in the north.\footnote{See De Jong 2000:288.} If we can take the older speaker’s word for it—and
I saw no reason to doubt him—the Samāʿnah lived in the area of aṭ-Ṭūr until the turn of the 19th–20th century. Since dialects there all have -“k, a logical assumption would be that SaA too had -“k at the time they moved to the Gaṭyah oasis in the north. There they came into contact with speakers of Axrasiy (AxA) and Biyyādiy (BA), which resulted in the -ak suffix being introduced to speakers of SaA. The velarization present in the form -“k was then transferred onto the k of the -ak suffix, resulting in the ‘inter-dialect’ form -ak. When both -“k and were -ak were used as parallel forms, “focussing” took place which produced -ak as the preferred form, while -“k is (was?) only being used by older men and may thus be expected to eventually result in the disappearance of the latter form.

e. ‘Bedouinness’ vs ‘Sedentariness’

In De Jong 2000:37–47 a total of 41 features are listed as criteria to establish relative ‘bedouinness’ or ‘sedentariness’ of dialects. These features are marked as ‘B-S criteria’ (these are also marked as such in the list in ‘Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai’ above). These B-S criteria are listed here with comments on the score of the three typological groups (VI, VII and VIII) discussed in the volume in hand (the numbering used is in reference to the list in De Jong 2000) (For B-S features used as criteria for comparison numbered from A) to L), see “II.a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai” above):

2. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show interdental reflexes t for *t and d for *d. All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

3. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show emphatic interdental d for merged *d and *d. All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

4. Secondary velarization: group I dialects in the centre (like in other group I dialects) show velarization in both kbār and ktār, groups VI and VIII only have velarization in kbār, but not in ktār, and group VII lacks velarization in both forms: kbār and ktār.

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In some schools in the Gaṭyah oasis children from different tribes mix.

And perhaps also by women, but there are no recordings of women speakers of this tribe to verify this.
Score group I: 1; group VI: 0.5; group VII: 0; and group VIII: 0.5.

6. All dialects have a tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

7. In all groups a in open syllable preceding A (stressed a or ā) is raised.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

9. In group I dialects extreme raising of final *-āʾ 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 -ʾiʾ.
   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. áwalad, ánḍarab, áťťafag).
   In group VII the article is not stressed (e.g. ihwálad), although in ḤmA both stress-types are used (e.g. álwálad ~ ihwálad). In group VIII the article is also a stressable unit (e.g. álwálad).
   Preformatives of the perfect forms of measures n-1 and 1-t are not stressed in groups VII and VIII (e.g. inḍárab, ittáfag).
   Group I scores 1; group VI scores 1; group VII scores 0 (but ḤmA scores 0.25); group VIII scores 0.5.

19. All dialects have an active gahawah-syndrome.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

20. Presence of initial CC in a limited number of morphological patterns: all dialects have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ḥmār, sgūr). Groups I, VI, VIII and also ḤmA and (part of) ḡB of group VII have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ʾnab “grapes”, gṛab “watersacks”). Other group VII dialects have however morphologically resolved the initial cluster in this pattern with an initial vowel (e.g. āʾnab, ágrab).
   Groups I, VI, VIII and ḤmA and ḡB of VII score 1. Other dialects of group VII score 0.5.

25. The initial vowel in the definite article and the relative pronoun: a in group I (al- and alliy). In group VI and ḤmA of group VII al- ~ il- and illy. In group VII il- and illy. In group VIII il- ~ al- and alliy.
   Group I scores 1. Group VI and ḤmA score 0.5, Group VII scores 0. Group VIII scores 0.5.

30. All dialects have gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. of personal pronouns, adjectives and verbs.
All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

34. Shape of the personal pronominal suffix for the third p. sg. masc.: -ah or -ih in group I. Groups VI, VII and VIII all have -u(h).
   Group I scores 1. Groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.

39. Emphatization of d in demonstratives ḥāḏ+, if not followed by i.
   Group I has ḥāḏa ~ ḥāḏa (with the exception of ḤwA, where only ḥāḏa was heard). In groups VI, VII and VIII such velarization of d in this position is absent.
   Group I scores 1. ḤwA, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.

41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives: dialects in central and southern Sinai use pl. com. forms for pl. masc. and fem. (in MzA a pl. form used for the fem. was recorded, but the com. form was more current).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0, except MzA, which scores 0.5.

42. All dialects of group I have a short vowel in the interrogative min “who?”. Groups VI, VII and VIII have a long vowel in mīn.
   Group I scores 1. Other dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

43. Initial consonant in the interrogative for “where?”: all dialects of central and southern Sinai have initial w in wēn.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

44. Interrogative for “how”: all dialects have kēf or kīf.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

45. Adverb for “there”: group I has hnuh. Group VI has hnuh ~ hnōṭīy or hnūṭiy, groups VII and VIII have hnōṭīy or hnūṭiy. In all dialects the occasional K-form hnāk can be heard.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.8

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(’) ~ nihāniy. In all dialects the K-form hina (often in its adapted shape as hinḥ or hinṭi).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.9

47. Preposition l + vowel-initial suffix: group I has lah or lih. Groups VI, VII and VIII have luḥ.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1 (see remarks on the suffixes -uh or -ah / -ih below).

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8 Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is h(i)nāk, I regard hnōṭīy or hnūṭiy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
9 Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is hina, I regard nihā(’) or nihāniy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
53. Vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix of verbal measure 1: *yašrab, yiktib, yug‘ud*. 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, ‘LA (group VIII) and BWA (of group VI) use the singular negation (*mā* + verb form) almost exclusively. MzA (of group VI) uses both types of negation, and in group VII the compound negation is current (*ma* + verb + -*š*).

Groups I, VIII (’LA) and BWA (of group VI) score 1. MzA (of group VI) scores 0.5. Group VII scores 0.

69. The *b*-imperfect: in all dialects of central and southern Sinai the *b*-imperfect is current. All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

71. Use of *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* for “when”. In all dialects *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* is current. All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

73. Use of *widd* or *bidd* to express “want; need”: group I uses *widd*. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) use both. The other dialects of group VII, group VIII and MzA (of group VI) use *bidd*.

Group I scores 1. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) score 0.5. MzA, dialects of group VII (except ḤmA) and group VIII (’LA) score 0.

When we count the ‘Bedouin’ features of dialects of the 30 listed here by adding up the ‘scores’ in the list above, we see the following in the totals:
Group I scores highest\textsuperscript{20} with almost all dialects having 27 features as ‘Bedouin’. Dialects of group VII score 18.5, except the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah, which scores 19.75 ‘Bedouin’ features. The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt (group VIII) scores 21 ‘Bedouin’ features.

Although the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII score less on Bedouin features (for the Negev dialect) than the group I dialects, if we compare the scores of VI, VII and VIII to scores of the dialects of the Biyāḍiyyah and Axārsah in the north, we see that the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII in the south still score considerably higher on Bedouin features than BA (scoring 8) and AxA (scoring 9).\textsuperscript{21}

In reference to criteria listed above in ‘Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai’, the following remarks must be taken into account:

There may be reasons that certain typological differences between dialects in the central and southern area of Sinai are indeed also to be interpreted as forming part of a greater ‘development’ of dialects away from the Bedouin type towards a more sedentary type, but in this central and southern area of Sinai a direct and explicit geographical dimension—like the east-west dimension reflecting the ‘Bedouin—less Bedouin’ dimension in the north of Sinai\textsuperscript{22}—is lacking. If certain differences are to be attributed at all to dialect contact of ‘Bedouin’ dialects with the more sedentary type, we would need to know more first of all about the dialects of related (sub-) groups of tribes in other areas such as the related tribal collectives (in many cases with identical names) in present-day Saudi Arabia or Jordan.

Secondly, we would need more historical data on the movement of tribes, or smaller collectives such as families, should we wish to measure with some acceptable accuracy the as yet unquantified influence on Bedouin dialects of speakers of sedentary dialects. To give an example: one

\textsuperscript{20} This is not surprising, since the list was compiled to specifically illustrate the relative ‘Bedouinness’ of dialects in the north of Sinai as compared to the dialect of the Ğullām in the Negev, which all belong to the same group I.

\textsuperscript{21} BA and AxA are cited here as the clearest examples inside Sinai of Bedouin dialects which have acquired sedentary features through influence of dialect contact with sedentary dialects of the Nile Delta, see De Jong 2000:622–627. The numbers 7 and 8 cited here are the result of a count not made in De Jong 2000, but made here for the purpose of comparing groups VI, VII and VIII to group III in the north. Data on BA and AxA are in De Jong 2000:Chapter III.

\textsuperscript{22} See remarks on this east-west dimension in the north of Sinai in De Jong 2000:622–627.
could assume the personal pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih to be representative of the ‘Bedouin’ type, and thus conclude the
-u(h) suffix (like that recorded in the dialect of the Mzēnah of Sinai) to be more ‘sedentary’ (because it is identical with the -u pronominal suffix found in the Nile Delta), but at the same time we do know that in many Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula—where influence of sedentary dialects, in any case of those spoken in the Nile Delta or Cairo, is highly unlikely—the suffix -u(h) is current. In other words, if we do not know the ‘original’ form in dialects of related tribal collectives (like the Mzēnah in Saudi Arabia), a conclusion of sedentary influences being responsible for a change -ah > -u(h) would be premature; dialects of groups VII and VIII could have come from the Egyptian mainland with the pron. suffix -u(h) already in place, but they may also have settled in Sinai while (still) using -ah or -ih, while only at a later stage copying the -u(h) suffix from the Mzēnah. On the other hand, a development mirroring this hypothetical development could have also taken place, i.e. the Mzēnah may have arrived in Sinai as -ah ~ -ih speakers, and only later copied the -u(h) from the other southern tribes.

Another example of a more typically ‘sedentary’ characteristic would be the absence of initial consonant clusters, such as in examples in TwA (except part of GbA) ṭisṭi “winter; rain”, āgrab “watersacks” (which in group I are more typically štiy and ġrab, 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 Ǧbāliyyah who were sent in the sixth century by emperor Justinian I to serve and protect St. Catherine’s Monastery together with the Wallachians would have had a ‘sedentary’ influence on the speech of tribes in Sinai at that time must be dismissed as an anachronism; having been sent to Sinai before islam, it is highly unlikely that these Delta Egyptians came there as speakers of Arabic, let alone the Wallachians.

25 See De Jong 2000:41 (criterion 20: presence of initial CCV in limited morphological patterns). To decide whether initial clusters are tolerated in patterns like CCūC or CCāC, one can add the definite article to such patterns in which the first C is a ‘sunletter’. If assimilation takes place, as in e.g. al + ṣgūr > ṣṣgūr “the falcons” and al + trāb > attṛāb “the dust”, one may conclude that initial CC in such morphophonemic patterns is tolerated. Similarly in a pattern CCaC like al + ṣwar > ṣṣwar “the pictures”. If, on the other hand, no assimilation takes place, but an anaptyctic vowel separates the article and the first C, like in e.g. (i)liṣgūr, (i)litṛāb and (i)liṣwar, we have to conclude morphophonemic base patterns [iCūC], [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 īṣwar, or with harmonized vowel āṣwar “pictures.”
have been the result of dialect contact with sedentary dialects, in the case of Tuwara dialects it is very well possible that the development of incorporating anaptyctic vowels into the morphophonemic base (whereby they became stressable) is one that took place independently, if not altogether imported from other dialects from the Arabian Peninsula with which the tribes arrived in Sinai. In any case, in view of the lack of availability of historical data, we cannot definitively draw the conclusion that this feature is due to dialect contact with ‘sedentary’ dialects.26

One clear indication that the influence of sedentary dialects has been weaker at least than in the north, is the fact that dialects in central and southern Sinai without exception (still) have the full set of interdentals \( t, d \) and \( d \) in their phoneme inventories. We have seen that in the north the dialect of the Biyyādiyyah has lost ‘neutral’ interdentals \( t, d \), and that the dialect of the Axārsah (both of group III) is in a process of losing \( t \) and \( d \), both dialects replacing these interdentals with stops \( t \) and \( d \).27 Such a development has not taken place in central and southern Sinai, and this fact is one of the most telling ones illustrating that dialect contact of sedentary dialects with Bedouin dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII must have been less intense than the dialect contact between sedentary dialects and the dialects of group III in the north, of which many sedentary features are attributable to contact with Delta dialects such as that spoken in the eastern Šarqiyya.

On the other hand, since G.W. Murray 1935 reports that the ‘Lēgāt and Šawālūḥah lived in the Šarqiyyah before they moved to Sinai almost seven centuries ago (see quote in Introduction, I. d., remark *) there is a chance that these tribes introduced sedentary features into the area, which were later through dialect contact copied into the dialects of other tribes already present in the area, or who arrived at a later time. Conversely, in this scenario, and with reference to a certain number of Bedouin features now present in the dialects of the Šawālūḥah and Lēgāt, one could perhaps speak of re-bedouinization of these dialects; Bedouin features would then have been (re-)introduced into ŠwA and ‘LA as a result of contact with speakers of Bedouin dialects. This hypothesis can however only be

26 One could perhaps imagine ‘sedentary’ influence from speakers (of various dialects) of (mainland) Egyptian dialects in the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, but then still we would need more data on the intensity of contact between these townspeople and Bedouin tribes in the area, and also on the dialect-type(s) spoken in aṭ-Ṭūr if we want to arrive at some form of an acceptable conclusion.

27 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:621–625.
corroborated if we could somehow definitively establish the shape of an earlier type of eastern Šarqāwiy, which is not possible at this stage. We simply do not know the characteristics of the dialect-type (or even different types)—the degree of ‘Bedouinness’ or ‘sedentariness’—spoken in this eastern Delta region in the fourteenth century.

What makes this scenario of ‘re-bedouinization’ less likely, is that one would expect hypercorrections in the re-bedouinized dialects. An example of such hypercorrection would be, in case of a ‘re-split’, an interdental reflex for originally plosives, like t for *t, or d for *d. I have seen no evidence of such or comparable hypercorrections.

It is more likely that these collectives (the 'Lēgāt and the Ṣawālḥah) kept speaking their own dialects during their stay in the eastern Delta, or at least their dialects were not extensively influenced by a sedentary type comparable to types heard in the Delta today, and that such ‘re-bedouinization’ did not take place when they moved to Sinai. This situation would be comparable to the situation of the dialect spoken by the Rašāydah, who are known to have continued to speak their own Nağdiy dialect (in the privacy of their own homes, in any case) in Sudan and also in other areas, even though they have been away from their former abode in the Arabian Peninsula for almost two centuries (since the second half of the 19th century).

f. The Locations of Isogloss Bundles in Central and Southern Sinai

Isogloss bundles coincide with boundaries of tribal dirahs, simply because we have chosen geographical borders between the tribal areas (sg. 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. I did however notice some differences between members of the Ġbāliyyah who live near the monastery of St Catherine, and those who live some 40 kilometres away in Wādiy Fēران/ Wādiy aš-Šēx, in and near Mrēr and at-Ṭarfa. Similarly, Mzēnah who live near the coast will use šuḡl as the genitive exponent, whereas hagg appears to

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28 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:39.
29 Hobbs 1995:140 reports that of the estimated 300 families (or 1,500 souls) of the Ġbāliyyah, around half live within a 5 kilometre radius from the monastery, and the other half live in at-Ṭarfa.
be more current with Mzêniy speakers who live more inland, i.e. in the mountains (see 3.1.11.).

Much clearer than in northern Sinai, some of the major isogloss bundles found in central/southern Sinai coincide with visible geological features of the landscape. From the fact that isoglosses in this study are drawn into maps to coincide with borders of tribal dirahs, and borders of some of these dirahs coincide with features of the landscape, the coincidence of isogloss bundles with natural features of the landscape will come as no surprise. In cases where such a natural feature of the landscape is an obstacle for the traveller, isoglosses may accumulate to form thicker bundles. This is no news, of course, since examples from Europe or elsewhere, like rivers (i.e. where they hinder traffic), swamps, mountain ranges, etc. are plentiful.

In Sinai, one of the clearest examples of such coincidence of isogloss bundles with a natural feature of the landscape is the southern escarpment of the Tīh plateau, which is also roughly the location of the major isogloss bundles (numbers –16–, –20– and –24– in MAP 88, see appendix) running more or less southeast-northwest through Sinai between dialects of group I (to the northeast) and dialects of group VII (ṢwA) and group VIII (ʿLĀ) (to the southwest). Although the dialect of the Badāṛah (assigned here to group I) is now spoken to the south of this escarpment as well, this tribe is originally from the Tīh plateau, where some of their families may still be found. In figure 1 of the appendix the escarpment

30 Palva 1984–1986:307 remarks that ḥagg “is the genitive marker used by many dialects of the Arabian Peninsula”.

31 A practical way for tribes to decide on the border of their territories is to agree on features of the landscape to represent this border. An example is the “Fjord” on the coast of the Gulf of ʿAqabah (location appr. 29.25.50 North and 34.49.50 East, see Google Earth), which is accepted by Taṛābin and Aḥaywāt to be the eastern end of the border between their dirahs.

32 In northern Sinai we identified an ‘invisible obstacle’ coinciding with such a major isogloss bundle: due to the lowly social status of the Dawāḍrah major isogloss bundles coincide with the borders between their dirah and the dirahs of neighbouring tribes, see De Jong 2000:653 (MAP 00 in appendix), isogloss bundles numbers 6 and 8.

33 The Tīh plateau is Eocene limestone, the high mountains to the south are part of a Precambrian Crystalline base, see webpage http://www.awayaway-sinai.net/main/about_sinai.htm (accessed 10-18-2010).

34 Oral communication from members of the Badāṛah in the field, and who now live in ar-Ṛamlah, the sandy area just to the south of this escarpment. Von Oppenheim 1943:152–153 also mentions the Bedārā (in his transcription) as one of the oldest tribes in Sinai, living on Ǧabal ʿIǧmah, who were in a ḥilf (alliance) with the Ṭawara (ʿLēgāt) as well, and have ‘now’ (i.e. in his day) returned again to their old protectors the Ṭawara. I had the impression during my visits that they had now returned to their earlier protectors the ‘Lēgāt again.
is visible in the map as the darker shade of grey between the brownish/pink area to the south (the area aptly named ar-Řamlah, indicated on the map as Debbet er Ramleh) and the high granite mountains of at-Ṭūr and the grey area to the north (limestone plateau of at-Tīh). This escarpment is very difficult to traverse.  

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, as I was told by my Turbāniy informant.

In Wādiy aš-Šēx the tribal border between the Mzēnah and Ǧbāliyyah is the (nowadays) asphalt road that leads through Wādiy aš-Šēx (to Wādiy Fēṛān): at the stretch of this road to the west of at-Ṭarfa Mzēniy territory lies to the north and the territory to the south is claimed by the Ǧbāliyyah.

The dialects of Baniy Wāṣil and the Mzēnah show a number of important similarities. Since the Baniy Wāṣil are said to originally have been speakers of a group I-type of dialect—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

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35 For a map showing the passes leading down from the Tīh Plateau to the ‘Dividing Valleys’ (of which the ar-Řamlah area is a part), see Greenwood 1997:35 (Figure 3–6. The Dividing Valleys).
36 This mountain is erroneously named Jabal Jannah on Google Earth, coordinates are appr. 28.52.30 North, 34.07.50 East.
37 Oral information of sources in the field. See also a comparison of MzA and BWA below.
sandy coastal plain near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, which they claim as their dirah, deserted. The Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah can travel through this area freely,38 but simply will not settle in this empty land, which is also considered to be Saʾidiy territory.

Territorial disputes also occur from time to time. The latest (in 2008) large scale conflict was between ʿLēgāt and Taṛābīn, when the ʿLēgāt, supported in their territorial ambitions by the Ġarāğrah tried to move into Turbāniy territory south of Ras Ṣadr. The Taṛābīn did not sit idly and watch it occur, but instead rode out to defend their territorial claims in an armed conflict. The matter was settled later in a Bedouin court of justice. Not only were the ʿLēgāt sentenced in this Bedouin court of justice for their expansionist aspirations, the Ġarāğrah 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 compulsory) (see MAP 22).
– The use of a sg. fem. pronominal suffix -kiy, either when following ӯ, or invariably so (i.e. preceded by any combination of vowels and/or consonants, like in group I) (see MAP 37).

38 This is not to say that a tribe would otherwise normally deny a traveller passage through their dirah. The point is that contact between Mzēnah and Awlād Saʾīd and between Baniy Wāṣil and Awlād Saʾīd is likely to be less frequent, and contact between the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil to be more frequent than the situation reflected by the map may suggest.
39 Oral communication from Turbāniy sources in the field.
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which predominantly uses demonstrative forms with initial ḥā-, like in group I (see MAPS 39 and 40).
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which uses the adverb ḥniy for "here" (see MAP 46).
- The system of negated personal pronominals is basically like in group I (see MAP 79).
- The interrogative "when" is like in group I matā, not like in the surrounding dialects (where one will hear (i)mtēh, mtēn, or mitēn) (see MAP 82).
- 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms and sg. masc. imperatives of mediae infirmæ verbs with shortened long vowels are not current (i.e. the situation is like in group I). In surrounding dialects such shortening of the long vowel occurs regularly (see MAPS 84 and 85).

Of the partial differences, it is striking that a form used parallel to a form also known in MzA is often of the type found in group I as well. Examples are:

- Like in group I, a reflex (with short vowel) -āʾ (when preceded by an emphatic) is used as parallel to (with long vowel) -āʾ(ʾ) (like in surrounding dialects) for *-āʾ, e.g. ḥiḏā “free time”, but ḥāʾ “hand mill”.
- Like in group I, widd is used to express “want, need”, parallel to bidd, the latter being current in surrounding dialects of group VII (see MAP 73).
- Like in group I, raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē (e.g. lammēt > limmēt) is often absent, as opposed to the situation in surrounding dialects where such raising is current (see MAP 75).
- Like in group I, the baking sheet (for the preparation of bread) is called a ṣāǧ (as opposed to šāz in surrounding dialects). The game of sūǧh (sūǧh 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 ḥā- (i.e. ḥāḍil), as opposed to surrounding dialects, where only forms without such initial ḥā- are current (this may be due to MzA, which has ḥāḍil as a parallel form as well, or may be due to forms in group I, where forms with initial ḥā- 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 Banī Ṭalaʾ Ṣūr were among the earliest tribes to arrive in Sinai (between 10th and 13th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, see Bailey 1985:33–35, and remarks made above in the Introduction, I. d.). Chances that BWA
acquired these group I features through dialect contact with one of the group I dialects are not great, since the dirah of Baniy Wāṣil does not border on any of the group I 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) *kbār* and (unvelarized) *ktār* (like in MzA) contrasting with (both velarized) *kbār* and *ktār* in group I, and (both unvelarized) *kbǟr* and *k/tmacronbelowǟr* in surrounding dialects (see MAP 4).
– Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *a* and also *ā* is like in MzA.
– Initial (’)*a*- in “mother”: ’amm (like in MzA and group I) as opposed to ’umma 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 ḬmA), but surrounding and group I dialects have different forms (see MAP 48).
– The 3rd p. sg. fem. perfect of ī-type is CICC with in MzA, but surrounding and group I dialects have other forms (see MAP 52).
– The combination of 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of “come” are *yiǧīy* and *iǧīy* is like in MzA, but forms differ from surrounding and group I dialects (see MAP 61).
– For the pl. masc. personal pronoun for “they” *huwwa* is current, like in MzA (but most group I dialects have *huṃ(macra)* (see MAP 78).
– The reflex for final *-ā* in ā-type tertiae infirmae (yā’) verbs is usually (stressed) -ʾ, like in *mišīʾ. ligīʾ. nisīʾ* (see MAP 86).

The grouping of MzA and BWA together in the same group is also supported by the outcome of the plots generated by the SPSS programmes Proxscal and Alscal: the MDS plots (see pp. 373–374), the dendrogram (see p. 375), the multi-dimensional colour plot, and—although to a somewhat lesser extent—the percentages calculated using the step method (see Conclusions, III. b.).
IV. METHODS OF ILLUSTRATING DIALECT DIFFERENCES

a. Some Remarks on Methods of Illustrating Typological Similarities/Differences of Dialects

One method of illustrating typological distances between dialects is to take the selection of features as they have been recorded in the data set. In this data set every dialect receives its own horizontal row and selected features are recorded in vertical columns. Presence of a feature is marked with the number “1”, absence of the feature with the number “0”. When parallel forms have been recorded in one dialect, presence of these parallel forms will be marked “1” in an equal number of columns.

On the basis of this data set, a distance matrix is then calculated; for each pair of dialects a relative typological distance is calculated (see the distance matrix in the appendix p. 376) (for dialectometrical measurements of distances based on differences and similarities, see Chapter 11.2. In Behnstedt and Woidich 2005).

Using the calculated distances from the distance matrix, dialects are then plotted into an imaginary three-dimensional cube.

To each of the three dimensions represented by axes X, Y and Z one of the three basic colours red, green or blue is assigned.

Each axis is subdivided in values between zero and 255, in which zero represents 0 value for the basic colour, and 255 represents maximum value for that same basic colour on this axis.40

In this way every point inside the cube receives its own set of three coordinates, the combination of which is unique. Since these coordinates are represented by intensities of basic colours, different colours are produced according to the mix of the different values for these basic colours.

We then take these colours back to the geographical map, and paste them into the dirahs of the tribes whose dialects are represented by these colours. The result is a map in which typologically more similar dialects will show relatively similar colours, whereas more strongly differing dialects will receive more strongly differing colours on this map. An example of the situation in Sinai can be found on figure 8a in the Appendix.

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40 For an introduction to this method of multi-dimensional scaling, see the webpage (in Dutch) by Peter Kleiweg http://www.let.rug.nl/~kleiweg/Lo4/Tutorial/ti.html.nl (accessed 10-18-2010), which is part of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) project at the University of Groningen (Netherlands).
This map clearly shows the dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours:

- group I is mainly different shades of light green (and greyish for TAŞ and TAN),
- group II is purplish red,
- group III is red/dark orange (with a similar shade for eŠA)
- group IV is light blue,
- group V is purple,
- group VI is sea green.
- group VII is purple/violet.
- group VIII is brownish / dark olive green.

When the three basic colours are assigned to different axes, naturally the colours will change. Examples are figures 8b and 8c in the Appendix.

These maps also appear to corroborate claims of genealogical relatedness of some tribes. The dialects of TAŞ and TAN are spoken by two different branches of Taṛābīn, who live approximately 200 kilometres apart. The fact that they are typologically near is clearly illustrated in the 2-dimensional MDS plots generated by Proxscal and Alscal (see pp. 373–374), where they have been plotted near each other. It is also illustrated by the 3-dimensional colour MDS plot, where the two dialects receive very similar colour shades. The dialect of the northern branch of Taṛābīn (nTA) is however typologically further removed, which is also illustrated in the different plots.

In the same way, the proximity of the two dialects DbA and ḤwA seems to corroborate claims that the two tribes are genetically related, or in any case may have been part of the same confederation in earlier times; the Dbūr are said to have split off from the Ḥwēṭāt as a ʿāylah.41

Compare these maps to map 88 of the appendix in which the differences have been interpreted and where every group is represented by one assigned colour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>pink/light red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group IV</td>
<td>Group V</td>
<td>Group VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light blue</td>
<td>grey/blue</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group VII</td>
<td>Group VIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light brown</td>
<td>dark yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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41 Von Oppenheim 1943:154–155 already lists this collective (Debūr in his transcription) as a sub-tribe of the Ḥwēṭāt, adding that they are “apparently a branch of the Debūr of Transjordan” (see ibid.:155, note 5). Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:307 also lists the Dubūr as one of the branches of the Ḥwēṭāt.
The dīrahs of the Ḥwēṭāt and Ahaywāt

Although interviews with Ḥwēṭāt were recorded in the area of Ğidy, I have not met with Ḥwēṭāt from the area more to the north in the triangular area drawn on the map between ‘AyA and nTA territory. For the area of Ahaywāt to the south of this ḤwA area, I have spoken to some Āḥaywiys who live near the road from Rās Ṣadr to the main (west-east through central Sinai) road Mitla–Nixl, where some families of the Ahaywāt live, not far north of Qal’at alǦindiy.

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 Šarqiyah (eŠA) in the Nile Delta, a ‘virtual’ isogloss bundle was introduced in De Jong 2000.46 The MDS plot also clearly shows this typological proximity.
- The MDS plot corroborates the separate typological status (as not being part of the northern Sinai dialect continuum) of Dwēğiyy (DA, group IV) and Ārāyšiy (‘AA, group V). The plot also shows that they are sufficiently far removed from other dialects to be considered as separate ‘groups’.
- The MDS plot shows that groups I, II, III and eŠA (eastern Šarqāwiyy) of the north are in a linear sequence (‘west-east’ from left to right in the MDS plot), which reflects the typological continuum they form (geographically running in the opposite direction of the MDS plot).

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42 Originally Umm Iflāh, see remark in fn 7, p. 3.
43 Qal’at alǦindiy 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 a remark from an older speaker of Smé’niy (SaA of group II in the north) was quoted, in which he claimed that his tribe had until a hundred years earlier lived in at-Ţūr, where they had owned datepalms. The MDS plot Proxscal Squared Euclidean clearly illustrates the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (ḤmA of group VII) as being relatively nearest to that of the Samā’nah. The MDS plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see pp. 373–374) however does not produce the same result. I have no explanation for this difference between these two plots.

- The dialects of Baniy Wāsil and Mzēnah are plotted relatively near to each other. This is supported by the relatively limited number of isoglosses in the ‘virtual’ isogloss bundle introduced in the preceding pages, which also illustrates such relative typological proximity.

- The dialect of Baniy Wāsil (BWA), which was said by informants to have originally been of the group I-type, is plotted nearer to the group I dialects than any of the other non-group I dialects.

A problem with the outcome of the two-dimensional MDS plot Squared Euclidean Binary (see p. 373) generated by Proxscal is that the distance between e.g. BWA and ĞrA (of different groups: VI and I resp.) is plotted as shorter than the distance between, e.g., ĞrA and MlA, which are of the same group (both of group I), whereas dialects that are typologically more similar should be plotted nearer to each other than dialects that are less similar. The reason is that the number of dialects in group I to be incorporated in the plot is so great that it causes excessive stress, which results from ‘cramming’ hundreds of dimensions into a two-dimensional space. The result is that a less realistic representation like the one discussed here becomes unavoidable. To illustrate that it is stress that causes such distortion, all group I dialects causing such stress have been omitted from the MDS plot below, except ĞrA and MlA.

In this Proxscal MDS plot we see that the distance between ĞrA and MlA has been restored as being relatively shorter than the distance between ĞrA and BWA (dissimilarities are: BWA – MlA = 76, ĞrA – MlA

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47 See p. 246. For illustration of similarities of these dialects cf. MAPS in the appendix of this volume.
48 The name at-Ţūr is generally used to refer to the high mountainous area in southern Sinai, roughly where the Ṭuwaḏa tribes live.
Methods of illustrating dialect differences

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.

Another interesting aspect of the different methods of multi-dimensional scaling is that these invariably lead the same grouping of dialects. Although different methods applied may inside the generated MDS plots lead to different positions of dialects (like 'AA and DA) that have relatively little in common with the other dialects spoken in Sinai, the different MDS plots do produce comparable clusters of typologically related groups of dialects (see also two other MDS plots and the dendrogram on p. 375).

In addition, we notice that the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are all plotted in the southeastern quadrant of the plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary). The importance lies in the fact that, given the diverse
origins of the tribal communities before they came to Sinai (and at different times in history), dialect contact is highly likely to have been the acting force in bringing these dialects typologically nearer to each other in a process of levelling.52 In this way the dialects of the different tribes have coalesced (though not entirely) to form a ‘phylum’,53 which now covers the southern tip of Sinai. Several processes of focusing must have taken place. One clear example is the spread of the -\(\dot{a}\)\(k\) (masc.) and -\(\dot{i}\)\(k\) (fem.) pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg.; although the proposed development described above (cf. Chapter I, 3.1.12.2., NOTE) may be plausible, it is highly unlikely that the different different tribes who arrived in southern Sinai at different times in history all had these suffixes after having all gone through the same process of innovation (i.e. the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries) independently and before their arrival in Sinai. A much more plausible scenario is that these suffixes originated in one of the dialects involved in dialect contact, after which they spread throughout the southern region. This development may be difficult to date, but we know that it must have taken place more than a century ago at least, because until ten years ago these suffixes were still present in the dialect of the 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 dendrogram54 (generated with the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the SPSS) to cluster the dialects of Sinai (including Negev Arabic, ǦA). 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 Ṭawaṭa tribes have lived in close alliance since the 17th century (Oppenhein 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 heterogeneuse history reported for the different tribes in various sources, this is far less likely; in any case this alternative interpretation would fail to explain the current typological position of 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 Šarqiyyya (eŠA) and the dialects of groups III (BA and AxA) and also V (ʿAA) are all on the same longer branch. This is due to the fact that these dialects are all more of the sedentary type (in comparison to the other dialects represented here in groups, which are more of the Bedouin type).

A plausible interpretation of the existing situation from a socio-linguistic perspective is that the different groups, in as far as dialects were not genealogically related, have developed from a diffuse situation (or situations, since the different tribes arrived at different times in history) towards a more homogeneous situation through dialect contact, in which certain original forms must have been lost due to processes of koineization through stages of levelling (simplification, reduction in irregularities, focusing, dropping minority and otherwise marked speech forms that exist parallel) and which resulted in a synchronically relatively stable dialect (see Trudgill 1986:107–108 and remarks in De Jong 2000:28–29).55

To conclude such a development becomes particularly plausible if we consider the case of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes -uḳ and -ik (resp.); a scenario in which different tribes of different origins arrived at different times in history, but were all already using these pron. suffixes is highly unlikely (see remarks in the preceding paragraph). We may not know where these suffixes originated, but we do know that they spread among this group with its heterogeneous background that currently exists in southern Sinai. Perhaps these suffixes were imported into the area by one of the tribes who arrived there, or perhaps these suffixes even came into being locally as ‘interdialect forms’ (see Trudgill 1986:62).

55 For processes of ‘Konvergenz’ leading to ‘Nivellierung’, bringing various dialects closer together, see Diem 1978.
e. What Informants Say

In the course of this research several claims were heard made by informants concerning the relationships between the different tribes of Sinai. Although I have chosen not to use these comments for the typological classification and grouping, I consider them interesting enough to be mentioned here. Below is a list of these claims and in comments I have indicated how the results of the MDS plots and the dendrogram (in the appendix) might relate to these claims\(^{56}\) (the question of whether or not these statements are true is not investigated here).\(^{57}\)

Remark: the Dbûr 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 Ġarāğrah are said to be related to the Masāʿīd (in the northwest), who are in turn said to be related to the Aḥaywāt (living around Nīxl 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 Ġarāğrah (ĠrA), however, is not plotted very near to AḥA and MA (resp.). The dendrogram shows the same.

Remark: the Ṭēgāt are said to be descendents of the neigbouring Ṣawāłḥah.
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 evident from the MDS plots or the dendrogram.

Remark: the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil was more like the dialect–type spoken by group I tribes, but it has changed under influence of dialects of ‘other’ (not further specified) tribes.
Comment: the MDS plots indeed show that Wāṣliy (BWA), as one of the dialects of the southern groups VI, VII and VIII, is typologically nearest to the group I-type dialects. The dendrogram does not show a direct connection.

In general, one could conclude that remarks made by informants are often on the mark, or quite near it. G.W. Murray’s (1935:256–257) remark on Bedouin in southern Sinai that “among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects...” is true for the entire region.

V. A Comparison of the Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt of Southern Jordan and the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai

Prompted by some additional remarks made by Professor Heikki Palva on the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt, which were partly in reaction to my own remarks on his description of their dialect as spoken by this tribe in southern Jordan, I feel encouraged to once again add a few of my observations.

\(^{59}\) Stewart (1991:106) reports that the Taṛābīn were part of the Baniy ‘Aṭiyya.
\(^{60}\) See also De Jong 2000:57–58, fn 3 on the special position of BaA inside group I.
In this research it is assumed that members of the same tribe who live in the same dirah and are in regular contact with each other will also speak the same dialect. 61

When members of the same tribe have been living in different locations, and have been relatively isolated from each other for longer periods of time, their dialects are bound to show differences, and one may expect that the longer the isolation has lasted, the more differences will have developed. 62

The majority of those who identify themselves as Ḥwēṭāt are actually found in southern Jordan and in the adjacent far northwestern corner (the northern Ḥiǧāz) of Saudi Arabia. In older times many of the Ḥwēṭāt settled on the Egyptian mainland, a large group of whom were found around Bilbēs in the eastern Nile Delta. The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are not very numerous, and a small settlement inhabited by them is Ğidy 63 in the north of Sinai. The Ḥwēṭāt of southern Jordan are said to be an amalgam of different groups of (semi-)sedentary population, many of whom are originally not of Bedouin stock. 64

My earlier remarks concerned the typological status of the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan, 65 and whether perhaps their dialect formed part of a transition to a more 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).

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61 This is a sociolinguistically inspired approach that has proven to be a very workable principle in the case of (sometimes still (semi-) nomadic) Bedouin tribes. There are exceptions, of course. See also remarks in De Jong 2000:39.
62 Either as a result from autonomous developments inside the dialect itself, or as a result of change induced by contacts with speakers of other dialects.
63 Since the area was said to be teeming with military (for the very strategic Ğidy pass about 20 km north of the Mīlāt pass), I had interviews there conducted for me by others. The approximate position of the village would be 30.12 North, 33.04 East, just to the northwest of Ğabal Ğidy, and to the north of Ṣadr alḤayṭān, see Google Earth (where it is indicated as Gebel Heitan).
64 Oral communication from a Ḥwēṭiy šēx from al-Ǧafr interviewed in 2008 in al-Ḥusayniyyah in southern Jordan. He told me that several families or clans had joined the tribe as duxala (Classical Arabic duxulā), 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”.
I have added notes referring to Ḥwēṭiy poetry as recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 when forms appearing there are different from Palva’s description or from my own findings. These poems will be referred to as ‘Barrāk’. The abbreviation ḤwA is used here to refer to my own findings for the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai. For the sake of brevity, the emphasis in this comparison is on highlighting differences between ḤwA and ḤwJ, while briefly mentioning some similarities.

The texts of the poet Barrāk in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 are essentially the interpretation of the authors of written texts, and are not based on audio recordings. Apart from that, it is known that for poetry not every day spoken dialect is used, but a (higher) register considered to be more appropriate for this purpose. I shall therefore merely mention details of interest without drawing any conclusions from the Barrāk material.

**Phonetics**

The inventory of phonemes is almost identical (see Palva 1984–1986:296). One difference is that the affricate ǧ has a highly regular allophone (fricative) ž in ḤwA. In Barrāk transcription is with ǧ throughout and is reported as “always realised as an alveolar affricate” (i.e. I.P.A. [dʒ]).

A glottal stop often follows final stressed -a in a pause (Barrāk:296): e.g. ǧa’ “he came”.

A similar situation in ḤwA, but ʾ is also often heard following unstressed final -a, e.g. ʾáfd ʿ “I sacrifice”, taġādda ʾ “he had lunch”, biyrīdha ʾ “he wants (i.e. loves) her” and álʿaša ʾ “the dinner”.

Such glottalization is not indicated in Barrāk.

Lack of affrication in reflexes of *k and *q in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.

Three short vowel phonemes: /i/, /u/ and /a/ in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.

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66 “Barrāk” for the poet Barrāk Dāğiš 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 Taṛābīn, born in the Gaza area, and was raised in Jordan (Clive Holes, personal communication). Chances are therefore considerable that in Barrāk’s transcribed poems Said’s own Turbāniy or perhaps (partly) Jordanian dialect shines through.

Five long vowel phonemes: /ī/, /ū/ and /ā/, and /ē/ (*ay) and /ō/ (*aw) in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA. No real overlap (or fluctuation) of /ē/ with /ī/ or /ō/ with /ū/. In ḤwA very high /ē/ was heard in the lexical items zēt, sēf and bēt, but such high realisations (near I.P.A. [iː]) of /ē/ were the exception, rather than the rule.

Palva (ibid.) reports /ē/ and /ō/ in all positions in ḤwJ, including those preceded by velarized consonants or X. In ḤwA, however, diphthongs have remained in such positions, e.g. ʿayn “eye”, xaymih “tent”, nuṣṣayn “two halves”, ʂayf “summer”, ḥawlíy “I went home before sunset”, ḥawlíy “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gawtar “he went”. The diphthong in ʿayš “bread” was often realised lengthened: ʿaʃy in ḤwA.

In Barrāk only a few diphthongs occur, e.g. ḥawl (p. 93, l. 5), at-ṭubayg, (p. 96, l. 37), taw’ in (p. 101, l. 4) but more regularly monophthongs are found following back spirants and velarized consonants, e.g.: hēl and xēl (p. 94, ll. 14 and 16) (but here perhaps to rhyme with sēl and mēl), hēt (p. 95, l. 30), ʿēn (p. 96, l. 43), tēr (p. 100, l. 29), ġēr (p. 100, l. 32), bağētah (p. 101, l. 4) (here rhyming with nagētah and lagētah), sēf (p. 101, l. 5), aṭētah and naʿētah (p. 102, ll. 20 and 21).

In terms of stress, the only difference between ḤwJ and ḤwA appears to be that the former stresses CáCaC(v) (provided it is not CaXaCv),69 while the latter clearly prefers stress CaCáC(v).

Examples for CaCáC from ḤwA are malág “hard soil/rock (i.e. where no foot prints will be visible)”, libán “milk” and a gahawah-form dmacronbeloẉaháṛ “back”. ḤwA examples for CaCaCv are sibágah “race”, zalámah “man”, gaháwah “coffee”, handákak “your mouth”, afámak “your mouth”, tahárid (ʿala) “you go up (to)”, naʿārif “we know”.

In ḤwJ we see forms like (following numbers refer to pages in Palva 2004) ritam “retem (firewood)” (203) and sīgar “trees” (203) (stressed, according

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69 This is how I interpret Palva’s remarks, see 1984–1986:297. These remarks seem to be contradicted, however, by (verbal) forms listed on p. 299: k(i)tábat, k(i)tábow/-u and k(i)tábin. Although Palva (2004:197,198) repairs the error of listing the forms ga dat, ga dow/-u and ga din by replacing them with the forms ga adat, ga adow/-u and ga adin, we are now faced with a new question: why is *katab + at stressed k(i)tábat, whereas ga ad + at is stressed, I assume, ga adat? This assumption is not without ground: the form ga dat could not have been listed if the proper form is ga adat, since I find it hard to believe that a stressed vowel would have been heard as having been elided. The error of listing the form ga dat could therefore only be made because the proper form is ga adat.

When gahawah-forms are involved, we do find a CaCáCv stress-type, e.g. baʿā ḍa (Palva 2004:201).
to Palva’s remarks, rítam and síǧar),79 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: álbul “the camels”, ábwalad “the boy”, áńgalař/yíngilař (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yáńgalař) “be overturned”, áťtāfaj/yūttiřj (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yáťtāfaj)71 “agree”, bintī “my daughter”, ářarabatnī “she hit me”. As for forms in Barrāk, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to stress.

As for the Naĝdiy 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 is the ḤwA equivalent, which are not affected by the Naĝdiy resyllabication rule). First of all, gahawah-forms appearing in ḤwJ which are also resyllabified in conformity with the Naĝdiy resyllabication rule are (forms listed in square brackets are proper ḤwA forms):

ghawah (1984–1986:303) [gaháwah], yğazu “they raid” (201) [yaġázuw], 3 instances of nxabiz “we bake” (202) [naxábiz], 3 instances of n’âǧin “we knead” (202) [na’âǧin], 2 instances of nģázil “we spin”, nģâziila “we spin it” (203) [naģázil and naģázlah] and nhašid “we harvest” (204) [nahâšid].

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70 I have not listed CaCaC forms preceded by the (stressed) article. Other forms in ḤwJ without such raising are balad (204), haʃjar (204, 205, 206), masak (206), walad (206), ‘ašar (207), suňa (207), nasab (207) and ḥaʃal (208). Interestingly, in the paradigms for kitab and širib (see Palva 1984–1986:299), i of the first syllable may only be dropped when it is in open syllable directly preceding a stressed syllable (forms cited are e.g. š(i)ribti and k(i) тáthin). From this a conclusion that the second syllables in širib and kitab are not stressed logically follows, and therefore these forms must be stressed kitab and širib (since •ktáb and •šríb are not optional). For further implications, see remarks below in ‘the verb’.

71 For these imperfect forms of measures n-1 and t-t in ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:303.


In Barrāk instances of CaCaCV were not found.

gahawah-forms in Barrāk are: ar-raʿad (p. 86, l. 11), wa l-waʿad (p. 88, l. 4), and verb forms tahamduḥ (p. 91, l. 25). But there are also many forms which are not affected by the gahawah-syndrome (perhaps for metric reasons), e.g. šaʿbah (p. 91, l. 27), šaʾb (p. 91, l. 28) and šaʾb (p. 93, l. 8), an-naxlāt (p. 99, l. 25) and verb forms yahfaḍūḥ (p. 91, l. 20), yahkum (p. 91, l. 28) and yaxša (p. 95, l. 23).

Morphology

Independent pronouns in ḤwA are aná, int(a), intiy, hū, hī, aḥna, intuw, intin, huṃ (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 hinna (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(’), -kuw / -kin, -na(’). In ḤwJ the same suffixes are current, except the allomorph -ih of the 3rd p. sg. masc.74

In Barrāk we find singular forms like (3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih) šaʾbah “his people” (p. 91, l. 27) and annās kullih “all people” (p. 85, l. 3) and (v + -h) yiʿtih “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 warāḥā “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

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73 See Palva 1984–1986:297 and 2004:298. Palva also mentions that in pause, ana, hū and hī sometimes have an audible glottal stop following. In ḤwA I have only noticed this in the case of ana *, but then not only in pause.
74 I follow a slightly different system of transcription in forms like -kuw and -kiy (Palva writes -ku and -ki). I have not recorded (unstressed and short) -i or -ni for the 1st p. com. sg. in ḤwA, which Palva 1984–1986:397 gives for ḤwJ.
forms are (3rd p. pl. masc.) ahalhum “their people” (p. 100, l. 33); (3rd p. pl. fem. -hin) la buddhin “they must”; (2nd p. pl. masc. -kum; -ku(w) was not recorded) ġihādkum “your fight” (p. 86, l. 15); the 2nd p. pl. fem. was not found; (1st p. pl. com. -na) baladna “our land” (p. 89, l. 17).

Demonstrative pronouns in ḤwA are
Near deixis: hāda, hādiy (~ fewer hēdiy), hadāl (~lah),
Far deixis: hadāk, hadik (~ih) (~ fewer ġēdik (~ih)), hadallāk (~ah)
In ḤwJ the same forms were recorded.75

A feature considered very typical of ḤwA by other tribes is the postpositional demonstrative ha, e.g. álwalad ha... “this boy”. This feature was not reported for ḤwJ, nor were instances found in Barrāk.

Interrogatives
min is used for “who?” in both ḤwA and ḤwJ.76
For the interrogative “what?” ēh, much less regularly ēš and sometimes wiš were heard in ḤwA. For ḤwJ Palva77 gives wuš, co-occurring with ēš and K-form šū (with proclitic variants ‘iš and šu).
“Which” is yāt in ḤwA, but ayy / ayya in ḤwJ.78

The b-imperfect
For ḤwJ Palva reports that the b-imperfect is not current in ḤwJ.79 Barrāk shows no instances of the b-imperfect either. In ḤwA, however, it is as current as in other dialects of Sinai (except in that of the Dawāğrah).

Indefinite pronouns and the article80
ḤwJ wāḥad—ḤwA wāḥid “someone”, both variants have šiy “something”, kam “some”, “all, every, whole” is kill in ḤwJ—kull in ḤwA, the article is al- in both variants, and also often (‘konkretisierendes’)81 hal.82 The relative pronoun is alli(y) in both, while halli is also reported for ḤwJ (the latter was not heard in ḤwA).

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78 See Palva 1984–1986:298
80 For remarks on ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:298.
82 For postpositioned ha in ḤwA, see remark in III, 3.1.9.1.
The verb in ḤwA and ḤwJ
Perfect verb forms listed for ḤwJ reflect the a-type as GiCaC or CaCaC (< *CaCaC) and the i-type as CiCiC or CaCiC (< *CaCiC). Palva\(^{83}\) concludes that the vowel of the first syllable in both types depends on the phonetic surroundings. To summarize his point: if a of the first syllable in *CaCaC was realized with a back allophone, it has remained a (e.g. gaʿad), but if it was realized with a front allophone, it has become i (e.g. kitab). In the older i-type (*CaCiC) the same development is concluded, but an additional factor of vowel harmony is held responsible for this change. Examples cited are ‘arif (< *CaCiC, in which a is concluded to have been realized with a back allophone) and širīb (< *CaGiC, where a is concluded to have been realized with a front allophone).

Apart from the fact that it is difficult to imagine a back allophone for a in ‘arif (which would then have to be more or less like (the vowel in the first syllable) a in e.g. ʿdārab, i.e. near I.P.A. [a]),\(^{84}\) there is a more plausible explanation.

A historically more plausible development to account for raising a > i in these patterns is to postulate a stress shift from CvCVC to CvCVC (see also Grotzfeld 1969); patterns that are now stressed on the first syllable must have been stressed on the second syllable to allow the vowel a in neutral surroundings to be raised to i. The scenario in which raising of short vowel a > i in open syllable preceding a stressed syllable takes place is not unique in the area (see paragraphs 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.6. of preceding descriptive chapters), nor is stress of the CaCaC- or CiCiC-type (see paragraphs 2.1.1.2.1. of preceding descriptive chapters; ḤwA also has CaCaC and CiCiC, e.g. kitāb and širīb).

The implication is that Palva’s suggestion of raising of a in *CaCiC (> CiCiC) in ḤwJ as the result of vowel harmony\(^{85}\) appears to be off the mark. After all, why would a in *CaCaC be raised (> CiCaC) if a mechanism of vowel harmony were operative?\(^{86}\)

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\(^{84}\) In fact, preceding ‘ or h more typically result in an open front allophone near I.P.A. [a].

\(^{85}\) As was assumed in Palva 1984–1986:298.

\(^{86}\) Palva ibid. recognizes this, but does not elaborate. Also the fact that the vowel of the imperfect preformative does not harmonize with the stem vowel is an indication that vowel harmony (present in almost all dialects of Sinai, including ḤwA) is at least not a very productive rule in ḤwJ (see ibid.:299–301). Some examples of such lack of vowel harmony cited for ḤwJ are yag ud, yaktib, yamši, yadri, etc.
The more likely historical development is that after such raising (a > i) in neutral surroundings had become stable, resulting in CiCáC and CiCíC, stress shifted onto the first syllable, resulting in the forms that were recorded (e.g. kitaib and širib).

The question remains then, why did stress shift? There is no easy answer, but chances are that ḤwJ has been influenced by a dialect-type which stresses CvCvC. The dialect-type could be a sedentary (rural or urban) type in southern Jordan, or perhaps even contact with speakers of a Naǧdiy (i.e. a Bedouin type, but non-NWA) type of dialect; after all, the very same vowelling and stress-type are current in Naǧdiy (e.g. the active (a-type) perfect forms kitaib “he wrote”, dibaḥ “he slaughtered”, but—due to lowering influences of contiguous h and ‘—no raising in e.g. (a-type perfect) hálab “he milked” and gá’ad “he sat” and also (i-type perfect) ʿásīg “he loved”).

The confusing differences in stressing in forms like gá’adat, but k(i)tábat and (gahawah-forms) y(ā)’ārf and gháwah are already an indication that dialect contact may be have taken place (or is still operative); two systems for stressing sequences of the type CaCaCv(C) appear to be in use and exist side by side as parallel systems. And parallel forms, or parallel systems in this case, are often an indication of dialect contact.

In any case, the topic of stress shift deserves more attention than it can receive here.

Like in ḤwA, a of the i-type perfect (underlying |CaCiC|) in ḤwJ ‘reappears’ in closed syllables, e.g. šarbin “they (fem.) drank”. A difference is the vowel of the 3rd p. sg. fem. ending: šarbit in ḤwA, but šarbat in ḤwJ.

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87 Such forms are not exceptional in the area, see map 14 in the appendix.
89 See ibid.:32.
90 If we look at stress systems current in some Naǧdiy dialects (see Prochazka 1988:20–22), we see that there too a stress shift may have been involved in shaping forms that are heard today. If we take forms like (active) *katab “he wrote” and (internal passive) *ktib (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 kItib), 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 kItib > ktib. When stress then shifted, it could only do so in the active form (resulting in kitaib, cf. ibid.:28), but stress could no longer shift in the internal passive form, since the vowel of the first syllable was no longer available after its elision, and stress had to remain where it was: ktib (cf. ibid.:116). On stress shift in Arabic dialects, see also Grotzfeld 1969.
The vowel of in the 3rd p. pl. fem. perfect ending in ḤwA colours with the base vowel: -an in the a-type perfect (e.g. 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 (kl(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 (katábow or kitábow). 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 bīyğárıblin “they (fem.) grind and sieve” in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ tākitbin / taktibin and tašrabin. Examples for the masc. are yikitbuw and yašrabaw in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ forms are yákitbu / yaktibu and yašrabu, and fem. pl. forms are yákitbin / yaktibin and yašrabin.94

Barrāk lists some forms with the (more Nağdiy-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) ihtāḡaw (p. 95, l. 21) and (imperfect) yaḍḥakaw (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) yahfaḍōh (p. 91, l. 20), while suffixation of -uw results in -ū, as in (perfect) and (imperfect) ysammhū (p. 90, l. 1) and tahamdūh (p. 91, l. 25).

In poetry (Barrāk, pp. 93–97) many instances may be found of vowel harmony in the pl. fem. endings of perfect and imperfect: -an for the a-types and -in for the i-types, e.g. (perfect) bayyananni (p. 95, l. 22) and imperfect (a-type) yarḥalanni (p. 94, l. 18) and (i-type) yihtifinni (p. 94, l. 11).96

In ḤwA the vowel of the imperfect preformative colours with the stem vowel through vowel harmony, e.g. yiktib, yuḍrub and yarğa’, while in ḤwJ

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94 Ibid.:299–300.
95 The poem was actually recited by the poet to king Ḥusayn of Jordan, see ibid.:84–85.
96 Endings there are actually -anni and -inni, instead of -an and -in; the additional -ni being a poetic device.
the preformative is with fixed a, e.g. yaktīb, yāḏrūb and yarġa’. In Barrāk the system is basically like in ḤwA, e.g. yisfīk (p. 86, l. 10), yīḥyi (p. 89, l. 25), yīmši (p. 88, l. 8), yībūnāh (p. 90, l. 4), tunkus (p. 89, l. 15), yūnḍur (p. 89, l. 26), yūḍkūr (p. 100, l. 34), tunṣūr (p. 91, ll. 15, 16), yuṭlūb (p. 91, l. 23), nuḍuqraḥ (p. 101, l. 9), yurẓūg (p. 101, l. 9) and also yasraḵ (p. 86, l. 14) and tarkaḇ (p. 94, ll. 16, 17), but also (exceptions) yāʾiẓzūm (p. 89, l. 26) and tafrīg (p. 96, l. 43).

Imperatives in ḤwA have initial vowels coloured by vowel harmony: ugʿud, iktīb and ʾašrāb. In ḤwJ such colouring is absent from the a-type: ugʿud, iktīb, but išrāb. Some weak verbs

Primae wāw verbs in ḤwA have incorporated wāw in the preformative, often monophthongal ʾō 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 yiqīf and yirīd.

In ḤwJ the preformative contains long ā, as in yāḡaf and yāšal. A shorter form la tīgaʿ was also recorded in ḤwJ. Barrāk gives a form yāḡafanni (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. In Barrāk we find forms like in ḤwA: yarḏaw (p. 88, l. 10) and yītnāsōḥ (suffixed -aw or -ow > -ṓ) (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 yāxīd (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): yḡīy, tḡīy, nḡīy, tḡw,
t̄gin, ȳguw and ȳgin, but (1st p. com. sg.) ağīy. In ḤwJ the vowel has not been dropped and is stressed (leaving the ending unstressed): yı̄ğī, tı̄ğī, etc.

Derived measures
In perfect and imperfect of measures ta-2 and ta-3, the ta- prefix is only rarely reduced to (i)t- in ḤwA. Examples are taḡadda, ytaḡadda and tasālam, ytasālam.

In ḤwJ reduction of ta or ta > t in the imperfect (but not in the perfect) is indicated to be current, as in the examples taḡadda, yat(ə)ḡadda/yit(ə)ḡadda and tasālam, yat(ə)sālam/ yit(ə)sālam. In Barrāk we find forms like iytaraḡğah (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 ánfarah, yínfīth and ástawa, yístawiy in ḤwA, but ánfarah, yánfāth and ástawa, yástawiy in ḤwJ. In Barrāk we find forms like ida nkasar (perhaps stressed id-ánkasar) (p. 88, l. 15), but also infağer (p. 91, l. 22), ingalab (p. 95, l. 27) yiḥtaṣilhā (with a in the stem, but not in the preformative) (p. 89, l. 21), yımtaṭilhā (ibid.) (p. 89, l. 21), yihtifinni (p. 94, l. 11).

Nominal morphology
The degree of raising of the fem. morpheme differs slightly: in ḤwA up to [ı̄h] in neutral surroundings, but in ḤwJ mostly [ɛ]. In Barrāk we see many examples where final -ih is transcribed, e.g. the poem on pp. 98–100.

Tanwin
Tanwin is not a feature of ḤwA or ḤwJ, but in Barrāk’s poems quite a number of instances of are found. The use of tanwin (i.e. appending final -in) is however restricted to poetry and sayings and the like and is not current in every day speech.

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102 Ibid.:303.
103 The final syllable is a poetic device; the poem rhymes in -ni.
Some differences between adverbs in ḤwA and ḤwJ\textsuperscript{105} are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḤwA</th>
<th>ḤwJ</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hni(y)iḥ</td>
<td>hān</td>
<td>“here”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnuḥ</td>
<td>hināk</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kid(y)iḥ</td>
<td>hēk</td>
<td>“thus, this way”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēḥ</td>
<td>lēš</td>
<td>“why?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>matān/mitān, wagtēh</td>
<td>“when?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>kan/kutṟayh</td>
<td>“how many?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaddēḥ</td>
<td>gaddēš</td>
<td>“how much?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāyman</td>
<td>daym</td>
<td>“always”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’a(la) tāl</td>
<td>duġri</td>
<td>“straight”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (’)iḷa 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 kān-. In Barrāk an instance of suffixed kann is kannak tiḏakkar “if you remember” (p. 102, l. 15).\textsuperscript{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 maʿāy and lay in ḤwA. In ḤwJ forms are maʿi and li.

The shorter formʾa for ṭa “on” may in ḤwA also be used in positions not directly followed by the article, e.g. ’a ḡāl “aside” and ’a ḡahr ḏalǧimal “on the back of the camel”. In ḤwJ ṭa is only used when the article directly follows.\textsuperscript{107}

mitl for “as, like” is used in ḤwJ, but in ḤwA zayy is current. mitl also appears in Barrāk (p. 86, l. 11).

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\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.:304–305.

\textsuperscript{106} A footnote explains tiḏakkar < tiḏakkar, but reduction of the initial geminate tt as in ’tiḏakkar is very well possible, see remark in fn 80, p. 176.

Differences between some irregular high-frequency nouns

Similarities in ḤwA and ḤwJ are for “father” (ʾaḥḥ) and (ʾaḥū- in construct state; for “mother” (ʾaḥm); for “brother” (ʾaxx and (ʾaxū- in construct state. A difference is (ʾaḥṭ) in ḤwA, but (ʾaḥṭ) in ḤwJ.

In ḤwA the pl. for “hand” (ʾaḥḍ) is (ʾāḥḍān, in ḤwJ it is (ʾaḥdēn. “Hands” suffixed in ḤwA is ʾāḥḍān- (e.g. ʾāḥḍānī “my hands”), but in ḤwJ it is (ʾaḥdē- (e.g. (ʾaḥdēk “your hands”).

A similarity is (ʾaḥfām for “mouth”, e.g. (ʾaḥfāmī “my mouth” and (ʾaḥfā- mak “your mouth”.

A difference is “water”: (ʾaḥmna (with incorporated article!) in ḤwJ, but ʾmīy in ḤwA.

The analytical genitive

The analytical genitive is not frequent in ḤwJ. In ḤwA the analytical genitive with šuḡḷ is current. I have not come across instances in Barrāk.

Negated pronominals

In ḤwA mūḥū ~ māḥū and mīḥī in ḤwA, ḤwJ has mū ~ muḥu and mī ~ miḥī108 and in Barrāk we find ma hu (p. 98, l. 3) and ma hi (p. 89, l. 22).

The comparison above shows that between these different branches of the same tribe (or tribal confederation) there are already many differences. The differences found—if there ever was a common starting point—must have arisen not only as a result of dialect contact with other tribes (or they are perhaps ‘internally motivated’), but the development of differences may also have been facilitated by the very lack of contact between the different branches due to their geographical separation over a longer period of time109 (the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai are estimated to have arrived there in the 17th century at the latest, see Introduction, I. c.); as the crow flies the distance between the dirahs of the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai and southern Jordan is approximately 200 km. Apart from that, regular contact between the two branches must have been severely hampered by the presence of new borders that came with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Of the two varieties ḤwA is clearly of the group I type found in Sinai and the Negev (see also MDS plots and dendrogram in the appendix), while ḤwJ shows characteristics that are best attributed to contact with dialects which are more of the Naǧdiy-type (see also remarks made in Palva 2008b:406).

108 Ibid. 307.
109 Due to the lack of contact, changes that appear in one variety cannot (any longer) be ‘corrected’ by speakers in another location of originally the same dialect.
VI. Final Conclusions

a. The Position of Sinai Dialects in Northwest Arabian Arabic
   (the NWA-group)

The larger typological dialect group of Northwest Arabian dialects of
Arabic (as was proposed in Palva 1991) was shown in De Jong 2000 to be
present in northern Sinai (groups I, II and III), along the Mediterranean
coast.

When we now check features of groups VI, VII and VIII against fea-
tures listed as characteristic for NWA dialects in Palva 1991:154–165, we
notice the following (only dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are discussed
here):

i Absence of tanwīn and its residues: groups VI, VII and VIII conform
   (cf. 4.1.).

ii Absence of affricated variants of /g/ (*q) and /k/ (*k): groups VI, VII
   and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

iii Absence of final /n/ in the imperfect, 2nd p. sg. fem., 2nd p. pl. masc.
   and 3rd p. pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

iv Pronominal suffix -ku (-kum in my own transcription) in the 2nd p.
   pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (~ -kum in VII and VIII) (cf.
   3.1.12.2.).

v Use of locative preposition fi: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf.
   3.1.16.).

vi Interrogative kēf: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.14.).

vii Voiced reflex of qāf: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

viii The gahawah-syndrome and the CVCaCV- > CCVCV- syllable
   structure: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 2.2.1.1., 2.1.1.2.1.6. in De
   Jong 2000 and 2.1.1.2.2. in the vol. in hand).

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110 Since dialects of group I discussed in this volume are grouped together with other
group I dialects described in De Jong 2000, whose NWA status has already been estab-
lished there, the same NWA status of the group I dialects discussed in the volume in hand
logically follows.

111 The features are cited here as they were listed in Palva 1991. In a number of instances
additional data have become available and appeared in De Jong 2000. The reader is referred
to relevant paragraphs by the numbers following in brackets.

112 This was rephrased as two separate criteria in De Jong 2000:48–50. The conclusion
there was that resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences (> CCVCV) is not a feature of NWA.
ix Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. in personal pronouns, pronominal suffices 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)allī/hallī: groups VI, VII and VIII conform only in part: al- ~ il- and allīy ~ ʾilīy (cf. 3.1.9.1.).

xi A number of typical Bedouin lexical items (gōṭar, ʾsōlaf, ṭabb etc.): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf., e.g., 3.2.3.9.).

xii Occurrence of stressed variants -i and -nī of the pronominal suffix in 1st p. sg. com.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.)

xiii Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in verbal forms VII–X in the perfect, and the stability of this vowel, shown by stress on the initial syllable when in stressable position: group VI conforms, groups VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.2.3.1., 3.2.3.3., 3.2.3.4.).

xiv Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (ʾamm, ʾaxt,ʾawwān, ʾadēn, ʾafām): MzA of group VI and ǦbA of group VII conform in part. Other dialects do not conform (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

xv The invariable pronominal suffix -ki of the 2nd p. sg. fem.: groups VI, VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

On characteristics listed in Palva 1991, which are not shared by all NWA dialects, the following remarks are to be added:

xvi The use of b-imperfect: present in groups VI, VII and VIII (cf. 4.3.).

xvii Vowel harmony in the active imperfect of verbal form I: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

xviii Well-established monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ vs. partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs, and /ō/ ~ /ū/, /ē/ ~ /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 absolutus marker allomorphs /-a/ and /-i/ in Sinai and the Negev, vs. a less strong ʾimāla in the front allomorph in the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and BaniyʿAṭiye dialects, whereas sequences of the type CICV(C) (where I = i or u) have as a rule been resyllabified in NWA dialects, e.g. *ʾināb > ʾnab “grapes”, *tūrāb > ṭrāb “dust”.
(/-a/ and /-e/): group VI has [ı́] in neutral environments, groups VII and VIII tend to have slightly lower ‘imālah, between [e̞] and [ı́] (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

xx The pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. sg. masc. C-ih, fem. -hiy in the Negev, masc. C-ah, fem. -ha in Sinai, the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ‘Aṭiye, masc. -ah[-]ih, fem. -ha the Bdūl, masc. C-o, fem. -ha the N‘ēmāt; groups VI, VII and VIII have masc. -uh and fem. -ha/-hi(ʾ) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

xxi Occurrence of several different plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun: most dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII show doubling of the l (or l) in the pl. com. demonstrative, e.g. (hā)dill(-ih), dillēlihxxvi (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 > kātabat or katābat ~kitābat (i.e. not *katbat).

Notwithstanding some differences between the dialects spoken in the central and southern regions of Sinai, there can be little doubt that these dialects are indeed a continuation of the NWA-group. There are some features of the southern Sinai dialects, however, that do not conform to the more typically NWA-type. The hypothesis of the presence of NWA Bedouin dialects throughout Sinai (with the exception of the dialect of the Dawāḡrah and that of the town of al-‘Ariš, 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 used for far deixis (e.g. hōḏalāk(-ah) or hāḏōḏalāk(-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.).

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.

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.

In addition, it should be noted that the Ḥwēṭāt are much more a relatively recent amalgam of social entities of different backgrounds than other tribes—such as most tribes in Sinai—who usually have a more homogeneous background, at least in relatively recent history. Chances that (again, relatively) recent additions to this collective known as ‘the Ḥwēṭāt’ have until today preserved some of the features of their original dialects should not be excluded; it may also account for some of the contradictory findings reported for Jordanian ‘Ḥwēṭiy’ in the available literature. Clearly, more research into the dialect situation in southern Jordan and its surroundings is needed to untangle this (seemingly?) contradictory information.

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, ʿaṭ-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 Taymā’, 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 vowelless pronominal suffixes -’uḳ for the 2nd p. sg. masc. and -k for the sg. fem. are indeed a characteristic feature of the dialects spoken in the south of Sinai; these pron. suffixes are in regular use in groups VI, VII and VIII. The remark of the older speaker of the Samā‘nah in the north, that his tribe had until the turn of the century (i.e. around 1900 CE) had their home in the region of at-Ṭūr, may very well be true. If we combine the presence of the -’uḳ suffix in his speech (SaA) with the presence of the pronominal suffix -kum (~-kuw), and also the verbal suffixes ending in -m of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. in the perfect and imperfect, and see that the combination of these characteristics is also found in ʿLA and ḤmA, his remark acquires special significance. If linguistic evidence is anything to go by for conclusions on geographical origins of speakers, one would conclude that the Samā‘nah (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 Fērān (i.e. the area around Wādiy Ġarandal and Wādiy Liḥyān). Unfortunately, I could not find other indications that would support this conclusion.

Apart from the necessity of more research into the hypothesized border area between the NWA- and Naḏdiy-groups of dialects, a remaining desideratum is a systematic survey of the dialects of the 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 Sudanese type of Arabic dialects, like that of the Šukriyyah). Research into the dialect of the Maʿāzah is needed to establish whether it is indeed the southwestern extremity of the NWA group on the Egyptian mainland.

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118 See De Jong 2000:283–288.
120 As described in De Jong 2002, and see remarks in Woidich and Behnstedt 1980:176 (In 1).
121 As described in Reichmuth 1983.
122 Although Hobbs 1989 is an excellent anthropological study on the Maʿāzah, the transcription used there for Arabic is less suitable for linguistic interpretation of the features of their dialect.
358 bibliography


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In terms of alphabetical order, indices in transcription are treated as if they were without diacritics. `ayn precedes ‘a’, and hamzah precedes `ayn. Forms with word-initial hamzah are listed under the following vowel. Where reference is to two or more of the descriptive chapters (multiple references), the Roman numbering (of the chapters) does not precede the numbering of the paragraphs referred to. Where reference is to only one of the descriptive chapters, the Roman numbering does precede the paragraph numbers. Such single references are listed following the multiple references. E.g., a multiple reference 1.2.3/4. refers to chapters I, II and III, paragraphs 1.2.3. and 1.2.4.

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- kitāb, bikāriğ
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*T* in construction:

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- *T* prece. by historical *aC* – *at*
- *T* prece. by any *aC* – *at*, by *CC* or *IC* – *it
- *T* in open syll. prece. by hist. *aC* – *at*; if in closed syll. or prec. by *CC* or *IC* – *it
- *T* preceded by *C* – *at*
- *T* like *in* and *in*, but after gahwah *a* uncertain
- *T* + *v*(*O*) in sequence CaCaCT → CaCaCtv (transyllabified)

cf. 3.1.10

Language file after Bailey 1991
Map 28. T-vowel elision

T-vowel elision:

1. In eligible position is elided, a is never elided

2. I and a are elided in eligible position

(Eligible positions in DA / Ba.4 and Mz.4 differ)

cf. 3.1.10.
MAP 29

analytical genitive
(genitive exponent):

şuğl
hagg
btā'

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3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix:

- ꞌ-hı, (C)C-ah / (C)C-ıh
- ꞌ-hı, (C)C-u(h)

cf. 3.12.2.
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2nd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix:

- v-k, C-ak, CC-ak
  in 'AgA and BdA this k = k
- v-k, C-b, CC-uk
- v-k, C-k, CC-k

cf. 3.1.12.2.
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wirdih
wuđđih
wuđđah

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$mā$ + verb form
$mā$ širīb

$mā$ + verb form + š($i$)
$mā$ / $mā$ širībš($i$)

cf. 4.2.

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interrogative "when?":

matā ~ mitā
miteh ~ mitên
intêh ~ intên
matân ~ mitân
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sg. masc. imperative mediae geminatae:

šīl, gūm, nām

šīl, gūm, nām

šīl, ūgum, ānām

šīl, gūm, nām

šīl, (u)gūm, (u)nām

šīl, gūm, nām

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