The Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral. Bridging the Gap between the Eastern and the Western Arab World

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THE BEDOUIN DIALECTS OF THE NORTHERN SINAI LITTORAL

Bridging the Linguistic Gap between the Eastern and Western Arab World

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. dr J.J.M. Franse
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties
ingestelde commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de
Aula der Universiteit
op donderdag 2 september 1999, te 13.00 uur

door Rudolf Erik de Jong
geboren te Hilversum
promotor: Prof. dr Manfred Woidich
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
Voor mijn ouders
No linguistic research into the dialects of northern Sinai has ever been conducted on a systematic basis, whereas through the ages the area has served as the land bridge between the eastern and western parts of the Arab world. The question is whether this area has a similar function in a linguistic sense.

The lack of any recent systematic linguistic investigation was caused in great part by the highly sensitive nature of the area owing to its strategic significance.

An urgency to go ahead with linguistic investigations, however, was felt since it is likely that these dialects are very soon going to either disappear, or be seriously affected as a result of the planned large scale settlement of tens of thousands of farmers with their families from the Egyptian mainland in a project named *tur‘at assalâm*, or "The Peace Canal", currently undertaken by the Egyptian Government. The aim of the project is to let these new settlers turn the desert into irrigated farmland with Nile water carried through this canal from the Egyptian Delta. An influx of such numbers of new settlers cannot be expected to remain without effect on the original population or their dialects.

In the spring of 1993 the "Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research" (in Dutch "Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek", or N.W.O.) agreed to fund my position as a "Researcher in Training" (in Dutch "Onderzoeker In Opleiding", or O.I.O.) for a period of four years to research the bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral. During this period NWO also financed a total of seven visits to the area to conduct the necessary field research for the study now in hand. For this generous financial support I wish to express my sincere gratitude here.

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1 The environmental impact of this mega-project and the prospects for the bedouin population of the area are assessed in EUROCONSULT (1992).

2 The total number of inhabitants of the Governorate of North Sinai is well over 200,000 today. (It was 170,835 during the 1986 census, and was estimated to be 210,000 in July 1993, cf. STATISTICS (1994), pp. 15 and 30 respectively). This number does not include the people living in *Gilbānah* (the tribe *Masā‘id*) and further to the south (the tribe *‘Ayāydah*), who live in an area (a strip of land east of the Suez Canal) administratively falling under the governorate of *Ismā‘īliyyah*. This estimated number of well over 200,000 includes the population of the governorate's capital *al‘Arīs*, who constitute probably more than sixty percent of the total. Of the people living outside the capital around fifty to sixty thousand are organised in tribes inhabiting their tribal areas. The remainder of the total number is made up of inhabitants of *Rafah*, on the border with the Gaza Strip, and also of the rapidly increasing number of Egyptians who settle in the smaller villages mainly in the northwest of the peninsula.
Although the circumstances to carry out field research for this study may not have always been ideal (cf. remarks in the introduction, A. II. a. infrastructural arrangements), I believe the end result fairly accurately represents the linguistic situation in northern Sinai. Among the people who made this possible, and to whom I am therefore indebted for their advice, warm-hearted interest, hospitality and active support, is first of all my wife Désirée Bonis. Other people whom I should mention are Dr Fred and Vreni Leemhuis (then) of the Netherlands Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo; the staff of this excellent institute; Dr Mahmoud Higazy, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Cairo University; Dr Nikolaos van Dam, (then) Ambassador of the Netherlands to Egypt; Dr Bruce Ingham of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London; Zohra Merabet of North South Consultancy Exchange (N.S.C.E.) in Cairo; Dr Tareq Morad of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo; and Gert Lont (then) of Euroconsult for his hospitality in al’Aris. I thank all my informants, too many to mention here, for their hospitality, and above all, for their patience with me. Last, but by no means least, my gratitude is due to Kamal Abdallah Ahdad Alhilw, Sa’id Mumtaz Darwish, Abdallah Rasid AlGazal, and Magda Awad AlGali of the Museum of Sinai Cultural Heritage in al’Aris for their support and assistance in interpreting the recordings, as well as Eid Sulayman Marzuga, and Muhammad Sadi Ali Saliim AlHirsh, who are themselves members of the Biyyadiyyah, and who spent much of their time arranging introductions, recordings and helping me interpret these recordings.

I owe the inspiration to take on this task, and its completion where this may be successful, to my mentor and promotor Dr Manfred Woidich of the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Near East (T.C.N.O.) at the University of Amsterdam.

Windhoek, 1 March 1999

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3 The museum has an interesting collection of bedouin implements, utensils and artefacts, as well as of the urban culture of al’Aris. The museum is located on the exit road to Rafah on the eastern town boundary near the Governorate building. Visitors to al’Aris should not miss it.
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A. Introduction.

I. General.

a. Northern Sinai in history.

Throughout history the Sinai desert has served as the natural land bridge between Africa and Asia. Most of the traffic across this land bridge went through its northern part. "Northern Sinai" is understood here to cover the area between the Mediterranean coast in the north, and, more or less, the main road connecting the Ahmad Hamdi tunnel a few kilometres north of Suez, the Mitla Pass, Naṣl (Nisl in the local dialect), aṭṭamad (Thamad) Naqab (Naqab) and Ṭaba (Taba) on the Gulf of ‘Agabah (Aqaba) (which is also, approximately, the old darb alḥāġā "the Pilgrimage Route to Mekka"). Today this area covers the Governorate of North Sinai and the eastern shore of the Suez Canal, which now falls administratively under the Governorate of Ismā‘īliyyah (Ismailia).

Apart from dozens of armies\(^4\), numerous bedouin tribes moved through northern Sinai. Some of these tribes arrived before Islam, other tribes merely passed through on their way to conquer North Africa, and yet other tribes arrived more recently. Some of these moved on and are no longer found in the area\(^5\), while others stayed and (eventually) settled\(^6\). This full settling is for most

\(^4\) Jarvis (1931), p. 144, writes that through the ages the area has seen "no less than forty-five invading armies moving either to or from Egypt...". Also, Moses led his people through Sinai to the promised land, and there are theories which locate Moses' crossing of the "Red Sea" in northern Sinai. These theories hold that Moses followed the narrow dune ridge separating the (as it is now called) Bardawil Lagoon from the Mediterranean Sea, after which the Pharao tried to cut them off by crossing the dry bottom of the Lagoon. The Mediterranean waves, swept up by the winds, then broke the dune ridge, filling the Lagoon and drowning the Pharao's army (cf. ibid. chapter IX).

\(^5\) Bailey (1985), p. 22, mentions, for instance, that during the Crusades the Negev and northern Sinai were inhabited by the major confederations of Ǧarm and Ta‘lubah Ṭayy, who are no longer found in the area. (with the exception of the Axārsah and ʿUgayli (i.e. the ʿAgāylah) tribes, who were part of the Ta‘lubah Ṭayy, and are today found in the northwest.

\(^6\) Some (members) of the tribes may still be semi-nomadic, such as a small part of the Sawārkeh, whom I saw to have pitched three tents near Ǧīlīnah in the northwest of Sinai in the spring of 1996, the ‘Ayāydah, and also Biliy, many of who still live in tents.
tribes in Sinai of a relatively recent date\textsuperscript{7}, and is related (initially) to the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869\textsuperscript{8}, which made traveling west (with livestock) virtually impossible.\textsuperscript{9} Later, in 1946, the area came under Egyptian rule, after which a process of modernization started, and the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 effectively closed the route to Palestine. The Israeli occupation of Sinai from 1967 until 1982 accelerated the process of modernization, and the Egyptian policy to settle the bedouins permanently, after Sinai had been handed back to Egypt in 1982 under the terms of the Camp David Accords of 1979, is still in effect.\textsuperscript{10}

This process of modernization has led to the bedouins of the area being exposed to education\textsuperscript{11} and the mass media and has increased their mobility\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{7} BAILEY (1991), introduction, p. 6, writes: "Until the second half of the twentieth century modern civilization made little impact on the 125,000 bedouin of Sinai and the Negev who still resembled their desert ancestors of the biblical period more than they did their non-desert dwelling contemporaries."

Many of the elderly informants interviewed for this study still remembered their seasonal trek to Palestine to find pasture for their small cattle, and also to work as day labourers during harvest time.

\textsuperscript{8} There was a conscious policy of bedouin sedentarization in Egypt proper earlier under Muhammad ‘Ali (1804-40), cf. BAILEY/SHMUELI (1977), p. 38. ĀMĒR (1944), pp. 38-9, adds that the economic factor contributing to the settling of nomadic tribes in the Sarqiyyah should not be overlooked: "[bedouins could maintain their nomadic lifestyle] as long as they could compensate the lack of the pasture by robbing caravans on the one hand and plundering fallaheen [i.e. peasants] on the other. When public security was ensured and merchants or pilgrims caravans ceased to cross Sinai, it became inevitable that those nomads should either migrate from the country or change their mode of life. No encouraging region for migration was accessible in the adjoining countries and the latter alternative [i.e. to settle in the Sarqiyyah] was the only solution."

\textsuperscript{9} BAILEY/SHMUELI (1977), p. 32, fn 27, write: "Barriers arising within the permanent migratory cycle of nomads often affect the traditional pastoral-nomadic system."

\textsuperscript{10} Free after BAILEY (1991), pp. 6-7. Bailey also mentions that smuggling activities (as an important source of income for the bedouins) decreased due to the frontline between Israeli and Egyptian forces along the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Suez. This forced bedouin men to seek income from wage-labour jobs in Israel and in Israeli enterprises in Sinai.

\textsuperscript{11} I was told that the first (primary) schools outside al‘Aris were not established until the early 1960s.

\textsuperscript{12} It may sound paradoxical: members of bedouin tribes have become more mobile after giving up their (semi-)nomadic lifestyle. The term "mobility" in this context should therefore be understood to refer to individual mobility, which is more on an ad hoc basis than the regular seasonal trek of a nomadic collective. In this sense, men are generally those who have become more mobile, but in Sinai also (usually older) women will visit the different weekly markets (e.g. sūg īlamīs "the Thursday market (in al‘Aris)", sūg īlārba‘āh "the Wednesday market (in Gatyah)", and sūg īlğum‘āh "the Friday market near Rafah"). where they meet members of other tribes and the populations of towns in the area.
A. Introduction

The effect of this exposure to the developed world, especially among the younger generations, has found an important part of its expression in the speech of these bedouins.

b. Cultural background.

In a cultural sense, the Sinai desert, as the natural western extension of Arabia Petraea, is much more part of a larger area covering the northern Ḥiḡāz (or Hejaz), southern Transjordania, and the Negev, than it is of Egypt, to which it now belongs in a political and administrative sense.

To mention just a few of the many manifestations, this shared cultural background is apparent from customs pertaining to tribal law (cf. STEWART (1987c), p. 480), wedding customs (cf. BAILEY (1974b)), and the tradition of oral poetry (cf. BAILEY (1991)\(^{13}\)). More visibly in daily life, the traditional dress of the bedouins, their professional activities (rearing small cattle, date palm cultivation), as well as their agricultural tools, such as the plough (referred to as fard) with the typical funnel-shaped implement (the so-called bûg\(^{14}\)) mounted on the sole, or the hōgal (or hawḡal a "threshing board with sharp stones jammed in its underside"), rather than the nôrag ("a threshing sled on iron cutting wheels") one finds in the Egyptian Delta, are all clearly not of the Egyptian type. The opposition is that between a bedouin and (formerly) (semi-)nomadic culture and a rural culture of farmers.

Also in a linguistic sense, the influence of a more Syro-Palestinian culture is already apparent in the Šarqiyyah governorate. Together with Fahmi Abul Fadl, Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich state that the dialects of the Šarqiyyah are nearer to those of Upper Egypt, and even to those of the Syro-Palestinian area, than the dialects spoken in other parts of the Delta.\(^{15}\) This

\(^{13}\) BAILEY (1991) is a masterful collection of poems from Sinai and the Negev, and contains ample information, much of which is in footnotes to the poems, on almost every thinkable aspect of bedouin life.

\(^{14}\) This bûg pierces the sole of the plough, and through it the ploughman throws a few seeds at every two steps he takes. This is referred to as tangīt albizr "(lit.) sprinkling the seed", and the technique is applied to sow watermelon seeds.


BEHNSTEDT (1979), p. 63, fn 5, states that (in my translation) ":[...] the crux in classifying Egyptian dialects are basically the dialects of the Šarqiyyah. Without these one could arrive at a smooth classification in northern, central, and southern dialects, corresponding to the geographical proportions. It is precisely the entire east of the Delta, however, which shows
influence, as we shall see, is even stronger in Sinai, and indeed, there is a considerable possibility that the tribal communities inhabiting and passing through this area have through the ages actually been the force exerting this linguistic influence on the dialects spoken in the eastern Nile Delta.\textsuperscript{16}

The dialects spoken by the various tribes in Sinai are an integral part of a shared cultural identity, and the bedouins of northern Sinai are generally very conscious of their common background, but also of the differences that exist between their tribes. Murray's remark\textsuperscript{17} on bedouins in southern Sinai that "among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects [...]" holds for bedouins in northern Sinai as well.\textsuperscript{18}

c. Surrounding dialects.

An important question in a dialect geography is how the dialects of the investigated area link up, or maybe do not link up, to dialects spoken in their immediate vicinity. Our knowledge of dialects to the south of the northern Sinai littoral is limited. One publication partially filling this hiatus is NISHIO (1992), which gives a basic vocabulary of the dialect of the Ġbāliyyah, a tribe in the mountainous south central part of Sinai (known as atTūr) near St. Catherine's Monastery.

Publications on dialects which directly link up to dialects spoken in the northeast of Sinai are: BLANC (1970), the dialect of the Ďullâm in the Negev, and STEWART (1987, 1990), the dialect of the Ahaywât (who are found in the central eastern part of Sinai) and this publication also contains some information on the dialects of other tribes in Sinai, such as the Tarābin (of the north and of the south), the Braykât, and the Ṣafāyhih.\textsuperscript{19}

Quite a number of publications shed light on dialects spoken directly to the east of our area. Apart from older publications BERGSTÄSSER (1915), a dialect atlas of Syria and Palestine, and CANTINEAU (1936, 1937), studies on

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\textsuperscript{16} For the eastern Šarqiyah, map 552 in BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b) provides a measure as to how great this influence must have been. SCHOLCH (1976-7), pp. 49-50, writes that in 1882 about 11% of the population of the Šarqiyah were bedouins.
\textsuperscript{17} Comments on the speech of other tribes of informants interviewed for this study, although frequently anecdotic, were often particularly accurate.
\textsuperscript{18} Cf. STEWART (1990), preface, p. vii.
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On dialects spoken directly to the west of northern Sinai, i.e. in Egypt proper, the publications at our disposal are ABUL FADL (1961), a PhD study on the phonology of the dialects of the Šarqiyyah, WOIDICH (1979), an article on the phonology and morphology of il‘Awāmra, a village in the eastern Šarqiyyah, WOIDICH (1980), texts from the same village, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985a, 1985b, 1987 and 1988), a dialect atlas of Egypt.

Information from these publications has been incorporated in this study to place the dialects of northern Sinai in a larger geographical perspective.

d. Bedouin tribes found in the northern Sinai littoral today.

Apart from the populations of the regional center of al‘Arīs and of Rafah, and the mostly newly immigrated Egyptians, bedouins organized in fourteen or fifteen tribes populate the northern Sinai littoral, either directly on the coast, or just to the south of it. Roughly from east to west the tribes whose dialects were researched for this study are: Rmēlât, Sawārkah, northern Tarābin, Biliy, Dawāgrah, Biyyāqiyyah, Axârsah, Samâ‘nah, ‘Agâylah, Masâ‘id, and ‘Ayâydah.

Other tribes in the area, the dialects of which would be a topic for future research (preferably soon), are the Riyāštār, who are reported to be living in the area near asŠex Zwayyid20, the pariah tribe of Malālḥah, who, I was told, today live up in Wâdi al‘Arīs21, the ‘Alawîyyah in Gayyah, of whom Murray22 writes that they are a branch of the Hwēṭāt, whereas aṭTayyib23 holds that they are

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20 SUQAYR (1916), p. 99, mentions them as a branch of the Sawārkah. Cf. ATTAYYIB (1993), p. 589, however, writes that this is incorrect, and that they are related to Riyāštār found elsewhere in the Arab world (Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, the Ḥiḡāz and Yemen are mentioned).

21 SUQAYR (1916), p. 124, writes that the Malālḥah live in an area called al‘Uğrah together with the Tarābin and the Sawārkah, and that they are the lowest of the Hutaym (Hijem) tribes. If their social isolation resulting from their lowly status has been as rigorous as in the case of the Dawāgrah, their dialect is certainly worth future research. I did not research the dialect of the Malālḥah for this study in order not to risk jeopardizing the continuation of my field research, since I was told that one cannot simply go up the wâdi without being stopped by the authorities.

22 Cf. MURRAY (1938), p. 252 (‘Alawin and Haweitat in his transcription).

related to the Awlād ʿAli living along the Mediterranean coast west of Alexandria, and the Gafāwiyah, of whom Suqayr writes that they originate from the Ḥiḡāz.\textsuperscript{24}

c. Present-day distribution and remarks on the history of bedouin tribes in this study.

Most of the tribes researched for this study are settled more or less along the main road from the border town of Rafah in the east to the ferry at alGantarah (Šarg) on the Suez Canal in the west, which is also roughly the route of the old railroad to Palestine. The second map on p. I in the appendix shows the approximate distribution of the tribes, the dialects of which were researched for this study.

Starting in the northeast: the Rmēlāt inhabit a narrow strip of land on the Mediterranean coast between Rafah and ašŠēx Zwayyid. In the past the Rmēlāt lived in a fertile area named alGarārah, north of Xān Yūnis (Khan Yunis), in what is now known as the Gaza Strip. After their wars with the Taḥābēn\textsuperscript{25}, they were pushed south towards the area where they now live. Before they moved to alGarārah, where they initially settled, they are reported to have originated from alGaṭīf, in the eastern Arab Peninsula, after which they moved to Dānā in northern Jordan.\textsuperscript{26} Bailey (1985) estimates their arrival in Sinai to have been in the eighteenth century at the latest.

The Sawārkah live to the south of the Rmēlāt, farther west in Wādī alʿAriš, and along the Mediterranean coast towards arRōḏah. AtTayyib writes that the origin of their name is doubtful, but that one theory traces them back to Wādī Sawālik in the Ḥiḡāz, from which they are said to originate, hence they called themselves Sawālkah. Later the name changed to Sawārkah, although atTayyib is unsure whether this wādī still exists under the same name. They are reported to be the largest tribe in Sinai, who during their wars with several other

\textsuperscript{24} The number of fourteen or fifteen tribes is uncertain, since AtTAYYIB (1993), p. 614, also mentions the alGaṭawiyah, who today live in the Gaṭiyah oasis (hence their name), and in alGantararah Šarg in northern Sinai, as well as in several locations in Daqahlīyyah, Šarqiyyah, Garbiyyah and Qalyūbiyyah in Egypt proper. I have, however, never heard any of my informants mention this tribe, or met any of its members.

\textsuperscript{25} Cf. Bailey (1981-2), p. 146, where it is reported that the Rmēlāt were pushed out of their dīrāh (Garārah) north of Xān Yūnis by the Taḥābēn Abū Šītah and emigrated to North Sinai between Rafah and Abū Ṭuwaylah either during the conquest of the Negev in 1799, or following the war of Abū Sirḥān (1813-1816). Cf. also Suqayr (1916), p. 582.

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. AtTAYYIB (1993), pp. 581-8, and Suqayr (1916), p. 121.
tribes in Sinai (Ta'râbin, Hwêtât) were pushed back to the sandy strip of land along the northeastern coast of Sinai, where they live today. In the past, however, they were found as far west as Bir al-'Abd, and as far south as the mountainous region of at-Tur, both in Sinai. Bailey estimates their arrival in Sinai to have been in the eighteenth century at the latest.

The small tribe of Biliy (the subsection named alBaradd) are related to the tribe of the same name (usually transcribed as Bilî or Bali) of the northern Hiğāz, and are reported to have arrived in Sinai before Islam. They live to the south of the Sawârkah, and are actually not on the Mediterranean coast or the southern shore of the Bardawîl Lagoon.

Because of the identified typological similarities of the dialects of these tribes with that of the Dulläm in the Negev described in BLANC (1970), and the dialect of the Ahaywât in east central Sinai as appearing in STEWART (1987a, 1990), the dialects of these tribes have been joined together to form group I, and are described in chapter I (in this study the Roman numbers of the groups to which the tribes have been assigned correspond to the numbering of the descriptive chapters).

In the middle of northern Sinai, on the peninsula of azZugbah and on the southern shore of the Bardawîl Lagoon live the Dâwâgrah, who are a tribe of fishermen. They are considered a pariah tribe, and members of this tribe do not intermarry with members of other tribes. Since the dialect of this tribe shows

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30 The Ahaywât are said (oral communication from several sources in the field) to have originally split off from the Masâ'id as a 'ètah (or 'äylah, "family"). Cf. also MURRAY (1935), p. 248: "the Laheiwat are a section, which has broken away from the Masa'id division of the Beni 'Atiya, and now forms a tribe of its own, famous for its enterprise and ferocity". Cf. also SUQAYR (1916), p. 122, and AJTAYYIB (1993), p. 151. BAILEY (1985), p. 48, estimates their arrival in central Sinai to have been in the seventeenth century (at the latest). AJTAYYIB (1997), Part 1, p. 222, reports that there are still a few families of the Ahaywât living in "southern Palestine", i.e. the Negev. Cf. ibid. pp. 219-222 for a story on how the Ahaywât came to be a separate tribe. Their name is there said to be derived from the word ujAa "spring plant", the leaves and flowers of which were eaten by hungry (now so called) Ahaywât when they first came to Sinai. The same story is reported in BAILEY/SHMUELI (1977), p. 29, and the plant is identified as "Launaea nudicaulis".
31 The Dâwâgrah are said to be Hiêm (or Hutaym, cf. E.I.), who are Mîr (or Muayır). Cf. e.g. OPPENHEIM (1943), p. 140. The story told (by members of other tribes) concerning their pariah status is that during the earliest times of Islam, a Dwègriy woman named Garâdah was caught trying to smuggle a message hidden in her hair to warn the unbelievers among the Qurayš against an oncoming raid by the followers of the Prophet. The Prophet,
In and near the oasis of *Gatyah* in the northwest of Sinai live the *Samā'nah*. At Tayyib paraphrases Qalqasandi writing that they are a branch of the *Banū Mahdī*, forming a *batn* of the *Gudām*, and that together with the *Sa’ādiyyin* they were among the first tribes to settle in northern Sinai, after which *butūn* of the *Ṭayyi’* arrived from the *Šām* (an area roughly covering today’s Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel), such as the *Biyyādiyyah*, *Axārsah* and *‘Agāylah*.

To the west of the *Samā’nah* live the *‘Agāylah*, who are reported to be of *Qahtāni* (also *Ṭayyi’*) origin, as a *batn* of the *Ṭa’labah*. After emigrating from the *Naqḍ*, they initially lived in Palestine, after which they emigrated to Sinai and Egypt proper in Ayyubid times (i.e. under Saladin in the twelfth century A.D.)

Bailey estimates their arrival in Sinai to have been between the tenth (perhaps earlier) and thirteenth centuries. Although the dialects of the *Samā’nah* and *‘Agāylah* show some notable differences, they do have some peculiarities in common justifying their treatment as one group (group II), which is described in chapter II.

However, was warned by the archangel Gabriel, and *Guradah* was caught in the act. After this act of betrayal the whole tribe was from then on denied any type of equal relationship with the other tribes. The *Qur’ān* verses mentioned with respect to this story are *Sūrah* 60: 1, 9, 13 (oral information from several independent sources in the field). ATTAYYIB (1993), pp. 743-4 gives the same story, and remarks in a footnote that the lady’s name was actually *Sārah*.

KENNETT (1925), pp. 23-4 gives another unflattering story concerning their lowly status, which I shall not repeat here. Whatever the truth behind such stories, the social isolation of the *Dawāğrah* has been the result (or perhaps even the other way around; their low social status led to such stories), and we shall see that their dialect must have remained largely unchanged ever since their arrival in Sinai.

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32 SÜQAYR (1916), p. 174, writes that before the opening of the Suez Canal *Gatyah* was administratively part of the Province of *Ṣarqiyyah*.

33 MURRAY (1933), p. 252, reports on the *Sam‘āna* (sic), that “they are said to have come from Syria and to be of Jewish origin”, but does not reveal his sources. ATTAYYIB (1993), p. 600.

34 BAILEY (1985) does not date their arrival in Sinai.

35 A *batn* is a subsection, pl. *butūn*. ATTAYYIB (1997), p. 26 gives an outline of the “layers of kinship” with the terms used in this respect (starting with the highest layer) *ašša’īb* “the people”, (each following term is then a subdivision of the preceding) *qabilah* (pl. *qabā‘il*) “tribe”, *imārah* (pl. *‘ama‘ir*) “(lit.) structure”, *baṭn* (pl. *butūn*) “(lit.) belly / inner portion”, *faxd* (pl. *fuxüd*) “(lit.) thigh”, and the lowest subdivision is called a *fasiḥah* (pl. *fasā‘il*) “(lit.) group/family” or *‘ašīrah* (pl. *‘ašā‘ir*) “(lit.) clan, kinsfolk” used in the same meaning.


To the west of the Dawāgrah and north of Gatyah live the Biyyādiyyah. Murray quotes Jarvis, then Governor of Sinai, on the (in Murray's transcription) Bayadiyin: "[...] all lusty specimens of six feet or more, with huge patriarchal beards. Their origin is unknown, but their insistence on their pure Arab blood, and the application of Arab laws and ordinances to the tribe is so marked, that one feels that they protest too much", and Jennings Bramly is quoted as having said: "They are said to have come from Arabia, but not to be Bedouin."37 Jarvis offers the sensational suggestion that they are the descendants of a stray colonial Roman legion stranded in Sinai after the Islamic conquests.38 Initially Bailey agrees with the theory of their non-bedouin background, and suggests that the Biyyādiyyah were not originally bedouins, but that they came as "[...] small peasant groups who trickled into Sinai from Egypt in order to cultivate some relatively fertile patches along the Mediterranean coast and hence adopted certain bedouin trappings".39 In a later article Bailey reconsiders the history of the Biyyādiyyah, and gives a somewhat more conservative summary of their (Bayyadhiyyin in his transcription) history, basing himself on a mixture of written and oral sources (cf. ibid. for references) (paraphrased): The Biyyādiyyah were originally part of the larger Qahtāni confederation of Ğudām, and are reported to have been "the first tribe to join 'Amr ibn al'Āš in the conquest of Egypt."40 The date of their arrival in Sinai must have been between the 7th and 10th centuries A.D., after which they initially settled more to the east, near al'Ārīs, but in the 13th century their presence in the Gatyah oasis is attested.41 This means that the Biyyādiyyah are the third oldest tribe living in Sinai today, preceded only by Biliy in the north, and the Ğbāliyyah in central southern Sinai, the latter of whom are reported to have been sent there from Egypt and the Balkan by the Emperor Justinian in the 6th century A.D. to serve and protect St. Catherine's monastery.42

To the west of the Biyyādiyyah live the Axārsah. This tribe is estimated to have come to Sinai between the tenth (perhaps earlier) and thirteenth centuries A.D.43 Atţayyib writes that they, like the 'Agāylah, are of Qahtāni (Tayyi', originally from Yemen) origin, and that they are related to the Biyyādiyyah,

37 Cf. MURRAY (1935), p. 252. Jennings Bramly was also a Governor of Sinai.
38 Cf. JARVIS (1931), p. 17.
42 Cf. SUQAYR (1916), pp. 114 and 392.
with whom they came to Sinai during the times of Salâh adDîn\(^{44}\) (or Saladin), i.e. in the twelfth century. The dialects of the Biyyâdiyyah and Axârsah have been joined together in this study to form group III, and are described in chapter III.

Other tribes inhabiting the area are the "northern" Tarâbîn (notes on their dialect have been included in chapter I) living to the south of the Sawârkah. The Tarâbîn are estimated to have come to Sinai in the sixteenth century.\(^{45}\)

To the west of the Axârsah we find the Masâ'îd\(^{46}\), who live in and around the village of Šâbânah. The Masâ'ïd of northern Sinai are related to the tribe of the same name in the northern Hiğâz, east of ‘Agabah (Aqaba in southern Jordan), and today sections of this tribe may be found in Jordan, Syria, and Palestine/Israel. The Ahaywât are reported to have split off as a ‘êlah (or ‘aylah, lit. "family" or "clan") from the Masâ'ïd.\(^{47}\) The Masâ'ïd are estimated to have arrived in northern Sinai in the eighteenth century (at the latest).\(^{48}\) AṭTayyîb writes\(^{49}\) that they are of ‘Adnâni origin, and that they, as a ‘âširah (clan) of Šâbânah or Bakr (who are now part of the ‘Adnâni tribe of ‘Anazah), were found in the eastern Nağd and the northwest of Iraq until the beginning of the fifth century Hiğrah (appr. the 11th century A.D.), after which they moved to the northwestern Hiğâz with a number of the Muṭayyr. There they became neighbours of the Banû ‘Uqbah (of the Qaḥṭâni Ėudâm) living near ‘Aqabah with whom they mixed. In the seventh century Hiğrah (appr. the 13th century A.D.) the greater part of the Masâ'ïd and Banû ‘Uqbah wandered into Palestine, but after the eighth century Hiğrah (appr. the 14th century A.D.) many of the Masâ'ïd moved back (after a battle) to the northern Hiğâz (near ‘Aqabah), to mix again with parts of the Banû ‘Uqbah who had stayed behind, and with the Banû ‘Aṭiyah (or Bani ‘Aṭiye). They closed pacts during the Ottoman era with the Ḥuwayṭât (or Ḥwēṭât) and Tarâbîn in Sinai, Egypt and Palestine, and were paid by the Ottomans to guard the pilgrimage routes to Mecca from Egypt and Syria, as well as trade routes between the Hiğâz and ‘Agabah.

\(^{44}\) Cf. AṬṬAYYIB (1993), p. 610.
\(^{45}\) Cf. BAILEY (1985), p. 48. The "northern" Tarâbîn are related to the "southern" Tarâbîn living in Nwēbî (i.e. Nuweiba) atTarâbîn and in Wâdî Watîr in the southeast of Sinai on the Gulf of Aqaba.
\(^{46}\) The Masâ'îd (sg. Mas'âdîy) are known for their judges (the (sg.) manšad) who are specialized in matters of honour in cases of the sexual violation of women, cf. BAILEY (1991), p. 91, and SUQAYR (1916), p. 398.
\(^{47}\) Cf. fn 30 in this study.
\(^{49}\) What follows is a paraphrase of AṬṬAYYIB (1997), pp. 137-8.
The ‘Ayāydah, who live to the south of the Masā‘īd along the eastern bank of the Suez Canal (and also across the canal on its western bank), are estimated to have arrived in Sinai in the seventeenth century (at the latest). They are reported to be of Qaḥṭānī origin. At Tayyib also reports that they lived in central southern Sinai (the Tūr region) before moving to where they are now after a drought struck the south, and that they had palm groves in the south until the beginning of this century. The dialects of the Masā‘īd and ‘Ayāydah form a southern continuation (inside northern Sinai, that is) of group I towards the west, enveloping groups II, III and IV. Remarks on the dialects of this southern branch are therefore included in chapter I of this study.

As for the settling of bedouin tribes in the Šarqiyyah: ĀMMÄR (1944) mentions the Qaḥṭānī (or Southern Arab) Ṭayyi‘ (alternatively transcribed as Ṭayy) subdivisions of Ġuḏām and Laxm, and to a lesser extent the (also subdivisions of Ṭayyi‘) Sinbis (or Sunbus), Ta‘labah, Rabī‘ah, and Banū Ṣaxr as the main tribes to settle in the eastern Nile Delta. These tribes originated from the Ḥiḡāz or the southwestern Arabian Peninsula. Some of these initially moved to the Syrian desert or the northern Nufūd (in what is now

50 The tribe is known for their judge (the mbašši‘) executing the biš‘ah, i.e. the licking of the red-hot iron to establish the accused’s innocence or guilt when no (reliable) witnesses are available, cf. BAILEY (1991), p. 5, STEWART (1988, glossary: biš‘a) and (1990, index: Licking the iron), SUQAYR (1916), p. 399, MURRAY (1935), p. 232-4, and for less favourable reference to a mbašši‘ JARVIS (1931), pp. 44-5. Cf. also fn 726 to II, 4.5.
54 A basic subdivision in the traditional genealogy of Arab tribes is that of al’Arab al’Äribah “the true Arabs”, who originally lived in Southern Arabia (or Yemen) and are descendants of Qaḥṭān (son of Sām “Shem, eldest son of Noah”) and who are subdivided in Ḥimyār and Kahlān, and al’Arab alMusta‘ribah “(lit.) the Arabs who have become Arabs”, who originally inhabited the northern regions of the Arabian Peninsula and descend from ‘Adnān (also son of Sām) and Ismā‘īl (Ishmael, son of Ibrahīm “Abraham”), cf. ĀMMĀR (1944), p. 15, and also AT'TAYYIB (1997), p. 25.
55 Cf. Peter Behnstedt, Manfred Woidich “Die Arabisierung Ägyptens” (to appear), maps 2 and 3 on the movement of bedouin tribes to Egypt in the 12th-15th centuries, and ibid. map 11 for the large number of place names in the eastern Nile Delta that can be traced back to the Ġuḏām. ĀMMĀR (1944), Vol. II, maps 6-8, illustrates the same.
56 MURRAY (1935), pp. 25 and 33, however, mentions the Rabi‘a (Rabi‘ah) as an Ismā‘īlī (i.e. ‘Adnānī) tribal confederation.
northern Saudi Arabia), but stayed there only temporarily before they came to Egypt.\footnote{ibid., p. 18.}

Another tribe to reach the Šarqiyyah were al'Āyid (or al'Âyid). \footnote{ibid., pp. 33-4.} Ammār writes that they were a subdivision of the Ġuḏām, but states that their influence on the settled population there was less than that of the other tribes.\footnote{ibid., p. 17, fn 1, and p. 24.} We see thus that the main Arab element to settle in the province of Šarqiyyah, after having arrived there at different times in history, is of the tribal confederation of Tayyī`, who are Qaḥṭānī through Kahlān. The tribes to have had influence in the Šarqiyyah are therefore, far in history, of a relatively homogeneous southwestern/Hīḡāzī origin. Other Arab elements to have exerted their influence on the Šarqiyyah are Ġuhaynah and Biliy, both descendents of Qudā‘ah, a branch of the (also Kahlānī) Ḥimyar\footnote{ibid., p. 17, fn 1, and p. 24, and also MURRAY (1935), p. 24. Both sources add a footnote however, that the claimed Qaḥṭānī origin of the Qudā‘ah is not undisputed.}, and these Ġuhaynah and Biliy preceded the Tayyī` tribes (in the first Kahlānī wave in the second or third century A.D.\footnote{AMMÂR (1944), Vol. II, map 4.}) to come to these parts of the Nile Delta, but were later pushed out by the conquering Arab tribes who had converted to Islam.

f. Remarks on the estimated dates of arrival of bedouin tribes in northern Sinai.

The estimates of the arrival of these bedouin tribes in Sinai in BAILEY (1985) and ATTAYYIB (1993) quoted in the preceding paragraphs show a basic chronological dichotomy which has its present-day geographical dimension. (For illustration of the following remarks the reader is referred to the map "Approximate distribution of bedouin tribes in northern Sinai" on p. I in the appendix, and MAP 74 "Dialect groups in northern Sinai" on p. XXVI in the appendix).

The tribes of groups II (Samā‘nah and ‘Agāylah) and III (Biyādiyyah and Axārsah) currently settled in the northwest arrived before the thirteenth century, whereas tribes of group I today found in the northeast (Rmēlāt, Sawârkah, Tarâbin, except Biliy) and central Sinai (Ahaywā‘), and to the southwest (‘Ayāydah) and west (Masā‘id) of groups II and III arrived in the sixteenth century or later. The treatment of the dialects of these tribes in the proposed different groups thus has a historical, as well as a geographical dimension, although the latter dimension is only limitedly visible; we shall see that the
dialects of the tribes who arrived after the sixteenth century and are today found in the northwest (i.e. the 'Ayāydhah, estimated to have arrived in the seventeenth century at the latest, and the Masā‘id, eighteenth century at the latest62) link up typologically to group I, rather than to groups II and III.

The dialect of Biliy, who arrived before Islam, although treated in chapter I, occupies a special place within group I. The fact that it is treated in this chapter has more to do with its development towards the dialect type of group I, very likely due to its relative geographical proximity to the tribes of this group63, than with the assumed original typological features. The presumably older dialect type shows some important typological peculiarities, some of which are reminiscent of features found in group IV.

The chapters in which the dialects of these tribes are treated are briefly prefaced with remarks on their present-day distribution in Sinai, professional activities, and estimated numbers (if available). Because of the suspected influence of these tribal dialects on the development of the dialect type of the eastern Nile Delta64, the distribution of the tribes in this area will also be mentioned, although I cannot claim to be exhaustive in this respect.

The dialect of the regional center of al‘Aris, as spoken by its original population the Fawaxriyyah, was earlier concluded not to be of a bedouin type.65 An outline of the dialect of this town is given in the first part of chapter V. The second part of this chapter contains a brief description of the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza) primarily based on SALONEN (1979, 1980), with a few additional remarks based on BERGSTÄSSER (1915). Since both dialects are spoken in (relatively nearby) towns, and may therefore be expected of a sedentary type, and because they are expected to have been exposed to comparable influences from bedouin dialects, they are compared in C. I. b.

A typological characterization of these dialects is provided in the conclusions of this study (cf. C. II. The dialects of al‘Aris and Gazzah compared

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63 As TRUDGILL (1986), p. 39, puts it: "The geographical parameter of diffusion models becomes relevant because, other things being equal and transport patterns permitting, people on average come into contact most often with people who live closest to them and least often with people who live furthest away."
64 As described in ABUL FADL (1961), WOIDICH (1979, 1980), and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985a, 1985b, 1988).
to dialects of Palestine and Transjordan). The dialect of the town of Rafah awaits investigation.66

g. Research questions and purpose of this study.

The primary aim of this study is to give a synchronic description of the phonology and morphology of the dialects under investigation. These descriptions then serve to identify the differences between them, and similarities shared by them, as well as to establish their typological position in a larger geographical area.

The original purpose of this study was twofold: to give a description of the phonology and morphology of dialects spoken in northern Sinai, and to investigate the influences these dialects must have had on the development of the dialect type spoken in the eastern part of the Egyptian province of the Šarqiyyah (in the eastern Nile Delta) in terms of "dialect contact", along the lines of reasoning developed in various publications by Trudgill. However, when in the course of the field research the relatively great variety of dialects in northern Sinai was uncovered, it became clear that in order to investigate such influences, one had to know more exactly which tribes had settled where in the Šarqiyyah, when, among whom, in what numbers, etc. This would have required much more time for historical research, in order to establish stable parameters, than could be afforded. I hope, however, that this study, which is now a dialect geography, may provide a solid basis for an investigation in terms of dialect contact in the future.

The study in hand thus aims to find answers to a number of related questions. The first one of these was posed by Blanc67: how far does the Negev dialectal type extend westward into the Sinaitic Peninsula?

Remarks quoted by Murray and Bailey on "Egyptian accents, manners, and dress", and "their way of talking [which] is not that of true Bedouin"68 concerning the tribes inhabiting northwestern Sinai, prompt a similar question: how far, if at all, does the Egyptian (eastern) Delta dialect type extend eastward into northern Sinai?

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66 Due to sensitivities already referred to in the preface of this study, it was deemed wiser not to carry out any field work in this border town.
Although little was known of the dialects of this area, a certain homogeneity is often suggested when various authors refer to "the Sinai dialects". The next question is therefore: is such homogeneity really to be found in Sinai, or is there perhaps a type of patchwork situation, where each patch constitutes a tribal dialect?

If there is such a patchwork situation, does northern Sinai today, with its historical role as a natural land bridge between the eastern and western Arab world, also have the function of a land bridge in a linguistic sense? If we were to study the dialect(s) spoken in the area, can we then perhaps identify this part of the Arab world as an area of transition between the dialect-type spoken in the eastern Nile Delta and that spoken in the Negev and southern Jordan? In other

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69 For instance in PALVA (1984), p. 16, where the author speaks of "the Sinai dialects". On the other hand, PALVA (1991), p.154, offers more nuance when he states that "the most serious gaps in the linguistic material available thus far concern the Tuwara in the south of Sinai, the small tribes of the Gatra group in the northwestern corner of Sinai, and the Terabin and Tyâhâ tribes living in northern Sinai and to the south of the Gaza strip."

YRTTIAHO (1988), p. 149 is another example of over-generalization where for Sinai a + is listed for (resyllabication of) syllable structure in nouns \(CVCAV \rightarrow CCVCV\). In this case it is not only an over-generalization, but also a misrepresentation of the actual situation (cf. remarks below in this introduction in A. III. d. The gahawad-syndrome and resyllabication of \(CaCaV\) sequences); we shall see that the only dialect spoken in Sinai known so far that has such a rule is that of the Dawâgrah, and another is that of the Hwêtât (cf. C. VIII. Observations on the dialects of the Hwêtât and Bani ‘Attye).

PROCHAZKA (1988), p. 18, remarks: "tansen, tansön instead of more current Sinaitic tansay, tansaw"; the latter two forms may be widespread in Sinai, but we shall see that these are definitely not the only forms heard in Sinai.

PROCHAZKA (1993) (no relation of the afore-mentioned author) on pp. 168, 178-9, 199 and 250 has a number of remarks on "Sinai", basing himself primarily on STEWART (1990), but we shall see that for dialects not appearing in STEWART (1990), the picture may look quite different.

70 One could imagine several dialect geographical situations. Given the fact that the different tribes living in Sinai today are reported to originate from, or at least have spent numerous generations in, various parts of the Arab world, passing through different areas, and arriving in Sinai at different times in history (cf. BAILEY (1985)), one might have expected a type of patchwork situation in which every tribe speaks its own dialect, and in which the differences between these dialects are unrelated to the geographical spread of the tribes. We shall see that, to a considerable extent, this is the case with the dialect of the Dawâgrah, which is quite different from the surrounding dialects, which are tinged more evenly in relation to each other.

71 The basic assumption is that a given tribal community will speak its own dialect. This should not be understood to mean that other tribal communities cannot speak the same, or a similar dialect, nor should it mean that differences would not exist within one such tribal community (cf., for instance, the different reflexes katir and kitir for *katir, which are reported for different subsections of the Biyyâdîyyah (cf. chapter III, 3.1.1.1.1.).
words: if there are "patches", are they then interrelated in such a way that they constitute a continuum? And if so, in how far can these dialects be concluded to form a western branch of the Northwestern group of bedouin dialects (referred to here as NWA) proposed in PALVA (1991)? Could we perhaps add to the criteria mentioned there to identify such dialects, or do some of these criteria need to be modified?

II. Fieldwork methodology.

a. Infrastructural arrangements.

Dialect research in Egypt, as in many Arab countries, is often done by non-Arabs and generally not viewed favourably. The main reason appears to be that in most cases the authorities fail to see any direct relevance for such explorations, and will almost automatically assume that to investigate a certain dialect cannot be the "real" reason that a foreigner wishes to visit a given area. Suspicions as to the hidden agenda behind such activities are only amplified when the region happens to be in an area highly sensitive due to its strategic importance, such as Sinai.

The difficulties involved in conducting the necessary field research had therefore kept northern Sinai free from any recent systematic linguistic inquiry, and thus preserved a blind spot between the better researched areas of the Negev and southern Jordan to the east, and the Egyptian Delta dialects to the west.

It was to colour in this blind spot that official permission was requested through highly regarded channels from the relevant authorities in Cairo to conduct linguistic fieldwork in northern Sinai. These official requests were turned down twice. Since I never received a negative reply to the third request, however, I concluded that there were no longer any official objections against my proposed activities, and felt free to continue. Maintaining a low profile, being entirely open about my intentions to the people I dealt with, and restricting actual field visits to an acceptable minimum - while not engaging in any spying - ensured my access to the area.

For the field trips I used to hire a taxi to go from al‘Aris to the tribes of my choice. I was usually accompanied by a taxi driver, Sālim, who is a member of a respected bedouin family himself, and who is, also as a result of his profession, well-known throughout the area. A distinct advantage of employing his services was that he could introduce me to members of the different tribes.
Being accompanied by a bedouin, rather than anybody else, I was also much more easily accepted by prospective informants than if I had gone without this respected intermediary.\textsuperscript{72}

Salim also knew quite precisely where members of the various tribes could be found, and he would take me to several locations not indicated on any of the maps that I had seen of the area. His knowledge of the area and its people proved to be indispensable for the type of research conducted.

Most of the interviews were recorded on (regular size) C-90 compact cassettes, and the recording equipment used was usually a Sony memo-recorder. The principle advantage of these memo-recorders is their limited size, which minimizes any intimidating effect that electronic equipment may have on informants, combined with the quite acceptable quality of (speech) sound.\textsuperscript{73}

b. Selecting targets for field research.

A general assumption in Arabic dialect studies is that the dialect of members of the same tribe will not differ substantially from one location to another within the same tribal area.\textsuperscript{74} The result is that if one draws isogloss bundles, these will coincide with the borders of the tribal territories. This basic assumption of uniformity of the dialect within a given social entity of a tribe was adopted as a working hypothesis during the research for this study as well, while at the same time it was put to the test by selecting (different) informants from different locations within one tribal area.

The tribes listed in EUROCONSULT (1992) - the most recent publication with an inventory of the tribes present in northern Sinai today, and a map

\textsuperscript{72} One day a session with the Sawárkah in Ródah went wrong after little over an hour of interviewing: the members of the mag’ad collectively decided not to answer my questions any longer. It was only later that I realized that part of the reason must have been that I was accompanied by an Egyptian teacher, who had hitched a ride from me from Balawiy territory - not a place where you would refuse someone a ride - and who had decided that, since he had nothing else planned, his presence during my visit to this Swêrkîy mag’ad was an excellent idea. In addition to this, I had hired another taxi driver from al’Arlis that day, since the car of my regular taxi driver was in repairs.

\textsuperscript{73} A disadvantage is their sensitivity to sand. I therefore always brought two memo-recorders on field trips. Nevertheless, on some occasions I still found myself jotting down notes after both recorders had stopped functioning.

illustrating their geographical distribution - were then selected as targets for the field research required for this study.

c. Selecting informants.

Most researchers in Arabic dialect studies who have some experience doing fieldwork will agree that selecting informants is done, by necessity, on the basis of very practical considerations. Apart from being proper etiquette, approaching the male elderly members of a tribal community is often the only way to record speech closest to the authentic dialect (on a synchronic level, that is). Interviews are then conducted with those who are willing and able to cooperate. During the research for this study interviews with younger members of such communities were sought as well, although a minimum age of sixteen to eighteen was usually observed to ensure a certain level of coherence in the speech of the interviewees. The result, especially in Smē'niy Arabic of group II, is a rather colourful picture reflecting the dynamics that characterize the development of these dialects towards a more sedentary type.

On some occasions it was possible to interview female informants, or to have such interviews conducted for me, but due to the conservative character of bedouin society, this was not often the case. An exception to this conservatism were the Dawāgrah, who let me interview whomever I pleased. In the case of the Dawāgrah I did not notice any great differences between the speech of women and that of men. I did notice differences between the speech of those living nearer to the main road (about 50 meters from it, in Salmânah), and those living farther (about 7 km, in Ėbārah) away from it.

When conducting interviews with male members of Bilīy, I was told that children and women may use certain forms (such as the invariable -yah poss. suffix for 1st p. c. sg.), but that such forms were not used by men. The question is whether this is actually the case; I had the feeling that such forms were reserved for the intimacy of the home, and that they were avoided by men in external contacts. I was unable to verify this, however, since I did not have an opportunity to speak to women or children of this tribe. Part of the reason to

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75 I have often wondered, especially after successful sessions, how a member of a conservative community, say somewhere in the American Midwest, would react if a bedouin in traditional garb would knock on his door unannounced, and ask him if he would cooperate with a dialect research. And would he please answer a list of questions in his own dialect, and in front of a microphone.
avoid certain forms appeared to be that they are similar to forms heard in group IV, the dialect of the Dawâgrah, who are held in low esteem by other tribes.

The large majority of speakers were interviewed inside their own tribal territories. The speech of those speakers interviewed outside their tribal territory was sometimes noticeably influenced by the dialect spoken in their new surroundings. Extra care was taken to filter out these 'foreign' influences. Although the dialect of speakers living outside their territories would show such influences, these were quite easily recognizable if one takes the dialect that is actually spoken in the area where they live into account. In some instances such speakers also provided information no longer traceable, or simply smoothed over in the speech of speakers still living inside the original tribal areas. A good example of this are the interviews I conducted with a speaker of Balawi Arabic in Gatyah. This speaker, who had been living in Gatyah for more than twenty five years, was the first Balawi speaker to use an invariable -yah (1st p. c. sg. poss.) suffix in my presence, when he said 'yûnyah for "my eyes" (and other examples), which I had not recorded on a previous visit to Girîf alGîzlân inside Balawi territory itself. It was only a year later on my next visit to Girîf alGîzlân that I could verify, although it was initially denied by speakers there, that this form indeed occurs in BaA, albeit, as they claimed, only in the speech of women and children.

On average five to six different speakers of one tribe were interviewed, during a minimum of two, and for some dialects up to five or six different sessions varying in length between one and three hours. Of these speakers usually two would be good talkers, from whom I could record spontaneous speech. For reasons outlined above, these interviewees will be referred to by their first names only.

In total a number of 77 compact cassette tapes (most of them C-90, which adds up to approximately 100 hours) were recorded. Below informants interviewed for this study are listed. Level of education, if applicable and known, and (estimated) ages follow in brackets. For the locations mentioned the reader is referred to the map Northern Sinai Littoral topography on p. II in the appendix:

Rmêlât: Ramadan (around 60), așŠex Zwayyid; ‘Aliy (31), Hayy asSalâm west of Rafah (primary school); Mḥammad (50), Hayy asSalâm west of Rafah;

76 A distinct advantage of conducting dialect research on a broader scale, and covering several dialects at the same time.
Hammâd (82), Hayy asSalâm west of Rafah; Mḥammad (28), Hayy asSalâm west of Rafah.

Sawârkah: Mḥammad (25), Lahfan (secondary school); Ġim’îh (early thirties), al’Ariš; Salāmîh (21), aṣšèx Zwayid aḏ-definition; alHağġ ‘Īd (76), arRawḏah; and 3 more speakers of around 35 years old in arRawḏah.

Biliy: aṣšèx Ġim’îh (55), Bir al’Abb; Sūlîm (60), Bir al’Abb; alḥağġ Sālim (59), Gatyah alMamlûk; ‘Īd (45), Girīf alĠizlân; Sîlmân (61), Girīf alĠizlân; aṣšèx Slêm (66), Girīf alĠizlân; ‘Aliy (31), Girīf alĠizlân.

Tarâbin: ‘Nēz (late fifties), Southern Tūrbiyî, Wâdiy Watîr, near Nwēbî‘ (Nuweiba); Ismā’il (20), Northern Tūrbiyî, Barţ 21 (primary school); alḥağġ Slêmân (60), Northern Tūrbiyî, Nâgâb.

Dawāgrah: Mūsâ (29), Salmānâh (vocational training); Sâlmâh (around 32), Salmānâh; Sâbir (27), Ġbârah; Xîrî (28), Ġbârah; ‘Īd (52), Nağâh; aṣšèx Slîmîy (65), atTa’āwun; Hâmid (35), atTa’āwun; Hâmid (42), atTa’āwun; Mḥammad (35), atTa’āwun; Slêmân (65), Ġbârah; Salâmîh (50), Ġbârah.

Samâ’nâh: ‘Iliy (70), Gatyah alĠanâyîn; Ḥsēn (44), Gatyah alĠanâyîn; aṣšèx Šubbâh (mid sixties), Gatyah alĠanâyîn; Slêmân (around 40), Gatyah alĠanâyîn; ‘Iliy (22), Gatyah alĠanâyîn.

‘Agâylah: aṣšèx Šubbâh (70), aḏDefinition; Ġānim (45), between aṣṢōḥat and Tâšî‘; about 8 different male informants varying in age between 20 and 50 in aḏDefinition.

Biyyâdiyyah: iṣṣèx Sa’dî (62), Râb’âh; Mḥammad (30), Râb’âh (recorded in al’Ariš) (teacher); Sâlim (40), Râb’âh (taxi driver); Samâ’h (10), Râb’âh (school drop-out); Ġîhân (16), Râb’âh; ‘Īd (mid thirties), Bir l’Abb.

Axârsah: Sirḥân (52), Bâlūḏah (kuttâb "Koran school"); Sayyid (35), Bâlūḏah; Ḥsēn (45), Bâlūḏah (kuttâb); ‘Ali (45), Bâlūḏah; ilḥağġ Naṣr (60), from Rummânah (recorded in al’Ariš).

Masā’Id: aṣšèx ‘Imirîh (48), Ġilbânâh; ‘Imirîh (early thirties), Ġilbânâh; Sâlim (38), Ġilbânâh; ‘Īd (60), Xarw Xrêw (appr. 40 km south of Ġilbânâh); Slêmân (13), Ġilbânâh (5 years of primary school); Aḥuw Slêmân (early thirties), Ġilbânâh.
d. Gathering linguistic material.

To ensure that the speech recorded in the different dialects would be as natural as possible under the given circumstances, I had prepared a list of questions covering everyday activities, and various other topics I expected to be close to a bedouin’s experience of his environment. These topics included: agricultural activities (growing watermelons, datepalms, barley), fishing activities (types of fish, nets, fishing techniques, adventures at sea), bread preparation, making coffee or tea, receiving guests, travel through the desert, marriage customs, other festivities, customary law, camel rearing, water collection, hunting, and stories and fairy tales. In addition I had prepared a questionnaire for systematic direct elicitation.77

Ideally, on my initial visits I would record as much spontaneous speech as possible to form an idea of what the main characteristics of a particular dialect would be. This worked best when a speaker would start speaking to others present in the mag‘ad,* rather than to the interviewer. On a following visit I would then go through the questionnaire with other members of the same tribe, and try to form a more complete picture of the dialect in question. Obviously, this approach would not always work; some speakers hardly needed any encouragement to start speaking freely on the topics that I would suggest, while others could not be moved to expand even a little on their answers of one short sentence, or sometimes even on their "yes" or "no" answers. The problem is that the goals of interviewer and interviewee are different; a short answer is often the most economical way to communicate factual information, but the

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77 Some forms are very difficult to record in spontaneous speech. F. pl. imperatives of verbs, for instance, are seldomly heard being in a typically male environment such as a mag‘ad (cf. following fn).

78 A mag‘ad (pl. magā‘iḍ) is a place where men come together to exchange the latest news, discuss serious or less serious matters, and drink coffee or tea. Members of a mag‘ad will take pride in hospitably receiving any visitor in their midst.
interviewer is simply not as interested in the factual information as he is in the way this answer is worded.\textsuperscript{79}

When faced with situations where I could not get an interviewee to speak freely or naturally in his own dialect, I would politely try to shift my attention to another potential informant.\textsuperscript{80} Usually more than ten men would be present in a mag‘ād, and the person with the most to say would often present himself, and, if I was lucky, he would speak the original dialect. On other occasions I could switch to other informants according to changes in the topics of conversation.

If this was not possible, for one reason or another, I would go through the questionnaire in order not to let the visit go to waste. On following visits I would almost always be more successful in eliciting more spontaneous speech.

Sometimes a dialect researcher may have the good fortune of finding an informant who will understand exactly what he is looking for. Personally I had such good fortune with a member of the Dawāghrah, a member of the Biyyādīyyah, and several speakers of ‘Arāysiyy.

On other occasions speakers were successfully recorded in my absence by interviewers whom I had briefed on which topics to discuss.

One particular problem when one sets out to record bedouin speech in Sinai is the tendency among speakers of a dialect type different from the group I (or Negev) -type to accommodate their speech to what they feel to be the "true bedouin" dialect. This is especially the case when speakers are subjected to direct elicitation by going through a questionnaire. Trudgill\textsuperscript{81} points out an

\textsuperscript{79} After a few sessions the interviewer will have a fair idea of what the answer to many of his questions will be. This solves the additional problem, at least during the initial stages of field research, that, because the interviewer is still learning the dialect(s) under investigation, sometimes information in the answer is not picked up by him or her. The interviewee notices this, and the role of the interviewer as a serious interlocutor is thereby undermined. In order to communicate factual information, the interviewee may then adapt his speech in order to be understood, with the undesirable side-effect that he no longer speaks his own dialect.

\textsuperscript{80} A curious case of inhibitions to speak naturally occurred one day on a visit to the area called Girīf al-Qūṭlān to interview members of Biliy. As it was my third session with speakers of Balawiy Arabic, I noticed that the 45-year old man I was interviewing was not speaking proper Balawiy, but a type of dialect more resembling that of group III. After interrupting him a number of times to try and persuade him to speak his own dialect, he reached into his oral cavity to remove his dentures. Having removed this obstacle of a rather physical nature, he turned out to be able to speak his original dialect quite acceptably, although his interdentals had suffered, naturally.

\textsuperscript{81} Cf. TRUDGILL (1983), pp. 45-6.
important aspect of the 'observer's paradox': the production of 'hyperdialectisms' as an unwanted effect of an informant's predilection towards what he considers to be his original dialect, and his being well-disposed towards the dialect survey itself, especially in unnatural language-situations created by the use of questionnaires. The 'ideal' dialect type in these cases was usually that of group I (the type of dialect also spoken in the Negev, described in chapter I). This view differs somewhat from remarks made in STEWART (1990) where it was found that "differences in style between speakers are far more striking than the differences in style between utterances of a single speaker on different occasions". This may be true for the speakers of the tribes appearing in his study, but it holds less so for speakers of tribes who do not speak the "plain colloquial" of this northeastern group (our group I, or the Negev-type). Indeed, speakers from the northwest, when they feel that the situation necessitates this, will try to accommodate to this "plain colloquial" of the northeastern group (group I), whereby, in effect, they attempt to incorporate features in their speech of what they consider to be "proper bedouin dialect". Such efforts result in a more elevated style, which is perhaps best described as a "bedouinized colloquial" (characterized by so-called B-forms).

The collection of poems from Sinai and the Negev in BAILEY (1991) is a good example of an apparent homogeneity of dialects in the area; the poems - all appear in transcription - suggest that there is one type of dialect, with a few variations, spoken throughout the area. This relatively uniform dialect-type is largely that described in BLANC (1970), and although this type is spoken as a "plain colloquial" in the Negev and in the northeast of Sinai (apart from certain characteristics of poetic diction), it also serves its role as the "poetic koine" of the area. For this reason a poem recited by a member of the Biyyāḍiyah in the northwest of Sinai will sound as if it had been recited by a member of one of the tribes in the northeast of Sinai or the Negev. The fact that such poems are regularly recited in magā‘id ("gatherings of men") throughout the area, and that
visitors from other tribes are always welcome to exchange the latest news, and
to drink coffee or tea in these magā‘id, means that most men are exposed to this
northeastern dialect type on a fairly regular basis, and will be able to reproduce
it quite accurately during direct elicitation. Since such "direct elicitation" tends
to focus on single lexemes uttered in isolation, and a speaker is therefore only
tested on a small part of his active competence of any particular dialect under
investigation, the information gathered by applying this method of linguistic
enquiry should be interpreted with the necessary caution.

To filter out such "noise" - no disrespect intended - one has to rely more
on the information coming from recordings of spontaneous speech (i.e.
uninterrupted descriptions of daily activities, stories, etc.), than on the
information derived from direct elicitation. Ideally, every bit of information
derived from direct elicitation should be checked against information emanating
from spontaneous speech. If then inconsistencies arise, often apparent because
the information gathered for the system to be described is no longer internally
coherent, information derived from spontaneous speech should be given
preference.

If, for instance, a m. pl. verbal ending of the a-type imperfect -uw is
recorded a number of times in spontaneous speech (e.g. yāftahāw "they (m. p.)
open"), and a 2nd f. sg. a-type imperfect ending -iy is recorded (e.g. tāṣrābiy
"you (f. sg.) drink), while direct elicitation yields a 2nd p. m. pl. ending -aw of
the a-type imperfect (e.g. tāftahāw "you (m. pl.) open"), the information
gathered on this aspect of verbal morphology is not very likely to be internally
coherent, since the vast majority of (and perhaps all) Arabic dialects have
identical verbal endings in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the pl. imperfect, and
often the absence of vowel harmony in the 2nd p. f. sg. ending will imply
absence of vowel harmony in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. endings as well (although
nothing is impossible, of course). If we then give preference to forms recorded
in spontaneous speech, we should conclude that the form derived from direct
elicitation is inconsistent with the internal coherence of the system we are trying
to describe.

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84 My best Biyyā’iy informant could even recite entire poems of his favorite poet ‘Nēz
and tribal groups), for numerous references to ‘Anēz Sālim Swēlim l-’Urdī (his full name
in Bailey’s transcription), “the finest living poet in the peninsula” (cf. ibid., p. 9).

85 In cases of contradictory information, BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1985a), p. 19, also implicitly
state that preference should be given to forms recorded in spontaneous speech.
This is basically the method followed to create a description which is internally coherent. On the other hand, forms which may be inconsistent with such internal coherence, do not appear out of the blue, but are indeed evidence of the dynamics which to a great extent characterize the dialects under investigation, especially those spoken in the northwest (groups II and III).

In the case of the dialects of groups II and III these dynamics lie in the development from an older, more 'bedouin' type of dialect towards a more 'sedentary' type of dialect. Such a development has the occurrence of parallel forms to effect: 'foreign' forms may occur parallel with the original forms, and the 'foreign' forms may be inconsistent with the internal coherence of the original dialect type, but they will often be heard in the speech of speakers of dialects (where they are not inconsistent with the internal coherence) with whom speakers of the more original dialect have come into contact.\textsuperscript{86} Such parallel forms are actually characteristic of the transitional stage in which the dialect finds itself. At a later stage the dialect will often drop one of the parallel forms, often the most marked one. This process is known as 'leveling'.\textsuperscript{87}

Sometimes so-called 'interdialect forms' have been created as a result of the dialect contact. These are the result of a compromise between the original dialect and the dialect (type) with which it has come into contact; the 'interdialect form' appearing will contain elements of both (or more) dialect(s) (types) involved in the contact, but will not appear in that particular unique form in any of these dialect(s) (types).\textsuperscript{88} To illustrate these dynamics such

\textsuperscript{86} In the initial stages of such dialect contact the contact will be between speakers of different dialects, but at later stage the speaker of the dialect affected by the contact may influence speakers of his own speech community, who may also adopt the new form(s) in their speech.

\textsuperscript{87} TRUDGILL (1986), pp. 107-8 (paraphrased): 'Levelling' entails the disappearance of 'minority and otherwise marked speech forms', which is often accompanied by 'simplification', which involves, crucially, a reduction in irregularities. The result of the focussing associated with koineization is a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none.

\textsuperscript{88} Cf. TRUDGILL (1986), p. 62.

Such 'interdialect' forms are heard, for instance, in the dialect of \textit{IlFayyûm}, where "telephone" is \textit{talafawn}, "pound" is \textit{ginayh}, and "steering wheel" is \textit{daraksawn}. In these cases the CaA monophthongs \textit{o} and \textit{e} in the words \textit{illifûn}, \textit{ginêh} and \textit{diriksûn} were phonologically reinterpreted as the Fayyûmiy diphthongs \textit{aw} and \textit{ay} (respectively). The fact that these are loanwords (from French "téléphone", English "guinea", and French "direction") shows that we are not dealing with diphthongs from an earlier stage of this Arabic dialect. The short \textit{a}'s in the first two syllables of such forms as \textit{talafawn} and \textit{daraksawn} are to be interpreted in terms of the preferred patterns for loanwords from other languages \textit{a-a-} \textit{vCC} and \textit{a-a-} \textit{vC}, cf. WOIDICH (1990a), pp.147-8.
parallel forms have not been ignored in the descriptions of the dialects presented here.

The texts that were recorded were almost all written out, word by word, with the assistance of mainly three people. This was done in alʻArıš, where I had rented a šālēh ("chalet") on the beach during most of my visits. One of these three people is himself a Biyyādiy (Muḥammad, mentioned in the preface) with extensive contacts throughout the area. The other two are ʻArāysiyyah⁸⁹ (i.e. born and bred sons of alʻArıš: Saḥīd and ʻAbdallah, also mentioned in the preface), both with a wealth of experience in taking down bedouin oral poetry from Sinai and in interviewing members of the different bedouin tribes in the area. Without these informants much of the material would have been lost to my ears, and through their cooperation they have earned my sincere gratitude.

III. Presentation of the data.

a. Selecting criteria for comparison.

The publications mentioned above (in the paragraph "surrounding dialects") also served to set the parameters for comparison; if we assume a certain homogeneity of dialects in the area to be researched, as is suggested when authors speak of "the Sinai dialects", let us then use this as a working hypothesis and put it to the test. The criteria for comparison were then selected from these publications, so that we may compare apples with apples.

As in most dialect geographies, the emphasis here tends to be on differences, rather than on shared characteristics.⁹⁰ The reason is that one usually looks for differences in a contrastive study, since there is little point in drawing a map on the basis of criteria that yield the same outcome in every location on that map. The fact that a similarity does show up in certain locations on any given dialect map is simply due to the fact that the criterion set yields a difference in other locations on the same map. This makes the selection of

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⁸⁹ The term ʻArāysiyyah (sg. ʻArāysiyy) is used here with reference to inhabitants of alʻArıš.

⁹⁰ The importance of shared innovations should not be underestimated. It is therefore a pity that these tend to remain relatively underexposed in a contrastive study when such innovations are shared by all dialects under discussion.
similarities biased if we would only take our maps as a starting point. However, the fact that a given similarity shows up in certain locations of an area where applying the same criterion also yields differences in other locations may add relevance to the fact that there is a similarity.

There is, for instance, not much point in drawing a map of our area to show the reflexes of *s, since the outcome would be the same in all locations checked. From a dialect-geographical point of view, there is just as little point in drawing a map of our area for the reflexes of *q, since the outcome is the same in all locations. The difference with the preceding example of reflexes of *s, however, is that a map for the reflexes of *q will be relevant in a larger geographical, and perhaps also historical perspective, since there are other strong indications that the dialect of the Dawāgrah (DA, or group IV) is of the Nağdiy-type (cf. remarks in IV, 1.1.3.).

Another point is that the dialect of the regional centre of ʿal’Arīs can be classified as a sedentary dialect in many respects, although the reflex for *q is g, which is more typically the case with bedouin dialects. The question is then: why is it that this particular feature is bedouin while so many other features of the dialect are not? In this latter case the influence from surrounding bedouin dialects for this g reflex is highly likely, but such particular questions deserve answers based on more thorough research, which they cannot receive in this study.

An even clearer example of the relevance of similarities is the spread of the b-imperfect in the area. Had it not been for DA, where this characteristic was concluded to be absent, this feature would not have been represented in a map to show its geographical spread. It is, however, a typologically important characteristic feature shared by all dialects of the area (except DA). The typological importance lies in the fact that, although it is found in the bedouin dialects of our area, it is basically a characteristic of sedentary dialects, which should tell us something about the influence sedentary dialects must have exerted on these bedouin dialects.

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91 The conclusion I drew for DA in my lecture for the third conference of 'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe' (AIDA) held in Malta in 1998 is that it is originally of the southern Nağdiy-type. The reader is referred here to a summary of this lecture, which is to appear in the proceedings of this conference, and to a lengthier article on this topic to appear in a special issue of Oriente Moderno in 1999 (?).

b. True bedouin dialect.

As we try to identify an area of transition between the Negev-type of dialect and the dialect type of eastern Šarqiyyah, we are in fact looking for a transition from a bedouin type of dialect to a sedentary type of dialect.

An important question is therefore what constitutes a "true bedouin" dialect. Remarks made by Murray and Bailey on "Egyptian accents, manners, and dress", and "their way of talking [which] is not that of true Bedouin" regarding bedouins inhabiting the Gatyah oasis in the northwest of Sinai presuppose certain criteria, which are, however, not elaborated upon.

We therefore have to define first what characterizes a bedouin dialect by formulating criteria enabling us to make more well-founded judgements with respect to the typological classification of the dialects under scrutiny.

These criteria will be formulated in terms of characteristics generally present in a bedouin dialect, which in many cases implies that the absence of such features characterizes a more sedentary type of dialect. A result of this approach is that the sedentary type will be characterized negatively. This does not imply a value judgement on my part; we have to bear in mind that in many cases we could just as well turn things around by rephrasing our criteria in order to positively identify a sedentary dialect, should we wish to do so. For instance, instead of phrasing our criterion JD as "Presence of the gahawah-syndrome with subsequent morphological restructuring of \(^{C_1}aC_2C_3\) to be \(^{C_1}aC_2\bar{a}C_3\) where \(C_2 = X\)".

...
we could just as well phrase this criterion as

"Retention of the \( *C_1aC_2C_3 \) syllable structure where \( C_2 = X \)."

The outcome of applying such a rephrased criterion would be that in most cases a bedouin dialect will be characterized negatively, while most sedentary dialects will be characterized positively.

The rationale behind the choice of the direction bedouin \( \Rightarrow \) sedentary in our comparison has a historical justification: sedentary dialects developed out of bedouin dialects, rather than the other way around.\(^95\) We can take this as an axiom, because we know that the language was spread from the Arab Peninsula by the bedouin tribes that conquered the territory which is now known as "the Arab world".

The direction of change is often illustrated by the loss of more conservative features considered typical of the bedouin type, such as the distinction m./f. in the pl., where in sedentary dialects one would more typically find the original m. pl. in use as a c. pl.\(^96\) Another example is the loss of a (causative) verbal measure 4, the causative function of which has often been assumed by measure 2 or measure 1 in the sedentary type of dialects.\(^97\)

On the other hand, bedouin characteristics which are not of a conservative nature, but are better interpreted as bedouin innovations, such as the gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of sequences \( CaCaCV \rightarrow CCvCV \), are more typically absent in a sedentary type of dialect. In such cases the sedentary dialect has the more conservative syllable structure.\(^98\)

\(^{95}\) ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 3, makes the valuable observation that, historically, all Arabic dialects are bedouin dialects.

\(^{96}\) Cf. FISCHER/JASTROW (1980), p. 61 (5.1.1.).

\(^{97}\) Cf. FISCHER/JASTROW (1980), p. 46 (3.8.1.).

\(^{98}\) This is not to suggest that such bedouin innovations post-date the spread of the language. On the contrary: since the gahawah-syndrome is found in many bedouin dialects throughout the Arab world, it is more likely that this innovation antedates the spread of the language. After all, inserting a in aXC sequences is not likely to be caused by a nomadic lifestyle (dry throats?), which is what one would have to assume if one would wish to account for the presence of this innovation in so many bedouin dialects spoken in such a vast area that regular contact between these bedouin dialects is simply not a plausible explanation for the geographical spread of this feature. We have to assume therefore that in sedentary dialects where such features are not found, they must have been lost. An illustration of this are B'eri forms katab "he wrote", but kitibat "she wrote" (cf. WOJDIICH (1973-4), p. 359), and also bagar "cows (coll.)", but büğura "cow". These forms kitibat and büğura are presumed to have been reconstructed from (bedouin forms) *bgura and *ktibat to match the systems of stress and syllabication.
To distinguish dialects spoken inside our area, an additional selection was made of characteristics of the type of dialect spoken by the Negev bedouins (DA, spoken by the Đullam), the dialect described in BLANC (1970).

To be sure, characteristics presented here as typical for the speech of the Negev bedouins, but which are not marked as *general* characteristics, can be typically bedouin as well, but the question is which of these can be said to be generally present in bedouin dialects.

The example of the stressed pron. suffixes -C-í (poss.) and -nî (obj.) of the 1st p. c. sg. (listed below as 38)) illustrates this. There cannot be much doubt that this is indeed a feature characteristic of bedouin dialects of the area (except of DA), which is illustrated by the fact that it is absent in the two clearly sedentary (which can be defined on the basis of other criteria) dialects discussed (those of the eastern Šarqiyah and the town of al'April). However, to classify this feature as a *general* characteristic of bedouin dialects is a different matter, since its occurrence is only reported for our area and just a few other places. This feature is therefore not classified as a *general* bedouin characteristic here.

Another typically Negev bedouin feature is stress in **CaCaC**(v) and **CaCIC** (listed below as 14) and 15)); such sequences will normally be stressed on the second vowel from the left. To classify this stress as a *general* bedouin feature is again a different matter; I am personally not aware that such stress is widespread in bedouin dialects, and have therefore not marked this feature as such (cf., however, C. IX. Final remarks in conclusion).

Since I have not conducted a general survey of publications on bedouin dialects that have become available to date, I cannot claim to know exactly which features constitute general bedouin characteristics, and which do not. While begging the reader's indulgence, I should like to point out however, that marking those characteristics which have now only been listed as typical for Negev bedouin dialects as general bedouin characteristics, will in most cases not be contradictory with the final conclusions concerning the typological
classification of dialects spoken in the northwest of Sinai, and that of the eastern Šarqiyyah, but on the contrary add extra evidence to the claim of the presence of a transitional area.

To classify a dialect as bedouin or non-bedouin a number of typological features relevant for the area are used as criteria. The outcome of applying these criteria is represented in maps in the appendix; those criteria that do not yield differences inside our area, and therefore do not draw isoglosses, are not represented in maps. A number of additional criteria that distinguish the different bedouin dialects of our area are also represented in maps.

The criteria that are not reflected in maps follow below. Those criteria generally used for the distinction bedouin-sedentary, forty-one in total, are underlined and marked (B-S):

A) (B-S) A voiced affricate reflex ꜡ (in some dialects ~ fricative ꜡ , or ~ affricate ꜡ ) for * ꜡ is found in all our dialects, including sedentary 'AA and eŠA. E.g.: ꜡ 'ar "neighbour", ꜡ īl "leg" (cf. 1.1.4.).

B) (B-S) A voiced reflex ꜡ for *quila: found in all our dialects, including sedentary 'AA and eŠA. E.g.: ꜡ āg "market", ꜡ āl "heart" (cf. 1.1.3.).

C) (B-S) Affricated variants of /g/ and /k/: in none of our dialects in the area, including 'AA and eŠA. A separate map was not drawn for this criterion, but MAPS 3, 32, and 33 partially cover the absence of this characteristic. E.g. ꜡ āl "dog", ꜡ l "every", ꜡ m "sleeve" (cf. 1.1.3.).

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100 ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 3: "a single feature is not enough to characterize a dialect". Ibid. pp. 8-53 contains a summary, on which this selection of characterizing features is based. For the sake of brevity, I have omitted certain dialectal features not relevant for the classification of dialects within our area.

Bedouin characteristics of Palva's proposed Northwestern Arabian (or NWA) group as compared to sedentary dialects mentioned in PALVA (1991) are indicated by the abbreviation NWA in brackets.

101 For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 8. The relevance of these criteria A) and B) for Egyptian dialects is stressed in BEHNSTEDT (1979), p. 63, fn 5, and p. 64.

102 For the sedentary central Delta dialects, where * ꜡ has a ꜡ reflex, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 10, 11, 12, 15. For eŠA, cf. also ABUL FADL (1961), Map 5 (p. 304).


104 For eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), map 3 (p. 302), and cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 7.


106 For eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), maps 2 and 3 (pp. 301-2), and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 6-8, and 16-17.
A partial lack of phonemic distinction between short high vowels i and u is found in all our dialects, including sedentary ‘AA and eŠA, e.g. ُسُدُد "pull", ُهَعُث "place" (cf. 1.2.3.2.).

Reduction of geminated C_{2} (C_{a} C_{a}) in the imperfect of measure 2 when C_{3} (C_{b}) is followed by V, i.e. a cluster C_{a} C_{a} C_{b} V \rightarrow C_{a} C_{b} V: this occurs in all our dialects of the area, including ‘AA and eŠA. E.g. ُيَخَرَفِـيز + ُعَـفِـو \rightarrow ُيَخَرَفِـوز "they speak" (cf. 2.3.3.3.1.).

The 2nd p. m. pl. pron. suffix -ku(w): it occurs in all our dialects (but ~ -kum in SaA), including ‘AA and eŠA. E.g. ُبَتْكِوُـو "your (m. pl.) house/tent" (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

Preference for construct state instead of indirect annexation (with ُشُعْـلِ, ُبَتْـعِ etc.): such a preference was not apparent in the area. MAP 29 in the appendix was drawn on usage of ُشُعْـلِ or (b)tāʾ instead. E.g. ُيَلْـحَـاـوا ُبَتْـعِـأَـثِـت (group III) or ُيَلْـحَـاـوا ُشُعْـلِـأَتْـيِـا "my coffee" (group IV) (cf. 3.1.11.).

The presence of tanwîn (or nunation) as a partial designation for indefiniteness: none of the dialects of our area use tanwîn productively; it only occurs in poetic passages and proverbial expressions. Its absence was labeled characteristic of NWA dialects, as opposed to its presence in North Arabian dialects (or Nağdiy)\textsuperscript{112}. E.g. (nunation underlined) ُسْـبَّـيِـيُـا "a little boy" (cf. 4.1.).

Use of the locative preposition ُفَـتِـفِ for "in" occurs in all our dialects, including ‘AA and eŠA\textsuperscript{113}. E.g. ُفِـ أـلْـبِـت or ُفِـ عِـبَـت "in the house/tent" (cf. 3.1.16.).

Other criteria not represented in maps in appendix are:

Productivity of diminutive patterns.\textsuperscript{114} The material is inconclusive for many dialects. The question is often whether diminutives are not just simply lexicalized items (cf. 3.1.6.).
K) (B-S) Use of *mär / mër for "so then, but"\(^{115}\). This conjunction is reported for \(\bar{D}A\) and \(AA\)\(^{116}\) but it was not recorded in any of the other dialects investigated for this study.

L) (B-S) Use of interrogative ‘alâm + pron. suff. "why, what for?"\(^{117}\): this interrogative was recorded in a number of dialects, but for other dialects the material is inconclusive. E.g.: ‘alâmak? "what is the matter with you?", and also in the dialect of the Garârśah in southern Sinai: ‘alâmûk y-Abû Zêd "what’s the matter with you, Abu Zayd?"\(^{118}\) (cf. 3.1.14.).

c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix.

As was already pointed out, many features that are not considered generally typical of bedouin dialects, or are not specifically marked as such, can of course very well be bedouin characteristics of the bedouin dialects in Negev and Sinai. Here characteristics of Negev bedouin dialect (\(\bar{D}A\) of group I) are presumed to be typically bedouin for the area, since \(\bar{D}A\), only second to \(DA\), scores best on those characteristics that have been marked as typically bedouin in a general sense.

Deviations from this Negev-type may be typically bedouin as well (such as the outcome of criterion 1) for \(SaA\) and ‘AgA), but many such deviations are better ascribed to influences from the sedentary type of the Egyptian Delta dialects. (references "MAP + number" are to the appendix, and numbers following are to the relevant paragraphs in chapters I-V):

1) \(/\text{k}/\) and \(/\text{k}/\) in the phoneme inventory as separate phonemes: not in the Negev, but in group II \(\hat{b}û\text{tk} "yo\text{ur (m. sg.) house/tent}" and \(\text{bû}\text{tk} "yo\text{ur (f. sg.) house/tent}"\) (MAP 1, cf. 1.1.1. and 3.1.12.2.)

2) (B-S)\(^{119}\) Interdental reflexes \(\text{t}\) and \(\text{q}\) for \(*\text{t}\) and \(*\text{q}\): also in the Negev. E.g.: \(\text{tâlît} "\text{third}"\), \(\text{dahâb} "\text{gold}"\) (MAP 2, cf. 1.1.2.)

3) (B-S)\(^{120}\) Merged interdental reflex \(\text{q}\) for \(*\text{q}\) and \(*\text{q}\): also in the Negev. E.g. \(\text{dârâb} "\text{he hit}"\), \(\text{âdâqa\'an} "\text{the trek (with camels)}"\) (MAP 3, cf. 1.1.2.)

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\(^{115}\) For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 45.

\(^{116}\) Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 35 (145), and STEWART (1990), glossary.

\(^{117}\) For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 44.

\(^{118}\) Manfred Woidich, personal communication.

\(^{119}\) For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 8. Usually criteria 2) and 3) are taken together as one criterion. For our area we have to make a distinction to cover the situation in \(BA\).

\(^{120}\) For this criterion, ibid.
Secondary velarization, or "emphatization": also in the Negev. E.g. *gal̩b "heart", *kùnān "also", *ašūh "his brother" (MAP 4, cf. 1.1.7.)

Partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs *ay and *aw, with phonetic overlapping of monophthongized īj with īi, and of īl with īi: also in the Negev. E.g. *sēf ~ sīf (< *sayf) "sword", but *ṣayf (< *sayf) "summer", and *kōm "pile" (< *kawm), but *xawf (< *xawf) "fear", and *ū almost as low as [oː] in *xöx (< *xūx) "peaches" (MAP 5, cf. 1.2.2.1. and 1.2.4.5.)

Tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions: also in the Negev. E.g. *āyzāt "they (f. pl.) want", māṣūrah "pipe line" (MAP 6, cf. 1.2.2.4.)

Raising of a in open syllable preceding A (i.e. stressed a or ā) in the Negev. E.g. (katāb →) kitāb "he wrote", (gaḏāh →) guḏāh "judges" (MAP 7, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.1.1.5., 3.1.1.6., and 3.1.1.7.)

Raising of the feminine suffix (T): -ih in neutral environments in the Negev, not conditioned by pausal position. E.g. *āylih "family" (MAP 8, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.)

Extreme raising of final *-ā(ʻ) in neutral environments in the Negev. E.g. hniy "here", stiy "winter" (MAP 9, cf. 1.2.4.4.)

Absence of raising of final *-ā(ʻ) in non-neutral environments in the Negev. E.g. *xaḏrā(ʻ) "green (f. sg.)" (MAP 10, cf. 1.2.4.4.)

Diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw when preceded by X or M (i.e. phonetically conditioned) in the Negev. E.g. *ḥayt "walls", *ṭayr "birds", and *xawf "fear", sawm "fasting" (also found among Bdūl and N'emāt, but well established monophthongs lēl and lōl among Ḥwētāt and Bani 'Aṭīye). (MAP 11, cf. 1.2.4.1., 1.2.4.6., and 1.2.4.7.)

Stress in mediae geminatae where the geminate is word-final. E.g. yḥīyy "he puts" and aššāt "the coast" in the Negev (i.e. no reduction of final geminates) (MAP 12, cf. 2.1.1.)
13) Stress in *maCCaCah in the Negev. E.g. mádrasih "school" (MAP 13, cf. 2.1.1.1.)

14) Stress in *CaCvC is CvCáC / CvCiC / CvCúC in the Negev. E.g. katáb ~ kitáb "he wrote", širib "he drank", kubúr "he grew" (MAP 14, cf. 2.1.1.2.)

15) Stress in *CaCaCv: CvCáCv in the Negev. E.g. šiğárah "tree", ğimálah "his camel", gaháwah "coffee" (MAP 15, cf. 2.1.1.2.1.)

16) Stress in *CaCaCaCv is CaCdCaCv in the Negev. E.g. ragábatih "his neck", darábatih "she hit him" (MAP 16, cf. 2.1.1.2.1.3.)

17) (B-S)125 Resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences: not in the Negev. E.g. wardgah "piece of paper", gaháwah "coffee" (MAP 17, cf. 2.1.1.2.1.6.)

18) (B-S)126 The article and measure n-1 and 1-t preformatives as stressable units: also NWA. E.g. álgimál "the camels", ánńarað "he was hit", áttifag "he agreed" (MAP 18, cf. 2.1.1.2.2.)

19) (B-S)127 Presence of the gahawah-syndrome, with subsequent morphological restructuring of *CaCaC > C1aC2aC3, where C2 = X. Also in the Negev. E.g. naxál "palm trees", naxálah "a palm tree", álbañar "the sea". (MAP 19, cf. 2.2.1.)

20) (B-S)128 Presence of initial CVC in limited morphological patterns: also in the Negev. E.g. 'nab "grapes" (< *'inab), šgür (< *süşqr) "falcons" (MAP 20, cf. 2.3.5.)

21) Raising of a in C1aCiC3(ah): morphological restructuring in the Negev (C1iC2iC3(ah)), but still underlying lal, since it is not *C1aC2aC3(ah). E.g. kitr źmany (< *katr), iğin (< *ağin) "dough" (MAP 21, cf. 3.1.1.1.)

22) Raising of a in pre-stress closed syllable in *CaCCáC: no morphological restructuring in the Negev. E.g. barrád ~ burrád "tea pot", wağ'án ~ wiği'an "in pain" (MAP 22, cf. 3.1.1.4.)

23) Raising of a in *CaCúC(ah): morphological restructuring, but underlying lal in the Negev. E.g. 'urús "bride", xurúf "goat" (MAP 23, cf. 3.1.1.8.)

24) The pattern for colours and physical defects: with initial a- in the Negev. E.g. ábyad "white", ášdāf "left-handed" (MAP 24, cf. 3.1.7.)

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125 For this criterion, cf. ibid., pp. 14-5, but cf. remarks below in A. III. d. The gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences.

126 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 16.

127 For this criterion, cf. ibid., pp. 14-5, but cf. remarks below in A. III. d. The gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences.

128 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 13.
25) **(B-S)** Article is *al-* and relative pronoun *allî(y)* in the Negev. Also in NWA. E.g. *albusal* "the onions", *algahâwah* "the coffee" (MAP 25, cf. 3.1.9.1.)

26) Occurrence of *lal* in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (*'(ā)mm* "mother", *(')axt* "sister", *(')axwân* "brothers", *(')adên* "(two) hands", *(')afâm* "mouth") in the Negev. Also in NWA. E.g. *dlbusal* "the onions", *algahâwah* "the coffee" (MAP 25, cf. 3.1.9.1.)

27) Treatment of *T* (the feminine suffix) in construction: *T* preceded by historical *aC-* or in open syllable preceded by *gahawah-*vowel → -at, otherwise -it in the Negev. E.g. *ragâbatih* "his neck", *gahawati* "my coffee", but *(rukbit + ha / hiy →)* rukbitii / rukbitiy "her knee", *naxaliina* "our date palm" (MAP 27, cf. 3.1.10.)

28) Elision of the *T-*vowel in construct state: *i* is elided in eligible position in the Negev. E.g. *(rukbit + i → *rukbiti → *rukbiti →)* rukbitii "my knee" (MAP 28, cf. 3.1.10.)

29) Annexation with *šugl* in the Negev (i.e. the genitive exponent). E.g. *albèt* *šugli* "my house/tent" (MAP 29, cf. 3.1.11.)

30) **(B-S)** Gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. of pers. pronouns, adjectives and verbs: also NWA. E.g. *banāt hilwāt* "beautiful girls", *hinna* "they (f. pl.)", *yāklin* "they (f. pl.) cat" (MAP 30, cf. 3.1.12., 3.2.1.1., and 3.2.1.2.)

31) The 3rd p. sg. m. and f. personal pronouns are *hû* and *hi* in the Negev. (MAP 31, cf. 3.1.12.1.)

32) The 1st p. c. sg. personal pronoun: *anâ(' #)* in the Negev. (MAP 32, cf. 3.1.12.1.)

33) The 1st. p. c. pl. personal pronoun: *a'îna* in the Negev. (MAP 33, cf. 3.1.12.1.)

34) **(B-S)** Pron. suffix of 3rd p. m. sg.: -ah or -ih, rather than -u: -ah/-ih in the Negev. E.g. *bêtih ~ bitih* "his house/tent", *gał̄ah* "his heart" (-ah / -ih among the Bdûl, -o among Nîmât, -ah among Hwêtât and Bani ‘Aфûye). (MAP 34, cf. 3.1.12.2.)

35) Pronominal suffix of 3rd p. f. sg.: *-ha (Dullâm)*, *-ha or -hiy* (other bedouins) in the Negev. E.g. (poss. suff.) *rkañha / rkañhiy* "her knees",

129 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 21.
130 In our dialects there is not so much a preference for the construct state. The distinction here is between the use of *šugl* and more sedentary *(b)tâ*.
131 For this criterion, cf. ibid., pp. 17, 27.
132 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 19.
kallamha / kallamhiy "he spoke to her" (-ha among the Bdûl, -ha among the N'ëmat, and -ha among Hwëtdàt and Bani ʿAtïye). (MAP 35, cf. 3.1.12.2.)

36) 2nd p. m. sg. pron. suff.: C-ak in the Negev. E.g. bêtak ~ bitak "your house/tent" (MAP 36, cf. 3.1.12.2.)

37) 2nd p. f. sg. pron. suff.: invariable -ki(y) in the Negev (also NWA), E.g. bëtkiy ~ bitkiy "your (f. sg.) house/tent", rükbiikiy "your (f. sg.) knee" (MAP 37, cf. 3.1.12.2.)

38) 1st p. c. sg. pron. suffixes: stressed -Î (poss.) and -ni (obj.) in the Negev (also NWA). E.g. bëri ~ biti "my house/tent",  īfnî "he saw me" (MAP 38, cf. 3.1.12.2.)

39) (B-S)\(^{133}\) Emphatization of d in demonstratives hâd+t if not followed by -i: hâda ~ hâda in the Negev. (MAP 39, cf. 3.1.13.)

40) The f. sg. demonstrative: hëdiy in the Negev. (MAP 40, cf. 3.1.13.)

41) (B-S)\(^{134}\) Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives: not in NWA. Occurrence of several different pl. forms of the dem. pronoun: hœdal(lah) in the Negev (hœdal(la) (hœdöla) among the Bdûl, hœdöla among the Hwëtdàt, and hœdal(la) among the Bani ʿAtïye).\(^{135}\) (MAP 41, cf. 3.1.13.)

42) (B-S)\(^{136}\) Short vowel in mi? "who?": also in the Negev. (MAP 42, cf. 3.1.14.)

43) (B-S)\(^{137}\) Interrogative "where?": wën? in the Negev. (MAP 43, cf. 3.1.14)

44) (B-S)\(^{138}\) Interrogative "how?": këf ~ kif (~ kayf)? in the Negev. (MAP 44, cf. 3.1.14.)

45) (B-S)\(^{139}\) Adverb "there": hnuh / hnâk in the Negev. (MAP 45, cf. 3.1.15.1.)

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\(^{133}\) For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 20.

\(^{134}\) For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 20. This criterion was not combined with criterion 30) because the outcome of applying this criterion for DA differs from the outcome for the other dialects in the area.

\(^{135}\) Cf. PALVA (1991), pp. 157-8, for the forms listed.

\(^{136}\) For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 43.

\(^{137}\) For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 44.

\(^{138}\) PALVA (1991), p. 155, uses this criterion to distinguish North Arabian dialects from NWA. In this study këf is contrasted with more sedentary izzây. Therefore it is marked (B-S). Cf. also ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 44, where this interrogative is mentioned as generally characteristic for bedouin dialects.

\(^{139}\) Ibid., p. 50, lists quite a few adverbs for "there" typical of bedouin dialects, of which hnâk (sic) is given for the Negev. This should read hnuh, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 35 (146).
46) (B-S)\textsuperscript{140} Adverb "here": \textit{hnìy} or \textit{fi hâda} \textasciitilde \textit{fi hâda} in the Negev. (MAP 46, cf. 3.1.15.1.)

47) (B-S)\textsuperscript{141} Preposition \textit{l} usually not \textit{ilu}, \textit{ilha} etc.: \textit{lah} \textasciitilde \textit{lih} in the Negev. (MAP 47, cf. 3.1.16.)

48) Preposition "with" suffixed with 3rd. p. m. sg. suff.: \textit{maâh} in the Negev. (MAP 48, cf. 3.1.16.)

49) Numeral "one" (f.): \textit{?} in the Negev, but \textit{wihih} in other dialects of group I, and in group II (MAP 49, cf. 3.1.17.)

50) Vowel harmony in the 3rd p. m. pl. ending of \textit{a-type perfects} in the Negev. E.g. \textit{kitâbaw} "they wrote" (MAP 50, cf. 3.2.1.1.1.)

51) Vowel harmony in the 3rd p. f. pl. ending of \textit{a-type perfects} in the Negev. E.g. \textit{kitâban} "they (f. pl.) wrote" (MAP 51, cf. 3.2.1.1.1.)

52) The \textit{i-type perfect}: \textit{šîrib}, \textit{šarbit}, \textit{širibt} in the Negev: no morphological restructuring. (MAP 52, cf. 2.1.1.2.1.5., and 3.2.1.1.)

53) (B-S)\textsuperscript{142} Vowel harmony in the prefix of the imperfect of verbal measure \textit{l}, i.e. \textit{yaśrâb}, \textit{yiktîb}, \textit{yug'ud} in the Negev. (also found among the \textit{Bdâl} and \textit{N'ëmât}, but not among the \textit{Hwëfât} and \textit{Bani 'Afiyye}) (MAP 53, cf. 3.2.1.2.)

54) Vowel harmony in the 3rd p. m. pl. verbal ending of \textit{a-type imperfects} in the Negev: absence of final \textit{-n} in 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl., and 2nd p. f. sg. endings in the Negev (also \textit{NWA}).\textsuperscript{143} E.g. \textit{yâsrabaw} "they (m. pl.) drink", \textit{tâsrahabaw} "you drink", \textit{tâsrahabay} "you (f. sg.) drink" (MAP 54, cf. 3.2.1.2.)

MAP 54 in the appendix only reflects the 3rd p. m. pl. forms, but the 3rd p. m. pl. ending \textit{-aw} for \textit{☐} (i.e. \textit{yâsrabaw} "they (m. pl.) drink") is here meant to imply the same ending for the 2nd p. m. pl. (i.e. \textit{tâsrahabaw} "you (m. pl.) drink"), and also the 2nd p. f. sg. ending \textit{-ay} (i.e. \textit{tâsrahabay} "you (f. sg.) drink").

The 3rd p. m. pl. ending \textit{-u(w)} (i.e. \textit{yîsrâbu(w)} "they (m. pl.) drink" for \textbullet, \textit{yikitbu(w)} "they (m. pl.) write" for \textit{☐} and \textbullet) implies the same ending for the 2nd p. m. pl. (i.e. \textit{tişrabu(w)} "you (m. pl.) drink" for \textbullet, \textit{tikitbu(w)} "you (m. pl.) write" for \textit{☐} and \textbullet), and the ending \textit{-i(y)} for the 2nd p. f.

\textsuperscript{140} ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 50, also lists quite a few adverbs for "here" typical of bedouin dialects, of which \textit{hnìy} (\textit{yìn}) (sic) is given for the Negev. This should read \textit{hnìy} (\textit{yih}), cf. BLANC (1970), p. 35 (146). Here forms such as \textit{hìna}, \textit{ìna} (not listed by Rosenhouse) are considered sedentary, forms listed are considered bedouin.

\textsuperscript{141} For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 40. Rosenhouse adds that often the first \textit{l} in \textit{guldu} is dropped in bedouin dialects. I have not used that as a criterion.

\textsuperscript{142} For this criterion, cf. ibid., pp. 28-9.

\textsuperscript{143} The absence of final \textit{-n} in these endings is used in PALVA (1991), p. 155, to distinguish \textit{NWA} from North Arabian (or \textit{Nağdiy}) type dialects.
sg. (i.e. *tšràhì(y)* "you (f. sg.) drink" for ▼, *tìkitbi(y)* "you (f. sg.) write" for □ and ▼). The 3rd p. m. pl. ending -*um* for □ (i.e. *yàsšàhùm* "they (m. pl.) drink", *yìkitbùm* "they (m. pl.) write") implies the same ending for the 2nd p. m. pl. (i.e. *tàsšàhùm* "you (m. pl.) drink", *tìkitbùm* "you (m. pl.) write"), and the ending -*iy* for the 2nd p. f. sg. (i.e. *tàsšàhìy* "you (f. sg.) drink", *tìkitbìy* "you (f. sg.) write"). The 3rd p. m. pl. ending -*ùn* for ▼ (i.e. *yašràbùn* "they (m. pl.) drink", *yìkitbùn* "they (m. pl.) write") implies the same ending for the 2nd p. m. pl. (i.e. *tasšàbùn* "you (m. pl.) drink", *tìkitbùn* "you (m. pl.) write"), and the ending -*in* for the 2nd p. f. sg. (i.e. *tasšàbìn* "you (f. sg.) drink", *tìkitbìn* "they (f. sg.) write"). The endings of the *u*-type imperfect will be the same as those listed here for the *i*-type imperfect: i.e. *yùgu’dù(w)* (for □ and ▼) / *yùgu’dùm* (for □) "they (m. pl.) sit", *tùgu’dù(w)* (for □ and ▼) / *tùgu’dùm* (for □) "you (m. pl.) sit", *tùgu’dì(y)* (for □, ▼, and ▼) "you (f. sg.) sit". For ▼ the forms of the *u*-type imperfect are: *yùgu’dùn* "they (m. pl.) sit", *tùgu’dùn* "you (m. pl.) sit", and *tùgu’dìn* "you (f. sg.) sit".

55) Vowel harmony in the 3rd p. f. pl. ending of *a-*, *i-*, and *u*-type imperfects in the Negev. E.g. (yašrab + an →) *yàšrabàn* "they (f. pl.) drink", (yìkiti + in →) *yìkitiìn* "they (f. pl.) write", and also (yuğü’d + in →) *yùgu’dìn* "they (f. pl.) sit" (in the latter case vowel harmony lies in the fact that both *u* and *i* are high vowels) (MAP 55, cf. 3.2.1.2.)

56) Imperfect primae wàw measure 1: *yawsal* ~ *yòsàl*, *yòzin* in the Negev. (B-S) Absence of morphologically patterned diphthong iw. E.g. not *yìiwzin* in the Negev (MAP 56, cf. 3.2.2.1.)

57) Perfect of primae hamzah verbs: with initial *a-* in the Negev (*akal* and *axad*). (MAP 57, cf. 3.2.2.3.)

58) Imperfect vowel in primae hamzah verbs: *u* in the Negev (*yàkul* and *yàxud*). (MAP 58, cf. 3.2.2.3.)

59) Active part. primae hamzah verbs: ? in the Negev, but *màkil* in other dialects of group I, and in groups II and IV (MAP 59, cf. 3.2.2.3.)

60) 3rd. p. m. sg. perfect of the verb "come" without proclitic (')*i*- or (')*ì*- in the Negev: *gà(t) #* (MAP 60, cf. 3.2.2.6.1.)

144 For this criterion, cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), pp. 11-2. Here the diphthong occurring in verbs is taken as an example, which links up to the preceding criterion 55). Sedentary dialects can also have this diphthong in word-initial position in nouns, e.g. *ìwlàd* "children".
61) Imperfect of the verb "come" without lengthened prefix vowel i- in the Negev: yūgiy, aği'y, etc. (MAP 61, cf. 3.2.2.6.1.)

62) Occurrence of lal in preformative of measures n-1, 1-t, and (a)sta-1 or (i)sta-1, stressed when in eligible position in the Negev (also NWA). E.g. ānkatal "he was beaten/killed", āštāra "he bought", astafaĥam "he enquired", rather than (i)nkātal, (i)štāra, (i)stafaĥam (MAP 62, cf. 3.2.3.1.1., and 3.2.3.3.1.)

63) Measure (a)sta-1 or (i)sta-1 perfect and imperfect base vowels analogous to measure 2 in the Negev, i.e. astafaĥam, yisťafaĥim, rather than in analogy to measure t-2 (i.e. (i)stafaĥam, yisťafaĥam). (MAP 63, cf. 3.2.3.4.1.)

64) Measure ta-2 or (i)t-2: taCäCCäC (~ much less (i)tCäCCäC), yitCäCCäC ~ ytaCäCCäC in the Negev. E.g. takallam ~ tikallam (much less (i)tkallam), yitkallam ~ ytakallam "speak" (MAP 64, cf. 3.2.3.5.4.)

(B-S) Relatively frequent use of measure 4 verbs (also NWA). E.g. aš'ta, yiš'tiy "give", aš'na'b, yiš'ni'b "come near" (MAP 65, cf. 3.2.3.7.)

66) Typical bedouin verbs of the C₁ōC₂aC₃, yC₁ōC₂iC₃-type: current in the Negev. E.g. sölaf, ysölif "tell", gōtar, ygōtir "go" (MAP 66, cf. 3.2.3.9.)

(B-S) The f. sg. act. part. + obj. suffix: in construct state in the Negev. E.g. ‘āyiztah "she wants him" (MAP 67, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.4.)

68) Negation mā ... in the Negev instead of compound mā ... š(i). E.g mā širīb "he did not drink" (MAP 68, cf. 4.2.)

69) The use of the b-imperfect: current in the Negev. E.g. bikti'b ~ byiktib "he writes" (also found among the Bdûl and Nīemât, but not among the Hwētât and Bani ‘Aṭîye). (MAP 69, cf. 4.3.)

70) Future particle: less current in the Negev. (MAP 70, cf. 4.4.)

71) Use of yōm(-in) or lōm(-in) "when" in the Negev. (MAP 71, cf. 4.6.)

72) Marker of consequent action gām: current in the Negev. (MAP 72, cf. 4.7.1.)

145 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 30.
147 This was added as a (B-S) criterion, since bedouin dialects "are considered more conservative than non-Bedouin dialects, in the field of syntax as in other linguistic fields", cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 46. In this case the construct state is a conservative, and thus a bedouin feature.
148 For this criterion, cf. ibid., pp. 42-3.
149 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 37
150 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 44.
73) (B-S) Use of widd or bidd: widd is current in the Negev. (MAP 73, cf. 4.11.)

* Cf. remarks below in A. III. d. The gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences.

The 73 criteria listed here enable us to classify the dialects under investigation. The isoglosses resulting from these criteria are represented in maps in the appendix, and are discussed in the conclusion of this study (cf. C. V. d. Bundles of identified isoglosses in northern Sinai). For ease of reference the numbering of the maps will correspond with the numbering of the criteria listed above.

d. The gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences.

There is a basic misunderstanding on the topics of the gahawah-syndrome (listed above as criterion 19)) and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences (listed above as criterion 17)) in some of the literature dealing with Negev Arabic. Rosenhouse suggests that the first a in the word gahawah ("coffee") is an anaptyctic, inserted to resolve the word-initial consonant cluster gh in the form ghawah, but fails to explain why the initial cluster is not resolved by an anaptyctic preceding the (here) gh cluster, which is usually the case in Negev Arabic (or DA), e.g. # i'nâb "grapes", # ihnîy "here", so that one would then expect •# ighdawah, not • gahawah.153

A distinction is made between the "gahawa syndrome" and the "bysala/zlima pattern", but the fact that the former precedes the latter in terms of rule-ordering (i.e. 19) precedes 17)) is not clarified, and the incorrect conclusion is drawn that both gahawah and ghawah would be forms found in the Negev (represented as g(a)hâwa).

To make the distinction is indeed necessary, but this distinction should focus on whether CaCaCV sequences are resyllabicated to become CCiCV (i.e. zlima) or CCaCV (i.e. bsala), or not. The fact that Blanc writes the a in the first syllable of the form gahawah should be interpreted to mean that such resyllabication does not take place in Negev Arabic, and nowhere, as far as I am

151 For this criterion, cf. ibid., p. 39.
152 Cf. ibid., p. 13: "Bedouin dialects also tend to dissolve this initial cluster by an anaptyctic vowel (e.g. Blanc (1970) uses the term "gahawa syndrome" not ghawa) [...]."
153 Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 36 (147), for examples such as (anaptyctic vowels underlined) widd twâdána gwâwih "our children want (need) strength", and binât imnâdâlìma "we'll die of thirst".
aware, does Blanc suggest that it does. Furthermore, forms without gahawah-vowels such as ragdaith, zalmaith, and forms with gahawah-vowel insertion such as saadith, tahdith should be interpreted as evidence that such resyllabication is not a characteristic of the Negev dialect type.

Similarly, Palva erroneously reports a free variation of the two patterns -XaC- (i.e. ghawah) and -aXaC- (i.e. gahawah) in the Negev; the first or second a in the sequence CaCaCv may be stressed or unstressed (one option excluding the other), but neither is ever dropped (i.e. not ghawah or gahawah). The sequence is not resyllabicated, and the free variation only lies in the stressing of the sequence: gahawah or gahawah, with a preference for the latter option.

The same related error concerning the situation in Negev Arabic which we find in ROSENHOUSE (1984) has slipped into the preceding paragraph: the syllable structure CICaCV (e.g. *'inab + ih) is put on a par with CaCaCV (e.g. *basal + ah) in that both syllabic patterns are claimed to be reduced to CCaCV (so the forms would be *nabh and *bsalah). However, the fact that the V in CaCaCV is an absolute prerequisite for the resyllabication CCaCV to take place (i.e. it is not bsaf, because the last syllable is not followed by V), as opposed to V in CICaCV, where V does not play that role, makes these two syllabic patterns incomparable; CICaC is resyllabicated to become CCaC (i.e. 'nab, though not CCaC) as well. Furthermore, in Negev Arabic the a in CICaC is neither reduced nor raised; the Negev form is 'nâbih "his grapes". Nor is the second a reduced or raised in CaCaCV; Negev forms are bsâlah ~ bussâlah "an onion".

The incomparibility lies in the two different rules that account for the disappearance of the short vowels in these two different patterns. In CaCaCV \rightarrow CCIC (e.g. bsâlah \rightarrow bsâlah, and zalâmah \rightarrow zîmânah) the resyllabication rule applies, but not in the Negev; in CICaC(V) \rightarrow CCaC(V) (*'inab (+ ih) \rightarrow 'nab (+ ih)) the high vowel elision rule applies, as it does in all bedouin dialects of northern Sinai studied so far, and also in the Negev.

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156 Unless his own observations include syllabic patterns of the ghawah-type, which I doubt.
159 Of course this latter rule, to which I shall refer as "the high vowel elision rule", entails resyllabication as well, as does the gahawah-syndrome. For the sake of clarity, however, these separate rules will be referred to in separate terms.
PALVA (1990) seems to be unaware of this criterion on the absence or presence of resyllabication of \( \text{CaCaCV} \) sequences, even though it is also the second of the two main criteria used by Prochazka\(^{160}\) (his "pattern (b)"") to distinguish his group (i) (Southern \( \text{Hiğaz} \) and the \( \text{Tihámah} \)) from his group (ii) (\( \text{Naḡdiy} \) and eastern Arabian dialects): the reflexes of the \( \text{CA} \) pattern \(*C_1aC_2aC_3at/lh\) (e.g. \( \text{katabat} \) "she wrote", \( \text{başalah} \) "an onion") which yields \( C_1aC_2aC_3at/n/lh \) (i.e. \( \text{katabat}, \text{başalah} \)) or \( C_1aC_2aC_3at/n/lh \) (i.e. \( \text{katabat}, \text{başalah} \)) in his group (i), and \( C_1C_2i/aC_3at/lh \) (i.e. \( \text{ktibat}, \text{bşalah} \)) or \( C_1iC_2C_3at/lh \) (i.e. \( \text{kitbat}, \text{bşlah} \) or \( \text{buşlah} \)) in his group (ii).\(^{161}\)

Using the added (and typologically very distinctive) criterion of absence or presence of a resyllabication rule for \( \text{CaCaCV} \) sequences to typologically position dialects has the following implication: it has become doubtful whether the dialect of the \( \text{Hwêţât} \) (and probably also that of the \( \text{Bani ʿAṭîye} \)) should be considered part of the North West Arabian dialect group (where \( \text{CaCaCV} \) is not resyllabicized) proposed by Palva\(^{162}\) (cf. C. VIII. Observations on the dialects of the \( \text{Hwêţât} \) and \( \text{Bani ʿAṭîye} \) in the conclusions of this study).

e. Method of description.

The methods and terminology used in this study are not uncommon in Arabic dialect studies.\(^{163}\) The term "root" refers to the (usually) three "radicals" which represent a basic semantic unit, while "pattern" refers to the morphological mould on which these consonantal phonemes (the "radicals") are shaped to create a morphophonemic base or underlying structure. The radicals are then numbered, e.g.: \( \text{katab} \) "he wrote" has the root \( k-t-b \), where radicals \( k = \)

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161 Cf. also ibid. p. 22, and INGHAM (1986), p. 276, where the same criterion is applied to identify a \( \text{Naḡdiy} \) dialect. The patterns \( C_1C_2i/aC_3at/lh \) or \( C_1iC_2C_3at/lh \) are what ROSENHOUSE (1984) refers to as \( \text{bşala/zlima} \) (< *\( \text{bşala(h)} \) "onion" and *\( \text{zalama(h)} \) "man").
162 Cf. PALVA (1991). Criteria listed above marked "(also NWA)", or with bracketed remarks on the dialects of the \( \text{Bdil}, \text{N'emât}, \text{Hwêţât} \) and/or \( \text{Bani ʿAṭîye} \) were taken from this source as well. Since the very purpose of this study is to establish typological similarities of, and differences between bedouin dialects in Sinai, Palva's remarks on "Sinai" were not copied. Notice here that some of these features are actually characteristic of sedentary dialects. The most prominent sedentary characteristic of the Negev (bedouin) dialect is undoubtedly nr 69 (cf. also remarks in PALVA (1991), pp. 158-160 and 166).
163 In principle, the method of notation as outlined in BLANC (1964), pp. 57-9 is followed.
C_1, t = C_2, and b = C_3, coined on the pattern C_1aC_2aC_3^{164}, which is the basic pattern for the a-type verbal perfect. The basic pattern for the i-type verbal imperfect is yiC_1C_2iC_3, which in this case yields yiktib "he writes", while a basic pattern yuC_1C_2uC_3 for the u-type verbal imperfect used for, for example, the root g-‘-d yields yug‘ud "he sits (down)". The basic semantic units expressed in the root k-t-b is then "write", and in g-‘-d "sit".

In order to do justice to some phonetic aspects of the dialects, a moderately allophonic transcription in italic script is used. This system of transcription reflects, without going into too much phonetic detail^{165}, allophones, morphophonemic anaptyctic vowels, sandhi anaptyctics, as well as other phonotactically inserted vowels, such as those produced by the gahawah-syndrome and the bukara-syndrome. Morphophonemic and sandhi elisions of short vowels are also reflected, as are consonant assimilations. For the purpose of a sound morphological representation the morphophonemic base will serve as a starting point in the description of the dialects.

To avoid "over-phonologizing", I have refrained from standardizing velarized and non-velarized reflexes of *r as r; the fact that in this study r and r are not isolated in minimal pairs is not to imply that such an opposition is unlikely, or even impossible (cf. remarks to I, 1.1.8. in fn 192).

The conjunction w "and", and all prepositions, including b "with" and l "to", have been written as separate words. The purpose is to facilitate comparison. For instance, in group III one may hear la ibint "to the girl", where in group I this will be represented as /albint. The point is that the independent preposition in group III is la "to", and the article is il- "the" and in group I the preposition is l "to", and the article is al- "the". The net effect is that "to the girl" will sound exactly the same in both dialect types. The independent forms of this preposition can be deduced from the examples la bint "to a girl" in group III, and il bint in group I (where the i preceding the l is an anaptyctic). In the case of the conjunction w "and", a preceding anaptyctic (when w is followed in sandhi by C) will yield iw, which will often be shortened to u, e.g. iw ġimāl (u

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164 Root consonantal phonemes will regularly appear (from left to right) in the patterns in correspondence to their numbering, although in some cases metathesis may have changed a presumed original order, as in (causative measure 4) a‘tam, yi‘tim "feed (animals)", where the presumably original order t‘-m has become ‘-t-m, i.e. C_1 and C_2 have changed places. The metathesis may be the result here of a mix-up with the verb a‘tan "to make (a camel) lie down after having watered it", cf. LANE (1873), p. 2083-4, or a‘ta, yi‘sīy "give".

165 The choice of what constitutes too much phonetic detail is an arbitrary one, of course. In terms of methodological principle however, the system of transcription is comparable to systems of transcription generally used in Arabic dialect research.
A. Introduction 63

"and a camel". When \( w \) is followed by \( V \) in sandhi, \( w \) will be syllable-initial in terms of sandhi syllabication, e.g. \( w \text{ áll} \text{ gimál} \) (\( w \text{ ál-} \text{ ã-mal} \) "and the camel"). For the sake of transparency, such shortening to \( u \) when the anaptyctic precedes \( w \) has not been indicated in the transcription.

Hyphens are used between words where these words form one stress unit, as in \( m\text{ in-táh} \text{ ar} "below (lit. from down)"), or where a vowel (other than that of the article) from the base form has been dropped. Thus, in group III it will be \( l-a\'búy "to my father"), while in group I it will be \( l \text{ ãbúy} \). Similarly, the representation for "in (the) winter" will be \( f-\text{ áššt} \text{i} \text{ y} \) in group I, but \( f \text{ í lišt} \text{ a} \) in group III. Hyphens are also used to link the proclitic \( t \) (a remnant of the feminine suffix in construct state) to counted nouns, as in \( a\text{ rba\'t }t-ušh\text{ ur} "four months"), but they are not used between the article and the noun.

Phonetic transcriptions are given in I.P.A. script, and appear between brackets [ and ]. The term "underlying" used in this study with reference to vowels is meant to indicate that such vowels are part of the morphophonemic base, or the underlying structure. Phonemic surface forms are arrived at by applying rules described in the relevant sections; underlying vowels are given between perpendicular slashes (I and I). It should be noted that such underlying vowels need not have an identical phonemic surface allophone. For instance, \( i \) of the first syllable in the base \( s\text{ irib} "\text{ he drank}" \) is concluded to be underlying \( l\text{ al} \) in group I. In the dialects of the \( A\text{ haywát} \) and that of the \( D\text{ ullâm} \) this \( a \) indeed "reappears" in closed syllables, and thus has an identical surface allophone: \( s\text{ arbit} "\text{ she drank}" \). In the dialects of the \( R\text{ mélât} \) and \( S\text{ awárkñ} \) of the same group \( l\text{ al} \) does not appear as \( a \) in such positions, for in these dialects we have \( s\text{ irbit} "\text{ she drank}" \). We do have to assume, however, that this vowel is underlying \( l\text{ al} \) in the base form \( l\text{ sari} \text{ b} \text{ i} \) for "he drank", since it is not dropped in \( s\text{ irbi} \text{ t} "\text{ I drank}" \). If it were an underlying high vowel, it would have to be dropped to conform to another rule which specifies that underlying high vowels are dropped in pre-stress open syllables, e.g. \( \text{ }n\text{ ab }(< *\text{ in} \text{ ab} \text{ st} \text{ res} *\text{ in} \text{ áb}) "\text{ grapes}" \text{ in group I, and also }s\text{ rbi} \text{ t} "\text{ I drank}" \text{ in }B\text{ A} \text{ of group }E\text{ I} \text{ (where we would have to conclude an underlying }l\text{ sari} \text{ b} \text{ i} \text{ for }"\text{ he drank}"	ext{)}. We shall also see that such underlying vowels reflect historical development.

As is the case with the morphophonemic shapes coined on the base of \( l\text{ sari} \text{ b} \text{ i} \) for "he drank", conclusions regarding older forms (preceded by an asterix *) are often drawn. Such older forms may be (almost) identical with forms in Classical Arabic (henceforth CA). In this case the historical implication is that there is an ancestral base form *\( s\text{ ar} \text{ i} \text{ b} "\text{ he drank}" \), based on an earlier conclusion
that RA and SA of the group I dialect type are "différentiels"\textsuperscript{166}, i.e. short high vowels \textit{i} and \textit{u} are dropped under certain definable conditions, while the low short vowel \textit{a} is not dropped under these same conditions. Since an earlier conclusion for \textit{BA}, based on comparable examples, is that it is "différentiel" in terms of short vowel elision as well, the conclusion of an underlying \textit{i} in the first syllable of \textit{ṣirib} "he drank" logically follows: in \textit{BA} the basic pattern for the \textit{i}- type perfect of regular verbs has been morphologically restructured as underlying \textit{IC\textsubscript{1}iC\textsubscript{2}iC\textsubscript{3}}, whereas in group I the underlying pattern is \textit{IC\textsubscript{1}aC\textsubscript{2}iC\textsubscript{3}}. In \textit{AA} and \textit{DA} of group I the underlying \textit{a} of the first syllable "reappears" in closed syllables (e.g. \textit{sərbi}), but in RA and SA of this group it does not (e.g. \textit{sərbi}). One could therefore conclude that the type of morphological restructuring that we see in \textit{BA} has only been partially executed in \textit{RA} and \textit{SA}: the \textit{a} of the underlying pattern will be \textit{i} in closed and open syllables, but under no circumstances is it dropped.

The conclusion, however, should go no further than this: in the case of group I the underlying form is almost identical with the \textit{CA} form; it should not be interpreted as a development from \textit{CA}. Where \textit{CA} forms are mentioned, this is done in a framework of reference commonly used in Arabic dialect studies.

In some cases forms not actually recorded are given for the purpose of illustration. Such forms are preceded by a bold dot \textit{•}, which signifies that they were not recorded and are deemed unlikely to occur. This will be expounded in the passage the form (marked with \textit{•}) is meant to illustrate. Forms marked with \textit{*} were not recorded where in all likelihood they might have occurred; an optional development described in the relevant passage did not take place, but based on comparable examples one may conclude that it could have. Where the form (marked with \textit{*}) illustrates that an optional rule was not applied, separate mention will be made of this.

Synchronic developments are indicated by an arrow \textit{→} 'develops into'. Historical developments are indicated by > 'developed into'. Both historical and synchronic developments may be indicated by < 'developed from' or 'develops from'. In representations of rules '∅' stands for 'zero', / (forward slash) stands for 'occurring in the sequence', and __ indicates the position in the sequence to which the alteration described preceding the forward slash applies. Three full stops (...) means 'any (combination of) vowel(s) and/or consonant(s)'.

\textsuperscript{166} Cf. CANTINEAU (1936), p. 49.
A. Introduction

The verbal measures will be referred to in this study as: measure 1 (CA I), measure n-1 (CA VII), measure r-1 (no CA equivalent), measure 1-t (CA VIII), measure asta-1 or (i)sta-1 (CA X), measure 2 (CA II), measure t-2 (CA V), measure 3 (CA III), measure t-3 (CA VI) and measure 9 (CA IX).

IV. Abbreviations and symbols.

B-form Bedouinized form

C. communis

cf. confer

coll. collective noun

constr. construction

dem. demonstrative

f. feminine

gen. genitive

ibid. ibidem

imperf. imperfect

intrans. intransitive

I.P.A. International Phonetic Alphabet

K-form Koine form

lit. (translated) literally

m. masculine

nom. nominal

n.u. nomen unitatis

obj. object

p. person

perf. perfect

pl. plural

poss. possessive

pron. pronominal

rel. relative

sg. singular

subj. subject

suff. suffix

trans. transitive

A stressed a or ä

I short high vowel i or u
\( \ddot{\imath} \) long high vowel \( \ddot{i} \) or \( \ddot{\text{u}} \)

\( \ddot{\imath} \) stressed high long or high short vowel

\( T \) feminine suffix (\( \text{tā' marbūtah} \))

\( \nu \) any short vowel

\( V \) any short or long vowel

\( \ddot{\nu} \) any long vowel

\( C \) any consonant

\( c_{IV} \) any consonant or vowel except historical \( a \)

\( X \) any back fricative (\( x, \dot{\text{g}}, h, \dot{\text{c}}, h \))

\( M \) any velarized consonant, i.e. primary or secondary emphatics

\[ \] phonetic representation

\[ / \] phonemic representation

\[ ][\] representation of underlying base form

\( * \) precedes a historical form or phoneme, or follows a form with a remark given below

\( * \) precedes a form not heard in the dialect under discussion, and such a form is deemed unlikely to occur in that dialect

\( * \) precedes a form not heard in the dialect under discussion, but such a form is deemed likely in that dialect

\( + \) followed by ...

\( \emptyset \) zero

\( \rightarrow \) develops into (synchronic development)

\( \geq \) developed into (historical development)

\( < \) developed from (historically), or develops from (synchronically)

\( \neq \) does not equal

\( = \) equals

\( ... \) any combination of vowels and/or consonants within word boundaries

\( - \) co-occurs with

\( / \) co-occurs not in free variation with

\( # \) speech pause

‘\( \text{AA} \)’ ‘\( \text{Arāyšiy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the town of \( \text{al'Arīš} \)

‘\( \text{AyA} \)’ ‘\( \text{Ayādiy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the ‘\( \text{Ayāydah} \)

‘\( \text{AgA} \)’ ‘\( \text{Gēliy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the ‘\( \text{Agāylah} \)

\( \text{AA} \) ‘\( \text{Aḥaywiy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the \( \text{Aḥaywāt} \)

\( \text{AxA} \) ‘\( \text{Axsasiy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the \( \text{Axārsah} \)

\( \text{BA} \) ‘\( \text{Biyyādiy} \) Arabic, the dialect of the \( \text{Biyyādiyyah} \)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BaA</td>
<td>Balawi Arabic, the dialect of Biliy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Classical Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CaA</td>
<td>Cairene Arabic, the dialect of the Egyptian capital Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Dwēgriy Arabic, the dialect of the Dawāğrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḤA</td>
<td>The dialect of the ḏullām, spoken in the Negev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eSA</td>
<td>Eastern Šarqāwiyy Arabic, the dialect spoken in the eastern Šargiyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĠA</td>
<td>Ġbāliy Arabic, the dialect of the Ġbāliyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Gazzawiyy Arabic, the dialect of Gazzah (the town of Gaza)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Mas‘ūdiy Arabic, the dialect of the Masā‘id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWA</td>
<td>Northwestern Arabian Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Rmēliy Arabic, the dialect of the Rmēlāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Swērkīy Arabic, the dialect of the Sawārkah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaA</td>
<td>Smē‘niy Arabic, the dialect of the Samā‘nah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Turbāniy Arabic, the dialect of the Taťābin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Descriptive chapters.

I. A description of Rmêliy, Swërkiy and Balawiy Arabic in comparison to the dialects of the Aḥaywāt and Ṭullām, with notes on Turbāniy, Masʿūdiy and ʿAyādiy Arabic.

Along the Mediterranean coast in the northeast of Sinai live the two tribes Rmêlât and Sawârkah. Many of the Rmêlât are involved in agriculture (oranges, peaches), made possible by the relative abundance of rainfall. Owing to these favourable climatological conditions, the Rmêlât could afford to become fully settled, in contrast to a small part of the Sawârkah who are still semi-nomadic, and whose tents may be seen as far west as Rummānah, where in spring they seek pasture for their small cattle after the rains. However, the majority of the Sawârkah, mainly those living in the fertile triangle south of Rmêliy territory and in the northern part of Wādi alʿAtēs, have become fully settled and earn a living still rearing small cattle and through agriculture.

The territories of the Rmêlât and Sawârkah border directly on the Negev desert to the east, and we shall see that their dialects (which will be referred to here as RA and SA respectively) show important similarities with the dialect of the Negev bedouins as described by Haim Blanc. Closely related to this group of northeastern dialects are the dialect of the Aḥaywāt (sg. Aḥaywiy, henceforth AA), and that of the northern Tarâbīn (sg. Turbāniy, henceforth TA), and to a lesser extent the dialect of Biliy (sg. Balawiy, henceforth BaA), on which

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167 As one moves up along the Mediterranean coast from Btr alʿAbd (with appr. 70 mm. of rain a year) to Rafah (appr. 300 mm. a year), annual rainfall more than quadruples, cf. EUROCONSULT (1992), A.8, fig. A.2.

168 BLANC (1970), this article was reprinted in STEWART (1990), at the end of this volume (from p. 311).

169 In this chapter we shall see indications that Balawiy Arabic is originally of a more northeastern Arabian type. Most of the linguistic evidence to support this was obtained through direct elicitation, other evidence came out spontaneously. One Balawiy told me that Biliy (in Arabic one does not prefix the article to the name of this tribe, therefore not -alBiliy) are originally from the Nağd, whereas other tribes in northern Sinai (except the Dawāğrah) usually trace their origin back to the Hīğāz. Their dialect has been included in this chapter because those Biliy interviewed during this research spoke a dialect type largely resembling more general northeastern Sinaitic Arabic, although the dialect does
show a number of characteristics that would perhaps justify its classification as a separate dialect type.

170 These remarks are based on my own observations as far as BA is concerned. For remarks on AA I have relied on texts in STEWART (1990), and my own recordings (cf. ibid., preface, p. vii on which texts are spoken by Ahaywät), in addition to a copy of recordings of texts 1-14, and 16-20, published in ibid., generously made available to me by Dr. Frank Stewart at the Institute for Desert Research, Midreshet Ben-Gurion. For remarks on the morphology of TA I have used my own recordings, as well as texts 45 and 47 in ibid. For remarks on the phonology of TA I have relied exclusively on my own recordings.


172 Cf. ATTAYYIB (1993), pp. 722-3, where it is also reported that this emigration started about four centuries ago. Cf. BAILEY/SHMUELI (1977), p. 28 for a map illustrating concentrations of settled ‘Ayāydah in Egypt.

173 Cf. conclusion of this study.

174 For any references here to AA without added footnotes, the reader is referred to STEWART (1990), glossary (pp. 193-287).
1. Phonology.

1.1. Consonants.

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants.

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of RA, SA, BaA and AA is identical to that of the DA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>trill</th>
<th>semivowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td></td>
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<td>labiodental</td>
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<tr>
<td>interdental</td>
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<tr>
<td>emphatic</td>
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<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
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<tr>
<td>postalveolar</td>
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<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
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<tr>
<td>velar</td>
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<tr>
<td>uvular</td>
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<tr>
<td>pharyngeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(v = \text{voiced}, \ v'l = \text{voiceless}\)

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

Reflexes of \(*t\) and \(*d\) are interdental \(t\) (I.P.A. [\(\theta\)]) and \(d\) (I.P.A. [\(\delta\)]) respectively, while emphatic \(d\) (I.P.A. [\(\delta\)]) is the merged interdental reflex of \(*d\) (I.P.A. [\(d\)]) and \(*d\) (I.P.A. [\(\delta\)]), current in bedouin dialects.\(^{175}\) E.g.: (for \(*t\) ) tâniy (RA, SA, BaA) "second", (for \(*d\) ) dibâh (RA, SA, BaA) "he slaughtered", (for \(*d\) ) yudrub (RA, SA, BaA) "he hits", (and for \(*d\) ) âdda'an "the trek (with camels)".

In BaA, AA and TA one will usually hear \(d\) for \(*d\) in hâda (\('[\text{ha}]:\text{da}\) ) "this (m. sg.)". In RA and SA one will normally hear hâda (\('[\text{ha}]:\text{da}\) )\(^{176}\).


\(^{176}\) BLANC (1970), p. 144 (33) lists both hâda and hâda for the Dullâm of the Negev. N.B. phonetic [\(\text{x}\)], half-way between the cardinal vowels [\(a\)] and [\(e\)], is slightly centralized, and
In K-forms one may hear $s$ for $*t$, and $z$ for $*d$ as well: *masalan* (~ instances of *maṭalan*) "for instance", and *biṣr* (~ only two instances of *biḏriḥ* in *BaA*) "seeds", in *AA āṣibih* "I prove it"\(^{177}\), and Stewart also recorded $z$ for $d$ (or $*d$) in zābit ~ zābit, where one would expect $*dābit$, and *mzabbat*, rather than expected *mdabbat* "firmly strapped on (of a saddle)" in *AA*\(^{178}\).

Similarly, we find $z$ for $d$ in *RA* and *SA* in b ażzabīt "precisely", maẓbūt "correct", zabbat, ẓzabīt "put in order". Examples of K-forms in *BaA* are: zu(r)ūf "circumstances", nizām "system" (where syllabication of these two examples is also indicative of a loan), zāhir "phenomenon", and maẓbūt "correct". Other such K-forms recorded are: yantāzīr "he waits" (where stress also indicates a loan), and azūnī "I think".

K-forms will often show the alveolar stops $t$ and $d$ for $*t$ and $*d$ (respectively), and sometimes also $q$ where one would expect $d$. Examples are: tāniy "second" (*SA, BAa*), talātiḥ "three" (*BAa*), ilʿaqwah diy "this ḍaqwah (pressed dates)", ḥādiy "this (f. sg.)" (*BAa*). Also, in loans from *CA* one may hear $q$ as in qitṣat ārd "a piece of land" (*SA*), baʿad inn alblād "some of the land" (*BAa*).

Like *DA*, *AA*, *RA*, *SA* and *BAa*, *MA* and *ʻAyA* have interdental reflexes: $t$ for $*t$, $d$ for $*d$, and $q$ for $*q$ and $*r$.

1.1.3. Velar stops $/k/ \text{ and } /g/$.  

*CA* $*q$ and $*k$ have their unaffricated voiced $g$ and voiceless $k$ reflexes, which is common enough among bedouins in this northwestern part of the eastern Arab world\(^{179}\), e.g. ygūl "he says", digīg "flour", and kadḏāb "liar", kiṭr "many" (all *RA, SA, AA, BAa*). In loans from *CA* one may also hear $q$ for $*q$, e.g. qabilīma "our tribe", huqīq "rights", muṭaqqafīn "educated people", or $k$ as in akall "less". In katal, yuktul "beat; kill" $*q$ has a $k$ reflex, as well as in kinābil alḥawn "mortar shells" (recorded in *RA*).

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is not pronounced with the lips spread like in British English (R.P.), but with the lips in a neutral open position:

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\(^{177}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 27 (text 9), 1. 11.

\(^{178}\) Cf. ibid., glossary (root $z\cdot b\cdot t$).

Notice that in the instance of katal, yukul a back-formation of the devoiced g under the influence of voiceless i in the imperfect, i.e. regressive partial assimilation in *yugtul (pronounced ['yuktul]), appears to plausibly account for the presence of voiceless k throughout the conjugation.

1.1.4. Post alveolar affricate /ɣ/.  

The affricate ɣ (phonetically [ɣ]) is the regular reflex for *g, but often friction in the release may only be minimal, especially when directly followed by alveolar consonants, which results in realizations varying between [dʒ] and [dʒ], e.g. # ɣdūdnâ [dʒdūdnâ] "our forefathers". The spirant allophone ŋ (I.P.A. [ʒ]) was not recorded in RA, or BaA, nor in AA or TA. E.g. ḥāgiḥ "thing" ['haːdiŋ] (SA, BaA). Only once ŋ for *g was recorded in SA in žūrah [ʒɔɾaŋ] "pit, hole", although much more often ɣūrah (with [dʒ]) was recorded.

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /t/.

In BLANC (1970), p. 116 (5), t in DA is described as "lenis but voiceless, though unaspirated". In RA, SA and AA t followed by a vowel is often accompanied by a degree of glottalization (here transcribed as 't). Such glottalization is especially apparent when 't (an "ejective stop", I.P.A. [t']) is followed by a stressed vowel, e.g.: t'ayih "having fallen down" (RA), yi't̪iha ġnēhayn "he gives her a couple of pounds" (AA181).

Although quite difficult to imitate for a non-native speaker, a simultaneous release of the t and of the glottal catch onsetting the following vowel is probably the most economical way to produce a 't, which is lenis, unaspirated, as well as voiceless; the build-up of air needed for the release of the glottal catch is only possible with the vocal cords in a closed position, which makes any sound directly preceding the release voiceless. Using this air by opening the vocal chords for the release of ' effectively prevents this air being used for a simultaneous fortis release of the t. The built up air which is released is actually being used to immediately produce the following vowel through a glottal onset coinciding with the release of t, whereby any significant degree of aspiration following the release of t becomes impossible.

180 Contrast BLANC (1970), p. 5 (116), where some speakers are reported to have a [z] (I.P.A. [ʒ]) realization, while others use [z] as one of the three free variants [dʒ], [dʒ'], and [ʒ].

181 In a copied recording of STEWART (1990), text 8 (p. 27), ll. 28-29.
1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah).

The reflex of CA *' is ' in sa'al, yas'al "ask", and in the presentative ir'(a) or ar'(a) "see, there you have".

In many cases, however, older ' has disappeared, sometimes leaving behind a complementary lengthened vowel as in *ra's > râs, *ya'kul > yâkul or yâkil, sometimes (intervocally) being replaced by y as in *â'ilah > ʻâylih "family", *šâ'il > šâyil "carrying", and sometimes it has become y as part of a diphthong *ay (< *a') which was later monophthongized, as in mëfih or mëfiy "underground cylindrical clay oven", and mëdanih "minaret". In other cases it has disappeared without a trace, e.g. rûs "heads".

In word-initial position after # ' may still be heard, e.g. 'as'al! "ask!", but since the rules for sandhi syllabication (cf. I, 2.3.2.3., and 2.3.2.4.) specify that all syllables start with a consonant, also in e.g. 'iktâb (< *kitâb) "book", we should conclude that the glottal stop is here of a phonotactic nature. Furthermore, older *' is often dropped in intervocalic sandhi positions, as in midxiha-na "I had granted her refuge", and can therefore not be regarded as stable, although it may still be present, as in gišt'it 'arîl "a piece of land", contrasting in this respect with lâhal alichibih "to the knowledgeable people (i.e. judges)"; ġimâl âšîl "a thoroughbred camel". Notice also the elision of i in šâhib asîl, which could become šâhb asîl "an owner of a thoroughbred" in sandhi.

In forms like ʻašâ' "dinner", ǧadâ' "lunch" the hamzah is a pausal phenomenon (glottalization in pause), and should not be regarded as a survivor of older hamzah in *ʻašâ' and ǧadâ' (cf. I, 1.2.4.4.1.). In a similar manner, forms that presumably never had hamzah to begin with (in CA in any case), may have pausal realizations with this phonetic glottal stop, e.g.: anâ' # "I" (SA, AA<sup>182</sup>, BaA), widânâ' # "we want" (RA), as well as verb forms such as kifâ' "it was satisfactory" (AA<sup>183</sup>), mašî' # "he went", ťamâ' "he threw" (both BaA).

Forms like in DA, AA, RA and SA were also recorded in MA and ʻAyA.

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., text 1 (p. 7), 1. 40.
<sup>183</sup> Ibid., text 7 (p. 22), 1. 30.
1.1.7. Secondary velarization\textsuperscript{184}.

Secondary velarization of \(k, b, g, x, f, l, ġ, m, r,\) and \(w\) (resulting in "secondary emphatics" \(k, b, g, x, f, l, ġ, m, r,\) and \(w\)) occurs regularly in "backing environments", as Blanc\textsuperscript{185} puts it. The number of possible combinations of vowels and consonants must be enormous, and an exhaustive investigation would clearly be beyond the scope of this study. Instead, a few general remarks must suffice.

Velarization can spread forward and backward through a word, the source being primary emphatics, or secondary emphatics created in backing environments. This velarization is then "carried" through the word by the consonants mentioned above, and also by vowels \(ü\) and \(ä\). Examples: \(kurnân\ [\text{kø'mæn}]\ "also, too", \(galbah\ [\text{gɔlboʊ}]\ "a turn", \(gål\ [\text{gɔl}]\ "he said", \(xāššīh\ [\text{xəʃʃh}]\ "entering (f. sg.)", \(rukbah\ [\text{rʊkbɔh}]\ "knee", \(dərabāwāh\ [\text{bɔro'boʊ}]\ "they hit (perf.) him", \(ruʃʃān\ [\text{rʊʃʃɔn}]\ "loaves of bread", \(šuqlītna\ [\text{ʃʊqlɪtna}]\ "ours" (f. sg.)", \(aʃqa\ [\text{ʔ FAQsa}]\ stronger", \(xawālhum\ [\text{kəwəlæhm}]\ "their maternal uncles". In addition, the consonants \(t, d\) and \(h\) can "carry" velarization, as is illustrated by \(dəf\ [\text{ʔʊʃf}]\ "children" and \(ʃəb\ [\text{ʃəb}]\ "friends".

The palatal semi-vowel \(y\) will usually stop the spread of velarization, as well as the (post-) alveolar consonants \(s, š, t, d, z (?),\) and \(g\) that are not potential secondary emphatics, such as \(r\) and \(l\). Examples are: \(s, Š\), or \(스\) stops the spread of velarization as in \(gmāšīh\ "piece of cloth", \(raʃšāt\ [\text{ʔəʃʃæt}]\ "sprayings", \(xāššīh\ [\text{xəʃʃh}]\ "entering (f. sg.)", \(yy\ as in \(tə̱y\dί\ [\text{ʔə̱yæt}]\ "wavering, indecisive", \(arabiyyat\ [\text{ʔaræbɪjæt}]\ "cars", \(taybih\ [\text{ʔæybi}]\ "alive, well (f. sg.)", \(məyih\ "water", \(y\ in \(kubhāyih\ "cup", \(aʃəyi\ "thoroughbreds", \(aʃəyi\ "stick", \(g\ in \(raʃil\ (co-occurring with \(raʃil\) or even clearer in the K-

\textsuperscript{184} The term "velarization" is used here, although the term "pharyngealization" is often used by others. Velarization involves "the body of the tongue [constricting] the vocal tract in a stricture of open approximation at the velar location simultaneously with another stricture of greater degree at some other location...", cf. Laver (1994), p. 325. Pharyngealization involves "the root of the tongue [being] drawn back towards the back wall of the pharynx (or alternatively where the constrictor muscles of the pharynx reduce its diameter), [giving] a similar auditory effect as a secondary articulation to that of velarization. Like velarization, pharyngealization is often described impressionistically as imparting a 'dark' quality to segments...", cf. ibid. pp. 326-7. My own impression is that velarization implies a certain degree of pharyngealization, and vice versa.

form ṭāḡīl "man", ǧǧ in duḥruǧǧīh "bobbin", naḡār "carpenter" (stopping regressive spreading), raḡǧāl "man". Apparently also ṣ in ṭāṣīh "pan", and ｒāṣīḥ "his head". Notice that Blanc gives the example ṭussīḥ "hit him over the head!"\(^{186}\), which indicates that the combination ss may block the spread of velarization as well.

Clues as to a similar role for z or zz were not found during the research for this study, but for dd we have ṣarrāḍūḍīh "the return (nom. vic.)" (SA), arūḍḍīh "I return him" (AA), ṭaḍḍūḍīh "rein (through the nose of the camel)" (BaA), ḏ in marḍūḍīh "he soaked it in water (to make it soft)" (SA), bnūṭūrḍīh "we chase him away" (SA), and ṭ in ḥaṣṭūḍīh "his pebble" (TA), ṭaṭṭūrḍīh "I stirred it (m. sg.) up" (RA).

Clues for plain interdentals stopping the spread of velarization are too few for any definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, these clues are: nūnumūṭīh "we squash it", bāḍūḍīh (BaA, where imperf. is with u), xuḍūḍīh "take it" (BaA). The examples ṭuṭṭuṭuṁaṇāh "ankle", and ṭuṭṭuṁuṇaḥ "his brothers" (where one should perhaps write n) suggest that n does not stop the spread of velarization.

Also, the vowel i tends to stop the spread of velarization, as in the examples: ṭuṭtūlih "long" (f. sg.), ṭiṭṭīsih "weak (f. sg.)", fiṭṭīsih "prey animal, which has not been ritually slaughtered, and is therefore considered not fit for consumption". In these examples the onset of i is still velarized, resulting in an "onset glide"\(^{187}\) but this velarization is not carried further by i, and is lost during its realization, e.g. [fiṭṭīsi:]h.

Secondary velarization of b under the influence of w seems to have spread backwards, preserving the diphthong aw in ṭawb (RA, DA\(^{188}\), a similar example in ḍrā "corn", where velarization caused by the vanished u of *d̪urā\(^{189}\) spreads to r, resulting in r, but also to ḏ, resulting in d (cf. BA ḍrā in III, 1.1.7.).

\(^{186}\) Cf. ibid., p. 22 (133).
\(^{187}\) Cf. HARREL (1957).
\(^{188}\) Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 8 (119). Other examples given there for DA where velarization seems to have spread backwards are ḏawr "ox", sawg "driving", and fawg "above (prep.)", but ḏōg "above (adv.)". In RA, SA, and BaA only ḏōg (as adv. and prep) was recorded.
\(^{189}\) Cf. LANE (1867), part 3, p. 964, where the tā' marbūtah (T) is said to be "a substitute for the final radical letter".
The cause of (post) alveolar consonants and y stopping the spread of velarization is that the front of the tongue is raised during the articulation of palatals, whereas velarization involves raising of the back of the tongue.\footnote{190}

Such spreading of velarization was also noticed in MA and ‘AyA.

1.1.8. Liquids /l/ and \( \ddot{r} \).

There is only a slight difference in the pronunciation of \( ll \) in \( walla "or" \) and \( wallah "by God" \), and this (near) minimal pair may therefore serve to isolate \( ll \) and \( \ddot{r}l \) as separate phonemes.\footnote{191}

A minimal pair isolating \( r - \ddot{r} \) was not recorded during the present research, and therefore velarization of \( r \) is considered secondary here, although I have chosen to reflect this secondary velarization in a broad phonetic transcription.\footnote{192}

Notice that the combination \( \ddot{a}r \) will usually be velarized \( \ddot{a}r \), unless \( i \) follows within morpheme boundaries, in which case velarization will remain absent, e.g.: \( n\ddot{a}r "fire", d\ddot{a}r "house", b\ddot{y}\ddot{a}r "wells", \ddot{g}\ddot{a}r "neighbour", n\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}r "day(light)", \ddot{s}\ddot{g}\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}h "cigarette", h\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}h "heat", s\ddot{i}n\ddot{n}\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}h "fishhook"\footnote{193}, but no velarization in \( b\ddot{i}k\ddot{a}r\ddot{i}g "coffee pots", s\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}r\ddot{k}i\ddot{h} (< *s\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}r\ddot{i}k\ddot{a}h\footnote{194}), \ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{r}i\ddot{f} "knowing", \ddot{s}\ddot{\ddot{a}}r\ddot{i}b "lip", \ddot{a}l\ddot{b}\ddot{a}r\ddot{i}h "yesterday", b\ddot{i}m\ddot{\ddot{a}}r\ddot{i}s \ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{m}\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}h "he does his work", \ddot{\ddot{s}}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{r}id "fleeing". This makes the existence of a near minimal pair \( \ddot{g}\ddot{a}r\ddot{\ddot{i}}y "running" - \ddot{g}\ddot{a}r\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{i}}}y "my neighbour" highly likely. And a pair like \( \ddot{r}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{y}i\ddot{h} "his opinion" - \ddot{r}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{y}i\ddot{h} "flag" is also quite possible\footnote{195}.}

\footnote{190} The two (simultaneous) movements of the tongue are not mutually exclusive, as is illustrated by the pronunciation of primary emphatic \( s \), but apparently it is easier (in terms of "ease of articulation") to execute one movement to the exclusion of the other.\footnote{191} Cf. \textit{FERGUSON} (1956).\footnote{192} Since there are minimal pairs known for other dialects, e.g. \( g\ddot{a}r\ddot{i} "running" - g\ddot{a}\ddot{r}i "my neighbour" in Cairene Arabic, it seemed premature not to indicate the different realizations, and just "phonologize it away", so to speak, thus erasing information that may turn out to be of relevance for future research. Perhaps someone will be "fortunate enough to find a minimal or nearly minimal pair" in these dialects in the future as well, cf. \textit{FERGUSON} (1956), p. 448.\footnote{193} These last three examples show that it is not just word-final \( \ddot{a}r \) which is velarized, as is stated in \textit{BLANC} (1970), p. 17 (128).\footnote{194} This would be an example where the "vanished \( i \) of the base maintains the \( i \)-colouring, cf. \textit{BLANC} (1970), p. 16 (127).\footnote{195} Unfortunately, such minimal pairs were not checked through direct elicitation.
An instance where, according to Blanc, the vanished \( u \) created a backing environment resulting in velarized \( r\ddot{a} \) sequences, and which was recorded in \( AA \) as well, is \( \text{trāb} \) "earth".

Other examples, where the former presence of \( u \) is unlikely or out of the question, show that the sequence \( r\ddot{a} \) itself may create its own velarization: \( \text{hrāğ} \) "thicket" \((RA)\), \( \text{frāh} \) "wedding feasts" \((RA)\), \( \text{wrāk} \) "thighs" \((RA)\) (although \( w \) may have created its own velarization here, like in \( \ddot{D}A \text{ wrāg} \) "leaves"\(^{196}\)), \( \text{ifrāğ} \) "releasing" \((\ddot{B}A)\), \( \text{ğrāy} \) "running" \((RA)\), \( \text{frān} \) "ovens" \((SA)\), \( \text{krā̄mīh} \) "the hospitable reception of him" \((SA)\), \( \text{mrā̄h} \) "place where the night is spent" \((AA)\)^{197}, and also \( \text{rās} \) "head" in \( RA, SA, AA \)\(^{198}\) and \( \ddot{B}A \).

Examples where the vanished \( i \) maintains the \( i \)-colouring environment: \( \text{drā̄} \) "arm" \((RA, SA, \ddot{B}A)\), \( \text{hṛāt} \) "ploughing" \((SA, \ddot{B}A)\), \( \text{frā̄ś} \) "mattress" \((SA, \ddot{B}A)\), \( \text{krāb} \) "fallow" \((\ddot{B}A)\), \( \text{drā̄s} \) "threshing" \((\ddot{B}A)\).\(^{199}\) An additional example is \( \text{zrā̄'īh} \) "agriculture" \((RA, SA, \ddot{B}A)\).

The particulars described above point to a situation which only minimally deviates from what is stated by Blanc\(^{200}\): backing of \( r\ddot{a} \) sequences is quite regular, unless the sequence was historically preceded by \( i \), or \( i \) follows in the next syllable of the same morpheme (to which \( rā́'iy \) "herdsman" is an exception, perhaps because it is fully nominalized, and is no longer recognized as a participle). An opposition \( rā́yih \) "flag" - \( rā́yih \) "his opinion", however, where in both cases we have morpheme boundaries inside the words, is not explained.

1.1.9. Nasal \( n \).

In \( \ddot{B}A \) \( n \) has a \( l \) reflex in the original loan \( ġarkil, ġarā̄kil \) "jerrycan", but in \( SA ġirkin \) was recorded.

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\(^{197}\) For the \( AA \) example, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 23 (text 7), l. 37 (+ fn).
\(^{198}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 9 (text 1), l. 65.
\(^{199}\) For the same examples in \( \ddot{D}A \), cf. BLANC (1970), p. 16 (127).
\(^{200}\) Blanc generally assumes vanished \( u \) preceding \( r\ddot{a} \) sequences resulting in velarized \( r\ddot{a} \), which is probably true for the examples he lists, but examples such as \( \text{frā̄ğ} \) and \( \text{frān} \) suggest that preceding (historical) \( u \) is not an absolute prerequisite for such backing. Similarly, one may hear \( \text{afrān} \sim \text{ifrān} \sim \text{firān} \) in \( \ddot{C}uA \).
1.1.10. Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause.

Final voiced stops b, d, g, nasals m and n, as well as liquids l and r tend to have a voiceless realization in pause, but final d and g are clearly kept separate from their voiceless counterparts t and k through their more lenis articulation.

1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1. The inventory of vowel phonemes in RA, SA and BaA.

The inventory of vowel phonemes for RA, SA and BaA contains five long vowels, and three short vowels:

Long vowels: i û ë ù õ
Short vowels: i(399,491),(457,540) ù(194,495),(252,544)

1.2.2. Long vowels.

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ê and î.

There is some degree of phonetic overlapping of ê and î; the ê in neutral environments is quite regularly raised to a very close [e:], or only slightly lowered [i:], depending on how one cares to look at it. Recorded were e.g.: bît (≈ bêt) "tent", zîn (≈ zên) "good", šîn (≈ šên) "bad"\textsuperscript{201}, sîf (but *sêf was not recorded) "sword", šîx (≈ šëx) "sheikh", kîf? (≈ kêf?\textsuperscript{202}) "how?", zît (≈ zêt) "oil", f-âllîl (≈ f-allêl) "at night", mîfîy (≈ mêfîy) "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground, used for baking bread".\textsuperscript{203} One effect is that bê" sale" may become homophonic with bi" sell! (imperative m. sg.)" both having a phonetic realization [bi:a:].

\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., p. 7 (118) reports šên with a stable ê.
\textsuperscript{202} Diphthongal kayf, as listed for DA by Blanc (cf. ibid. p. 7 (118)), was not recorded.
\textsuperscript{203} In many of these cases it is difficult to decide what one hears; one simply "knows" what one is supposed to hear, and is therefore tempted to conclude that e.g. i in bit is actually slightly lower than i in tin. I personally could not entirely free myself from such impressions. The high reflexes of ê were certainly very close to i, but did not in all cases strike me as entirely homophonic with i. One could imagine however, that more precise acoustic measurements (with unprejudiced machines) would reveal that they do actually overlap phonetically.
There are some limitations however. For instance, very close -ën realizations for the dual -ën ending were not recorded during this research: sanatën "two years", fâyditën "two surpluses (of horses)", 'aşâyten "two sticks", fîngârêtn "two cups", yômèn "two days", and also stable ê was heard in bën "between" and the interrogatives wên? "where?", ê? "what?" (and gaddê? "how much?").

Recordings of MA and ᵃAyA show similar phonetic overlapping of /ê/ and /û/.

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ŏ and û.

Comparable to the phonetic overlapping of ê and i, ŏ may have a rather high realization in neutral environments, while û may have a relatively low realization (a close [o:]) in the contiguity of velarized consonants. Examples of lowered û are: 'ar'ûr [ʃoɾɾʃoɾ] "crown of the head", xûx [ʃoʃ] "peaches", ġūlāh [ʃoʃ] "ghoul", kûr [koɾ] "ball", rûh [ɾoʃ] "soul", xûsah [ʃoʃ] "knife" 204, sûs [soʃ] "bird".

The opposition is clearly maintained, however, in: biyušûha ʃof "he sees her", and also in gûl "say!" and gôl "speaking".

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel ā.

The long vowel ā will have a regular [a:] realization in velarized environments, a [a:] realization when preceded by ʰ or ɾ, and a [u:] realization in other environments.

ā in 'ârîf "I know" in TA is realized considerably higher than in RA, SA and AA: [ʃaɾɾîf], or even slightly lowered [e:] as in [ʃaɾɾîf], as opposed to [ar] in [ʃaɾɾîf] in RA, SA and AA.

ā (I.P.A. [a:]) may be heard in ihdâ'îs, itnâ'îs etc. Since ā, historically created by (now vanished) ɾ, and ā do not form contrastive minimal pairs, it is regarded as a marginal phoneme here (cf. I, 3.1.17.3.).

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204 Since it is clearly monophthongal, i.e. not *wausah (cf. I, 1.2.4.6.1.2.1.) the form xûsah is presumed to be a reflex of *xûsah, contrast BLANC (1970), p. 7 (118).
1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels.

Long vowels preceding other (stressed) long vowels are often (half-) shortened in allegro speech, but in more careful speech they tend to have long realizations. Some examples of shortened long vowels are: ǧīṭān (< ǧīṭān) "hungry", Tarābīn (< Tarābīn) "name of a tribe", hadāk (< hadāk) "m. sg. dem. that", fadādin (< fadādin) "feddans". When such long vowels precede stressed short vowels similar shortening may take place in more rapid speech, e.g.: ʿawāḍt (< ʿawāḍt) "I returned".

This was noticed in AA, RA, SA, BA, MA and ʿAyA.

1.2.3. Short vowels.

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

Phonemic opposition between the high vowels i and u is limited, but these may be isolated as phonemes in the following minimal pairs:

- fatt "make fattah!" - futt "I passed"
- Xiḍr "male given name" - xuḍr "green (pl.)"
- giṣṣah "story" - guṣṣah "hairlock"
- x iff "thin out!" - x uff "camel hoof"

and Blanc's pairs for PA:
- tībb "medicine" - tubb "arrive!"
- šiğg "guest section of tent" - šuğg! "tear!"
- gumt "I rose" - gím t "I removed"

and
- gudt "I led" - gidt "I lit"

The short vowel a may be isolated as a phoneme in minimal pairs with u:

- fatt "making fattah (v.n.)" - futt "I passed"
- radd "he answered" - rudd! "answer!"

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206 Stewart apparently noticed the same in AA, cf. Stewart (1990), p. 3 (text 1), (second) fn 3.
207 In AA the short high vowel is u: guṣṣah, cf. Stewart (1990), glossary, p. 223.
B.I. A description of Rmēliy, Swērkit and Balawiy Arabic.

Minimal pairs isolating $a$ and $i$:

- $\ddot{s}a\ddot{d}$ "he pulled tight" - $\ddot{s}i\ddot{d}$ "pull tight"
- $axaff$ "lighter" - $axiff$ "I thin out"

1.2.3.2. Phonetic factors influencing the quality of $i$.

Often enough the phonetic quality of the short high vowel (here indicated by $I$) is determined by its phonetic surroundings, i.e. $i$ in neutral environments, and $u$ in velarized environments, without any apparent phonemic implication.

Since velarization entails raising of the back of the tongue (towards the velum), accompanied by a certain degree of labialization, these articulatory organs are brought a good deal towards to their ideal positions for an articulation of $[u]$, whereas the front of the tongue is raised for an articulation of $[i]$, while labialization remains absent.

This touches on an older discussion on whether perhaps we should not just identify one phoneme /a/\(^{209}\), which would then have the allophones (roughly) [u] and [i], the distribution of which is determined by its phonetic surroundings. Here /i/ and /u/ are valued as seperate phonemes, since we do have the minimal pairs to isolate them as such, although their phonemic opposition is admittedly limited.

Another, more practical consideration for a dialect-geographical study such as the one in hand, is that in certain cases the distribution of the high vowels may constitute an isogloss, e.g. $y\dot{a}xud$ and $y\dot{a}xid$ (cf. I, 3.2.2.3.).

Although the question of whether it is (vanished) $u$ which causes velarization, or velarization which causes the appearance of $u$ is really a chicken-and-egg question, a few observations may nevertheless be in order.\(^{210}\)

\(^{209}\) As was done, for instance, for the dialect of 'Aināb (Lebanon), cf. GROTFELD (1967), p. 290, and also Damascus, where $i$ and $u$ (transcribed as e and o) are maintained only in singly closed (i.e. by no more than one consonant) unstressed final syllables, while in other positions they have merged in $a$. This is apparently also the case in the majority of northern Mesopotamian dialects. Cf. FISCHER/JASTROW (1980), p. 54.

\(^{210}\) Cf. also FISCHER (1967), p. 61 fn 89 where he raises the point for CaA that $u$ and $i$ in the morphological patterns $fu\acute{a}l$ and $fi\acute{a}l$ do not form a real opposition, since patterns are never both used for one and the same root. Instead, $fu\acute{a}l$ is the pattern which is always emphatic, while $fi\acute{a}l$ is non-emphatic. A counter example for this claim is the CaA pair $gum\ddot{a}l$ "beautiful (pl.)" - $gim\ddot{a}l$ "camels", which both lack velarization, cf. HINDS/BADAWI (1986).
There cannot be much doubt that the u, before disappearing from such older forms as *rukab "knees", *turāb "earth", *kurām, and *qurāb "near" caused velarization in combination with the surrounding consonants, leaving velarization behind as proof of its former presence, and yielding the now regular forms r̝kāb, t̝rāb, k̝rām, and g̝rāb. With respect to the absence or presence of velarization, such forms contrast with dr̝ās "threshing", fr̝āṣ "mattress", dr̝āt "arm", where i disappeared from the presumed older forms *dirāṣ, *fīrāṣ, and *dirāṭ.\textsuperscript{211}

But things are not always that simple, for in some cases it is just the other way around; the quality of surrounding consonants may be the decisive factor for the appearance of $u$ or $i$. For instance, the pattern for the pl. of colours (?) and physical defects seems to be $C_1IC_2C_3$, in which $I$ is then $u$ in velarized environments, and $i$ in neutral environments, e.g.: humr "red (pl.)", xuḍr "green (pl.)", xurṣ "dumb (pl.)", sulc "bald (pl.)", but ʿimy "blind (pl.)"\textsuperscript{212}, šidf "left-handed (pl.)". Since there are only two examples available with $i$, neither of which are colours, it is perhaps premature to draw the conclusion of a CICC pattern, but it is relevant enough to be mentioned here.

Another example of $u$ and $i$ in their respective surroundings can be found in a minimal pair formed by $r$ and $r$: miḥrāt "plough", muḥrāt "(wooden) poker (for embers)".\textsuperscript{213}

Other examples\textsuperscript{214} may be found in measure 1 of the medial geminate verbs where $u$ appears near primary and (potentially) secondary emphatics, while $i$ appears in neutral environments:

Examples of $u$ appearing near primary emphatics:

$haṭṭ, yhutta$ "place"; $baṭṭ, ybutṭ"break open"; $saiṭ, yfutta"jump"; $gassa, yguss"tell a story"; $gaiṭ, yguutta"dip, immerse"; $raḍḍ, yrutta"make move fast"; $sall, ysull"pour out"; $ṣaiṭ, ysubutta"light a fire"; $taiṭ, ysubb"arrive"; $ṭarr, ystrar"turn aside"; $ṭaxx, yuxx"shoot"; $xaiṭ, yxutta"draw a line"; $ṭall, yull"drop by on a visit"; $darr, ydurr"harm"; $ṣabb, ysubb"pour"; $ṭagg, yuggg"hit (sth to make an opening for sth to come out)".

\textsuperscript{211} Cf. remarks by BLANC (1970), p. 16 (127).

\textsuperscript{212} The same pl. was recorded in $\mathcal{D}A$, cf. ibid. p. 9 (120), and in AA, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 75 (text 21), l. 333 (+ fn).

\textsuperscript{213} Actually, a more current term for "plough" is $fard$, but my Swêrkiy informants obviously knew the term miḥrāt, and contrasted it with muḥrāt.

\textsuperscript{214} Many of these may be found in STEWART (1990), glossary.
Examples of \( u \) appearing near potentially secondary emphatics (the consonants involved are \( r, g, k, g, \) and \( x \), of which the last four form the natural class of velars):

\[\text{radd, yrudd} \text{ "return, give back"}; \text{dagg, ydugg} \text{ "punch, strike"}; \text{gaff, yguff} \text{ "cheat"}; \text{gatt, ygutt} \text{ "insult"}; \text{gazz, yguzz} \text{ "plant, set up"}; \text{gagg, ygugg} \text{ "lick a bowl"}; \text{garr, ygurr} \text{ "pull, drag"}; \text{kass, ykušš} \text{ "turn back"}; \text{katt, ykutt} \text{ "go down a wādî"}; \text{lagg, ylugg} \text{ "snatch"}; \text{lakk, ylukk} \text{ "stir up trouble"}; \text{šakk, yšukk} \text{ "be suspicious"}; \text{takk, ytuūk} \text{ "empty out"}; \text{xašš, yxušš} \text{ "enter"}; \text{gašš, yguss} \text{ "mislead, deceive"}; \text{fakk, yfiük} \text{ "untie"}.\]

Notice that the consonants involved here are only potentially emphatic, i.e. the velars are articulated further back (against the velum, with the exception of \( r \)) when preceded by \( u \) in the imperfect, than when preceded by \( a \) in the perfect. The possibility therefore exists that such secondary velarization was originally created in the perfect, after which it was transferred to the imperfect.

Examples of \( i \) appearing in neutral environments:

\[\text{‘add, y‘idd} \text{ "count"}; \text{‘att, y‘itt} \text{ "insult"}; \text{‘azz, y‘izz} \text{ "support"}; \text{šadd, yšidd} \text{ "pull"}; \text{bašš, ybišš} \text{ "flow into (of a wādî)"}; \text{dabb, ydibb} \text{ "pour"}; \text{dazz, ydizz} \text{ "push (s.o.)"}; \text{hadd, yhidd} \text{ "draw one's dagger"}; \text{haff, yhiţ} \text{ "fan"}; \text{hašš, yhiţţ} \text{ "run away"}; \text{ḥadd, yhiżż} \text{ "border"}; \text{ḥall, yhil} \text{ "loosen, untie"}; \text{ḥass, yhiţs} \text{ "perceive" (act. part. ḥašṣ); laff, yliţ} \text{ "turn around"}; \text{lagg, yliţţ} \text{ "have a right"}; \text{lamm, ylimm} \text{ "gather together"}; \text{madd, ymidd} \text{ "extend"}; \text{mass, ymiss} \text{ "secretly give information"}; \text{mašš, ymišš} \text{ "brush away"}; \text{naff, yniţţ} \text{ "sniff"}; \text{nass, yniţs} \text{ "be related to"}; \text{sabb, ysiţţ} \text{ "slander"}; \text{sabb, ysiţs} \text{ "take place (of s.o.)"}; \text{sall, ysiţ} \text{ "withdraw"}; \text{šabb, ysiţţ} \text{ "climb"}; \text{šal, ysiţ} \text{ "descend"}; \text{tamm, yimimm} \text{ "complete, be completed"}; \text{zaff, yziţţ} \text{ "trick, deceive"}; \text{hazz, yhiţţ} \text{ "shake" (SA)}; \text{zagg, yziţţ} \text{ "throw"}; \text{lazz, yliţ} \text{ "tie"}; \text{‘all, y‘il} \text{ "fall ill (of crops)"}; \text{ḥabb, yhiţ} \text{ "love; kiss"}.\]

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel.

In this respect, \( šann, yśinn \) "(sit and) wait" may seem a bit puzzling, but this is very likely to be a measure 4 verb\(^{215} \) (cf. I, 3.2.3.7.5.), i.e. the \( i \) of the imperf. is morphologically fixed, and not phonetically conditioned. Other examples of measure 4 verbs with fixed \( i \) are: \( gatt, ygitt \) "make liable" (but

\(^{215}\text{ Cf. LANE (1867), part 4, p. 1730: } \text{muṣinn} \text{ "he spoke in a low, faint, gentle or soft manner."}\)
notice measure 1 imperfect ygutt with the same meaning) in AA\textsuperscript{216}, darr, ydirr (AA)\textsuperscript{217}, and examples where phonetic conditioning is irrelevant, since i would appear anyway: hamm, yhimm "be important", habb, yhibb "wake up (someone)".

The high vowel is also morphologically fixed, i.e. not phonetically conditioned in the imperfects of other verbal measures, e.g.: (measure 2) naggat, ynaggit "sow watermelon seeds (by dropping them one at a time through the bug)", gayyad, ygaiyid "spend the summer", (measure 3) wâyag, ywayig, xatib, yxatib, (quadrilaterals) götar, ygötar, etc. Also, in participles u is not likely to appear since i is morphologically conditioned, e.g. (measure 1) hâdir "present", bêtih "pregnant", (measure 3) mrâbiṭ "having tied", etc. (for other measures, cf. I, 3.2.).

It must be stated however, that the velars, and especially k (which is articulated further to the front than the other velars), are not entirely stable in this respect, and that there is some room for variation, although usually not within the same dialect, e.g.: fakk, yfukk (in AA, RA, SA), but imperfect yfikk was recorded in BaA, kabb, ykibb "pour" (RA, BaA, SA, AA); kaff, ykiff "go to negotiate"; xass, yxiss "be deficient".

Similar reasons appear to be responsible for the variation zargâ in AA\textsuperscript{218}, but zargiy in DA, where in the first example secondary velarization must have prevented raising of final *-ä(')(cf. I, 1.2.4.4.4.).

A clear exception to the examples of medial geminates is dabb, ydibb "pack away, put away" recorded in BaA, but the expected imperfect ydubb was recorded in AA\textsuperscript{219}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{216} Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 223 with ref. to p. 179 (text 67), first fn 11.
\item \textsuperscript{217} Although ibid., glossary p. 210 lists this verb "change, move; turn aside" as measure 1 (I assume because of the recorded pass. part. madrurray in ibid. p. 149 (text 48), l. 59), it is more likely to originally be the causative measure 4 with the meaning "cause to flow" as in ibid. p. 186 (text 69), ll. 187-8: "wallah, mâni sâ'il 'innih, wala 'in alliy byašta' min ilsâni, la ydirrih 'alây."This is translated in STEWART (1988), p. 211 as "I don't give a damn what he does, or what he says, just as long as he doesn't turn his tongue against me."
\item \textsuperscript{218} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 99 (text 30), second fn 22 for the AA example, and BLANC (1970), p. 13 (124) for the DA example.
\item \textsuperscript{219} Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 213.
\end{itemize}
1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels.

1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/. When in stressed position in neutral environments, \( i \) tends to be [i], e.g. bīnt [bīnt], kīdīy ['kīdi'], Ġīmīh ['Ġimīh].
When preceded by an emphatic, \( i \) is backed and centralized tīri ['tīri], śinn! ['šinn] "wait!", ḏībb! ['ḏūb] "fill!", ġurrīthīy ['ḡurrīthīy] "her tracks".
Laryngals usually have a lowering effect on \( i \), resulting in a backed [e]: ʾīlm ['ʕilm] "knowledge", ḥilwīh ['ḥilwīh] "sweet (f. sg.)", xīlṣīt ['xīlṣīt] "it (f.) ran out".

1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/. In neutral environments, \( u \) will usually be [u]: ʾūst [ʕūst] (~ ʾūst) "I saw", duṭṭāt [duṭṭāt] "showers", muḍḍīh ['muḍḍīh] "period" (although more regularly muḍḍīh).
\( u \) is generally lowered when it is near emphatics: gūṛṣ ['gūṛṣ] "round flat loaf of bread", ṣubb! [sob:] "pour!", ḍūlṭān [doolṭān] "young goats and sheep", amūff [a′mūff:] "I go past" binṭubbḥīy ['binṭubbḥīy] "we slap it (f.)", xudl [xoḍ] "take!".
When preceded by h or t, \( u \) is usually lowered as well: ḥummuṣ ['ḥummuṣ] "(dish of mashed) chick peas", ḥuḡāraḥ ['ḥuḡāraḥ] "room", ḥurmaḥ ['ḥurmaḥ] "woman", ʿuṣūr # ['ʕɔʃur] "pregnant", ʿuḡūz ['ʕɔʃugz] "old woman".

1.2.3.4.3. Allophones of /al/. 1.2.3.4.3.1. /al/ in non-raised positions.
In neutral environments, stressed a tends to have a phonetic value near [a]: ṭasʿal ['ṭasʿal] "you ask", kattar ['kattar] "he increased", ʿālbil ['ʔālbil] "the camels", xams [xams] "five", biygarrib [bįygarrib] "he goes north", xaṣṣ [xaʃš] "he entered", ġānām ['ʔānām] "sheep/goats".
When preceded by pharyngeals ʾ, ḥ, and glottal h a has an open [a] realization, e.g. ʿala ['ʿalæ] "on", ḥaḡḡ [haḡḡ] (or [haʤ]) "title for a respected (older) man (lit.: Mekka pilgrim)", ahāl ['ʔaḥal] "people", ḥaḡḡ [hadʒ] "he went away".
A description of Rméliy, Swêrkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

With preceding or following emphatics, /al/ is backed towards [ɔ], e.g.: ḏall [alɔ] "he stayed", ṭayyib [tɔyib] "good", šaḥḥ [şoːh] "right", ṭaḡil [tɔdɔːl] "man", ḥaṭṭ [hotː] "he put", ʾišgārah [ʃi'ʃorɔh] "tree", ḏaṭṭix [ba'ːtɔiːx] "watermelons", ʾaššūf [a'suːf] (with lowered [uː], though not entirely [oː]) "the wool".

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ in open syllable preceding long stressed vowels.

In pre-stress syllables preceding i or a, older *a has usually been raised to i in neutral environment, or u in labial (and velarized) environments, but unlike the older high vowels, it is not dropped in unstressed open syllables: e.g. kibîr "large", kiṭîr "many", ṭuwîl "long", kuṭâman "also", wugîr "sea bass", Suwârkih (~ Siwârkih) (RA) "name of tribe", muwâṭīd "appointments" (AA)²²⁰, hidîd (RA) "iron", and in verbs fiḥîmt "I understood", simît "I heard", contrasting with the elision of older pre-stress high vowels in open syllables in e.g. byût "houses", ḥdûd (RA) "border", Swêrkiy "a member of the Sawârkah", blîd (RA) "land", ʾgîmâl "camels", ʾnâb "grapes", ṭâkâb "knees", and in verbs yrawwîh "he goes home" (cf. 1, 2.4.).

The high vowel i in the syllable preceding stressed î in the pattern C۴C۲:C۳ has become stable and is thus part of the morphological base form, whereas a raised a resulting in a high vowel u or i in the syllable preceding stressed a is of a phonetic nature; one will not hear *kabîr or *katîr (if one does, it is likely that such forms are loans from CA), but one may hear Sawârkah or kuṭâman in more careful speech. In neither case is this vowel of the first syllable ever dropped, so that one could say that they have remained underlying lal; one will not hear *kibîr or *Swârkah, not even in sandhi. This was noticed for AA, RA, SA, BaA, TA, MA and ʿAyA (for more details, cf. I, 3.1.1.5.).

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine suffix (T).

When preceded by non-emphatic consonants, a of the feminine suffix is regularly raised to i (I.P.A. [iː]), e.g.: šgayrîh "small (f. sg.)", Ġimîh "male given name", mîdârasîh "school", Salâmîh "male given name", ŏalâtih "three", ġirîgih "manner", salâbîh "rope", ġarâsih "mare", šâbâkih "net".

The a of the feminine suffix in *sanah "year" is only raised when it is not stressed in RA: sáníh and ãssaníh but sináh ~ sanáh (for raising of a in the first syllable, cf. I, 3.1.1.7.), but in SA several instances of siníh were recorded.

The consonant w does not prevent this imálah (i.e. raising) by itself: hilwih "nice, sweet (f. sg.)" 'ağwih "pressed dates", lagwih "dialect", but when a, â or a (secondary) emphatic directly precedes w no raising takes place: gáhawah ~ giháwah, haláwah "sweetness", 'atwah "truce", xutwah "pace", haswah "pebble".

When preceded by primary or secondary emphatics, a of the feminine suffix is not raised: gissah "story", haytáh "wall", giliđah "thick (f. sg.)", fáydáh, and secondary emphatic: farxáh "chicken", gálľáh "grain", ġürřáh "track", šágarāh "tree", šéxáh "position of šex", xúxáh "peach", ğurmáh "woman", náxálah "date palm", gasáláh "twig (given in betrothal ceremonies)", šurbáh "soup", wáragáh "piece of paper".

The consonants h, h, and ḏ do not prevent raising: ġimšíh "male given name", tisšíh "nine", fáthíh "the opening sûrah of the Koran", mlúhih "salty", fákhih "fruit", but these consonants may carry velarization through the word which will inhibit raising of the following a: makrūḥah "despised (f. sg.)", šaráḥah "frankness", ūpábah "four", ęg’éah "graft", ęságh "cold".

When â precedes, raising seems to remain absent as well: sáḥah "hour" (RA, SA, Baa), ġimá'áh "group of people" (RA), wdaá'ah "deposit" (SA), Tiyábah "name of a tribe" (RA) (no examples with â preceding), although in AA there are examples such as wda‘iḥ, ġimá’iḥ.221

This raising of the feminine suffix presumably started as a pausal phenomenon, after which the raised products have become stable, and may now just as well be heard in non-final positions in the sentence, e.g.: w imtáglíih ęáltíh ya-xúy "and she was making things difficult (lit. heavy) for him, my brother".

Raising of T in neutral environments up to around I.P.A. [r] was heard in TA, MA and 'AyA as well.

221 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels.

At times short vowels may be prosodically lengthened. This is especially the case when the speaker wants to express long durations of time, or great distances, or simply to give the central word of an utterance more emphasis, e.g. l a:lfaqir # "(all the time) until dawn" (SA), (hāḍa) fa:ri' # "(this is) improper" (AA), tīlbi:b "you milk (and milk)" (BaA), dignak ki:diy "your chin is like this (i.e. very long)" (RA), ĝa:r tāxé aḫûk imî:ák "you must take your father with you"(RA).

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs.

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *aw and *ay.

In neutral environments, i.e. when no laryngals or emphatics precede the older diphthongs *ay and *aw, these diphthongs have generally been monophthongized to become ē and ū resp., with possible phonetic overlapping with ï and, to a lesser extent û.

Examples for *ay are: yômên [yo:mên] (<*yawmayn) "two days"; Slêmân [ʃ isle'me:n] (<*Sulaymân or *Silaymân) "male given name"; šēx [ʃe:x] (<*šayx) "sheikh"; sēf [ʃif] (<*sayf) "sword"; bēdâ' # [be'a:ða' #] (<*baydâ') "white (f. sg.)"; and iltên [ili'te:n] (<*iltayn or *iltayn) "two thirds".

Some examples for *aw are: fôg [fo:ɡ] (<*fawg) "cooling off (of a fire)", dôr [do:ɾ] (<*dawr) "turn", gôm (<*qawm) "enemy tribe", sōdiy [ʃɔdi'ɾy] (<*sawdâ) "black (f. sg.)", tôm [θo:m] (<*tawm) "garlic". (For phonetic overlapping of ē with i, and ū with û, cf. I, 1.2.2.1. and I, 1.2.2.2.)

Among the exceptions to this monophthongization in neutral environments are mawdû' "subject", mawlûd "born", mawgûd "present" (although also ma:ğûd in BaA, and maygûd (!) recorded twice in MA), and also mawlûd annár "(temporary) fireplace", mawsîm (~ one instance of mawsam in BaA) "season", mawgâ' "place, site", mawgif "situation", mawta "deceased (pl.)", and rawyân "well-watered". These forms have remained untouched through "Systemzwang", as the Germans put it.223

222 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 35 (text 35), l. 70.
223 The term "Systemzwang" refers to pressures relating to the felt necessity for morphological transparency.
Other examples where preceding emphatics or laryngals are not involved in the prevention of monophthongization are: *dawših "the whole caboodle/noise", *tawb (～tɔb) (RA)\textsuperscript{224}, although in the last example regressive spreading of secondary velarization may be responsible for the preservation of the diphthong.

Of primae wāw verbs both monophthongized and diphthongal forms of the imperfect occur: *yawšal ～yošal, *yawga' ～yōga', but monophthongization appears to be more regular with the primae wāw i-type imperfects, e.g. *yōrid "he goes to water" and *yōzin "he weighs". A possible explanation for monophthongization of aw being less regular in the primae wāw a-type verbs than in the primae wāw i-type verbs is that through vowel harmony these verbs are more on a par with other, regular a-type verbs. This could be described as another form of "Systemzwang", where the imperfect form *yawšal is transparent as belonging to the a-imperfect type, whereas such transparency is lost in monophthongized yošal.

Like in DA, RA, SA and BaA, diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized in neutral environments in TA, MA and ‘AyA, e.g.: *bēt "house; tent" *lēlīh "evening", *yōm "day", *gōm "enemy tribe" (these may be heard in all of these dialects). In some instances primae wāw verbs, and also the quadrillerais with the inserted wāw between the first and second radicals were recorded with diphthongs, as in *yawšal "he arrives" (MA) (cf. I, 3.2.2.1.), and sawlaf, ysawlif "tell" (‘AyA) (cf. I, 3.2.3.9.).

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels ḻ̤l, ḻ̥l, ḻ̤l, ḻ̩l, and ḻ̣l as phonemes.

The five long vowels i, ī, ā, ē, and ō (cf. I, 1.2.1., and I, 1.2.2.), the latter two of which are the reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments, in RA, SA and BaA may be isolated in the following minimal pairs (which were also used by Blanc\textsuperscript{225} to identify phonemes in DA):

\begin{align*}
\text{šāf} "he saw" & - \text{šūf } "see!" & \text{šōf} "seeing" \\
\text{dēn} "debt" & - \text{dīn } "religion" \\
\text{šēn} "bad" & - \text{šīn } "name of the letter } & \text{ṣ} \\
\text{gāl} "he said" & - \text{gūl } "say!" & \text{gōl } "saying" \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{224} The same absence of monophthongization in tawb was noticed in DA, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 8 (119), and other examples in DA are *tawf "ox", sawg "driving", *fawg "above (prep)".

\textsuperscript{225} Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 7 (118).
Although it must be admitted that the differences between \( i \) and \( e \) are often only minimal, or perhaps even non-existent in some of the above pairs, I could not bring myself to hearing phonetic overlap in dual ending -\( ān \) and m. pl. ending -\( ān \) (cf. remark in fn to \( mēfiy \sim mīfiy \) in I, 1.2.2.1.), and in e.g. \( ġnēh \) "pound" or \( bēn \) "between (prep.)" I never heard [i:]

The contrast between \( lōl \) and \( lūl \) struck me as less problematic than in \( DA \); \( lōl \) in neutral environments in RA, SA and BA is close, but in most cases certainly not fully [u:].227 Cases where phonetic overlapping of \( lōl \) and \( lūl \) is noticeable are the primes \( wāw \) verbs, and then mainly in the \( i \)-type imperfects, e.g. \( yūġi' \sim yōġi' \) "hurt" (cf. I, 3.2.2.1.).

N.B. Word-final diphthongal verbal endings -\( ay \) and -\( aw \) are not monophthongized, e.g. \( ágray \) "read! (imper. f. sg.)", \( ásrāhay b āğīmal "take the camels out to graze! (imper. f. sg.)", \( áwᶜay \) "watch out! (imper. f. sg.)", \( tānsaw "you (m. pl.) forget", and \( byāfihaḥaw "they open", ġaw "they came", mišaw "they went", gōtaraw "they went", nor are word-final diphthongs that occur when the 1st. p. sg. pronominal suffix follows a preposition, e.g.: \( fay, lay, ma³dý, ³alḍy \) (in these cases final -\( ay \) < *-\( ay \)).

1.2.4.3. Allophones of \( ā \).

When \( ā \) is preceded, or followed by emphatics, it is considerably backed, e.g.: \( tāḥ [t³āḥ] "he fell", rās [r³ːs] "head", Allāh [ə⁷³ːh] "God", and \( bāṭ [bəːt] "armpit" (where \( ā \) transferred velarization onto \( b \), wāṣit ['wəːsːit] "middle pole in a tent", and also \( hāḍa ['həːdə] "this (m. sg.)".

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-\( ā(\')\).

1.2.4.4.1. Raising of final *-\( ā(\') \) in RA, SA, AA and \( DA \).

In RA, SA, AA and \( DA \), older final *-\( ā \) and *-\( ā' \) have often been raised to become -\( īy \), provided they are not preceded by an emphatic, or laryngeal

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226 Cf. ibid.
227 PALVA (1991), p. 161 states for \( DA \) that "in cases of complete monophthongization [of *\( ay \) and *\( aw \)], the phonemic status is not established", which seems too strong a claim. BLANC (1970), p. 7 (118) gives the pairs to isolate \( e, i, ō \) and \( ā \) as phonemes, although some speakers do not make the distinctions, and he does report fluctuation in a number of items which applies to all speakers. The phonemic status is thus established for \( DA \), albeit not firmly.
consonants, or by an open syllable containing (underlying) short \( a \). Examples of such extreme raising include:

\[ *\text{ši}tā' \rightarrow \text{šiy} "winter", *\text{hi}dā' \rightarrow \text{hdiy} "camel-driving chant" (TA), *\text{di}lā' \rightarrow \text{dliy} "pails" (?), cf. fn 279 to I, 2.1.2.1.), *\text{ri}śā' \rightarrow \text{rśiy} "well rope", *\text{sawdā'} \rightarrow \text{sōdiy} "black (f. sg.)", *\text{mā'} \rightarrow \text{miy} "water", *\text{mi}́\text{zā'} or *\text{mi}́\text{zā} \rightarrow \text{mi}́\text{ziy} "goats"228, *\text{ma}́\text{fā} (\rightarrow *\text{mayfā} \rightarrow *\text{mēfā}) \rightarrow \text{mēfīy} "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground, used to bake bread" (SA)229, *\text{midrā} \rightarrow \text{midriy} "horn of a gazelle used as a beating hook in weaving" (SA)230, the adverb *\text{hunā} or *\text{hīnā} \rightarrow \text{hniy} "here", but also with \( h \) preceding in *-\text{hā} \rightarrow -\text{hiy} "3rd p. sg. f. suffix", (all RA and SA, unless otherwise indicated). In \( \text{DA} \) and AA, however, this raising of *-\( ā \) in the 3rd p. f. sg. suffix *-\( hā \) has not taken place (cf. I, 3.1.12.2.).

An exception is \( \text{mawta} "deceased (pl.)", \) which is likely to be a loan from \( \text{CA} \), and also *-\( nā "c. pl. pron. suffix" was not raised in RA, SA or AA, perhaps to avoid a homophonic clash with the 1st p. sg. c. obj. suffix \( -nī. \)

When the article precedes, it is stressed, e.g.: \( f\text{-ašštiy} "\text{in (the) winter", } \text{āddliy "the pails", } \text{drrsiy "the well rope", leaving the diphthongized ending, apart from no longer being stressed where it was, unchanged (for more detail on stress, cf. I, 2.1.2.1.).} \)

Comparable forms recorded in \( \text{TA}, \text{MA} \) and \( \text{‘AyA} \) include: \( \text{hniy} "here" \) (all three), \( \text{štiy "winter" (TA), miy "water" (TA, MA), rśiy "well rope" (MA), šadfīy "left-handed (f. sg.)" (MA), ḥawlīy "cross-eyed (f. sg.)" (MA), ỉaršiy "deaf (f. sg.)" (‘AyA), ālišiy "the evening (prayer)" (‘AyA).

1.2.4.4.2. Raising of final *-\( ā(') \) in \( \text{BaA} \).

In \( \text{BaA} \) however, instead of the extreme diphthongized \( \text{imālah} \), one would rather hear a "milder" (i.e. lower) form of \( \text{imālah}, \) mainly in pause, followed

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228 cf. LANE (1874), part 7, p. 2724.
229 The Sawārkah I interviewed said that they no longer used the \( \text{mēfīy}, \) while the \( \text{Rmēlā}: \) (those I interviewed, that is) said they did not know it. One Balawiy told me that the \( \text{mēfī} \) (in his dialect) is only used in Gātyah nowadays. I have seen it in use among the Dawāgrah as well.
230 This is how the word was glossed to me. For an illustration of the loom cf. WEIR (1990), p. 49, where this horn of a gazelle is called \( \text{mišgā} \) or \( \text{mihtā}. \)
by a slight glottal catch, phonetically [i?], instead of the diphthongization in the examples from RA, SA, AA and DA.

Examples from BaA are: šti# "winter", hni# (~ hniy) "here", lhi# "sg. f. suffix: to her", fsi# "fart", as well as ‘amyi# "blind (f. sg.)", ṭarši" "deaf (f. sg.)", šadji" "left-handed (f. sg.)" 231, and also verbs maši" (~ miši") "he went", and (unlike RA, SA, or AA) one may hear imālah in gi" "he came", and also the vowel of the 1st. pl. c. suffix *-nā is (shortened and) raised to a position between [e] and [i].

It is interesting to note that in BaA, where the raising in these last two examples will not lead to (near) homophones, raising actually does take place, whereas it does not take place in those dialects where this raising would result in (near) homophones 232; a raised form •giy (of *gā') in RA, SA and AA would be a near homophone of the imperfect ygiy, whereas gi' in BaA is clearly not homophonic with the imperfect ygiy (cf. I, 3.2.2.6.1.). Similarly, raised •-niy (of *-nā) would be a near homophone of -ni in RA, SA and AA, while -ni - ne is clearly not homophonic with -nī (or perhaps -nya or -nyi, cf. I, 3.1.12.2.2.). The same holds for DA (cf. IV, 3.2.2.6.1.), where the extreme raising in giy (of *gā'( )) did not result in a (near) homophone with the imperfect, which is, like in BaA, ygiy.

1.2.4.4.3. Reflexes of final *-ā( ' ) when preceded by *a in open syllable.

1.2.4.4.3.1. No raising of final *-ā( ' ) when preceded by *a in open syllable in RA, SA, AA, or DA.

When *a directly precedes in open syllable, final *-ā( ' ) is not raised in RA, SA, or DA 233, and especially when in pause an unreleased glottal catch often follows the stressed ā: *dawā' → diwā' # "medicine", *hawā' → hiwā' # "wind", *gadā' → gadā (gadā' #) "lunch", *‘asā' → ‘asā (‘asā' #) "dinner", and also *anā → anā (anā' #) "I", and the verbs waṭā "he went to town", ramā (ramā' #) "he threw", as well as the interrogative mitā "when?", and the "particle denoting concern" ‘asā 234. (i of the first syllable in some of the examples conforms to I, 3.1.1.6.).

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231 Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 13 (124) šadjīy "left-handed, left".
232 This is interesting in view of the theory that certain forms are excluded from change to avoid homophonic clash.
In ‘AyA āl‘aśa "the dinner", f-ālmīsa "in the evening", and in TA ḥiwā’ (_highlighted_"wind") and ʾalqāda "the lunch" were recorded, which points to similar conditioning raising of final *-ā(‘).

1.2.4.4.3.2. Raising of final *-ā(‘), also when preceded by a in open syllable in BaA.

In BaA, however, some instances of raising of *-ā(‘) preceded by a neutral consonant (i.e. not M or X), although preceded by *a in open syllable were recorded, but mainly in pause: ʾalqādi' "the lunch", ṣāmīsi' "the evening", and also the verb form maṣṭi′ (~ miṣṭi′) "he went".

1.2.4.4.4. Phonetic factors inhibiting raising of final *-ā(‘) in group I.

The phonetic factor of preceding laryngeals or (secondary) emphatics that will not allow raising of *-ā(‘) in RA, SA, AA and DA, is effective in BaA as well. No raising takes place where such consonants precede, e.g. (examples that may be heard in all these dialects): ḏrā' "sorghum", ḡamrā' "moonlight", ḥamrā' "red (f. sg.)", bēḍā' "white (f. sg.)", šafrā' # "yellow (f. sg.)", xaḏrā' "green (f. sg.)", ġtā' "cover", ṣālā' "bald (f. sg.)". Additional forms in BaA are ǧirḍā' "bald (f. sg.)", ṣālā', and in AA we find bāṭḥā "smooth gravel in a watercourse".

Examples where either one, or both factors prevent this imālah: *warā' → warā' "behind (prep.)", ǧirā' "he studied", ǧiřā' "he bought", and ɾamā' "he threw", ǧiḏā' # "law".

N.B. In SA and RA and also in AA one will hear ǧa' "he came", which has remained immune to this type of imālah, in contrast to ġi' in BaA (cf. above in I, 1.2.4.4.2.). Other exceptions seem to be elatives where C₃ = semivowel: āḥla "more beautiful" (although also recorded with a preceding gahawāh-vowel in open syllable in mā-ḥalā "how beautiful!"), aḡwa (velarized throughout) "stronger", as well the imperfect of tert. inf. (C₃ = y) verbs without verbal endings: ʾansa "I forget", nansa "we forget" etc.

Similarly in TA, MA and ‘AyA: ǧa' # "he came".

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235 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
236 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 22 (text 7), 1. 15.
Such raising of final *-ā(ʾ) preceded by M does not occur in TA, MA and ‘AyA either, e.g.: ฤ ra "sorghum" (TA), ḥamrā "red (f. sg.)" (MA), ʂafra "yellow (f. sg.)" (MA), zargā "blue (f. sg.)" (‘AyA), bēḍā "white (f. sg.)" (‘AyA).

1.2.4.4.5. Raising of final *-ā(ʾ) in neutral positions, phonetic in BaA, as opposed to morphological restructuring in RA, SA, AA and DA.

The details given above lead to the conclusion that the final *-ā(ʾ) raising rule in BaA (where → -i”) is best regarded as a pausal phenomenon, which is phonetic in nature, whereas in RA, SA, AA and DA the *-â(ʾ) raising rule (where → -ɪy) has led to morphological restructuring of the base form, i.e. such raising is no longer dependant on a pausal position of the word in question, but the raised forms now also occur in context.

1.2.4.4.6. Glottalization of non-raised reflexes of final *-ā(ʾ) mainly under stress, and especially in pause.

In a few cases, especially in BaA, the unreleased glottal catch accompanies the unstressed final vowel when in pause: álimi’ # "the water", álimsi’ # "the evening", áli’ṣi’ # "the evening prayer" (all three BaA), álğada’ # (the only non-BaA example, in RA), but it was more generally absent in such unstressed positions, e.g.: b ál’asa # "with the stick", ṣāmr ālğada # "glowing embers of a type of hardwood (of the genus Euphorbia?)"237, ālğida l’surfy (all three BaA), ádēra "the sorghum", áddiwa "the medicine", áṭṭara "the moist land", (all three RA), ál’taṣa "the dinner", álğada "the lunch", álğada "the (system of) justice" (all three SA).

1.2.4.4.7. Other exceptions to raising of final *-ā(ʾ).

Final *-ā in the C3 = y imperfects of a-type verbs is not raised in RA, SA, AA, or BaA. Examples are: yaswa "equal", yansa "forget", yalga "find", yabga "become", yaṣṭa "spend the winter", nor is it raised in perfect or imperfect of derived measures, e.g.: (y)itgahwa "be served coffee", (y)itgadda "have lunch", (y)istanna "wait", (y)itsawwa "be made/done", or in the perfect of measure 2 sawwa "do, make", ‘ayya "refuse", etc.

Other examples in which no raising takes place: ma’na "meaning", ah(a)la "more beautiful", mā ~ ma "not" (probably never in sentence-final

237 Cf. LANE (1877), part 6, p. 2269.
B.I. A description of Rmêliy, Swêrkiy and Balawiy Arabic. 95

position), là ~ la’ ~ la "no", and also demonstrative hâda, and, more predictably so, hâda have remained immune to this type of imâlah (contrast the m. sg. dem. hâdiy in DA, cf. IV, 3.1.13.1.).

1.2.4.4.8. Final -iy as a reflex of final *-â(‘) in BaA.

In BaA we may also hear the extreme forms, but these are probably to be interpreted as K-forms from neighbouring bedouin dialects, e.g.: hniy "here", miy "water", ‘siy "evening", and Müsiy "Moses".

Notice that in BaA the older *iy endings have an iy reflex, and have thus been kept separate from the older ā’ and ā endings with their i’ reflex. E.g. the plurals ʻsiy "sticks", rhiy "hand-mills", lhiy "beards".

1.2.4.4.9. Suffixed older (final) *-â(‘) in all dialects under discussion here.

In cases where suffixation is (grammatically) possible, all reflexes of older *-â(‘) (i.e. final -iy in RA, SA, TA and AA, final -i ~ -i’ # in BaA, and final -â ~ -â’ #) appear as -â, as in the following examples: ʻasâk "your dinner" (RA), ḥṣây "my testicles" (RA), ʻasâkuw tkânuw tayybin! "I hope you are well!" (RA), wâlâyây "my female relatives" (RA), mà ḡâna "he did not come to us" (SA), warâk "behind you" (AA), w dlyâta xatâhum mûhu xatây! "the misdeed is their misdeed, it is not my misdeed" (AA), mà ḡûw "my water" (BaA), màkuw "your (m. pl.) water" (BaA), màraḥ "behind him" (BaA), gafâh "the nape of his neck" (BaA), mà huwây "it is not my desire" (BaA).

The rule could be summarized as follows:

reflex of *-â(‘) → â / _+ suffix

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 preceding ī and ū tend to have a lowering effect on these long vowels, bringing their phonetic value to under [iː], but certainly not entirely to [ei], and further down to under [uː], but ū in this position being further lowered down to a close [oː] respectively. In the case of Mi, (where M = any emphatic), an on-glide, especially in slower speech, is audible. A comparable on-glide in ū was not heard, but could probably be
measured electronically. Examples: \( \text{xuṣah} \) "knife", \( \text{xūḥ} \) "peaches", \( \text{ṭīn} \) "mud", \( \text{ṭīr} \) "she becomes".

Notice that, although lowering takes place in \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{ū} \) in velarized environments, there is no real chance of homophonic clash with \( \text{ē} \) and \( \text{o} \), as these generally do not occur as reflexes of \( *\text{ay} \) and \( *\text{aw} \) following emphatics; in such environments they have remained clearly diphthongal \( \text{ay} \) and \( \text{aw} \).

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in \( \text{ē} \) and \( \text{i} \).

When \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{ē} \) is followed by an emphatic, an off-glide\(^{238}\) towards [ɔ] may be noticeable, especially before voiced emphatic interdental \( \text{ḏ} \): \( \text{bīḍ} \) "white (pl.)", \( \text{gīlīḍah} \) "thick (f. sg.)", \( \text{bīṭān} \) "armpits", and \( \# \text{ṭīrāṭah} \) "fog" (notice that it is not \( *\text{gṭayṭah} \)), \( \text{gēḍ} \) "midsummer".

When preceding \( \text{c} \) or \( \text{h} \), an off-glide towards [a] may be audible: \( \text{bābī} \) "I sell", \( \text{rīḥ} \) "wind", and \( \text{bēc} \) "selling" (no examples of a possible \( \text{ēh} \) sequence available).

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in \( \text{o} \) and \( \text{ū} \).

When \( \text{c} \) and \( \text{h} \) follow \( \text{ū} \) or \( \text{ō} \) there is an audible off-glide towards [a], e.g. \( \# \text{isbūṭ} \) "week", \( \text{rūḥ} \) "go!", and \( \text{lōḥ} \) "plank", \( \text{nōc} \) "type".

When an emphatic, especially in the case of \( \text{ḏ} \), follows \( \text{ū} \) or \( \text{ō} \) an off-glide towards [ɔ] is audible, e.g. \( \text{bīyūḥd} \) "it (m.) becomes useless", \( \# \text{ṭōḍah} \) "room", and less clearly audible in \( \text{sūṣah} \) "young bird (?)".

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs.

In addition to the five long vowels, there are four diphthongs: \( \text{ay} \), \( \text{aw} \), and \( \text{iy} \) and \( \text{uw} \).

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of \( *\text{ay} \) and \( *\text{aw} \).

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of \( *\text{ay} \) and \( *\text{aw} \) in neutral environments.

Reflexes of \( *\text{ay} \) and \( *\text{aw} \) in neutral environments are \( \text{ē} \) and \( \text{o} \) respectively in \( \text{DA, AA, RA, SA, BaA, TA, MA and ‘AyA, cf. I}, 1.2.4.1.\)

\(^{238}\) Cf. remarks on \( \text{CaA} \) in HARREL (1957), chapter 7.
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.

When *ay and *aw are preceded by back spirants (uvulars, pharyngeals, or glottals) their reflexes have in most cases remained diphthongal, ranging in phonetic value between [ai] and [ei] for *ay, and between [au] and [ou] for *aw. Examples for ay are: xayt [xei-t] "thread", xayš [xeiʃ], "canvas", # ɣnəhayn [edynə'heyn] "two pounds", and ɣayr [ɣeir] "except". Examples for aw are: hawgal ['houd3äl] "threshing board", hawn [houn] "mortar", xawf [xouf] "fear" (No example available of g preceding aw).

Similar preservation of diphthongs following X was noticed in TA, MA and ‘AyA, e.g.: ‘ayr "donkey" (TA), hayṭah "wall" (TA), xayr "good" (TA), xawf "fear" (MA), ḥawš "court" (‘AyA), xayzərānih (~ xazərānih) "bamboo stick" (‘AyA).

The least degree of raising of the first element of the diphthong, or none at all, was observed after pharyngeals ‘ and ḥ, e.g. [au] in ‘Awdih ['fawdih] "male given name", ḥawš [hauf] "court", and [ai] in ‘ayn [Satn] "eye", and hayṭ [hat] "walls (coll.)".

An exception to these preserved diphthongs, at least in RA and AA is ḥōdal "these", where aw of presumably older *hawdal239 has been monophthongized (whereas in SA I did elicit hawdal). Similarly, ay in the presumed older form *haydī240 no longer has a diphthongal realization in RA, SA, AA, ḌA, BaA, MA or ‘AyA where we will hear hēdiy (~ hādiy in RA, SA and BaA, cf. demonstratives below in I, 3.1.13.1.).

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by M.

When preceded by emphatic consonants, *ay and *aw have remained diphthongal, although limited raising of the first element is more regular than when *ay and *aw are preceded by laryngals: e.g. tayr [ʔeir] "birds", ẓayf

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239 A contamination of the two forms hōlā (< *hā’ulā) and hādōl, according to FISCHER (1959), cf. pp. 109 and 105. According to BLANC (1970), p. 7 (118), the affirmative hō- developed from *haw-, so presumably hawlā < ḥaulā < hā’ula.

240 Both BLANC (1970), p. 7 (118), and FISCHER (1959), pp. 79-81 assume a development of this affirmative hē- from older *hay-. 
"guest", sayf [sætf] "summer", ṣawma'ah [ˈsoʊˈmɑːh] "silo", tawṣih [ˈtəwʃiː] "bloodshed". As was already remarked by Blanc, backing and rounding of the first element of the diphthong ay does not occur after t, s, d, and (secondary emphatic) r [241] (i.e. those consonants articulated with the front of the tongue raised to a position near, or in contact with, the alveolar ridge, e.g. dallayt [d'aˈlɛt] "I stayed"), and such backing and rounding also remain absent after velarized r as in warrayt [waˈɾɛjt] "I showed". But according to Blanc [242], it is quite regular when preceded by velarized bilabials b and m, i.e. consonants that do not require raising of the front of the tongue. The only two examples recorded which corroborate this claim are xubbayzih [ xuˈbræizih] (BaA), and the K-form mayyih [ˈmæjɪh] "water".

Although the influence of t on the preservation of diphthongs is clear in the examples tayr "birds", xattayn "two stripes", and in xaːtayn "two threads", there were monophthongal realizations in ġtētah "fog", ḥattaːna (~ ḥattayna) "we placed", ḥattēt (~ ḥattayt) "I placed", alguttēn "the dried figs" [243], wāṭṭēn "two central poles (in a tent)".

Blanc's remark for DA that preceding r, whether emphatic or not, has preserved diphthongs could not be corroborated for RA, SA or BaA. In these dialects only velarized r serves this function, whereas monophthongization after r is regular in the case of r + *ay, e.g.: adDraybiy "type of judge (for preliminary investigation)" [244], nafarayn "two persons", šaharayn "two months", ya rayt . . . "would it be that ...!" (RA), and kuttayš "how much?" (recorded in TA). But there are monophthongs in itbarrēt "I rid myself (of a responsibility)", šibrēn "two spans of the hand", mīrēn "two meters", Šrēf "male given name".

In the case of r + *aw, things are less clear, in part due to the small number of recorded instances: both Rōdah (BaA) and Rawdah (SA) "name of a village" were heard, as well as rōflīya ya bint! "get moving girl!".

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[242] Cf. ibid..
[243] The translation here is how it was glossed to me; it was said to be one of the ingredients of mukassarāt.
[244] The translation is how it was glossed to me. Perhaps it is a type of examining magistrate, who either dismisses cases or refers them to the manšād (i.e. the judge of the Masāʾid, who specialize in matters of honour)". Cf. also STEWART (1990), glossary. ATTAYYIB (1997), p. 139, however, mentions this type of judge as specialized in matters of (the possession of) camels, and that the position is held by a Swērkiy or Rmēliy.
B.I. A description of Rmëliy, Swërkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

Similar preservation of diphthongs following M was noticed in TA, MA and 'AyA, e.g.: šaharayn "two months" (TA), ḍayf "guest" (MA), šallayt "you prayed" (MA), a'ṭayt "I gave" (‘AyA), šayf "summer" (‘AyA), šawm "fasting" (‘AyA).

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw.

When in unstressed positions (either in word- or in sentence-stress), the diphthong is at times reduced to a monophthong, which may then be complementary lengthened: babï’ih zayy ma bîṣ al’â:r ā:f-assûg "I sell it (m.) like you would sell a donkey in the market", min xa:f tufruš ḥawâfirhiy "lest she spread out her hoofs" (RA), ḥaṭṭa:nầha "we put (perf.) it (f.)" (SA), xa:ţayn "two threads" (SA), and twice even ma:ţûdîh "present (f. sg.)" in BaA.

In allegro speech this complementary lengthening usually remains absent, e.g. šaţîyih "low lying field, near puddles of rain water, for cultivating baţîx" (probably called so after the baţîx šaţîy, a type of watermelon) (RA, BaA).²⁴⁵

In all dialects discussed here the diphthong in the word ḡayr is often realized as a complementary lengthened monophthong: biḍall ḡa:r bâbah "only its (m.) opening remains (visible)" (BaA).²⁴⁶

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw.

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-i and *-u.

The final diphthongs -iy and -uw, which are originally presumably the result of pausal diphthongization of *-i and *-u, may be realized as long vowels i and u, or half-long [u:] and [i:] in sandhi.²⁴⁷ These diphthongs only occur word-final, always in pause, but may occur in sandhi as well. In order to achieve a relatively uniform system for transcription, long or half-long realizations in sandhi have not been indicated, and a transcription of -uw and -iy is maintained in all sandhi positions.

Final -iy may also be the reflex of *ā, or *ā', e.g. the suffix *-hā has a -hiy reflex in RA and SA: biḥši:yy! "sell it (f.)!", w inşawwîhiyy kôm wâhid "and

²⁴⁶ Also in DA, cf. ibid. p. 8 (119).
we make one pile of it (f.)" (both RA), *inkassirhiy w inqammissiy (nğammis + hiy) "we break it (i.e. the bread) and dip it (to eat it)"248 (SA), whereas BaA has a regular -i' reflex for final *-ā, or *-â' in neutral environments.

In TA and MA -hiy was recorded in numerous instances, while in 'AyA -hiy and -ha occurred side by side (cf. I, 1.2.4.4.1. and 1.2.4.4.2.).

Final diphthongs -iy and -uw that result from anaptyxis also occur: ġidiy "kid goat", rî'iy "grazing", ʿimiy "blind (c. pl.)", ġāriy "running", and also dâluw "pail", ġâzuw "raiding".249 Such diphthongs created by anaptyxis occur in other positions as well, e.g.: # iyšil "he carries", # iwğūh "faces", # iwlâd adDarwah "the children of the grey-haired woman" (BaA)250, and often the conjunction w, when preceded by a consonant (or pause) and followed by a consonant, becomes iw, and will usually sound as [u], e.g. # iw naḏbaḥ "and we slaughter". Examples in word-medial position are máruwtih "his womenfolk", and ʿiniyha "the doubling of it (f. sg.)"251.

1.2.4.6.2.2. Morphological iw → ā.

A diphthong *iw that might have resulted from morphological patterning was not recorded in any of the dialects discussed here. Instead, liwl yields ā, as in yūfiy "come to completion" (RA), nūgid "we light it" (BaA).

N.B. Forms such as mızân "scales", miʿrād "appointment", mîrâd "road, distance to water source"252, where liwl yielded i (through the pattern miC₁C₂āC₃), were inherited in these shapes, and are not the result of synchronic morphological patterning.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs.

When extra emphasis is intended, often to express great distances or long durations of time and the like, long vowels and diphthongs, like short vowels,
may be prosodically lengthened. When this is the case with diphthongs, the first element is lengthened. E.g.: \(w \; \text{ālğimal} \; \text{im'allig} \; \text{iw} \; \text{mabsūt} \; \text{iw} \; \text{b} \; \text{xa:yr} \; \text{iw} \; \text{mikīn} \) "and the camels are well-fed (on green fodder), happy, doing (very) well, and strong" (RA), \(\text{kaṭṭar} \; \text{xa:yrik}! \) "may He increase your prosperity!" (RA), \(\text{widdhiy lihiy dār} \; \text{ha:yt} \) "she wants a brick house for herself", \(\text{bingib} \; \text{al'a:yś} \) "we get the bread" (RA). Examples with lengthened long vowels are: \(\text{abūh} \; \text{gā:d} \) "his father is very far away" (RA), \(\text{in} \; \text{mā} \; \text{šawart} \; \text{aḥū:k} \) "if you don't consult your father" (RA), \(\text{'uğuzih} \; \text{gā'dah} \; \text{hny} \), \(\text{in} \; \text{'uğuzah} \; \text{gā'dah} \; \text{f-hādā:k} \) "an old woman is sitting here, and another old woman is sitting (way) over there" (BA), \(\text{ā:xar} \; \text{šiy} \) "the (very) last thing" (BA). Stewart remarks similar prosodic lengthening of \(\text{ē} \) in \(\text{hawên} \) "to emphasize how far away the object is".\(^{253}\) The examples also show that such lengthening occurs mainly in pause.

2. Stress and phonotactics.

2.1. Stress.\(^{254}\)

2.1.1. Rules for word-stress.

Within word boundaries, the stress rule follows the elision rule and the gahawah-rule, but precedes the anaptyxis rule. Stress is of the māktaba-type. In these dialects of group I no final geminate reduction rule is active (contrast with DA in IV, 2.1.1.). Rules for word-stress in RA and SA are (gahawah-forms such as \(\text{tā'agnih} \) "she kneads it" are special cases, cf. I, 2.1.2.4. and 2.2.1.4.):

1) Speech pause \# does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (but contrast \# for anaptyxis rule below in I, 2.3.)

2) The domain of stress is formed by:
   a.) the last three syllables, including the article \(\text{al-} \) and the verbal \(\text{at-} \) (or \(\text{an-} \)) prefixes (and the suffixes), the vowel preceding the \(t\)-infixed (of the 1-\(t\) measure), if these are part of the last three syllables.
   b.) the last four syllables in the absence of heavy sequences.

\(^{253}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 103 (text 32), 1. 81. Other instances of \(\text{hawên} \) "used with reference to distant objects" were only recorded in BA, and in SA \(\text{awēnha} \) was recorded. For the use of (variations on) \(\text{awwên} \) in Upper Egypt for far deixis, "that one (over there)", cf. BEHNSTEDT/WÖIDICH (1985b), maps 170-173.

\(^{254}\) For a sketchy remark on pitch, cf. I, 5.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequence are stressed.

4) The following types of "heavy" sequences occur: vCC(C), vC(C) (including \(\tilde{v}(h)\)).

5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (cf. examples in 2.1.1.1.)

6a) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left, or

b) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left.

Rule 6a) seems to be the older rule, which is more and more being replaced by 6b) (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.5. below). Stress in TA, MA and 'AyA is of the máktaba-type as well, and the same variation of rules 6a) and 6b) that is found in RA and SA is found in TA, MA and 'AyA.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences.

Examples of heavy sequences (here in bold print) drawing stress onto preceding short vowels:

In RA: máŋgaław "a stīgah-type of game", áddʕə'ān "the trek", biträäkkəbín "they (f. pl.) are linked", átənbab "she appealed (for help)", atgāwwawazət "she was married", álbił "the camels", áššətiy "the winter", álğtaʕ (where i is an anaptyctic: al + ʕal) "the pieces", 'áwədə "we returned".

In SA: árrttləb "the fresh dates" ástuna "it (m.) became ripe", ánниxal "the palm trees", ášśəg (al + šəgə) "the (oblong) tent pieces"; álğada "the lunch", álʕəsa "the dinner" (all SA).

In AA: aga\ləhum "the least of them", ánšərayət "it was explained", álšəwəg "the default", áššəhr hədāk "that month"; álmarəh "the wife"; álğimals "the camels".

In BaA: ánbinə "it was built", áštarə "he bought", tınkəsir "it (f.) is broken", álḥəqəb "the firewood", ášfəbə! "drink!", widdhəm "they want"


256 Since surrounding sedentary dialects, to which the bedouin dialects in question here are increasingly exposed, have CaCdC(\(\nu\)), it is plausible to regard CuCdC(\(\alpha\)) as the older rule, not as an invention. This sedentary influence is also apparent from the development in which the article is no longer stressed.

257 Cf. ibid. p. 14 (text 2), l. 1; p. 33 (text 14), l. 35; p. 13 (text 1), l. 134; p. 14 (text 1), l. 146; p. 17 (text 5), l. 5; p. 18 (text 5), l. 29 respectively.
Examples of stressed long vowels: mitmárah "underground storage for grain", halhamád "this flat land", šawarní "he consulted me", háwatáh "she loved him", waláyáy "my female relatives" (all five RA), bitanáwalih "he receives him (as a guest)", idí "my hand", assménih "the ghee", ýāklůh "they eat it (m.)" (all three SA).

Stress in TA, MA and ʿAyA is the same as in the examples listed above.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences.

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CaCaC(v) and CiCiC in RA, SA, AA and BaA.

Nouns (+ vowel-initial suffix) that fit the CaCaC(v) patterns and verbs that fit either the CaCaC(v) or CiCiC (though underlying CaCiC) pattern (+ vowel-initial suffix), are either stressed CàCaC(v) (cf. examples below in 2.1.1.2.1.1.) and CiCiC, or CaCáC(v) (often appearing as CICáC(v) on the surface, cf. examples below in 2.1.1.2.1.2.) and CiCiC: Thus, the nouns *gánam "sheep" and *gámal "camel" may be stressed gánam and gámal, or gánám and gímá. Some examples for verbs are *dábah "he slaughtered", which is stressed dábah or dábáh, and *šárib "he drank" yields štíb or šíb. With vowel-initial suffixes we get dábahah or dábáhíh "he slaughtered him". The same variation is found in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

In AA a few examples of stress on the penultimate in CaCaC have been recorded, but in the majority of instances stress is on the ultimate: CaCáC, and also CiCiC (for examples, cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1., 2.1.1.2.1.2. for CaCáC, and 2.1.1.2.1.4. for CiCiC).

The examples for RA, SA and BaA (and also in TA, MA and ʿAyA) point to an ongoing stress shift. The older stress type is presumably CaCáC(v) and CiCiC, which is developing into CáCaC(v) and CiCiC. It is quite likely that dialect contact with one or several of the surrounding dialects, ʿAA (cf. fn 63 to A. I. f. Remarks on the estimated dates of arrival of bedouin tribes in this study), or perhaps even CaA, with a CáCaC(v) and CiCiC is responsible for this development.

In the case of CiCiC-type verbs followed by a vowel-initial suffix the high vowel of the second syllable is elided (cf. I, 2.4.1.) creating a heavy sequence of C2C3, e.g. šírbit "she drank" in RA, SA, and BaA. Notice that in ḪA and AA the underlying lzl "reappears" in šárbit, cf. I, 3.2.1.1.

AlʿAris is the major commercial centre of the area with a population of over 100,000 souls. Taking geographical proximity, population numbers, and increased mobility into
2.1.1.2.1.1. Examples of CάCaC(v) in RA, SA, AA and BAa.

More examples of CάCaC(v) in RA are: wárag "paper"; šá‘ar "hair"; lában "milk"; gámal "camel"; máhar "dowry"; táhat "under"; šábak "nets"; hátab "firewood"; dhámar "red (m. sg.)"; gáshalah "twig (in betrothals)"; ságárah "tree"; dáśarah "ten"; dháharah "his back"; wáragah "piece of paper"; gáhawah "coffee"; hánakih "his mouth"; mára'īh "his wife"; gá'adat "she sat down"; máragat "she passed"; gá'ār rágabat al'abid "he cut the throat of the slave"; bnáhārit "we plough"; náza'ahat "she was absent from home"; náxatub "we ask (for a woman) in marriage"; yá'arif "he knows"; náhāfir "we dig"; dá'afāw "they paid"; yágažuw "they raid"; istārakat "she took part".

Examples of CάCaC(v) in SA are: yálaq "three"; gánam "goats and sheep"; sáhar "month"; wálad "son"; Hásan "male given name"; 'ala hásab "according to"; fárah "wedding"; hátab "firewood"; wásat "centre"; ságárah "tree"; xásabih "piece of wood"; dáśarah "ten"; gáshalah "twig (in betrothals)"; K-form másalah "for instance"; gáhawah "coffee"; má'anad "partition in tent"; áxādār "green (m. sg.)"; dhámar "red (m. sg.)"; báxatak "your luck"; wáladih "his son"; gámalih "his camel"; ná'amil "we make"; ýáxaṭib "he asks (a woman) in marriage"; ýáhašir "he digs"; tá'āgin "she kneads"; ýáhašir "he attends"; býtāgazil "she spins (wool)".

Examples of CάCaC(v) in AA: tárāf "side"; tāsar "ten"; dákár "male"; wálad "son"; bárakati-Lláh "God's blessing"; ákāl "he ate"; támal miyyih "eight hundred"; máratak "your wife"; wáladih "his son"; wátadak iw wálad wátadak "your son, and the son of your son".

consideration, the influence must be considerable. In addition to this influence of speakers of 'AA, the influence of numerous Egyptian teachers in the primary schools cannot be underestimated. I was told that the first primary school in the area outside al'Arls, i.e. in bedouin territory, was not established until the late 1950s or early 60s, which would corroborate the fact that it is mainly the younger generations who show the CάCaC(v) and Ci'CiC in their speech.

Rather than having to formulate a rule specifying "the reappearance" of the high vowel in ya'arff, but yaxatub, when these are followed by consonant-initial suffixes, e.g. ya'arifliiy, and yaxatubhiy, the transcription of the base forms with the high vowel is preferred here. The details of the possible elision of such high vowels, e.g. ya'arff #, are specified in I, 2.3.3.2.

Cf. STEWART (1990): p. 8 (text 1), 1. 46; p. 9 (text 1), 1. 62; p. 12 (text 1), 1. 116; p. 13 (text 1), 1. 133; p. 17 (text 5), 1. 2; p. 23 (text 7), 1. 52; p. 25 (text 7), 1. 87; p. 25 (text 7), 1. 88; p. 26 (text 8), 1. 3; p. 26 (text 8), 1. 21; p. 33 (text 14), 1. 18 respectively.
Examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) in \( BaA \) are: \( náxal \) "date palms", \( máťar \) "rain", \( náxal\|ah \) "date palm", \( má\|anad \) "partition in tent", \( ḍáharah \) "his back", \( rá\|tabah \) "a ripe date", \( z lálamih \) "man"

Such examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) may also be heard in \( TA, MA \) and \( 'AyA \).

* Stewart’s recordings and my own show predominantly \( CaC\ddagger(C) \), however (cf. below in I, 2.1.1.2.1.2.).

2.1.1.2.1.2. Examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) in \( RA, SA, AA \) and \( BaA \).

More examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) in \( RA \) are: \( gíta\` \) "he cut"; \( díháb \) "gold"; \( dí'tán \) "trek"; \( kítal \) "he killed/he beat"; \( gíma\` \) "camel"; \( risán \) "halter"; \( gífa\` \) "he startled (intrans.)"; \( mírág \) "he passed"; \( síbá\` \) "race (for a prize)"; \( síná\` \) "year"; \( tíhá\` \) "under"; \( níd\` \) "inferior type of falcon"; \( síbák \) "nets"; \( síhár \) "month"; \( síná\` \) "moustache"; \( síhán \) "plate"; \( sírág \) "he stole"; \( míkán \) "pumps (for water)"; \( wálá\` \) " stepped"; \( 'amn\`íh \) "his cousin"; \( fázá\` \) "he goes at it (in quarrels or fights)"; \( šará\`d \) "he fled"; \( 'awá\`d \) "rooms"; \( xašá\` \) "wood"; \( Ḥásan \) "male given name"; \( kast\`á \) "heel"; \( ḡátáh \) "firewood"; \( háná\` \) "mouth", and only two instances of \( CaC\ddagger(C)\) occurred in \( RA \): \( s\íg\`rá\`h \) "tree"; \( áhá\`líh \) "his folks".

Examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) in \( SA \) are: \( gíld\` \) "4 or 5 year old camel"; \( díhá\`r \) "back"; \( bílá\` \) "dates"; \( t\áhán \) "grinding"; \( ḡátá\` \) "firewood", but no instances of \( CaC\ddagger(C)\) were recorded in \( SA \).

Examples of \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) in \( AA \): \( adá\` \) "good manners", \( áhá\` \) "people", \( síhár \) "month", \( síná\` \) "moustache", \( mísá\`k \) "he grabbed", \( mírátíh \) "his wife", \( akálá\` \) "he ate it".

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262 This may have to do with a number of factors: the greater geographical distance to \( al'\`Arí\`\), the higher age of the informants, and perhaps also the setting of a court session calls for a "bedouin register", of which the stress-type \( CaC\ddagger(C) \) and \( Ci\ddagger Ci(C) \) forms a part. As regards this last point, STEWART (1990), p. xi, however, remarks that "the differences in style between speakers are far more striking than the differences in style between utterances of a single speaker on different occasions". Cf. remarks in A. II. d. Gathering linguistic material of this study.

263 Cf. STEWART (1990), respectively: p. 8 (text 1), l. 56; p. 10 (text 1), l. 96; p. 14 (text 1), l. 146; p. 15 (text 2), l. 7; p. 21 (text 7), l. 1; p. 17 (text 5), l. 2; p. 25 (text 7), l. 88.
Examples of CaCáC(v) in BaA are: rabát "he tied", tiḥát "under", ǧanám "goats and sheep", axād "he took", gaʿád "he sat down", awád "rooms", abár "needles", xašáb "wood", ḥaṯáb "firewood", ratám "retem wood", tamán ǧirākil "eight jerrycans", laḥán "milk", ʿasál "honey", xašabih "piece of wood", ǧanāmih "a sheep/goat", waldādak "your son", gihāwah "coffee", bilāhah "its (m.) dates", marātak "your wife", maḥāram "women's section in tent", naxālah "date palm", axaras264 "mute", axādār "green", taʿārif "you know", maʿānad (~ miʿānad) "partition in tent".

Examples of CaCáC(v) were also recorded in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

2.1.1.2.1.3. Stress in CaCaCaCv(C) in RA, SA, AA and BaA.

Stress in CaCaCaCv(C) tends to be stable on the vowel of the first syllable in RA and SA, appears to be stable on the vowel of the second syllable in AA, and varies between these possibilities in BaA. E.g.: šābakatih "his net" (RA), rāgabatak "your (m.) neck" (RA, SA), rāgabatih (SA), rāgabatak (AA), and rāgabatak ~ rugabatak (BaA), and a gahawah-form tāhafaqah "she preserves it (m.)" (RA).

Notice that in BA the examples darabdtu "she hit him", rāgabatak "your neck" etc. are morphologically conditioned exceptions to the stress rule formulated for BA (cf. II, 2.1.1.2.1.3.), but that comparable examples as listed above in RA, SA, AA and BaA, although stress may vary between the first and second syllable, are not exceptions to the general stress rule for these dialects.

In TA and MA the example rāgabatak "your neck" was recorded, which in ʿAyA is stressed rāgabatak.

2.1.1.2.1.4. Examples of stress in CiCiC in RA, SA, AA and BaA.

In RA and SA stress in CiCiC tends to vary. Stress on the vowel of the ultimate syllable was recorded in the examples ḥidir "he attended", diʃṭy "it (m.) became warm", ʾilîr "he ascended", nīzīl "he descended", ʾṣibʾîr "he ate his fill", ligīr "he found", but the vowel of the penultimate is stressed in the examples

264 With an emphatic sād, as the f. sg. is xarṣāʾ, not *xarṣāʾ. BLANC (1970), p. 13 (124) gives both xarsīy and xarṣā.
zi’mīg "he grew tired (of sth.)", kifīl "he gave a guarantee", šībī’, ḥidīr "he attended", tīlī’, ʿilīm "he learned (of sth.)", nīfī: "it was useful", ʿirīf "he knew".

In AA stress is regularly on the ultimate: CiCiC for *CiCiC (CA *CaCiC). E.g.: ġīlīt "he wronged", diḥīr "he rubs a raw patch (on skin)", and also for *CuCiC(a) gīsīm (*qusīm(a)) "it (m.) was allotted". Examples of CiCiC stress were not found in AA.

BaA examples show stress varying between the ultimate and the penultimate: diḥīk "he laughed", niẓīl "he came down", šīrīb "he drank", ʿirīf "he knew", but also ʿirīf, ʿilīm, tīlī’.

2.1.1.2.1.5. Ongoing stress shift in RA, SA and BaA.

The examples listed above in 2.1.1.2. point to stress shift taking place in RA, SA and BaA:

\[ CaCāC(v) \rightarrow CāCaC(v) \]

From these examples we may also see that there are still many more instances of the CaCāC stress-type than there are of the CaCaCv type in RA and SA, for in the majority of cases CaCaCv is stressed CāCaCv.

The same stress shift is taking place in older *CaCiC (examples in 2.1.1.2.1.4.):

\[ CiCiC \rightarrow CiCiC \]

The assumption that the older stress in CaCvC is on the vowel of the second syllable is based on the fact that raising of a has taken place in, for example, ʿirīb and fiḥim. This raising of a could only take place because a was unstressed, and in open syllable: *ṣaṭīb → ʿirīb. The fact that the i of the first syllable is never dropped, not even in unstressed positions or in sandhi, is an indication that it is still underlying lal: ʿirībi. (for more detail, cf. I, 3.2.1.1.).

Another indication of older stress being on the second syllable of CvCaC, is the elision of the high vowel in older *CiCaC, which has become CCaC, e.g. *ṣināb > ʿnāb "grapes", and *rukāb > ṭkāb "knees". This development conforms

265 Cf. ibid. p. 5 (text 1), l. 26; p. 23 (text 7), l. 36; p. 12 (text 1), l. 117. Since neither of the dialects under discussion here have an internal passive, the last example is probably a loan from CA, which is all the more likely because the high vowel of the first syllable has not been dropped according to the rule described in I, 2.4.

266 The underlying presence of older a is even clearer in DA and AA, since it "reappears" in closed syllables, e.g. ʿṣarbit, ʿṣarbū. Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 23 (134).
to the rule that high vowels are only elided in unstressed (open) syllables (cf. I, 2.4.).

In the case of širib the form may have developed from suffixed forms such as širibt, after which paradigmatic leveling took place which stabilized the underlying lal as i in the imperfect in RA, SA and BA, but then the question would remain open of why this i does not appear in the closed syllables of the forms šarbit and šarbuw in AA and DA, whereas it does appear in širib. The answer is that in AA and DA raising is still dependant on lal being in an open unstressed syllable, and that the process of paradigmatic leveling is not complete in these dialects (since a is not substituted with i throughout the conjugation).

If we then take this situation in AA and DA to be an earlier step in the development towards the leveled conjugation (which contains šarbit and šarbuw) found in RA, SA and BA, we must conclude that stress in *šarib must have been *šarib as well (since it is not *šarib). This means that we do not need to postulate intermediate forms such as *šaribha → širibha.

Since there are no indications that the quality of the short vowel has any (synchronic) significance for the assignment of stress, a recorded form like širib should be regarded as an older form, while also recorded širib is a more recent form, just as katâb (often with raised a as in kitâb) is the older form, and kâtab the more recent one.

To illustrate the development reflected in northern Sinai dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*šarib</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>&quot;he drank&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*šarbit</td>
<td>šarbit</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>&quot;she drank&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*šaribt</td>
<td>širibt</td>
<td>širibt</td>
<td>šribt</td>
<td>&quot;I drank&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A common historical base forms; underlying forms in AA and DA.
B surface forms in AA and DA (stressed širib, šárbit, širibt)
C surface forms in RA, SA and BA (stressed širib ~ širib, širbit, širibt); underlying forms in BA (and also 'AA).
D surface forms in BA (and also in 'AA) (stressed širib, širbit, širibt)

Underlying forms in RA, SA and BA are A1, C2, and A3, i.e. i is established throughout the conjugation, but is still underlying lal, which is why i of the first syllable is not dropped in surface form širibt, nor in širibha "he drank it (f.)."
B.I. A description of Rmēly, Swērkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

In C i is established throughout the conjugation in BA (and also in ‘AA), and is also underlying iil in these dialects: the morphophonemic base of the i-type has been morphologically restructured as C₁iC₂iC₃. For this reason i of the first syllable may be dropped in šribha "he drank it (f.)" (whether C₃ šribt or D3 šriji is the actual underlying form in BA and ‘AA is of minor relevance here).

We may notice that this schematic representation quite neatly follows the path of the development of a more conservative (i.e. bedouin) dialect type towards a more sedentary type, which in the case of the bedouin dialects involved (i.e. excluding ‘AA) also has its geographical east-west dimension (cf. appendix, MAP 52).

2.1.1.2.1.6. Resyllabication of the CaCaCv sequence in BaA.

It appears that there existed

267 and perhaps still exists in the intimacy of the home) an older type of BaA, in which the northeastern Arabic (or Nağdiy) type of resyllabication of CaCaCv → CCvCv was (or is) current. The rule is: C₁aC₂aC₃v → C₁C₂aC₃v for verbs, and C₁aC₂aC₃v → C₁C₂aC₃v for nouns, if C₂ is not X, and C₃ is not L.

Evidence of this rule of resyllabication in BaA are forms (obtained through direct elicitation): xšibih "piece of wood", smikih "a fish", nxalāh "date palm", lhāmjih "piece of meat", ghāwah "coffee", and the verb forms xriibațihih "she hit him", msākatih "she grabbed him", kībaṭ "she wrote", kībaṇ "they (f. pl.) wrote".

269 Unfortunately, the forms cited here came up during direct elicitation only, but were cited by independent informants, and on different occasions. The question would be along the line of "How do you say this to your father or brother?" Often the forms I suggested, however, were rejected as being Dwēğiyy, i.e. the dialect spoken by the pariah tribe of the Dawāgrah (cf. chapter IV).

268 For a similar rule in the dialect of cAnaiza, cf. JOHNSTONE (1967).

269 Cf. also PALVA (1982), p. 24 for a remark on syllable structure in koineized dialects of the Gulf: "It seems, however, that in the most koineized dialects of the Gulf area the older genuine syllable structure [i.e. the type of resyllabicated structure CCICV < CaCaCv] has already become regressive or recessive." Similarly, koineizing influences are probably responsible for the disappearance of this resyllabicated structure CCICV in BaA as well. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 75 notices the same sedentary influences causing ghawa, zilma/hṣala sequences in the bedouin dialects of North Israel to yield to gahwa, zalama/baṣala sequences.
Resyllabicized forms were not recorded in AA, RA, SA, TA, MA, or ‘AyA, nor are they current in DA.\textsuperscript{270}

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in $\text{aCCaCaC}(v)$ (nominal $\text{alCaCaC(ah)}$), perfects of verbal measures $n-1$ ($\text{anC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3(v)$), $1-t$ ($\text{aC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3(v)$), and the imperfects of $n-1$ ($\text{yiC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{iC}_3$), and $1-t$ ($\text{yiC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{iC}_3$) in RA, SA, AA and BaA.

2.1.1.2.2.1. Stress in $\text{aCCaCaC}$.

Another aspect of the ongoing stress shift, besides $\text{CaCaC} \rightarrow \text{CdCaC}$ (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.5.), is that the article is losing its position as a stressable unit when preceding $\text{CaCaC}$. Thus, instead of (undoubtedly) older $\text{alCaCaC}$, one may increasingly hear (among younger people, that is) $\text{alCdCaC}$ in RA, SA and also in BaA, e.g.: $\text{al'ahad} \ "the pact" \ (RA)$, $\text{al'hamal} \ "the camels" \ (RA, SA)$, $\text{al'farah} \ "the wedding" \ (SA)$, $\text{al'matar} \ "the rain" \ (BaA)$.

Verbal $n-1$ and $1-t$ measures show no variation where stress is concerned in RA and AA, and hardly any variation in SA: When the verbal preformative is part of the last three syllables, it is stressed, like in DA\textsuperscript{271}. Examples:

In RA: $\text{dnwaxad} \ "he was taken", \text{dnbana} \ "it (m.) was built", \text{dnkital} \ "he was killed", \text{dntiha} \ "it (f.) ended"$. Examples of imperfect forms: $\text{ibtinisirif} \ "it (f.) is known", \text{má tin'üdifi} \ "they (f. sg.) are not chosen as appeal judges$\textsuperscript{272}, $\text{yístiriy} \ "he buys", \text{títittifig} \ "you agree"$.

In SA: $\text{dnwakal} \ "it (f.) was eaten", \text{dnwaxad} \ "it was taken", \text{dttifing} \ "he agreed", \text{dttafag} \ "he worked", but also (only) one instance of $\text{antáhat} \ "it (f.) ended"$. Imperfect forms include: $\text{bni'tiniy bih} \ "we take care of it (m.)", \text{yistiti gin} \ "he works"$.

In AA we have the examples (perfect): $\text{dnsharà} \ "it (m.) was explained", \text{dántika} \ "it (m.) ended", and imperfect forms $\text{tìngidiy} \ "they (f. sg.) are completed", \text{byítítelif} \ "it differs", \text{bítítirígi} \ "it differs"$\textsuperscript{273}.

BaA shows variation with regard to stress in these verbal measures. Besides older stress as in $\text{áftikar, áttifag, ástuwa} \ "it (m.) ripened", also $\text{iståwa}$,

\begin{itemize}
  \item $\text{Cf. the discussion in A. III. d. The gahawat-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences.}$
  \item $\text{Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 24 (135) \text{ánqalab} \ "he got turned over", and p. 28 (139) \text{yinkitil} \ "he'll be killed".}$
  \item $\text{Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 196.}$
  \item $\text{Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 33 (text 14), l. 34; p. 35 (text 14), l. 120 (not appearing in the text, but spoken between [...]; p. 27 (text 9), l. 3; p. 21 (text 7), l. 2; p. 31 (text 12), l. 19 (respectively).}$
\end{itemize}
intágad "he criticized" were recorded. The imperfect forms showed similar variation: yínfitih "it (m.) is opened", yištígil "he works", yištikir "he thinks" appeared alongside such instances as nintigil "we move away", yinbísit "he rejoices", yixtilil "it differs", bistówy "it ripens".

In a very limited number of instances a more sedentary stress type was recorded: ibidda "it (m. sg.) began", and in the participle mihtárím "respected".

Stressed articles and verbal preformatives of the measures n-1 and 1-t are also current in TA, MA and 'AyA.

Notice that in all our dialects the unstressed high vowel i of the second syllable in the perfect and imperfect of measures n-1 and 1-t is underlying lal (cf. remarks in I, 3.2.3.1., and I, 3.2.3.3.). In BaA, in cases of stress like yištiriy, the conclusion of underlying lal is based on the fact that rule ordering specifies elision preceding stress placement; if i of the second syllable was not elided, it cannot be an underlying short high vowel, therefore it is lal.

2.1.1.2.2.2. Stress in aCCaCaCv(C).

Where the article or verbal preformative precedes the sequence CaCaCv, no instances (covered by the provision made in 2 b) of I, 2.2.1.) of it being stressed were recorded.

In RA and SA stress is regularly on the vowel following the heavy sequence, i.e. on the ante-penultimate of the CaCaCv sequence, e.g.: azzálamah "the man" (RA), assálabah "the rope to secure loads on a camel" (RA), algášah "the coffee" (RA, SA), algášalah "the twig (given in betrothal ceremonies)" (RA, SA), almá'anad "the partition (in a tent)" (SA), aššággarah "the tree" (SA). Verb forms include aštárakat "they (f. sg.) took part" (RA), axtálafat "it (f.) differed" (RA, SA), aštágalan "they (f.) worked" (SA).

For AA, examples of stress in nominal alCaCaCah were not found, but since comparable verb forms are stressed ankitálat "she was hit", anligáfat "she...
was grabbed", and anđarābat "she was beaten" (all three AA275), it is likely that stress in nominals would be alCaCāCah in AA as well (like in ḌA), i.e. stress would be regular on the penultimate of a final CaCaCV sequence.

In BaA we have the examples allīḥámah "the piece of meat", annīxālah "the date palm", aṛṛugābah "the neck", aģīṣālah "the twig (given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies)", and aģihāwah "the coffee", but also annīxālah "the date palm", and aššāţārah "the tree". Verb forms were stressed anwakālat "it (f.) was eaten", anγīţātan "they (f.) were cut", aţīkārat "she thought", aţīţāgaṭ "she agreed", but also itlāfataṭ "she looked back", irtfāɡaṭ "she was separated", ingāsālāt "it (f.) was washed". These examples show stress varying between the ante-penultimate, and the penultimate of the final CaCaCV sequence in BaA.

In addition to these BaA forms, forms like sārṣaṛātak "your (serrated) sickle", māḥfāḍātak "your wallet" (both forms elicited), māṭātak "your wife" were recorded. The instances where the second syllable of a CaCaCV sequence receives stress, seems to hark back to older resyllabication and stress rules, where the vowel of the first syllable is dropped (→ CC’CV). Under influence of dialects lacking this resyllabication rule, BaA appears to have largely given up this rule (for indications that the rule must have been, or still is partially active, cf. I, 2.1.1.2.1.6.), but stress has remained on the same syllable in many instances. Puzzling examples in this respect, however, are aţalāṭih "she ate it (m. sg.)", aţaţāṭih "she pleased him", maţāṭātak "your (m. sg.) water bottle", which are stressed like in e.g. BA (cf. III, 2.1.1.2.1.3.).

2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule.

2.1.2.1. Stress on reflexes of *-ā(‘).

In RA and SA final -iy as a reflex of older *-ā(‘) is usually unstressed when another heavy sequence draws stress to the preceding vowel: sódiy "black (f. sg.)", mdīriy "horn of a gazelle used as a beating hook in weaving". One would conclude therefore, that final -iy in nominals is losing its status as a long vowel, comparable to verbal endings -iy (from *-ī) and -uw (from *-ā).

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275 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 23 (text 7), l. 40. The latter two forms do not appear in the text, but were spoken in the interval indicated by [...] in the same line.

276 Apart from kīdiy ~ kīdiy, I have not come across base forms where a vowel preceding final -iy as a reflex of *-ā(‘) could be stressed, which must be in large part due to the exception to raising of final *-ā(‘) described in I, 1.2.4.4.3.1., and the -elision rule in 2.4., which eliminates short high vowels that might otherwise have been stressed.
Similarly, the -â(‘) reflex of final *-â(‘) is generally (though not exclusively) stressed when no (other) heavy sequence draws stress to the preceding vowel: forms such as ‘épwa(h)277 "truce", bédâ(h) "white (f. sg.)" etc. are not uncommon, and in such cases where final -â(‘) is no longer stressed because a preceding syllable could assume the stress, the analogy with the feminine suffix becomes relevant; e.g. for sindîh "year" and mårâh "wife" one may often hear sânîh and mårâh.278

If no article precedes, forms which reflect the older *-â(‘) endings are stressed on the ultimate, with the characteristic extreme raising and phonetic (originally presumably pausal) diphthongization in such forms in our dialects: hniy "here", štîy "winter", rîy "well rope", šrîy "purchase" (RA), šiy "dinner" (RA), the pl. dliy "pails"279, and also miy "water".

When the article is prefixed (in the cases of nouns), however, it is stressed: aššîy "the winter", ârrsîy "the well rope", âšsîy "the buying", âlîšiy, a pl. âddliy (< *dilâ‘) "the pails" (?), âlmîy "the water", âl’aša "dinner" (SA), šalât âlîšîy "evening prayer" (SA), and an even more illustrating example: ya’n-îza kân ’ašâ’, ibtaṭ̄an l âl’aša, iza kân ġidâ’, ibtaṭ̄an l âlgida "that is, if it is dinner, she grinds for the dinner, if it is lunch, she grinds for lunch" (SA).

When other heavy sequences are available, these are usually stressed as well, but there is room for variation: mîdriy "horn of a gazelle used as a beating hook in weaving", mëfîy "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground", sôdîy "black (f. sg.)", mî‘ziy "goats", mistâšîy "hospital" 280, and numerous instances of dînyîh (~ once dînîyî in SA).281

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-îy reflexes in *CaCiY.

Like the reflexes of *-â(‘), the current reflex -îy of older *-î (and *-î‘ as in *barî ‘innocent’) may only be stressed if no (other) heavy sequences draw stress to a preceding vowel, and even without the article there is considerable stress in forms without (other) heavy sequences. Recorded examples

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278 For AA STEWART (1990), glossary, lists stress on the feminine suffix (T) in sanâh, but mårâh, and stress on the feminine suffix in suffixed marâth.
279 BLANC (1970), p. 12 (123), fn 22 remarks that it is not entirely certain that the older form is *dilâ‘, since Old Arabic plurals duliyy or diliyy are also attested.
280 The latter example is from AA, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 103 (text 32), 1. 87.
281 In southern TA I have recorded sâbîh mî‘ziy "seven goats/sheep".
of such varying stress are: guwiy "strong" (RA)\textsuperscript{282}, wîliy "saint" (RA), riḍîy "" (RA), nîbiy ~ nîbiy "Prophet" (both AA)\textsuperscript{283}, 'Ilîy (AA, BaA) ~ 'Ilîy (AA)\textsuperscript{284} "male given name", ġibîy "hidden" (AA)\textsuperscript{285}, Bilîy ~ Bilîy "name of tribe" (both BaA), sîbiy (BaA) ~ sîbiy (AA)\textsuperscript{286} "youth", tîriy ~ tîriy "dry" (BaA), bîriy (BaA) ~ bîriy (AA)\textsuperscript{287} "innocent", and also (a reflex of *-īh) figîy "reciter of the Koran" (BaA).

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCîy.

Examples of stressed articles preceding older *CaCîy: ālguwiy "the strong one" (RA), āssibiy "the boy" (RA), ānnibiy "the Prophet" (all dialects discussed here).

These forms with the stressed article show that the pattern underlying these nouns is CaCiC, which is then stressed according to 6a) or 6b) (cf. I, 2.2.1.). The other possible patterns CaCC, or CaCv, would not yield stress on a preceding article. Morphologically it would therefore perhaps be better to write such suffixed forms as sîbiyhum (where i preceding CC will be stressed) "their boy", but since i is audible, and not a diphthong, a transcription sibihum is preferred. The t is derived through a morphophonemic rule:

\[ iy \rightarrow i / \ldots + \text{suffix} \]

The reflex -iy of the older nisbah-ending *-iyy (or *-īy) is not stressed when it is word-final: ʿûrfiy "customary", Swârkiy "belonging to the Sâwkâh", Rmêliy "belonging to the Rmêlâh", but ʿarabiyyi yih "car", ḥûrriyyih "liberty", etc.

The reflex -iy of older *-ī (or CA *-īn) is only stressed when suffixed and in eligible position in nouns: gâdiy "judge", mādziy "past", tâniy "second", râyi y "master", bâgiy "remainder", mâsîy "walking", but stressed in ahâliyin "or folks", muwâsîna "our cattle", râʼîhiy "its (f. sg.) master", etc.

\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{282}} In DA also guwiy, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 9.
\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{283}} Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary. In RA, SA, BaA, and also in AA stress with the article is always ānnibiy, cf. below in I, 2.1.2.3..
\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{284}} The two AA examples were heard in Stewart’s recordings, but they do not appear in the texts, presumably for reasons of privacy.
\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{285}} Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{286}} Cf. ibid., glossary. Actually, it is listed as sabiy, but I take this to be an error.
\mbox{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{287}} Cf. ibid., glossary.
In verb forms they (also reflexes of older *-iya endings, as in CA *nasiya "he forgot") are stressed either in conformity with 6a), or with 6b) in I, 2.1.1. when unsuffixed: nisiy ~ nisiy "he forgot" (i.e. like širib ~ širib), yirmiy "he throws". They are stressed when suffixed as in nisṭhiy "he forgot her", yirmīh "he throws it".

2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms.

In forms where consonant-initial suffixes cause the preceding consonant to close the syllable of the gahawah-vowel, stress is in conformity with I, 2.1.1., and thus predictable, e.g. naxālha "her datepalms", ahālhum "their family".

Stress is less predictable in the forms where gahawah-vowels appear in aXCT sequence (→ aXaCT), and which are suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes. The gahawah-vowel then behaves more like an anaptyctic than an older (and more stable) a: ráhamtak "your food (offered in hospitality)" (RA), ráhamtih "his food (offered in hospitality)" (RA), gahawtih "his coffee" (SA). Similarly in the verb form tá'āgnih "she kneads it" (RA), where the gahawah-vowel would have had to be stressed, had it been a stable a. (for more details, cf. below gahawah-syndrome I, 2.2.1.1.).

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCiCv.

When in open syllable the high vowel following a geminate precedes a consonant which is phonetically close to, or identical with that geminate, it is not elided. The resulting forms are not exceptions to the stress rules (cf. I, 2.1.1.) of RA, SA, AA, or BaA, e.g.: mitāddidih "numerous", binxāffifah "we thin it out (of watermelon plants)", etc. (cf. I, 2.4.4.).

2.1.3. Stress units.

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

As is the case with min-taḥat "from below" in DA288, some combinations of words may form a single stress unit, and the instances encountered during this research were all in combinations with the proclitically affixed prep. min:

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288 Cf. ibid., pp. 10-11 (121-2) (d).
B.I. A description of Rmēliy, Swērkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

min-tahat "from below, underneath" (RA and BaA), mīn-sañah "since a year" (RA), and mīn-kidīy "from this" (RA), but these examples may also occur stressed as (resp.) mīn tīhāt ~ mīn tāhat, mīn sīnāh ~ mīn sānah, and mīn kidīy ~ mīn kidīy.

The negated pers. pronominals form one stress unit as well: māhū ~ mūhū "not he", māhī ~ mīhī "not she", māhin ~ mīhin "not they", as well as māḥad "nobody".

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b.

2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l.

In a number of cases, most of them recorded in RA, the preposition l + suffix was enclitically suffixed, forming one stress unit with the preceding word. Some examples: (btug'ud + lhiy) btug'ūd-īlhiy ārbā' isnīn "it (f. sg.) remains (like that) for four years" (RA), (rābīt + lah) rābīt-lah "having tied for himself" (RA), and (mkayyil + līh) mkayyīl-līh "having measured for himself" (RA), (y'ayyīn + lah) y'ayyīn-lah "he appoints for him" (BaA).

In cases where the verbal -iy ending is lengthened it is not difficult to decide whether the prep. is enclitically suffixed, or whether -iy is simply lengthened in sandhi (cf. I, 1.2.4.6.2.1.); stress in the following examples is clearly on the long vowels, which means that we are dealing with enclisis: (tsawwiy + lhiy) tsawwī-lhiy "she makes for herself", (aḥkiy + lāk) aḥkī-lāk "I tell you" (RA), (asawwiy + lāk) asawwī-lāk "I do for you" (SA), and an example where -iy (as a reflex of final -*ā) of the 3rd p. f. sg. pronominal suffix is lengthened: (bafassirhiy + lāk) bafassirhī-lāk "I explain it (f.) for you" (RA). One may be tempted to regard the long i in this last example as a result of sandhi lengthening (as it is not *bafassirhālāk, cf. above I, 1.2.4.4.9.), but since primary stress is clearly on the long i in this instance, the interpretation of enclitic suffixation is preferred here.

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b.

One clear instance of enclitically suffixed preposition b + pronominal suffix was recorded: (byifrig + bha + ássalab) byifrig-ibh-ássalab "he seperates the (thick) rope (of the plough) with it (f. sg.)" (BaA).
2.2. Phonotactics.

2.2.1. The *gahawah*-syndrome.

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

As was pointed out by Blanc\(^{289}\), an *a* is inserted between *X* and *C* in *aXC* sequences. This phenomenon has since his publication become known as the *gahawah*-syndrome. The rule may be summarized as follows:

\[
gahawah\text{-}vowel\text{ insertion: } \emptyset \rightarrow a \ (C)aX \_C(V)
\]

\[X = \text{any of the back spirants } \hat{h}, \hat{h}, \hat{t}, x, \hat{g}\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
*qa\text{hwa} & \text{gahwah} & \rightarrow & \text{gahawah} & \text{"coffee"} \\
*na\text{\'ga} & \text{na\'ghah} & \rightarrow & \text{na\'ghah} & \text{"ewe"} \\
*na\text{xl} & \text{na\text{x}l} & \rightarrow & \text{na\text{x}l} & \text{"datepalms (coll.)"} \\
*ba\text{hr} & \text{ba\text{hr}} & \rightarrow & \text{ba\text{hr}} & \text{"sea"} \\
*yax\text{bit} & \text{yax\text{bit}} & \rightarrow & \text{yax\text{abu\text{t}}} & \text{"he knocks"} \\
*ta\text{ht} & \text{ta\text{ht}} & \rightarrow & \text{ta\text{hat}} & \text{"under"}
\end{array}
\]

The *gahawah*-syndrome has created full syllables, in that they can be stressed, or that they are of decisive importance for stress assignment in certain sequences of vowels and consonants, but apparently only to a certain degree (cf. examples below). The *gahawah*-rule precedes elision, stress, and anaptyxis rules.

Examples of the *gahawah*-syndrome creating full new syllables:

* na\text{x}l ismah \text{\'dakar} "date palms which are called male", m\text{\'a} bin\text{\&}sayyid \text{\'assimak f-} \text{\'albahr} "we don’t go fishing at sea", \text{xaw\text{\&}}l "uncles" (where initial *a* of *axaw\text{\&}l < *axw\text{\&}l was consequently dropped).

Examples of the *gahawah*-vowel in stressed positions:

\[\text{Cf. ibid., pp. 14-6 (125-7).}\]
ta‘ámha "its (f. sg.) taste", ba‘ádhum "each other", ahálha "her family", and also (conforming to stress rule 6a) baxáıak "your luck", gaháwah "coffee", yi‘drif "he knows".

The gahawah-syndrome is also active in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation.

In some morphological categories the gahawah-vowel is not entirely stable. For example, for maC₁C₂aC₃(ah) and maC₁C₂iC₃(ah) nouns I have recorded both mağrib and mağarib "sunset", mağazal (~ mağil) "spindle", má‘anad ~ almá‘anad "partition in tent", almi‘aráam "women’s section of a tent", and má‘arakah "battle", but only ma‘na "meaning", má‘ṣarah "press (for olive oil)", má‘lagah "spoon", má‘ğrafah "laddle", má‘hfaqah "wallet", má‘hkamah "court".

Passive participles of measure 1 do not always show the gahawah-vowel: maxsüs "special", ma‘mül "made", maḥṣūf "placed", maḥsûb "calculated", but also pass. participles with the gahawah-vowel were recorded: ma‘arūf (~ ma‘rūf in BaA) "known", ma‘adūd (~ ma‘dūd in BaA) "numerous", ma‘adūl "straight", ma‘hamül "neglected".

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

In the derived verbal measures the gahawah-syndrome is not active. For instance, the perfect of measure 4 (IV): áḥsadar "it (f.) has become ripe", a‘ṭayr "I gave", nor in measure (i)sta-1 (X) istágrab, yistágrab "wonder"; istáhsan, yistahsin "consider good"; istáhbal, yistahbīl "play stupid", nor in quadriliteral verbs gahwa, ygahwiy "serve coffee (to)"; zahlaf, yzahlif "shove"; itgahwa, yitgahwa "be served coffee"; itbahdal, yitbahdal "be treated with contempt"; itlaxbat, yitlaxbat "become confused".

It is perhaps needless to add that the syndrome is not active when the final two consonants are geminate, e.g.: faṣṣ "trap", šáḥ "right", daḥḥah "type of

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dance executed during a sāmir\textsuperscript{291}, ša₂xah "piss" (not •fʌxʌx, •sʌha, •daḥaḥah, or •šaxaxah).

In RA and SA the a-insertion rule (or gahawah-rule) follows the high vowel elision rule and the stress rule, and T-rule 2 (described below in I, 3.1.10.2.) applies before this a-insertion rule, which makes the inserted a "behave like" an anaptyctic, in that it is not stressed (cf. below in I, 2.2.1.4.).

Examples are: gāhawtih "his coffee", rāḥantak "food offered in hospitality by you", rāḥantih "food offered in hospitality by him", nāḥraftuh "we dig it" (RA), yāḥafreih "he digs it", á'azmak "I invite you", tá'ażnīh "she kneads it", yāḥalfuw b Allāh "they swear by God", yāḥafiru "they attend".

Sandhi examples are: gāhawt algasif "coffee made by boiling the coffee dregs with added water", láḥamt iššī'ir biţkūn ahla min láḥamt allkuṣub "the meat from (animals fed on) barley is better than the meat from (animals fed on) pressed cotton seed"\textsuperscript{292}, lāḏiwi iḍīdānī "the dialect of our forefathers" (BaA).

N.B. For a remark on the forms gahawṭi, gahawṭī and raḡawt annāgah recorded in AA, cf. I, 3.1.10.3.

The material for TA, MA and ʿAyA is inconclusive as to the behaviour of T preceded by the gahawah-vowel in open syllable.

2.2.1.4. A possible origin of the gahawah-syndrome.

One plausible explanation for the origin of such gahawah-vowels is that they originated as plain anaptyctic vowels. If we, for instance, suffix such older forms as *bahr, *'ahl, *naxl with consonant-initial suffixes, according to the rules described for stress and anaptyxis, we would get (e.g.) *bāhərhin, *'aḥəlha, and *nəxələ. If we suffix the verbs *yaʿzim, *yağsil with vowel-initial suffixes, we could get *yāʿezmak "he invites you, *yāğoslıh "he washes it".


The influence of X on these anaptyctics (transcribed as ṣ in the examples above), in combination with the following a, would then have had a lowering effect, bringing the phonetic value down to approximately [a] through a process of assimilation.

By applying a strict "différentiel" principle of not dropping a in open unstressed syllables, as opposed to short high vowels i and u in similar positions\(^{293}\), the gahawah-vowel could then become stable, and largely lose its status as a (late surface) anaptyctic vowel, while acquiring the new status of the stable low vowel a, which is not dropped, and may be stressed.

The unsuffixed forms were then reinterpreted with the new phonetically low anaptyctic vowel, and by generalizing a rule $\emptyset \rightarrow a / aX\_\_C$, a phonotactical reinterpretation, this gahawah-vowel could spread to such forms where no anaptyctics would appear through suffixation, e.g. yaḥafaḍ, maʿanad.

The advantage of this interpretation is that it accounts for the forms gāhawtih etc., which would then have to be interpreted as older residual forms surviving in their connected shapes (we may see the same, i.e. older forms "surviving" in connected shapes, in such forms as álmiy "the water", but the connected form māḥiyy "her water", cf. I, 1.2.4.4.9.).\(^{294}\)

A next step, when the gahawah-vowels had stabilized, was to reassign stress in dialects that are (or were) of the $CaCdC(v)$-type; verbs and nouns that originally had a $CaXC(v)$-sequence, now had a $CaXaC(v)$ sequence and could be stressed accordingly: $CaXaC(v)$.

Another explanation would be that a $aX$ sequence, due to the relatively open position of the mouth, creates a following a, i.e. the articulation of X is "stretched" (which might be described as an offset delay, as opposed to an articulatory delay of R in the bukara-syndrome, an onset delay), if a consonant follows, e.g. naxl → naxal, axḍār → aḍxṭār, bakt → baḥat etc.\(^{295}\)

\(^{293}\) Cf. CANTINEAU (1936), p. 49.

\(^{294}\) Another example is the prohibitive ma tgis "don't come!" in CaA, where not i as in proper CaA tği "you come" is dropped, but rather i from an older form *tği.

\(^{295}\) EDZARD (1991), p. 402, (simplified) interprets the gahawah-syndrome as being the result of "the intensity of the airstream that occurs in the pronunciation of laryngeals and pharyngeals".

Interestingly in this respect is that our four year old daughter Roxane, whose mother tongue had been Hunan Chinese until she was three years and eight months old, would for weeks pronounce the name of our visiting friend Magda ([ˈmaxda] in Dutch) as [ˈmaxada]. Since I have no knowledge of the phonotactic constraints of Hunan Chinese, however, I shall draw no further conclusion other than that this is remarkable.
B.I. A description of Rmeliy, Sweirty and Balawiy Arabic.

Notice that, although voice of the C following X can be very helpful in the development of vowels preceding C (compare absence of an anaptyctic in aflast #, but its presence in ġisim #) it is not a prerequisite in this interpretation, since the starting point of the argumentation is X. The sequence aX creating its own following a may account for the occurrence of baxat, tahat, etc., if these forms were not created by analogy to forms like ahal, ba’ad, etc.

Which of these possible historical developments lies behind the gahawah-vowels cannot be decided here, and perhaps it is a combination of the two developments, which may have even reinforced each other.

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.

Quite regularly, a delay in the articulation of r following a consonant was observed. The process may be summarized as follows:

\[ \emptyset \to \nu_b \_C \_R \nu_a \]

\((\nu_b = \nu_a \text{ or } \nu_b = \nu_a)\)

\(R = \text{liquid } l \text{ or } r \text{ (for } l, \text{ cf. I, 2.2.2. below, and also instances of } n \text{ mainly in } BaA, \text{ cf. I, 2.2.2.3.) (these form a natural class of alveolar consonants (cf. above I, 1.1.1.) with a high degree of sonority (cf. below I, 2.3.3.2.)).}\)

The term "simple bukara-syndrome" describes the situation in which an intrusive vowel (not an anaptyctic!) is realised within word boundaries and between C and rV. The phonetic quality of this intrusive vowel is guided by the vowel following the r (\(\nu_b = \nu_a\)). The cause of this phenomenon seems to be a delay in the articulation of r. When the environment requires the realization of a vowel after r, voice of the r is already realised before the tongue has been brought into position for the actual articulation of /rl/. The phenomenon occurs synchronically between intervocalic -Cr-, not between C and r at the end of the

296 Cf. BEHNSTEDT (1979), pp. 64-6 (1.1.2.), and DE JONG (1996a), pp. 63-5 (2.1.1.). Cf. also RABIN (1951) pp. 98-9, where he refers to a similar delay in the articulation of r.

297 "The simple bukara-syndrome" is my translation for "das einfache bukara-Syndrom", which does not create full syllables.
word before speech pause; in such cases the anaptyxis rule accounts for the vowel. Some examples are (bukara-vowels are underlined):  
kitiřit  állaham "the large quantity of meat", yuṯūrūd "he drives away", nugarūn "we harness", nidirirīs "we thresh", ūḏukurūw Allāh! "pronounce God's name!", biyfest albaḵārāh "you pay out (the thread on) the reel", albizirih "the seed", duḡiriy "straight", nigirih "quarrel"298, yigirib "he comes near"299, bukaraḥ "tomorrow", bakaraḡ "coffee pot", bistaḡirīb "he finds odd".300  

In generative terms, the bukara-rule would be considered a late phonetic surface rule, i.e. it is applied in the last instance, while vowel elision and anaptyxis rules are not reapplied (i.e. they are not cyclic)301. The following examples may serve to illustrate this (bukara-vowels are underlined): kitiřit  állaham, not *kitiřiṭ  állaham, tufrut albaḵārāh, not *tufrut albaḵārāh.  

Notice that the forms marked with the sign * here are not impossible; through the optional rules of sandhi elision and anaptyxis they are quite easily arrived at. The sign * here merely indicates that such forms did not occur in those instances recorded, i.e. the optional sandhi rules were not applied.302 The development of these two examples must have logically been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>sandhi elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
<th>bukara-insertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitrit + v</td>
<td>kitrit v</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kitriṭ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufrut + v</td>
<td>tufrut v</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>tufrut v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see that the conclusion must be that the optional sandhi rules do not apply here, for if so, we could not account for the presence of the short high vowels following r. Furthermore, in cases where l-elision is morphophonemic, and therefore compulsory, no instances of short high vowels following r were recorded, e.g. yuḏurbuw, but never *yuḏurubuwa. This also clearly shows that the bukara-syndrome creates vowels preceding r, not following r.303

298 Cf. STEWART (1990), p 18, ll. 24-5.
299 Cf. ibid. l. 37.
300 The forms bakaraḥ, bukaraḥ, and bakaraḡ clearly show that we are not dealing with some form of high vowel insertion.
301 Much like the situation in the dialect of the Fayyûm, where the bukara-syndrome is ever more current. Cf. DE JONG (1996a), pp. 63-5.
302 Other forms where we are dealing with optional l-elision and anaptyxis in sandhi included kitiriṭ almayyih, and nūzur asši'ir.
303 Which could have been the case as well, as, for instance, in the Dutch words kerk "church" and melk "milk", which in the Dutch dialect of my home town (Hilversum) are pronounced [ˈkerk] and [ˈmelk] respectively.
The apparently strange forms ụdukuruw Allah, (here) not *ụdukruw Allah, and yudukur annibiy\textsuperscript{304}, (here) not *yudukr annibiy, must have developed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Sandhi Elision</th>
<th>Anaptyxis</th>
<th>Bukara-Insertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ụdukur + v</td>
<td>yudkur v</td>
<td>yudkr v</td>
<td>yudukr v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udkur + uw</td>
<td>udkuruw</td>
<td>udkruw</td>
<td>udkuruw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that examples such as yudukur annibiy and ụdukuruw Allah mentioned above should not be regarded as the result of a non-elision of high vowels, as this interpretation would fail to explain the presence of the high vowel between the consonants ụ and k, which appeared to resolve the clusters resulting from high vowel elision (cf. anaptyxis in I, 2.3.).

In cases where intrusive vowels appear preceding r in word-final Cr in sandhi, we are dealing with the "expanded bukarā-syndrome"\textsuperscript{305}.

The phonetic quality of the expanded bukarā-vowel is not guided by the vowel following the r, e.g.: yudukur annibiy, not *yudukar annibiy. Another example illustrating this is assagir alkibïr, not *assagar alkibir "the big falcon". In velarized environments the quality of the expanded bukarā-vowel may be around [u], e.g.: nimisk alğamur infügih "we take the live embers to let them cool off"\textsuperscript{305}. When such forms appear in pause, e.g. šagir # (~ sädur #) the vowel may either be accounted for by the expanded bukarā-syndrome, or the anaptyxis rule. Like anaptyctics, bukarā-vowels are never stressed in our dialects, nor are they of any consequence for the assignment of stress.

Unlike the gahawah-syndrome (cf. I, 2.2.1.), the bukarā-syndrome does not create new syllable structures which are then treated in conformity with the stress rules according to their morphologically restructured shapes. If, for instance, bahar "sea", a gahawah-form, is preceded by the article, stress will be on the article conforming to the stress rules: âlbahar, and without the article stress may well be bahar. This is never the case, however, when a vowel is

\textsuperscript{304} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 180 (text 68), I. 2.
\textsuperscript{305} My translation for "das erweiterte bukarā-Syndrom", which results in forms such as 'uṣur, cf. BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1985a), p. 72, remark 24 to map 47.
\textsuperscript{306} "Let cool off" seems the only translation making sense here. See, however, BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1994), fawwad "den Backofen auswischen" ("wipe clean of an oven"), recorded in Upper Egyptian 4 (Namasa), which is taken to be hypercorrect for fawwad.
created by the *bukara*-syndrome: *aṣṣagur* "the falcon" will not be stressed *aṣṣagur, but aṣṣáguṟ, and without the article stress will always be ṣágur, not ṣagūr. This is a clear indication that the *bukara*-syndrome has not triggered morphological restructuring in our dialects (but cf. cases in I, 2.2.2.2.1.).

The *bukara*-syndrome can (but need not, cf. examples of elision below) play a role in inhibiting the elision of high vowels as well. A reverse function, so to speak, which preserves short vowels instead of creating them. Some examples of morphophonemic I-elision not taking place (with preserved I underlined): *mitnaṭṭirak, not *mitnaṭṭ'irak* "waiting for you", *atayyib xāṭirak* "I'll mollify you", *fināxirak* "your nostrils")307, *biygāṣṣiriḫ, not *biyggaṣṣirīḫ* "he peels it", *kuyyirat, not *kuyyirat* "it (f.) became many", *biyɡōṭīrurw, not *biyɡōtrurw* "they go", *nhāgīrīrīh, not *mhāgīrīrīh* "migrating (f. sg.)".

Blanc lists the verbs *yahūfīr* "he digs", *bnaqālzīl* "we spin", contrasting in this respect with *aṭʿarf* "you know", *yẖārīg* "he speaks", *nāḥārī* "we plough", *yaṭāgīd* "he ties a knot", and *taḥābīl* "she milks", where the high vowel *i* has been elided. 308 Other examples in *DA* include the imperatives *i'gil! "tether (the horse)"*, and *ihfīr* "dig" listed by Blanc, where the liquids seem to have protected the high vowels against elision, in contrast to *i* in the imperatives (where *C₃ ≠ R*) ধারিত (from *aḥarīt*) "plough", and *āqīd* (from *a'agīd*) "tie a knot".309 Other examples where the liquids may have "protected"310 the older high base vowel: *yī'gin* "he kneads" (RA), *nīgisīlī* "we wash it", *tīqīlī* "she spins it" (SA), *biyfīr*
"you dig" (SA), ti'gin "she kneads" (SA), i'zil "isolate!" (AA), yi'tginin "they (f.) knead" (BaA), byihfruw "they dig" (BaA), ti'ginha "she kneads it" (BaA), ti'gizil "she spins" (BaA).

But verbs in which $C_1 = X$, but $C_3 \neq R$ occur without the gahawah-vowel as well: ibyiḩṣid "he harvests" (RA), yixbīz "he bakes" (RA), ibyuxtub "he asks for the hand (of a girl)" (SA), ihirdaw "cross the high ground!" (AA), ihmiz "prod! (to give a hint)" (AA), bahriğ "I speak" (BA), yuḥṣud "he harvests" (BA), uḥṣud "harvest!" (BA).

Although the forms listed above may give the impression that the gahawah-syndrome is not active in verbs (like in BA, cf. III, 2.2.1.1.), verb forms with the gahawah-vowel occur as well, and even in the same verbs, e.g.: bya'ārif "he knows" (RA), byaxatub "he asks for the hand (of a girl)" (RA), yixabițiyy "he hits it (f. sg.)" (RA), byāharīği "he speaks" (RA), tā'a'āgin "she kneads" (SA), yixaytub "he asks for the hand (of a girl)" (SA), byāhafir "he digs" (SA), na'ağıyinha "we knead it (f.)" (BA), baharğ "I speak" (AA), ba'alaf "they (f. sg.) know" (AA), mà ba'ārfl axażin "I'm unable to store away" (AA), bihirīğ "they plough" (BA), ta'ārīğ "you know" (BA).

Stewart also remarks that the insertion of the gahawah-vowel in the imperfect and imperative of $C_1 = X$ verbs does not occur consistently in AA, and not only in the $C_3 = R$ verbs. The examples he gives for AA are all but the first and the last $C_2 = R$ verbs: tuťuf "you bend", i'rīf "know!" (not *a'ār(i)f), tihrīmna "you deprive us" (not *taharimna), yihlīf "he swears" (not *yahāl(i)f), ihrit "plough!" (not *ahār(i)t), aḥrit "I plough" (not *ahār(i)t), and yi'gil "he hobbles (a camel)" (not *ya'dg(i)l). But other examples show that the gahawah-forms occur in AA as well: ma ba'ārif "I don't know", bta'ārif "you know".

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311 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 112 (text 36), l. 15, and another instance of the same word on p. 182 (text 69), l. 59.
312 Cf. ibid. p. 101 (text 32), l. 11, and p. 185 (text 69), l. 145 resp. for these two AA examples.
313 Notice, by the way, that the vowel of the imperfect prefix in yəzābīt, as in ya'ārif may be raised here according to the a-raising rule in 3.1.1.7., becoming yi'drīf, but that it is not dropped as in *yə'drīf, as REICHMUTH (1983), p. 26 erroneously reports for DA (contrast with resyllabication rule in DA, cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.).
314 For these three AA examples cf. ibid. p. 17 (text 5), l. 16, p. 12 (text 1), l. 129, p. 31 (text 12), li. 10-11.
315 Cf. STEWART (1990), pp. 4-5 (text 1), fn 18, where there are also references to the last eight examples quoted here. For the first example cf. ibid. p. 91 (text 25), l. 37.
We may be dealing here with a mixed system for the $C_2 = X$ verbs, where the gahawah-rule and the vowel harmony-rule seem to be in conflict. The implication of the existence of such forms, but only if they are not K-forms, is that the rule of vowel harmony (of the imperf. prefix vowel to the base vowel of the verb) historically preceded the gahawah-rule. Thus: *yahfir could have changed to yiḥfir before the gahawah-syndrome became active and it could become yahafir. Stewart’s rejection of the suggestion that they may be K-forms need not necessarily be entirely correct; if *yahfir was indeed the older form, and the vowel harmony rule historically preceded the gahawah-rule, then koineizing influences may have been instrumental in preserving these older harmonized forms (the analogy would then be with imperfects like yiktih), and the gahawah-forms were only formed later in analogy to verbs like yahasaḥ "preserve", yaʿaraq "perspire", yaʿaṣaś "be thirsty". But, after all, forms like yiḥfir could be pure K-forms as well. Which of the two is the right interpretation cannot be decided here.

Then, Blanc lists the apocopated imperative immutable "go", contrasting with ṣir "run", where in the last example we have a true (expanded) bukara-vowel.

Also in sandhi, optional 1-elisions seem to occur less where R follows the high vowel in open unstressed syllable, e.g. (non-elided I underlined): agōṭir aġib "I go and get", hiḍir almuhāfīd, iw hiḍir alliy hū Ḥammād "the governor was present, and (this man who is) Ḥammād was present", and akāṭṭir algdhawah "I make more coffee", widdih iyāṭī alliy tallag māratah "he wanted to anger the man who had divorced his wife", gār aġābil aġik "I must meet (you and) come to you".

2.2.2.2. Influence of 1.

In some instances, but less regularly, the same preserving function of high vowels was observed with the other liquid 1: yākilin (RA), (here) not *yāklin "they (f. pl.) eat", ibyākuluw (BaA), (here) not *yākluw "they eat", yiğiliy

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316 Cf. STEWART (1990), pp. 4-5 (text 1), fn 18.
317 Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 137 (26). Notice also that the retention of the high base vowel i in these examples, triggers the use of the i preformative for the imperative (through vowel harmony, cf. I, 3.2.1.5.), instead of the a in the examples where the high base vowel i was lost.
318 As such sandhi elisions are optional, no definite conclusions can be drawn from these examples. They merely serve to further illustrate the argument.
A description of Rmêliy, Swêrkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

Some examples of expanded bukara-vowels preceding l in sandhi are (where they are not cluster resolving anaptyctics in the sense of I, 2.3.2.): 'ikil al'âgir "eating the unripe watermelons", al'hiqâl iyâdîl ihtât "the coffee grounds remain down (on the bottom of the coffee pot)", and 'itil ihrâg "tamarisk thicket", zibil iw šiy "manure and stuff".

Notice again, as is the case with r, that in sandhi the phonetic quality of the expanded bukara-vowel, i.e. the intrusive vowel preceding l, is not guided by the vowel following l, as is illustrated by the first example: ikil al'âgir, not *ikal al'âgir. Another example is allikil allâzim, not *allikal allâzim "the necessary food".

Also, instances of non-elision were recorded: f-âl'ilab, instead of *f-âli'lab "in (the) tins", and alhilâl, instead of *âlihlâl "pits" (though also ihîlâl), and a sandhi example mgassil alfanâgil, not *mgassl alfanâgil "having washed the coffee cups".

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *'ibil and *raîl.

The influence of l may also account for the forms (')ibil "she-camels", and albil "the she-camels" heard in RA and SA, while in BaA and AA the corresponding forms are bil, and also âlbil.

In all four dialects the form with the definite article show a stable high vowel, while in the SA form ibilhiy the high vowel (of the second syllable) is clearly an anaptyctic (since it is not stressed). A corresponding BaA form is bilhum, showing the stable (because stressed) variant of this vowel. In AA both ibîlih and bi'lih were recorded, the former of which was also heard in RA and SA.

The forms here marked with * are not impossible; they may occur in (often) more rapid speech. Cf. also the comment in BEHNSTEDT/AWOIDICH (1985a), p. 72, remark to map 47 on the "simple bukara-syndrome": "[Andererseits] unterbleibt es oft in schneller Rede" (translated: "[On the other hand,] it often remains absent in rapid speech").

Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 193.

Cf. ibid. p. 38 (text 15), l. 38, and p. 67 (text 21), l. 143 respectively.

That the word is a special case indeed may be illustrated by the form alâlbil, which I recorded among the 'Aabâbdah in southeastern Egypt, near the border with Sudan. In this instance it seems that a word with only two radicals (after the disappearance of hamzah)
The high vowel apparently has a similar double identity\textsuperscript{323} in the word *raḡil*, or *raḡl* "man". STEWART (1990), p. 4 (text 1), fn 17 reports that the "truly local forms seem to be *raḡl* and (occasionally) *raḡil*..." (my transcription). In the dialects under discussion here the form *hárraḡil* (recorded in SA) also shows the same double identity of the high vowel as in AA.

2.2.2.3. Articulatory delay in the realization of *n*.

In a number of instances recorded in *BaA*, an articulatory delay in the realization of *n* preceding a vowel within word boundaries was observed\textsuperscript{324}, e.g. *fōgōna* "above us", *axādāne* "we took", and also with preceding voiceless vowels: *misākōna* "we took", *fiwākōna* "we opened", *šībākōna* "our net". A similar articulatory delay of *n* in sandhi was also recorded, as in *tibin iw ʿādīr* "straw and ʿādīr"\textsuperscript{325}.

RA and SA did not show such instances, nor is it reported for AA or *DA*, although non-elision of base vowels may occur as in *tāʿaḡīn alʿaḡīn* "you knead the dough".

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ʿayn following geminates.

In some instances, recorded mainly in *BaA*, an intrusive vowel precedes the ʿayn when this ʿayn is in turn preceded by a geminate (some after assimilation, cf. I, 2.5.), e.g.: *bitḍillā lāʾêk* "it (f.) points at you" (*BaA*), *gudītā lā Sālīm* "I led an animal (to be slaughtered as a present) to Sālim" (*BaA*), *yṭubbā lāḥēna* "he comes to her" (*BaA*), *aṭīṭa lālēh* "I make fattah in it (i.e. a bowl)" (*BaA*), *tinṣībīk f-ayyā ṭūd* "it becomes tangled up in any branch" (*BaA*),

was not acceptable. The article of *ālbīl* was then no longer identified as such, in part because the article is not a stressable unit in the dialect of the ʿAbābdah, after which *ālbīl* could become indeterminate. By adding the article once again the new determinate form became *alāʾlālīl*. Another illustration of its special status is the form *bil* with doubled *l*, which may be heard in several regions of Egypt, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1994) p. 36.

Interestingly, LANE (1874) lists both *.tbl* and *raḡ* as dialectal variants.

\textsuperscript{323} Much like in Central *Naḡdiy* Arabic as reported in INGHAM (1982), p. 58, although there the preceding consonant is voiced (including *l*).

\textsuperscript{324} I have not been able to trace the exact meaning of ʿādīr, but I was told that it is used like *miinān* "dry herbage?", *sabāṭ*, and *gilīm*, to cover pits where watermelons are stored to shield the fruit from direct sunlight. It may also be used as fuel, or in combination with palmfronds to build enclosures for camels, or even as fodder for camels. DA speakers were recorded saying it may be used to dye goat skin to be used for churning butter. I therefore assume ʿādīr is a type of bush.
al’axxā ‘Aliy "(the) brother ‘Aliy" (BaA), ‘a lxaṭṭa ‘a tūl "right by the main road" (BaA). Only one such example was recorded in RA: alikbār min kullos ʻāylah "the elders from every family".

Since there are several instances, also in BaA, where no intrusive vowel is inserted in comparable positions, it is probably best not to regard the vowel as an anaptyctic, but merely as a vowel resulting from a delay in the articulation of ʻ.

This optional (phonetic) rule could be summarized as follows:

\[ \varnothing \rightarrow a / C_a C_{a-} \]

2.3. Anaptyxis.

In terms of rule order, the anaptyxis rule follows the rules for elision and stress (for a remark on cyclicity of the elision rule in sandhi, cf. I, 2.4.3.)

The rules are:
1.) Speech pause # has the same function as a consonant in the anaptyxis rule.
2.) Clusters of three or four consonants are usually (for exceptions cf. I, 2.3.3.) resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster:

\[ \text{anaptyxis: } \varnothing \rightarrow I / (C_a)C_{b-}C_cC_d \]

This rule holds for word-medial clusters, as well as sandhi clusters.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis.

Word-medial consonant clusters (in bold print in examples below) to which the anaptyxis rule applies may be the result of preceding I-elision, or of

\[ \text{anaptyxis: } \varnothing \rightarrow I / (C_a)C_{b-}C_cC_d \]

\[ \varnothing \rightarrow a / C_a C_{a-} \]
"colliding" morphological base forms of the prefixed or suffixed morphemes involved.

Some instances of anaptyxis (anaptyctic underlined) in clusters resulting from /-elision (in bold print): yimsik + uw —* yimskuw — yimmisku "they (m. pl.) grab" (although ~ yimskuw); yuqrub + uw —* yuqrubu — yuqrubu "they hit (imperf.)"; tīṭlī' + ah —* tīṭlī'ah — tīṭlī'ah "she lifts it".

Instances of "colliding" base forms of prefixed or suffixed morphemes: al + hsəniy —* alhsəniy — alihṣəniy "the fox", wasm + na —* wasmna — wâsimna "our rainy season"329.

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi.

Sandhi clusters to which the anaptyxis rule applies may be the result of "colliding" morphological base forms, of pause preceding or following two subsequent consonants, or of I- elision in sandhi creating clusters eligible for anaptyxis.

2.3.2.1. Anaptyxis in clusters resulting from "colliding" morphological base forms.

Examples where "colliding" morphological base forms create clusters eligible for anaptyxis: ri'yy + l alganam —* ri'yy l alganam — ri'yy l alganam "grazing for the goats and sheep", bitkûn + m'ayid —* bitkûn m'âyid — bitkûn im'ayid "you will (normally) have congratulated", sta'add + w +gâl —* sta'add w gâl —* sta'add iw gâl "he prepared himself and said".

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#.

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting #CC or CC# cluster is resolved, e.g.: # + hnuh —* # hnuh — # ihnuh "there", ġism + # —* ġism # — ġisim # "body".330

329 As recorded in the sentence iw yôm Allâh birîd w iyyîy wâsimna badriy byatla' "and when God wills it and our rainy season comes early, it comes up (i.e. the crops)". Originally wasm alTurayyâ, the rainy season of 75 days, starting when the Pleiades appear over the eastern horizon at the end of October, cf. BAILEY (1974a), p. 585. Here the speaker refers to the coming of the rainy season, which roughly coincides with the rising of the Pleiades. Cf. also DALMAN (1964) I/1, p. 118.

330 Since i in ihnuh, and the second i in ġisim are not part of the morphological base of the word, this type of anaptyxis is to be regarded as a sandhi phenomenon.
2.3.2.3. Consonant clusters resulting from I-elision in sandhi, with consequent anaptyxis.

Some examples of clusters (in bold print) in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis (intermediate forms with the consonant clusters are marked with an asterix): atlig + assalag → *atlig assalag → atlig assalag "I release the hunting dog"; yigrib + alhurmah → *yigrb alhurmah → yigrb alhora "he approaches the woman"; tinsig + aśṣuggah → *tinsg aṣṣuggah → tinsg aṣṣuggah "she weaves the tentpiece"; nuzr' + aṣṣi'ir → *nuzr' aṣṣi'ir → nuzr' aṣṣi'ir "we grow barley"; yutlub + alhagg → *yuṭlub alhagg → yuṭulb alhagg "he demands justice"; tudxul + albêt → *tudxl albêt → tuxdul albêt "she enters the house".

The sandhi examples provide an extra indication that the process of elision and anaptyxis is a synchronic one; the "ideal" initial syllable (in terms of syllabication) strived for appears to be CV. The above examples show that instances where the initial syllable is CVC, the sequence is resyllabicized, if possible through the presence of I in the following (open) syllable), to contain a CV-initial syllable (syllables are separated by hyphens):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Form</th>
<th>Resyllabicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yig-ri-b al-ḥur-mah</td>
<td>yi-gir-b al-ḥur-mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tud-xu-l al-bêt</td>
<td>tu-du-xl al-bêt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The resyllabication in the examples above (cf. I, 2.2.1.) yimsikuw → yimiskuw is compulsory, while resyllabication in sandhi (examples in I, 2.3.2.3.) is optional.

Notice that, whereas this synchronous resyllabication produces initial CI syllables, the historical resyllabication rule produced initial CC clusters which are synchronically resolved with an anaptyctic to become initial ('i)C syllables, e.g. *‘inab > ‘nab → # ('i)nab "grapes", *humār > ḥmār → # ('i)hmār "donkey".

The current base forms ‘nab and ḥmār are likely to be reinterpretations originally (c) of historical base forms (a) after I-elision in sandhi (b). E.g.:
B.I. A description of Rmēliy, Swērkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

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2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule.

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters.

Not all clusters are resolved. When $C_a$ "discharges itself" into $C_b$ in the cluster $C_aC_bC_c$, i.e. $C_a$ is (nearly) homorganic (sometimes after assimilation) with $C_b$, the cluster is not eliminated, e.g. yinzluw "they descend", bintkiy "your (f. sg.) daughter", axadttiyy "you took it (f. sg.)", etc.

If we take some examples of clusters which are not resolved by anaptyXYC331, we see that these clusters have a number of characteristics in common: in the vast majority of cases the first consonant of such clusters is $a$) a semi-vowelC332, $b$) a nasal, or $c$) a liquid. In the last two cases ($b$ and $c$) the cluster tends to be left unresolved only when the second consonant is voiceless.

Examples of $a$): ġayhLsams "sunset" (RA), ‘aynhe "her eye" (BaA), ĥawšha' "its (f. sg.) enclosure" (BaA), šallaylay ʕá-nnibiy? "have you blessed the Prophet for me?" (AA)C333, and in pause nafarayn # "two persons", ġawq # "water basin".

Examples of $b$): nimt ʕindih "I slept in his house" (RA), ințhurr "you are free (to do as you please)" (RA), tunṣbah (~ tünṣbah) "you set it (i.e. a trap)" (RA), and in pause laģgamt # "you sowed", gumt # "I got up" (AA), int # "you" (AA).

Examples of $c$): azʕaltní "you angered me" (RA), sihrt ʕindih "I spent the evening in his house" (RA), ġurs kibır "a large round of bread (baked in the sand)", wišiLhawāliy ssā'ah talāṭihiy "I arrived at approximately three o'clock" (SA), gult lah (with a lateral release of t, I.P.A. [t̪]) "I said to him" (AA), and in pause gult # "you said", ziʕilt # "I became angry".

C331 I have tried to be as random as possible in selecting these instances.

C332 As FISCHER (1967), pp. 61-2 already pointed out, (monophthongized) diphthongs in the modern Arabic dialects are on a par with long vowels, e.g. the sequence bay in bayt (of which ay is often monophthongized to become ê) would be represented as xee in modern Arabic dialects (a "langsonantische Silbe", cf. ibid. p. 63), as opposed to xev in old Arabic, which would have to be represented as <+> (cf. ibid., p. 62). Here ee represents a "neutrale Öffnung" represented by +, x represents < "Explosion", and > represents "Implosion", cf. ibid. p. 30). On the meaning of x, c, and v, cf. ibid. p. 31, fn 2.

C333 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 3 (text 1), l. 2.
Also, in cases where the first two consonants of the cluster are voiceless, the anaptyctic often remains absent when the second consonant is a plosive and its articulation does not involve the articulatory organs needed for articulation of the first consonant (i.e. they are not homorganic): 'irift waḥid "I knew someone", suft_kidiy? "have you seen this?", marraḥīt # "I slept", barrakt ẓimalî 'I let my camel kneel", ruḥt ẓalēh "I went to him", but also wagīt tīwil "a long time", marraḥīt ẓindīh "I slept in his house".

When the first consonant has partially or totally assimilated (cf. I, 2.5.) to the second consonant, anaptyctics will usually remain absent. In cases of total assimilation the resulting geminate may subsequently be reduced (cf. also I, 2.3.3.3.1.).

Whereas both anaptyxis and assimilation can both be characterized as late surface rules, it is important to let assimilation precede anaptyxis in the ordering of these rules.

Examples with preceding assimilation: axadt # [ʔa'xat:] "I took" (BaA), ydaḥṣad # (dissonorized in pause, [ʔa'ɪhast]) "he harvests" (RA), mā ẓadī ẓikīr [mā: xaṭ 'bikīr] "I did not take a virgin (i.e. in marriage)", hawwadt misāfīh "I slowly proceeded over a distance", (kull sanah) w int ṭayīb [wm'tay:ib] "may you be well", yunglah [ˈyurjgh] "he transports it", gaʻādt gult [gaʻat gult] "I sat down and said" (AA), ʻidt bi llāḥ [ˈet bɪ'lːæːh] "I have taken refuge with God (i.e. God forbid!)" (AA), and in pause ẓāṣubh # [lo'soph] (unaspirated [p]) "until the morning" (although more regularly ẓāsubuh #).

Examples of resolved clusters where no assimilation precedes: ẓāsubuh # "until the morning", lelt ẓāṣubit # "Saturday evening", tiḡawwāzit # "I got married".

Notice also that in the cases where the cluster is not resolved, the first consonant of the cluster is never #; in such cases the cluster is always resolved with i.

Examples are: # ygiy —*  # iygi'y "he comes" (RA, SA, AA), # lsān —*  # ilṣān "tongue", # mnāsābah —*  # iṁnāsābah "occasion", # stād —*  # istād "stadium". In the last example the anaptyctic tends to have a voiceless realization.

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335 In al‘Arīs, where the same rules apply, the word stād "stadium" is actually spelled without the initial 'alif on the sign boards (spelled ــاد) whereas in Cairo the word is spelled with the 'alif (الةد).
In cases where the anaptyctic forms a diphthong with initial y, as in the first example iyēy, the resulting diphthong is often reduced in faster speech: [i'cfeiy] (cf. I, 1.2.4.6.1.2.3., and also similar reduction of initial biy- described in I, 3.1.5.).

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

Taking degrees of sonority into consideration, we could try and find a rule according to which some consonant clusters are solved by an anaptyctic, while others are not.

Giving the consonants involved in clusters a value based on their degree of sonority\(^{336}\), we have the following ranking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Category</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pause</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricatives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricatives</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals m</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals n</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids l</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids r</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Since pause has no articulatory phonetic characteristics, it is given the value 0.

Although the number of possible combinations of consonants is huge, a number of general remarks can be made based on the relatively limited number of examples listed above in I, 2.3.3.1.

Looking at these examples, we may see that most (though not all) clusters of three consonants, where \(C_1 \neq C_2\), and where the sonoric value (as expressed in the column with numbers) of the first consonant exceeds that of the second consonant are not resolved, especially when the articulatory organs used for the second consonant are not involved in the articulation of the first. We see also

that this rule works best in clusters where the first consonant has a value of 5 or higher.

An advantage of giving speech pause (♯) a value of 0 is that it accounts for the fact that initial clusters of the type #CC are always resolved.

Clusters of four consonants tend to be resolved by inserting an anaptyctic between \( C_2 \) and \( C_3 \), irrespective of the sonoric value of the consonants involved; no instances of unresolved clusters of four consonants were recorded.

Where consonants of low sonoric value are involved, partial or total assimilation needs to take place for the cluster not to be resolved.

Although these remarks do not solve all problems\(^{337}\), we now have a fair measure to account for the absence or presence of anaptyctics.

2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis.

2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates.

When \( C_a = C_b \), i.e. in the case of geminates, the cluster is not resolved if only one consonant follows, but the geminate is often phonetically reduced, e.g. \( raddhiy, n\text{t}ubbhiy \) etc.\(^{339}\) The difference between, say, the sequence \( ab' \) in \( \text{tab'an} \) "of course" and \( n\text{tab'}ih \) (of \( n\text{tabbi'} + i\text{h} \)) "we train him" lies mainly in the realization of the vowel preceding the cluster (here \( b' \)): \( a \) in the first example has a lax realization, though full [a], while \( a \) in the second example, also full [a], has a more tense realization, which makes the vowel seem (i.e. in terms of acoustic impression) slightly shorter. A comparable pair is \( g\text{aw} \) "they came", and \( g\text{aww} \) "weather", where the \( a \) of the former appears to have a shorter realization than in the latter.\(^{340}\)

Where four consonants of morphological base forms "collide", i.e. form a cluster (by definition in sandhi), of which the initial two form a geminate, the cluster is resolved by inserting an anaptyctic (underlined) following this

\(^{337}\) It is difficult to decide, for instance, on whether there is an anaptyctic in the cluster \( fik \) as in \( \text{\d{u}fi\text{ki}diy?} \) "did you see that?". There might be a voiceless anaptyctic between the \( f \) and the \( t \), but perhaps there is none. More accurate acoustic measurements should provide more reliable results than can be achieved with the (or my, in any case) human ear.

\(^{338}\) To avoid confusion: root radicals are indicated by subscript numbers, different consonants are indicated by different subscript letters, and identical consonants are indicated by the identical subscript letters.


geminate, e.g.: \( \text{alḥabb} + \text{biṭla} \rightarrow \text{alḥabb biṭla} \) "the seed (i.e. seedlings) comes up"; \( \text{kull} + \text{byišbi} \rightarrow \text{kull biyišbi} \) "everyone eats his fill"; \( \text{sitt} + \text{snin} \rightarrow \text{sitt isnin} \) "six years".

2.3.3.3.2. Preposition '\( \text{ind} \) + C.

Clusters of three consonants resulting from suffixation of consonant-initial suffixes to the preposition '\( \text{ind} \) are usually resolved by inserting an anaptyctic after the second consonant. This anaptyctic then usually assimilates to the vowel following \( k \) or \( h \):

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow 1 / C_a C_b C_c.
\]

Examples: '\( \text{indina} \) (RA, SA, AA\textsuperscript{341}, BaAA), '\( \text{indukuw} \) (RA, AA\textsuperscript{342}), '\( \text{indihiy} \) (RA, SA), '\( \text{induhum} \) (RA, AA\textsuperscript{343}). (For further details cf. I, 3.1.16.).

In sandhi the cluster remains intact, although the release of \( d \) may only be minimal, or even absent when its articulation conflicts with that of the last consonant of the cluster: '\( \text{ind wāhid} \) "in someone’s house" (where it is released), '\( \text{ind bet Ibin Xīrfān} \) "near the house of Ibin Xīrfān", '\( \text{ind kubbāniyyih} \) "with a company", '\( \text{yībūh min ind maratah} \) "they bring him (collecting him) from his wife" (all RA), '\( \text{ind ba'ad algibāyil} \) "with some tribes" (SA), '\( \text{ind ragil fiḥīm} \) "with a wise man" (AA\textsuperscript{344}).

2.3.3.3.3. The 2nd p. m. sg. pronominal suffix in consonant clusters.

The 2nd p. m. sg. pronominal suffixes \( C\-ak / \text{-}\-k \) behave predictably in group I.

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\textsuperscript{341} Cf. STEWART (1990), p 14 (text 2), l. 1.
\textsuperscript{342} Cf. ibid., p. 33, p. 33 (text 140, l. 43).
\textsuperscript{343} Cf. ibid., p. 11 (text 1), l. 97.
\textsuperscript{344} Cf. ibid., p. 30 (text 11), l. 15.
2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic.

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics.

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

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters from "colliding" base forms.

Two examples of word-medial anaptyctics resolving clusters resulting from "colliding" morphological base forms (clusters eligible for anaptyxis are in bold print, anaptyctics underlined): wasm + na → *wasmana → wasimna "our rainy season"\(^{345}\), furn + hiy → *furnhiy → furunhiy "her oven".

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics resolving clusters after /l/-elision.

Word-medial consonant clusters resulting from high vowel elision tend to be resolved by an anaptyctic vowel of the same phonetic quality as the short (high) vowel which was originally dropped. Examples with i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yimsik + uw</td>
<td>*yimsikuw</td>
<td>*yimskuw → yimiskuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiṭli' + uw</td>
<td>*yiṭli'uw</td>
<td>*yiṭluw → yiṭluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi'ğin + in</td>
<td>*yi'ğin</td>
<td>*yi'ğin → yi'ğin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit'ib + ak</td>
<td>*tit'ibak</td>
<td>*tit'bak → tit'bak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with u:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuḍrub + uw</td>
<td>*yuḍrubuw</td>
<td>*yuḍbuv → yudbuv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yug'ud + uw</td>
<td>*yug'uduw</td>
<td>*yug'duw → yugd'uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurguṣ + in</td>
<td>*yurguṣin</td>
<td>*yurgsin → yurgsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutbux + ah</td>
<td>*tutbuxah</td>
<td>*tutbxah → tutbxah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{345}\) Cf fn to I, 2.3.1.
2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of \( i \) from \( T \).

Anaptyctics which break up clusters resulting from high vowel elision of the \(-it\) (\( T \): the feminine suffix in constructions) tend to be phonetically conditioned by surrounding consonants: \( i \) in neutral environments, and \( u \) near (secondary) emphatics. Examples:

Anaptyctic \( i \) in neutral environments: šâýlt alibandûrah "the tomato seedling" (\( BaA \)), zârî’t iflân "somebody’s crops" (\( BaA \)), sâfihtih "his side" (\( RA \)), kilîntak "your word(s)" (\( RA \)), màsîktih "his grabbing" (\( SA \)).

Anaptyctic \( u \) in velarized environments: xâţù’t alîfîrîh "the step of the quail (i.e. its tracks)" (\( RA \)), sâguît alfarîd "of the plough" (\( RA \)), rîzûtîh "his judge’s fee" (\( AA \))\(^{346} \), marwît + ak → màrùwît (\( BaA \)), sâguîtak "yours" (\( BaA \)), hûrumtak "your wife" (\( BaA \)). But in the example gîti’tak (not *gîtu’tak) "your piece" the emphatic \( t \) does not have the backing effect one might expect.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi.

2.3.4.2.1. Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi.

In word-initial positions the anaptyctic tends to have a phonetic value around lax and centralized \([i]\), irrespective of phonetic environment. One exception is when \( w \) follows, as in the conjunction \( w \). In that case, especially in allegro speech, the anaptyctic may sound like \( u \) (resulting from diphthong reduction similar to reductions of \( ay \) and \( aw \) described in I, 1.2.4.6.1.2.3.), but in other examples with following \( w \) the anaptyctic struck me as being \( i \), i.e. the resulting diphthong glides from around centralized \([i]\) towards \([w]\), e.g. lâgîwît iğdüdni "the dialect of our forefathers".

Another exception seems to be the initial \( u \) in the f. sg., m. pl., and f. pl. imperatives of the verbs "eat" and "take", e.g. uùxîy! "take (f. sg.)!", and uklîw! "eat (m. pl.)!" occurring in \( SA \), \( AA \) and \( BaA \), but here we may be dealing with a remnant of an older proclitic vowel comparable to initial \( u- \) of imperatives of \( u- \) type imperfects such as (’)urbut! "tie!" and (’)uđrub! "hit". Notice that in dialects in the south of Sinai (of the Čbâliyyah and Garâršah) forms with

\(^{346} \) Cf. ibid, p. 24 (text 7), 1. 57.
stressed initial \( \text{-} \) occur, as in \( \text{ú}x\text{ud}, \text{ú}xd\text{iy} \), etc., which are forms also heard in AA (cf. 1, 3.2.2.3.).

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics: *# \( \text{ls}\text{ân} \rightarrow \# \text{îls}\text{ân} "tongue", *# \( \text{nkam}\text{mil} \rightarrow \# \text{înkam}\text{mil} "we complete", *# \( \text{g}m\text{âl} \rightarrow \# \text{îg}m\text{âl} "camels", *# \( \text{m}z\text{âr}i\text{̀} \rightarrow \# \text{îm}z\text{âr}i "farmer", *# \( \text{s}h\text{âb} \rightarrow \# \text{i}sh\text{âb}, *# \( \text{r}t\text{âb} \rightarrow \# \text{i}rt\text{âb} "ripe dates", *# \( \text{ty}\text{ûr} \rightarrow \# \text{i}ty\text{ûr} "birds", *# \( \text{m}t\text{âk} \rightarrow \# \text{i}mi\text{̀}k "with you" (last example only RA).

Some examples where the first consonant of the cluster is not \( \# \): \( \text{r}ô\text{h} + \text{flân} \rightarrow \*\text{r}ô\text{h} \text{flân} "so-and-so's soul", \# \( \text{f}\text{ûf} + \text{s}g\text{âr} \rightarrow \# \text{f}\text{ûf} \text{s}g\text{âr} \rightarrow \# \text{i}f\text{ûf} \text{s}g\text{âr} "young children", \text{ar}\text{ba}\text{̀} + \text{s}nîn \rightarrow \text{ar}\text{ba}\text{̀} \text{s}nîn \rightarrow \text{ar}\text{ba}\text{̀} \text{i}snîn "four years".

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics.

The phonetic quality of the anaptyctic resolving word-final clusters tends to be around \([u]\) in labial environments (either of following \( w \), or of one of the neighbouring (secondary) emphatics, or with \( u \) preceding the cluster): \( \text{al}g\text{âz}\text{ûw} \# "the raid", \( \text{b}d\text{âw} \# "bedouins", \( \text{g}n\text{ûw} \# "bunch of dates", \( \text{h}l\text{ûw} \# "beautiful, sweet", \( \text{a}d\text{d}l\text{ûw} \# "the pail", \( \text{s}d\text{ûw} \# "warp (of a fabric)\), \( \text{k}b\text{ûr} \# "size", \( \text{u}s\text{ûr} \# "pregnant", \( \text{u}m\text{ûr} \# "age", \( \text{g}m\text{û} \# "funnel", \( \text{u}g\text{ûb} \# "after", \( \text{g}r\text{ûb} \# "kinship (through marriage)\)"

Examples where primary emphatics, or preceding \( u \) cause the appearance of anaptyctic \( u \): \( \text{s}u\text{b}u\text{h} \# "morning", \( \text{ç}h\text{ûr} \# "afternoon"

Examples where preceding \( u \) creates secondary velarization, which often involves a degree of labialization\(^{347}\), produces \( u \): \( \text{s}u\text{g}û\text{l} \# "gen. exp.", \( \text{g}h\text{ûr} \# "hole"

The following examples with \( i \) show that this \( u \) develops through a combination of labialization and velarization, not velarization or labialization per se, and not with any other labials than with following \( w \): \( \text{a}r\text{i}\text{̀} \# "land", \( \text{h}b\text{îl} \# "rope", \( \text{t}a\text{b}i\text{̀} \# "training", \( \text{f}a\text{̀}l\text{i} \# "kindness", \( \text{w}a\text{̀}l\text{i} \# "situation" \( \text{h}a\text{̀}r\text{îb} \# "war", \( \text{a}s\text{îr} \# "era", \( \text{g}â\text{̀}l\text{i} \# "before", \( \text{Ma}\text{̀}s\text{îr} \# "Egypt", \( \text{x}a\text{̀}m\text{i} \# "five", \( \text{w}a\text{̀}s\text{îm} \# "rainy season", \( \text{a}b\text{i}d \# "slave", \( \text{g}a\text{̀}n\text{i} \# "wheat", \( \text{s}a\text{̀}t\text{îr} \# "row", \( \text{x}a\text{̀}s\text{i} \# "nose", \( \text{d}a\text{̀}r\text{îb} \# "path", \( \text{z}i\text{b}i\text{l} \# "droppings".

\(^{347}\) Cf. HARREL (1957), p. 69, where he speaks of "lip protrusion", and WOIDICH (1990b), p. 33 "die Lippen sind neutral oder leicht gerundet und nach vorne gestüllpt".
In neutral environments the anaptyctic will be near [i]: širibit # "I drank", wiġih # "face", mitir # "meter", ri'iy # "grazing".

2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctics.

In only a few instances short high vowels originating from anaptyxis were stressed. Such forms are best interpreted as loans from neighbouring dialects, such as BA (cf. III, 2.3.5.). The instances are: liqṭa "the cover", ilḥal and irṭab "green dates". The former two examples were produced by a 59 year old Balawiy, who has spent the larger part of his life in Gatyah, while the latter example was produced by a 66 year old Balawiy living in Ġirīf al-Gizlān. When asked whether these were the true dialect forms, they corrected their "mistake" saying ġta and rṭab were the proper forms (I failed to check with the speaker who said ’ilḥal instead of expected ḫlaḥ).

Forms recorded in TA, MA and ‘AyA do not show stressed original anaptyctics either: hniy (all three), driba "sorghum" (TA), rṭab "ripe dates" (MA), ṣnab "grapes" (‘AyA), ṛkah "knees" (‘AyA).

N.B. More regular than the three examples cited above are stressed former anaptyctic high vowels in the suffixed preposition ʾl: ʾilna (BaA) "to us", ʾilḥa (AA) ~ iḥi (BaA) ~ ilḥiya "to her" (RA, SA), ilḥum "to them (m.)", ilḥin "to them (f.)" (BaA), and, by extension, ilḥa "to him" was recorded from the Balawiy in Gatyah.

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348 It may seem strange that this informant was selected for interviewing, but since he had spent his entire adolescence in Balawiy territory, it turned out that he still spoke the dialect quite acceptably. And, moreover, he was the informant who put me on the track of such older resyllabized forms as ʿktabat, and the 1st p. poss. suff. -yah, which had not come out of previous interviews with BaA speakers in Balawiy (in Ġirīf al-Gizlān) territory itself. It was only after I confronted these speakers in Ġirīf al-Gizlān with my findings from interviews with this informant from Gatyah that they "admitted" that such forms do indeed occur.

349 FISCHER (1969), p. 68, fn 5 writes: "Aus ʾillā, ʾillum, ʾillā usw. hat sich ʾil-verselbständigt, sodass auch ʾilu, ʾilak usw. gebildet wird." PROCHAZKA (1993), p. 152 concludes the same, but WOIDICH (1979), p. 92 assumes a mixed paradigm of the two prepositions *ʾli- and *ʾilā. Woidich mentions two other possible historical developments, but these seem only plausible for the dialect he describes, that of ilʿAwāmra in the eastern Sarqiyyah, and are less likely for our dialects here.
These forms however, are not as regular as the proper forms by far, e.g. in SA: lay ~ layī, lak, lkiy, lih, lhiy, lna, lkum, lkin, lhun, lhin. (The same paradigm for BaA, except lik instead of lkiy, cf. I, 3.1.16.).

2.4. Elision of short vowels.

High short vowels i and u are dropped in unstressed open syllables, while short a in similar positions is not dropped, making this group of dialects "différentiel" in Cantineau's terminology. The rule may be represented as follows:

high vowel elision: \[ I \rightarrow \emptyset / (V)C_d(C_b)_\_C_cV \]

\[ I = \text{high vowel } i \text{ or } u \]
\[ V = \text{any vowel} \]
\[ C = \text{any consonant} \]

2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision.

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

\[ I \rightarrow \emptyset / VC_a\_\_C_bV \]

Examples are (the high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): širib + it \(\rightarrow\) *širibit \(\rightarrow\) širbit "she drank", nikid + ih \(\rightarrow\) *nikidih \(\rightarrow\) nikdih "troublesome (f. sg.)", āliy + ih \(\rightarrow\) *āliyih \(\rightarrow\) ālyih "high (f. sg.)", ōrid + in \(\rightarrow\) *ōridin \(\rightarrow\) ōrdin "a ibir "go (f. pl.) to the well!"", yākul + uw \(\rightarrow\) *yākuluw \(\rightarrow\) yākluw "they eat" (BaA), minṭasir + ih \(\rightarrow\) *minṭaṣriḥ \(\rightarrow\) minṭaṣriḥ "wide-spread", naʿazil + ih \(\rightarrow\) *naʿazılıḥ \(\rightarrow\) niʿāzılıh "we isolate him", tāgazil + ih \(\rightarrow\) *tāgazılıḥ \(\rightarrow\) tāgazılıḥ "she spins it (i.e. the wool)".

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

\[ I \rightarrow \emptyset / VC_aC_b\_\_C_cV \]

Some examples where the cluster resulting from elision of the high vowel (in bold print) is immediately resolved through anaptyxis (cf. I, 2.3.4.1.2. above): yidfin + ih \(\rightarrow\) *yidfinih \(\rightarrow\) yidfinih "he buries it", tiglib + ih \(\rightarrow\) *tiglibih
→ \( \text{tigilbih} \) "she flips it over", \( \text{nī}sif + ih \rightarrow *\text{nī}sīfih } \rightarrow \text{nī}’isfih "we make it (i.e. the camel) suffer (so as to harden it)". \( \text{yu’drub} + uw \rightarrow *\text{yu’drubuw} \rightarrow \text{yu’durbuw} "they hit". For unresolved clusters resulting from \( I \)-elision, cf. I, 2.3.3.1.

When a geminate is followed by an unstressed high vowel in open syllable, this \( I \) is dropped, after which the resulting cluster is not resolved by anaptyxis, but the geminate may be reduced.\(^{350}\) This morphophonemic elision of the high vowel is obligatory as well (with sometimes exceptional cases as described in I, 2.2.2. and I, 2.2.3.). The rule is:

\[
I \rightarrow \emptyset / VC_aC_aC_bV
\]

\( C_aC_a = \text{geminate} \)

Examples are: \( bī’azzbuw "they camp away (from their families)"\), \( bīy barrkuw "they make (camels) kneel down", nazzluw "take down (m. pl.)!"\), \( iyyaggdw "they go", iybaššrak b alxayr! "may He bring you good tidings!".\)

2.4.2. \( I \)-elision in sandhi.

Like the morphophonemic elision of \( I \) described in I, 2.4.1., \( I \) may also be elided in sandhi when it lands in unstressed open syllables, but in such cases this elision is optional, e.g. (the high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): \( \text{nī’īgn al’iğinizh} \rightarrow *\text{nī’īgn al’iğinizh } \rightarrow \text{nī’īgn al’iğinizh } "\text{we knead the dough } (BaA), mīfi’l ilhā rba’āyn \rightarrow *mīfl’ ilhā rba’āyn \rightarrow *mīfi’l ilhā rba’āyn (my transcription) "I award her two six year old camels" (AA\(^{351}\)) (for more examples cf. I, 2.3.2.3.).

The rule for elision of \( I \) in open syllable following a geminate may apply in sandhi as well. This high vowel elision is again optional. Examples are: \( bīnsayyīd alfi’r \rightarrow bīnsayyd alfi’r "\text{we hunt quail}", \# nnazzil alginuw \# \rightarrow \# innazzil alginuw "\text{we take down (the stems of) the datebunches}, bīnbatṭil attaxāff \rightarrow bīnbatṭil attaxāff (where reduced \( t \) has a lateral release) "\text{we stop thinning out (the watermelon plants)}". In these cases the geminate of the cluster is usually reduced.

\(^{350}\) For the sake of morphological transparency, the transcription reflects the geminates, although they may be (phonetically) reduced.

\(^{351}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 30 (text 12), ll. 3-4.
2.4.3. Cyclic I-elision rule in sandhi.

In sandhi the elision rule may be reapplied after anaptyxis. An example is (here the cluster is underlined and bold, the anaptyctic is bold, and the high vowel to be dropped in sandhi is underlined): bigattib + 'yûnih → *bigattib 'yûnih → bigattib i'yûnih → bigattib i'yûnih "he covers its (m. sg.) eyes", where first the cluster b'y is resolved, after which the high vowel in the last syllable of bigattib is dropped.

N.B. The fact that the base form is 'yûn, and not *i'yûn may be deduced from comparable forms with assimilated "sunletters", e.g.: aššhûr (not *aššhûr) "the months", add'ûf (not *add'ûf) "the children", addmûm (not *addmûm) "the blood (pl.) (of five generations preceding a thoroughbred camel)"352, etc.

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule.

When C_a and C_b are phonetically close or identical, I is not dropped, e.g. mit'dddidih "numerous", binxáffîfah "we thin it out (of watermelon plants)"; biyfattitûh "they make a fattah of it", bihâllilak "he allows you", ǧiddîìî "my grandmother" (all five RA), # iyhâddiduw "they set (imperf.)" (SA), kâttîuw! "go down (m. pl.) to the wâdî!", yfâtíjâh "he scatters it", śkarrirûw "you (m. pl.) will clarify", ʿidditîh "his possessions" (all four AA)353, mmâllîlah "having become hot ashes (of a fire, for baking bread) (f. sg.)"354 (BaA), mśattîtîn "spread over a wide area" (BaA). Unlike the situation in the eastern Šarqiyyah, however, reduction of the geminate is not regular in these cases.355

In sandhi this elision of I in such positions does not occur either. Some examples of similar non-elision of I in sandhi are: bindallîl alxûx "we manure356

---

352 As recorded in biyâṣir 'ēh? sâfiy . . . sâfiy. ibyagta‘ f-addmûm. . . alxams hâda. . . Although the literal meaning is not entirely clear to me, it must mean something like "it then becomes what? A thoroughbred... a thoroughbred. It (then) has five generations of pure blood" (RA). Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary (root g-t-l), p. 223.

353 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 93 (text 26), l. 34, p. 94 (text 26). ll. 64 and 66, p. 122 (text 38), l. 16, and p. 59 (text 20), fn 177 respectively.

354 Cf. BAILEY (1981-2), p. 145, mallîh "hot ashes in which bread is baked".

355 Cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 79.

356 Presumably from the root ǧ-l-l, d could then have developed from tağîlî [t̪dˈlîl], where [d] has a lateral elease (cf. remarks in I, 1.1.4.). Cf. also BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1994), p. 141.
the peach trees", *binxaaffif azzaharakh* "we thin out the blossom", *binfaṭṭīj alḥamām* "we disperse" the pigeons". (For other exceptions to the elision rule, cf. I, 2.2.2.1.).

2.5. Assimilation.

Below a number of examples of assimilation are listed. Since, again, the number of possible combinations of consonants must be considerable, this list cannot be exhaustive. Nevertheless, the following types of contact assimilation of consonants can be identified: regressive (partial or total), progressive (partial or total), and reciprocal (total). (For the spread of velarization, cf. I, 1.1.7. Instances of vowel harmony will be mentioned in the relevant sections).

Apart from the total assimilation of the *l* of the article to "sunletters" (with a few instances of *l* + _INCREMENT_ as in *aggirid* "the palm leaves", and *l* + _INCREMENT_ as in *akkalām* "the talk", and one instance of *l* + _INCREMENT_ in *aggarnās* "type of falcon used for hunting (larger than a ṣihīnīy, but more difficult to train, and therefore cheaper)"), the following instances of regressive total assimilation were recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assimilation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>n + r</em> → <em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>irrūḥ</em> (&lt; <em>nrūḥ</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n + l</em> → <em>ll</em></td>
<td>*rāḥālī <em>lih</em> (&lt; <em>rāḥīlīn lih</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l + n</em> → <em>nn</em></td>
<td><em>nnā</em> (&lt; <em>lnā</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l + r</em> → <em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>ḥīrī rizugī</em> (&lt; <em>ḥīlī rizugī</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + t</em> → <em>tt</em></td>
<td><em>ṭṭabbīl</em> (&lt; <em>ṭṭabbīl</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + s</em> → <em>ss</em></td>
<td><em>ssawwīy</em> (&lt; <em>tsawwīy</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + š</em> → <em>šš</em></td>
<td><em>niššārāk</em> (&lt; <em>nitšārāk</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + ŋ</em> → <em>šš</em></td>
<td><em>ssīr</em> (&lt; <em>tsīr</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + r</em> → <em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>tritt</em> (&lt; <em>trit</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + ž</em> → <em>żż</em></td>
<td><em>yītddabhāhow</em> (&lt; <em>yitddabhaḥow</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + d</em> → <em>dd</em></td>
<td><em>ddīl</em> (&lt; <em>tdīl</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + ṣ</em> → <em>ṣṣ</em></td>
<td><em>yītddall</em> (&lt; <em>ṯdīl</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t + ǧ</em> → <em>ǧǧ</em></td>
<td><em>getter</em> (&lt; <em>ṯgīr</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>d + t</em> → <em>tt</em></td>
<td><em>ṭalāṭ t-ūshur</em> (&lt; <em>ṭalāṭ t-ūshur</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| *g + t* → *tt* | *axatt* (< *axaḍt*)

_Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary._
Instances of regressive partial assimilation:

\[
\begin{align*}
  n + b & \rightarrow mb: \text{ } m\text{b} \text{g} (< \text{n\text{b}g}) \\
  b + n & \rightarrow mn: \text{ } m\text{n} \text{l} \text{g} (< \text{b\text{n}l} \text{g}) \\
  m + f & \rightarrow mf: \text{ } m\text{f} \text{all} (< \text{mf\text{all}}) \\
  n + g & \rightarrow ng: \text{ } y\text{ung} \text{ul} (< \text{y\text{ung}ul}) \\
  t + n & \rightarrow dn: \text{ } n\text{t} \text{ag} \text{gi} (< \text{nt\text{ag}gi}) \\
  t + m & \rightarrow dm: \text{ } n\text{t\text{a}t} \text{t} (< \text{nt\text{a}t} \text{t}) \\
  t + g & \rightarrow dg: \text{ } d\text{g} \text{h} \text{mi} (< \text{tg\text{h}mi}) \\
  t + z & \rightarrow dz: \text{ } d\text{z} \text{id} (< \text{tz\text{id}})
\end{align*}
\]

Voiced consonants are regularly dissonorized in pause, which is perhaps more aptly described as regressive assimilation to pause, but such dissonorization is usually only partial (i.e. the onset of the voiced consonant will still be voiced), which accounts for the fact that anaptyctics will appear in examples such as \text{gurub} # "kinship (through marriage)", \text{daluw} # "pail", \text{wasim} # "rainy season; mark", \text{xa\text{sh}im} # "nose".

Instances of progressive total assimilation.

Progressive total assimilation is often found with the initial \(h\) of pronominal suffixes assimilating to preceding voiceless consonants:

\[
\begin{align*}
  k + h & \rightarrow kk: \text{ } t\text{i\text{sh}bik} \text{mu} (< \text{ti\text{sh}bikmu}) \\
  x + h & \rightarrow xx: \text{ } \text{s\text{h}ex} \text{mu} (< \text{\text{s\text{h}exmu})} \\
  t + h & \rightarrow tt: \text{ } b\text{in} \text{ti} (< \text{bin\text{ti})} \\
  s + h & \rightarrow st: \text{ } n\text{hu} \text{\text{t}t} (< \text{nhu\text{t}t}) \\
  s + h & \rightarrow ss: \text{ } \text{\text{g}um} \text{\text{u}ssu} (< \text{\text{g}um\text{u}ssu}) \\
  s + h & \rightarrow s\text{s}: \text{ } \text{binnakki\text{\text{i}ss}i} (< \text{binnakki\text{\text{i}ss}i}) \\
  s + h & \rightarrow s\text{\text{h}i}: \text{ } \text{\text{b}in\text{xall}i\text{ss}i} (< \text{\text{b}in\text{xall}i\text{ss}i}) \\
  f + h & \rightarrow ff: \text{ } \text{y\text{sh}aff}i (< \text{\text{y\text{sh}affi})} \\
  h + h & \rightarrow hh: \text{ } \text{\text{n}if\text{\text{ia}h}hi} (< \text{\text{n}if\text{\text{ia}h}hi}) \\
  t + h & \rightarrow tt: \text{ } \text{\text{w}as} \text{\text{not} recorded}
\end{align*}
\]
Instances of reciprocal total assimilation:

\[ ' + h \rightarrow hh: \text{mihhiy} \ (< \text{mi}^{\prime}\text{hiy}) \]
\[ g + h \rightarrow xx: \text{yfaggixxiy} \ (< \text{yfaggighiy}) \]
\[ ð + t \rightarrow ïï: \text{oïtën} \ (\text{with dental articulation of} \ t < \text{oïtën}) \]

3. Morphology.

3.1. Nominal morphology.

Although several of the phenomena described here may be found to have been described in phonology as well, in many cases such historical phonological rules have led to morphological restructuring of the base forms in some dialects, whereas in other dialects such rules have remained phonetic in character. This would explain some overlapping in the material presented.

3.1.1. Raising of \(a\).

3.1.1.1. Raising of \(\ast a\) in \(\ast C_{1}aC_{2}C_{3}(ah)\).

3.1.1.1.1. Raising of \(\ast a\) in \(\ast C_{1}aC_{2}C_{3}(ah) \ (C_{3} \neq y)\).

Like in \(D_{A}^{358}\), /a/ in open syllables preceding \(\text{iî}/\) has been raised in the majority of cases, irrespective of phonetic environment, and has thus led to an almost complete morphological restructuring of the base form. The rule is:

\[ a\text{-raising:} \quad a \rightarrow \text{i}/ \ C_{1}C_{2}C_{3} \]

\(C_{1} \neq \ast \)

Examples which may be heard in RA, SA and BaA: kibir "large, old", şîgîr "small, young", kîkîr "many, much", mîlîh "good", şîîr "barley", şîrîdîh "palm branch (stripped of leaves)", ıizîz "dear", alXîlîg "the Gulf", ıîrîs "bridegroom", ıîdíd "iron", bihiîmîh "beast", ıîlîdîh "thick", ıîlíl "little". Some examples in AA: kibir "large, old"; kîkîr "many, much"; ıîlîdah "thick"; xîfîf "light"; ıîgîl "heavy"; ıîmîr "donkey".

\(^{358}\) Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 6 (117).
\(^{359}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 25 (text 7), l. 81; p. 25 (text 7), l. 89; p. 32 (text 14), l. 12; p. 32 (text 14), l. 14; p. 32 (text 14), l. 14; p. 17 (text 5), l. 1 respectively.
Near w the high vowel may be more like u: wugid "fuel", tuwil "long", guwiy "strong" (for more examples of C3 = y in this pattern, cf. I, 3.1.1.1.2.).

When preceded by older hamzah\(^{360}\), the a is not raised: (')ašīl, "thoroughbred", (')axīr "last".\(^{361}\)

In a number of instances, mainly in guttural environments recorded in BaA, forms without the assimilation may occur alongside the assimilated ones, e.g.: ša'ār "barley", ḥarīm "women", ḡašīl "washing", ḥawīs "perplexed", ṣağīr "small, young", ġaṛf al-Ǧīzlān "name of a settlement in Balawiy territory", xamīm "fallen dates", sūg al-xamīs "the Thursday market (in al-ʿArīs)", xaṭī al-ḥadīd "the railway track", ḡadīm "old", ḡārīb "strange", Xalīl "male given name", 'allg "fodder", 'aṭīz "dear", 'arīs "bridegroom", ṣağīr "young, little", ḥadītah "modern", baʿṭdāh "far".

During direct elicitation even forms like kāṭīr "many, much", dagīg "dough", ḡadīd "new" were recorded in BaA, but since such instances did not occur in "spontaneous" texts, no conclusions are drawn from these instances here.

When a gahawah-vowel stands in open syllable preceding stressed ı, it is not raised, e.g. taʿaṭīl "suspension (of activities)", taṣaṭīf "thinning out (of watermelon plants)", taḥadīd "demarcation".

From these forms we can conclude that what started as a phonetic rule is developing into morphological restructuring of base forms in BaA, while this process has been as good as completed in RA, SA and AA\(^{362}\), like in DA. In BaA the phonetic environment is becoming less influential regarding the distribution of high or low short vowels in the first syllable of *C₁aC₂tC₃ (except where C₁ = *'). Instead, the developing morphological pattern C₁tC₂tC₃ calls for a short high vowel in the first syllable. The underlying pattern however, is still C₁aC₂tC₃ in all of these dialects, for the high vowel is never dropped. This would have resulted in forms like *kbir, *ṣģīr, *gdīd etc. (like in 'AA and ḠA, cf. V, 3.1.1.1.1.).

\(^{360}\) For the status of ' in these examples, cf. I, 1.1.6.

\(^{361}\) Also in the 1st. p. sg. of med. inf. i-type verbs (where C₁ *') ('aġīb "I bring", ('ašīl "I carry", and also (')ašīt "I come" etc.

\(^{362}\) STEWART (1990), however, does give a few examples of C₁aC₂tC₃. Among these are saḥīh "truly", p. 12 (text 1), I. 115; ṣağīr "young", p. 100 (text 32), I. 3.
Forms in TA, MA and ‘AyA show the same morphological restructuring as in DA, AA, RA and SA, although exceptions were recorded as well.

3.1.1.1.2. Raising of a in *CaCîy (C₃ = y).

When the root is tert. inf., raising of a is general in all our dialects, but stress varies according to the rules described in 2.1.1. Examples are:

In RA: álguiy "the strong one", bíriy "innocent", nibiy "Prophet", ánnibi "the Prophet", ìliy ~ íliy "male given name", Biliy (~ Biliy) "name of the tribe of BaA speakers", šibi "boy", ássibi "the boy", wîlîy "saint".

In AA: biriy (where C₃ y is a reflex of *') "innocent", gîbîy "hidden", ìliy "male given name", ánnibi "the Prophet".⁶⁶³

In SA: ánnibi "the Prophet".

In BaA: šibi "boy", tîriy ~ tîriy "dry", figîy (where C₃ y is a reflex of *h) "reciter of the Koran", sîgîy "wretched", ánnibi "the Prophet".

There cannot be much doubt that these forms were historically stressed on the last syllable, which facilitated the a → I change. This is indeed corroborated by stress in such recorded (and still existent) forms as guwi'y, ìliy, and Biliy, which seem to reflect an underlying pattern CaCiC, and very probably an earlier *CaCiC pattern (as in CA *qawîy, *‘Alîy, and *Baîy, respectively).

The fact that the article is stressed when prefixed in these cases, e.g. ánnibi "the Prophet", álguiy "the strong one", ássibi "the boy" shows that we are dealing with an underlying CaCiC pattern, as opposed to the CiCC pattern of e.g. gîdy, which in pause becomes algîdiy # (and when suffixed we get e.g. gîdyîy "his kid goat", recorded in RA). The same is suggested by wîlîy "saint", which becomes wîlîyyî (cf. older *waliyih) "lady, woman", and not *wîlîyîh (when suffixed with the feminine suffix).

These forms have partially followed the same development as older CiCâ(‘) forms; both *CiCâ(‘) and *CaCiC were stressed on the last (long) syllable. Where the first open syllable contained I, this I was dropped. Where the first syllable contained a, this a was raised to I, but remained underlying |al, for it is not dropped. Now that stress is shifting from the final syllable to the

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⁶⁶³ For the first three AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, for the last example, cf. ibid, p. 3 (text 1), I. 2 (+ fn), and passim.
penultimate, because of reduction of the final syllable, *wiliy can become *wliy, and *bari' can become *biriy.

N.B. Interestingly in this respect, the BaA verb form for "he comes" is *yigiy, which points to an older *ya- prefix, while in SA, RA and AA the corresponding form is *ygiy, which points to an older (intermediate?) CiCiC or CiCi pattern. This suggests, if one assumes an older common *ya- prefix, that vowel harmony may have taken place in RA, SA and AA earlier than in BA.364

In SA, RA and AA the short high vowel in *yigi (from *yaği) became stable, perhaps in analogy to the measure 3 or 4 high vowel of the imperfect prefix, and was consequently dropped.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i.

Only two examples of a reflex of the older nominal pattern used for negative qualities C1aC2iC3 are available: nikdih "troublesome" (RA), and (where C3 = y) ridiy "no good, bad, inadequate, worthless" (AA)365. If *nakid and *radiy (CA *radin, if not *radi') were stressed on the vowel of the ultimate syllable (in conformity with rule 6a) described in 2.1.1.: *nakid, *radiy), raising of a in the preceding syllable could take place (→ nikid, ridiy), like in the perfect of C1aC2iC3 verbs which become C1iC2iC3. The rule for raising of a would then be the same as the one formulated for a-raising in verbs (cf. I, 3.2.1.1.):

\[
a \rightarrow i / C._CiC
\]

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in CaCCI(C)ah).

The a in the first (closed) syllable of CaCCI(C)ah (either C1aC2C3iC4(ah) or C1aC2C2C3iC3(ah)) is not raised in assimilation in the dialects under discussion here, e.g.: batìfix "watermelons", barsìm "clover", fallìnih "cork (n.u.)", sakkìnih "knife", kabìrih "matches", zarìrih "grains of seed", mandìl "handkerchief" 364 This would also link up to the instances of nominal CaCiC still occurring in BaA.

365 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary. Notice, however, that the f. sg. in AA is ridiyyih, instead of expected *riddyih. (cf. STEWART (1990), p. 70 (text 21), fn 219). This must be due to the similarity to reflexes of *C1aC2iy, which are also C1iC2iy (cf. 3.1.1.2.), and which form a f. sg. C1iC2iyyih.
(BaA), gandil "jellyfish", baddī' "rhymer of ditties"\textsuperscript{366}, xanzīr "pig" (AA), fazzī'īh "attackers" (AA)\textsuperscript{367}, but (i)brig "jug".

3.1.1.4. Raising of \textit{a} in \textit{CaCCâC}...

The \textit{a} in closed syllable in \textit{CaCCâC} (either \textit{C1aC2C2âC3} or \textit{C1aC2C3ân}) is not regularly raised in \textit{SA}, \textit{RA}, \textit{AA}, or \textit{BaA}. When this raising occurs, it optionally does so in neutral environments, and is thus of a phonetic nature. The rule for this type of raising is:

optional \textit{a}-raising: \textit{a} \rightarrow \textit{I} / \textit{C}_\text{__} \textit{CCâC}

Examples recorded in \textit{TA}, \textit{MA} and 'AyA, although limited in number, indicate a similar situation in these dialects.

3.1.1.4.1. Examples of \textit{a}-raising in the pattern \textit{C1aC2C2âC3}.

Examples of \textit{*C1aC2C2âC3} are:
In \textit{RA}: šāg̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱"light, often improvised poems, rhymes".\textsuperscript{366}
\textit{For the two AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 177 (text 66), l. 18, and p. 99 (text 31), l.4 respectively.}\textsuperscript{369}
\textit{Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.}\textsuperscript{368}
\textit{Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 112 (text 36), l. 27; p. 123 (text 38), l. 21; p. 117 (text 36), l. 155; p. 178 (text 66), l. 37; p. 69 (text 21), l. 204 (+ fn); p. 5 (text 1), l. 1; p. 9 (text 1) spoken in the interval indicated by [...] in l. 66 respectively. NB. in Stewart’s transcription, which is strictly phonological, this type of raising is not reflected.}\textsuperscript{369}
"blanket", laggāḥah "pollination stick (for datepalms)", but also ḡimmāl "camel driver", birrād "teapot".

3.1.1.4.2. Examples of a-raising in the pattern $C_1aC_2C_3ān$.

Recorded examples of *$C_1aC_2C_3ān$ are:
In RA: ‘adfan "selecting as an appeal judge"$^{370}$, qalān "at fault, wrong", xarbān "in ruins", malyān "full", but also tifrān "pauper", tīfānīn "good-for-nothing (m. pl.)".
In SA: none recorded.
In AA: za‘alān (with a gahawah-vowel) "angry", kaflānīn "acting as guarantors", hazlān "feeble, exhausted", dafyān "warm", ḥamgān "angry", but also wiḍān "in pain".$^{371}$
In BaA: ‘atān "thirsty", qalbān "wretched", xarbān "in ruins", qalān "at fault, wrong", Salmān "male given name", wiḍān "in pain", ʾiryān "naked", ǧi‘ān thirsty".

N.B. A few instances show a-raising in plurals (of sg. CaCCah) forming a CaCCât sequence were also recorded: ḡiṛrāt (sg. ḡurrāh) "(earthenware) jars" (RA, SA, BaA), arbaʿ mirrāt "four times" (RA, SA).

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in ...CaCdC...

Unstressed a in open syllable preceding ā may be phonetically raised to I (i.e. i or u) in neutral environments (here the term "neutral" is defined as not following X or *', and not preceding l):

optional a-raising: $a > I / (-)C_1 C_2ā$

$C_1 ≠ *'$ or X
$C_2 ≠ l$
$I = a$ lax [i] in non-labial environments, and a lax [u] may occur before labials.

Examples in SA and RA: timānyih "eight", midāfin "graves", digāyīg "minutes", giwālib "horseshoes", mikān "place", timāyīl "water-holes", mixālbih "its (m.

$^{370}$ Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, root ' - d-f.
$^{371}$ Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 102 (text 32), l. 65; p. 117 (text 36), l. 158; p. 189 (text 69), l. 285; text 24), l. 123 (+fā); p. 167 (text 59), l. 67; p. 27 (text 9), l. 9 respectively. For the meaning of these words, cf. ibid. glossary.
sg.) claws", and u in labial environment nuwāiyīh "date kernel", and kunān "also", Suwārkīh "name of tribe", šuwārib "lips", ġuwālin "jerrycans". But also kunān "also", banāt "daughters", mašāriy "money", mašāfah "distance", šuwārib "lips", kabābiy "drinking glasses", ūmānyiyīh "eight", fanāgîl "coffee cups".

In AA: dirāhîm "money", mināgî′ addamm "Blood Puddle Judges", ġimā′ī "my group of people (here: men from my lineage)", but also Tarâbîn "name of a tribe".372

In BaA: dikātrîh "doctors", nihâr "day", gibâyil "tribes", tigâwîy "seeds (for sowing)", lidâyi "(three) stones (to support pots and pans over a fire)", midâris "schools", digâyîg "minutes". u in labial environment, e.g.: ḍuwâhiy Gaṭyâh "the outskirts of Gaṭyâh", šuwârib "lips", kunān "also", Suwârkīh "name of tribe", ṭûbâyîc "manners". But also ma′álîg "spoons", banâthum "their daughters", mašâyîx "sheikhs".

When following X, preceding liquids (although more so when preceding l than when preceding r), or following hamzah, this raising occurs much less373. Examples are:

Following X: xâwâl "uncles" (a gahawah-form, cf. I, 2.2.1.1.), xâsâb "fertile" ḥâlâl "small cattle", ḥâmâmîh "pigeon", ġâzâl "gazelle", ḥwâsîl "craws (of birds)", ʿasâyiḥ "stick", ḥârâbah "cistern", although also ʿuwâyîd ~ ʿiwâyîd374 (~ ʿawâyîd in BaA) "customs", ḥibâyîb (～ḥâbâyîb, both RA) "loved ones".

Preceding liquids375:탈âtih "three", kalâm "speech", Salâmîh "male given name", ʿalâh "prayer", ʿgarâkil "jerrycans", warâh "behind him", darâhîm (~ dirâhîm in AA376) "money", maʿrâkîb "boats", but also Dilâdîlīh "name of a subtribe (or clan?) of the Tarâbîn", and ġîrâkil "jerrycans".

372 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 27 (text 8), l. 29; p. 35 (text 12), l. 71; p. 46 (text 16), l. 14
373 The same holds for PA, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 6 (117).
374 Cf. ibid.
375 Like in the dialect of Anaiza, l and r usually inhibit raising of preceding a in our dialects, but a similar influence of (homo-organic) n was not noted, e.g. finâdîg "hotels", binât "girls", kinâbil alhawn "mortar shells", and also binâ "he built, sinâh "year", sinâb "moustache". Cf. JOHNSTONE (1967), pp. 7-10. As is illustrated by the last examples in this paragraph, raising of a preceding liquids does occur, but considerably less so than in neutral environments.
376 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
Following *’377: (’)ahâliy "people", (’)arâdiy "lands", (’)aşâyil "thoroughbreds", (’)arânib "rabbits", (’)anamil "fingers of a claw", (’)aşâbi' "fingers", (’)asâs "basis", (’)asâmîy "names" (’)Axârsih "name of a tribe", (’)Ahâmid "Ahmadiy-judges"378, and 1st. p. c. sg. verb forms (’)anâm "I sleep", (’)asâîr "I travel" etc.

An exception to this rule is a of the first p. c. sg. imperfect in verbal morphology, which is never raised in this position (probably to avoid homonymic clash): bahâwil "I try" (RA), ba’âwid "I return" (SA), banâdiy "I call", bagâdiy (fî w') "I sue (s.o.)" (AA)379, and bağâmlah "I am courteous to him" (BaA). Notice that forms like bihâwil "he tries", and bi’âwid "he returns" etc. do occur, but that these are then third p. m. sg. (cf. 4.3.).

Raising of a in open syllable preceding ā is also current in TA, MA and 'AyA.

N.B. Blanc reports the suffixed prep. 'ala in which the same raising of a occurs: 'ilêk "on you", etc.380 A number of such instances were recorded in AA381, but none in RA, SA or BaA.

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in ...CaCd...

The a in open syllable preceding stressed ā is raised to I in neutral* environments as well. The rule is again phonetic and optional, and applies to verb forms as well:

\[ a\)-raising: a → I / C_1...C_2\]

* neutral is defined here as:

\[ C_1 \neq * \text{ or } X \]
\[ C_2 \neq l \]

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377 may be be of a phonotactic nature, but the a is not raised.
378 The Ahmadiy judges specialize in matters "of the house", and these positions are held by members of Bilîy. Cf. AţţAYYIB (1997), p. 139.
379 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 34 (text 14), ll. 65-66.
381 Among similar instances I heard in the recordings of STEWART (1990) are: 'ilêhum p. 3 (text 1), l. 3, 'ilêk p. 4 (text 1), l. 10, and 'ilây p. 5 (text 1), l. 21.
382 Where the older stress rule for CaCdC(v) applies (cf. above 2.1.1.), otherwise gâmal, gâhawah etc.
Examples in SA and RA: ġimāl "camel", diwā' "medicine", šibāk "netting", ďihāb "gold", šiğárah "tree", mitā (only SA), and verb forms gištā 'he cut', ġifāl "it (m. sg.) shied (of a horse)", sirāq "he stole", and the gahawah-form șihār "month".

Examples in AA: kifāl "guarantee", șināb "moustache" and verb forms gişār "it was short", mināt "you stopped (trans.)".383

Examples in BaA: ġimāl "camel", simākih "fish (n.u.)", libān "milk", gišālāh "twig", bišālāh "(an) onion", and verb forms mišāt "she went", misakt "I took", kitāb "he wrote", kitāl "he killed/hit", aftikārat "she thought", attisāt "I agreed", mitā "when?". And also, much more regularly than in RA and SA, raising of a in the gahawah-forms: șihār "month", lihāg "catching up (v.n.)", bišālāh "she-mule", fihāmih "(a piece of) charcoal", gihāwah "coffee", nixālāh "date palm", lihāt "under", mihāl "drought", and verb forms yihārīḡ "he speaks", tiʔārīf "you know", mà tiʔāgiz... algāʾdin "do not fail those seated (as guests)".

In labial and/or velarized environments I tends to be u, e.g.: mujār "rain" (RA, SA and BaA), guwād "animal led to be slaughtered" (BaA ~ gawād in RA and SA), rugābaika "your neck" (BaA), and wulādyih "my son" (BaA).

Here the same factors inhibiting such a-raising apply as in I, 3.1.1.6. Examples are:

following X: ġanām "sheep and goats", xaštāb "wood", ḥaḡār "stone", ḥatāb "firewood", 'ašāt i-iyyām "ten days", Ḥasān "male given name", and a verb form xaštāb "he addressed (speaking)".

preceding l: walād "boy, son", talāt marraṯat "three times", zalāmah "man", and verb forms kalān "they (f.) ate", talāb "he ordered", but also bilāh "dates" (SA and BaA), and wulādyih "my son" (only in BaA).

following *': (')ahāmahr "red", (')axāḍar "green", (')aʔama "blind", (')axāras "dumb, mute", (')anā "I", (')asād "lion", (')afāmak "your mouth", (')ahālak "your family", (')adāb "good manners", and verb forms (')axāḍat "she took", (')akāl "he ate", (for the status of ', cf. I, 1.1.6.).

383 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 6 (text 1), l. 39; p. 15 (text 2), l. 7, p. 11 (text 1), l. 101; p. 7 (text 1), l. 42 respectively.
Comparable instances of raising of $a$ in open syllable preceding stressed $a$ were heard in $TA$, $MA$ and $‘AyA$.

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

We could summarize the two $a$-raising rules discussed above in one rule, which is optional:

$$a\text{-raising: } a \rightarrow I / C_1 \_ C_2A$$

$C_1 \neq *'$ or $X$

$C_2 \neq l$

$A = \text{stressed } a \text{ or } ā$

$I = \text{high vowel } i \text{ or } u$

N.B. Stress of $A$ does not have to be primary, as raising of $a$ also occurs in the following examples (primary stress indicated with an acute accent): $Misā‘īd$ "name of tribe", $ğiwālīn$ "jerrycans", $ṭīmānīn$ "eighty", $misāmīr$ $kibāb$ "kebab skewers", $misāffitūm$ "their distance", and also $‘imāmīl$ "irrigation canals". Examples with raising of $a$ following $ā$: $ālkifāl$ "the guarantee", $āššiḥar$ "the month", and verb forms $ātīfag$ "he agreed", $āsūwa$ "it became ripe".

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

Raising of $a$ in open syllable preceding $ū$ generally takes place in $CaCūC(ah)$ in $RA$, $SA$, $AA$ and $DA$, and does not appear to be phonetically conditioned. The rule is:

$$*a \rightarrow I / C_1 \_ C_2ūC_3$$

$C_1 \neq *'$

Examples: $gu‘ūd$ "young male camel" ($RA$, $SA$, $AA$\textsuperscript{384}, $DA$\textsuperscript{385}, $BaA$), $‘urūs$ "bride" ($RA$, $SA$, $BaA$), $xurūf$ "sheep (sg.)" ($RA$, $SA$, $AA$\textsuperscript{386}, $BaA$), $gumūs$ "dipped food" ($RA$, $BaA$), $gūrūr$ "false, deceptive" ($AA$\textsuperscript{387}), $yuhūd$ "Jews", $ḥumūlīh$ "clan" (both $DA$\textsuperscript{388}, $rūkūbāh$ "riding animal" ($BaA$), $asSu‘ūd$

\textsuperscript{384} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 100 (text 32), l. 3.

\textsuperscript{385} Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 30 (141).

\textsuperscript{386} Cf. ibid.

\textsuperscript{387} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 186 (text 69), l. 193.

\textsuperscript{388} Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 6 (117).
"(Gazirat) asSuʿūd (in the Šarqiyyah)" (BaA), 'uğazih "old woman" (BaA), arrusūl "the Prophet" (BaA), 'umud (~ 'āmūd in SA) "pole" (BaA).

In cases where potential velarization created by ū is not "carried" by the consonant preceding this stressed ū, preceding a in open syllable may be raised to become i instead of u, e.g.: 'īgūz "old man" (RA), 'īrūs "bride", gizūm "turning over (of soil) (?)", mihūnīh "disrespect" (AA)389, misūh "name for a young camel after it has been weaned"390 (SA), and also in DA391: yihūd "Jews", himūlih "clan".

The provision made for C as not being *' follows from the examples (')abūy "my father", (')axūh "his brother", (')asūl "proper". The imperfect verb forms for the 1st. p. c. sg., with or without b-, show no raising either, e.g.: (')aṣūf "I see", (')amūf fihīy "I'll die in it (f. sg.)", (')ārūh "I go", and bagūm "I get up", bagūl "I say", etc. (for similar examples of non-raising of (')a- in open syllable preceding i, cf. I, 3.1.1.1.1.).

N.B. Raising of a < underlying lāl (phonetically shortened conforming to I, 1.2.2.4.) does not occur, e.g. barūd "rifle" (RA), Dawūd "male given name" (RA), masūrah "pipeline" (RA), gānūn "law" (BaA), ma'ūn "receptacle" (BaA).

Similarly, a < *ay as in zatūn "olives" (RA, SA ~ expected zētūn in BaA), and lamūn "lemons" (RA) is not raised.392

Like a gahawah - vowel landing in an open unstressed syllable preceding i (cf. I, 3.1.1.1.), the gahawah - vowel in a similar position preceding ū (cf. I, 2.2.1.2.) is not raised either: ma'arūf "known", ma'adūdât "numerous (f. pl.)", mahamūl "neglected", ma'adūl "in a straight line", Aḥu Dahatūm "name of a šēx".

When a precedes the suffixed masc. pl. verbal ending ū, it is not raised either: yadbahuha "they slaughter it (f. sg.)", yaṭḥanūh "they grind it (m. sg.)".

389 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 117 (text 36), 1.162.
390 This is how it was glossed to me. I could not find the word in any other meaning than "unguents, ointments", however. Cf. DOZY (1881), part 2 (root m-s-h).
391 Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 6 (117), where (free ?) variation is reported in these forms.
392 The forms zatūn and lamūn (with a) are quite likely to be loans from sedentary dialects, and are therefore not likely to be synchronic variants (after shortening of ay, cf. 1.2.4.6.1.2.) of the forms with the diphthong ay.
Exceptions to this rule have also been recorded, but these were restricted almost exclusively to BaA, and especially where X preceded a: ǧamūs "dipped food", ʿarūs "bride", ḥakūmih\(^393\) "government", gaʿūd "young male camel" (all BaA), and also the CA loan rasūl "Prophet" recorded in RA.

The conclusion is that this raising rule has led to morphologically restructured base forms in RA, SA, AA and DA, whereas such raising is of a phonetic nature in BaA. In all of these dialects however, the resulting u can be said to be underlying lal, since it is not dropped in conformity with I, 2.4.

In TA this raising does not appear to be taking place: ǧanūb "south", ḥamūlīh "beast of burden", gaʿūd "young male camel", ʿarūs "bride". Examples of raising were recorded in MA: guʿūd, ǧumūs "food dip", but forms without raising do not appear in our material. In ʿAyA ǧamūs ~ ǧumūs, gaʿūd ~ guʿūd, xarūf ~ xurūf were recorded, indicating that such raising is optional, and not phonetically conditioned.

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

A few instances show raising of a in open syllable preceding ū (the rule is comparable to raising of a in open syllable preceding ī, cf. 3.1.1.2.):

\[ a \rightarrow u / C_\_CūC \]

Examples were found mainly in AA, and these are all reflexes of older intransitive *faʿula verbs. The examples listed by Stewart\(^394\) are: kuḥur, tıgūl, șuğur, tuxun, ġuluď, ʿuruď, kuṭur, suxun, guşur, and xulus. Assuming that these are all stressed regularly (on the last syllable, in conformity with I, 2.1.1. 6 a.), they are comparable to older *faʿila (i.e. verbs with the perfect pattern C\(_1\)aC\(_2\)iC\(_3\)a) verbs, which have become CiCiC (cf. I, 3.2.1.1.).\(^395\)

\(^{393}\) Notice that, since it is not *ḥkūmih, the conclusion is that for some dialects there is underlying lal in the first syllable of the reflex of *ḥakūmah. A similar ḥakūma occurs in Upper Egypt as well, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1994), p. 90. 
\(^{394}\) Cf. also fn to III, 3.1.1.8. on whether perhaps the a is underlyingly long in such forms.
\(^{395}\) ABDUL FADL (1961), p. 284 (§ 62 b), and p. 335 (map 36) reports that the reflex fuʿul of *faʿul occurs only in his area number 2 of map 36 (i.e. roughly the eastern and central part) of the Sarqiyyah.
3.1.1.10. *a*-raising rules combined.

If we wish to combine the two rules of raising of *a* in open syllables preceding a long stressed high vowel, we could summarize:

\[ a \rightarrow I / C_aC_b \hat{I}C \]

\[ \hat{I} = \text{long high vowel } \ddot{u} \text{ or } \dddot{u} \]
\[ I = \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } \hat{I} = \ddot{u}; \text{ short high vowel } i \text{ if } \hat{I} = \dddot{u} \]
\[ C_a = *' \]
\[ C_b = \text{capable of "carrying" velarization (primary emphatics, and also consonants mentioned in I, 1.1.7.) in case of raising to } u. \]

Although the available examples are limited, we may be tempted to write one rule covering all possible instances of raising of *a* in open syllable, preceding any stressed high vowel (long or short). If we do not specify whether it is optional or compulsory, that is, whether such raising has led to morphological restructuring of base forms or not, this rule could be:

\[ a \rightarrow I / C_aC_b \hat{I}(C) \]

\[ \hat{I} = \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } \hat{I} = \ddot{u} \text{ or } \dddot{u}; \text{ short high vowel } i \text{ if } \hat{I} = \dddot{u} \text{ or } \hat{i} \]
\[ I = \text{stressed high long or short vowel} \]
\[ C_a = *' \]
\[ C_b = \text{capable of "carrying" velarization in case of raising to } u. \]

N.B. In *BaA* the *hamzah*-initial nouns (')asad "lion", and (')afam "mouth" have the plurals (')asūd, (')afūm.

3.1.2. Reflexes of *C_1aC_2C_3(ah).*

For contrastive purposes (cf. 3.1.2. of the other chapters), a number of reflexes of *C_1aC_2C_3(ah)* are listed here:

Some reflexes of *CaCC(ah)* include: *badwah* "bedouins" (*BaA, AA*), *ğidy* "kid goat" (*RA*), *taḥāt (~ tiḥāt ~ taht)* (*RA, SA, AA, BaA*), *faḥám ~ fiḥām* "coal" (*BaA*), *şakl* "shape" (*BaA*), *şaḥān (~ şihān)* "dish" (*RA, BaA*), *karš* "belly" (*BaA*), *ğahāš* "donkey" (~ *ğihāš*) (*BaA*), *kalb* "dog" (*RA, AA*), *fiḥm* "understanding" (*AA*).
Other recorded instances: wîgh "face" (RA, SA, BaA, AA), wiîdîh "one" (RA, SA, BaA, AA), niîyîh "direction" (BaA), giîmr "armful" (BaA), wiîdîh "promise" (RA), siîb "difficult" (RA), siîd "chest" (RA) (but sadr in SA and BaA), riîl "measure" (BaA), (')îkl "food" (~ akl in RA, only akl in SA and BaA), (')îtl "tamarisk" (RA).

3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah).

kîlmîh "word" (RA, SA, BaA, AA), şîrkîh "company, business" (RA, SA, AA), kiîf "shoulder" (RA, SA, BaA), wirk "thigh" (RA, SA, AA).

3.1.4. Reflexes of *C1μC2C3(ah).

bann "coffeebeans" (RA, SA, BaA), rîzz "rice" (RA, SA, BaA), kull "all; every" (RA, SA, AA, BaA), kumî "sleeve" (BaA), ammi "mother" (RA, SA, AA, BaA ~ a few instances of ummi in BaA), uxt "sister" (RA, SA, AA, BaA).

Instances of *C1μC2C3(ah): 'iddîh "equipment, stuff" (RA, SA, AA396, BaA), Ġîmîh "male given name" (RA, BaA), sînnih ~ sunnih "usage" (RA), mîddîh "period" (RA, BaA, muddîh in SA), nîsîh "a pluck, a bit" (RA), hînî(h) "they (f. pl.)" (RA, SA, AA and BaA), hîgîh "pleading" (RA, AA397), tîhmîh "accusation" (AA)398, ġîrzîh "handful" (BaA), zîbdîh "butter" (BaA).

In environments with sufficient backing we find u: guşsah "hair lock" (RA), xuîlah "bride’s compartment in the groom’s parents’ tent"399 (RA), şurrah "navel" (RA), rûqâh "graft" (RA), ġûrđah (BaA), burmâh "earthenware pot" (BaA), gufâh "basket" (BaA), turîh "canal for irrigation" (BaA), şugghah "oblong tent piece" (BaA).

In these instances we note that the high vowel u is usually only present in reflexes of *C1μC2C3(ah) where surrounding consonants are (potentially) velarized (cf. remarks in I, 1.2.3.2.). In neutral environments i has become regular. Notable exceptions are bann, and also ammi (perhaps in analogy to aḥh "father" and aḫẖ "brother"?).

396 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
397 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
398 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
3.1.5. Absence of short high vowels in open syllables preceding stress.

Short unstressed high vowels in open syllables which are not underlying /a/ are not regular in RA, SA, AA, or BaA. Historical /i/ in such positions in older forms has been dropped. This has led to morphological restructuring of base forms, which now have initial CC. The rule is:

$$ I \rightarrow \phi / C_CV $$

$I =$ any unstressed short (underlying) high vowel
$V =$ (here) any stressed long or short vowel

Examples are (for AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), glossary): snîn "years" (RA, AA), hniy "here" (RA, SA, AA, and ~ hni' in BaA), dra(\') "sorghum" (RA, SA, BaA), ħdûd "border" (RA, AA), gd̄āh "judges" (AA), ḏbā' "hyenas", ṭkab "knees" (RA, SA, BaA), ktâf "shoulders" (BA, AA), gmland "camels, flân "so-and-so", byût àsśa'ar "tents", ḏ'ûf "children", ḏyûf "guests" (all BaA).

In cases like biṣir "he becomes", biṭih "he falls" etc. we are dealing with the portmanteau morpheme bi, signalling 3rd p. and imperfect. The high vowel in this morpheme is never dropped (so no forms like bṣîr, bṭîh occur), and in fact, bi-co-occurs with biy- in more careful speech (cf. I, 4.3.).

In some exceptional instances, like in loans, the high vowel remained: zurûf "circumstances" (but contrast ḏrûf, both recorded in BaA), niţám ~ niţâm "system" (BaA), 'ibârah 'an "something like, amounting to", min ġér mu'âxâda'h "no offense intended", sulâlih "offspring", fulâniy (~ flânîy) "so-and-so (adj.)", almidîn "the towns" (BaA).

In examples like miċâd "appointment", girât "carat", şîşân "birds" the short vowel is the product of reduction of the long vowel (here i) (cf. I, 1.2.2.4.); morphological baseforms of these forms are miċâd, girât, and şîşân.

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400 The same rule applies in QA in the Negev, cf. BLANC (1970), pp. 5-6 (116-7).
An example where the influence of /l/ (cf. I, 2.2.2.2.) may have played a role in preserving the unstressed high vowel: *tulū*"aššams "sunrise" (RA), and similarly in AA *tulū* (my transcription)\(^{401}\).

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns.

Diminutive patterns are generally reported to be productive in bedouin dialects.\(^{402}\) In the material collected of our dialects, a number of diminutives do appear, but in many cases the question remains whether such forms are really the result of productive diminutive patterns, or whether these forms could be lexicalized items.\(^{403}\)

Besides the more common (lexicalized) instances of *ğhayyir* "small, young", *ğsayyir* "short", *grayyib* "near", *glayyil* "little", *kwayyis* "good", *şwayyih* "a bit", *dgayyig* "narrow" which may often be heard in sedentary dialects as well, the patterns are especially in use in names, e.g. topographical names *aḍḥhayr* "area in Swêrkiy territory south of ašŠex Zwayyid", *ašŠex Zwayyid* "name of a village in Rmêliy territory (named after a local holy man)". Male given names are Ğmê‘ān (often pronounced Ğmi‘ān), Slêm, Slêmân, Swêlim, ‘Bêd, Ḥsēn, Ḥmêd, Gē‘ân. Names for (members of) tribes are Rmêliy, Swêrkiy, Ahaywiy, Mlêhiy, Ḥsênât, Frêhat, Nsêrat, Gsayyir, Draybiy, Asaybi‘, Whaydiy, ‘Taywiy, Kraydim, Ǧaydiy, Mḥaysin. Names for animals are *fsēsiy* "type of bird", *dwêriy* "type of bird" (RA), *ḥsēniy* "fox".

Notice the hypochoristic use of the -\(^{-}\)an suffix in some of these examples, and also in ‘Liyyān "little ‘Aliy". The same suffix is used in *hniyān*(-ih) "here", *kidīyān*(-ih) "like this".\(^{404}\)

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\(^{401}\) Cf. several instances in STEWART (1990), among which p. 74 (text 21), l. 319, and p. 99 (text 31), l. 2.

\(^{402}\) BLANC (1970), pp. 7-8, 13-4, and 29-30, lists a considerable number of diminutives recorded in *DA*.

\(^{403}\) Part of the problem is in the relative limitedness of our material. If one does record a diminutive, one would hope that the same item in its non-diminutive shape might appear somewhere else, e.g. both *darāhim* and *drayhmāt* for "money". One would then have to compare the two usages. If one can conclude that, apart from an added aspect of diminutivity, the forms are used in a similar sense, then a conclusion of productivity of the diminutive pattern may be drawn. If there is a clear difference in meaning, or if non-diminutive parallel forms are not recorded, a conclusion of productivity is premature.

With initial ‘ ‘the diminutive is with $a$, appearing instead of zero after elision of the high vowel of the pattern: $\text{Ahaywi}$ not 'haywi "a member of the Ahaywät", $\text{Asaybi}$ not 'saybi "a name (lit. little finger)".

Other recorded instances of diminutives are: 'agayyib annhâr "the (short) rest of the day" (RA), $xwiy$ attayyarah "smaller version (lit. little brother) of (a thing like) the airplane" (RA), 'imdiaydât "little poles (?)" (RA), $\text{gmêrât} "live embers" (SA), $\text{hraybawai} "type of corn"$, $\text{gîtâh} "cloud"$ (SA), $\text{smêni}h "ghee from goat milk"$ (RA), $\text{bnayyih} "little daughter"$ (AA), $\text{dmêsiyyih} "little stones"$, $\text{ñêri}h \text{kwêtâh} "low small bush"$ (last three AA)$^{405}$, and in all dialects one may hear $\text{hrayyim} "women"$.

3.1.7. Pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$.

The pattern for nominals denoting colours and physical defects is $aC_1C_2aC_3$ (contrast $iCCaC$ pattern in group III, cf. III, 3.1.7.), and where $C_1 = X$, the gahawah-syndrome has resyllabicated the pattern to become $aCdCaC \sim aCaCaC$.

Some examples of colours: $\text{d}z\text{rag} "blue"$ (RA), $\text{dbyad} "white", \text{dswad} "black"$, and gahawah-forms $\text{ahámar} "red", \text{axâdar} "green"$. Corresponding f. and c. pl. forms coined on the patterns $C_1aC_2C_3\text{d(‘)}$ (for f. sg., with $C_1aC_2C_3\text{iy}$ where possible, cf. I, 1.2.4.4.1.), and $C_1\mu C_2C_3$ (I have found no indications that the c. pl. pattern might be $C_1IC_2C_3$ as in adjectives for physical defects, cf. below next paragraph) e.g.: $\text{hamrä(‘)}$, $\text{humr}$, $\text{xaḍrā(‘)}$, $\text{xdr}$, $\text{bêdā(‘)}$, $\text{bd}$.

Examples of physical defects: $\text{atras} "deaf", \text{asdaf} "left-handed", \text{axárâs} "mute", a‘âma "blind"$. Corresponding f. and c. pl. forms are according to the patterns $C_1aC_2C_3\text{d(‘)}$ (for f. sg., with $C_1aC_2C_3\text{iy}$ where possible, cf. I, 1.2.4.4.1.), and (tentatively) $C_1IC_2C_3$ (for c. pl., where $I = i$ in neutral environments, and $I = u$ in velarized environments, cf. 1.2.3.2.), e.g.: $\text{tarśi}$, $\text{turs}$, $\text{sadfi}$, $\text{sidf}$, $\text{xarsd}$, $\text{xurs}$, $\text{‘amyi}$, $\text{‘imy}$ (BA, the latter also recorded in AA and DA$^{406}$).

In RA I have also recorded $\text{hêdiy bit‘is im‘ûk, ‘a ssôdiy w albéda} "This one (i.e. woman) lives with you in bad and good (times)", \text{mayyi}h \text{bêdâ} "clear

$^{405}$ Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, text 32, l. 45, and p. 136 (text 43), l. 36 respectively.

water". And in AA bèdd(‘), "white (f. sg.), and assawdiy (f. sg., for stress cf. I, 2.1.2.1.) "the black (f. sg.)". The same patterns are current in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1aC_2C_3$, and $aC_1C_2a$.

The elative pattern in RA, SA, AA and BaA is $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g.: akbar "bigger/biggest", aktar "more/most", aybas "drier/driest", azwad "better/best", angas "worse/worst". Media gem. roots have the $aC_1aC_2C_3$ pattern: agall "less/least", ahamm "more important/most important", axaff "lighter/lightest". Tert. inf. have a $aC_1C_2a$ pattern: awla "having the first right to claim", and the gahawah-form ãhala ~ âhâla "more beautiful", although ãhla was also recorded in RA and SA.

3.1.9. Initial $a$.

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun.

In contrast to the $i$ occurring in the article and the relative pronoun in group III (cf. III, 3.1.9.1., and in ‘AA, cf. V, 3.1.9.1.), our dialects under discussion here in the northeast of Sinai all have $a$. Examples: ãlqibal "the desert (lit.: the mountains)", ãššiğar "the trees", ãdðiţîf "the children". Due to koineizing influences, although less regularly, $i$ instead of $a$ may be heard in the article as well.

The relative pronoun is alliy: alliy m‘ah kîs sukkar "he who has a bag of sugar with him" (RA), w alliy ãlîlitîy kwâyyysîh "and she whose situation is good" (SA), aðdðîf alliy biţûw "the guests who come" (SA), kull all-int sawwêtîh "everything that you have done"(AA)⁴⁰⁸, and alliy lih, w alliy mâ lih byêkul "he who has, and he who has not eats" (BaA). Both the article $i$ and the rel. pron. illiy may be heard due to koineizing influences.

As is already clear from the preceding AA example, stressed or unstressed initial $a$ is retained when it is preceded by -iy or -î, which is then dropped: aţṣahânih all-anâ gêbîth "the bowl which I brought", f-arôs "in the head", widd-asaww-âssây "I want to make the tea", ya bînîx—alliy bizûr alKâtarah "oh my nephew who visits alKatarah" (all four RA), alwasim all-awwil ãssinâh "the

⁴⁰⁷ For the latter two examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 3 (text 1), l. 4.
⁴⁰⁸ Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 8 (text 1), l. 45, and passim.
rainy season which is at the beginning of the year", \(f\-\text{aššāmits}\) # "in the sun", \(f\-\text{ḥēd-alḥālih}\) "in this case", \(\text{nsaww-alfatihi}\) "we make the fattah", \(\text{almi'z-albalad-alliyy} '\text{indina}\) "the normal goats that we have" (all five \(SA\)), \(w\ \text{addix-ilih}\) \(\text{all-ana ġītak fiha}\ "and the woman taking refuge I have come to (see) you about" (\(AA\)), \(f\-\text{āl'arab}\) "in the group (of people related to the men in the same \(\text{mag'ad}\))" (both \(AA\)), \(f\-\text{dīgibal}\) "in the desert", \(\text{widd-a'ass-alganam}\) "I will feed the goats and sheep in the evening" (both \(BA\)), and also in \(\text{QA}\), as in \(f\-\text{ālkarak}\) "in Kerak"\(^{410}\).

Blanc reports for \(\text{DA}\) that \(\ddot{u}\) or \(\text{uw}\) preceding initial \(a\) are dropped as well, as in the example \(\text{aḥ}\-\text{albint}\) "the father of the girl". I did not come across comparable examples in \(RA\), \(SA\) or \(BA\), nor in \(AA\).

In \(TA\), \(MA\) and \(\text{‘AyA}\) the article and rel. pron. are also with initial \(a\)-, and the same elisions of preceding \(- iy\) or \(- ṯ\) take place in these dialects.

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial \(a\).

Other instances of initial \(a\) were recorded in \((')\text{aṃm}\) "mother", some instances of \((')\text{aḥna}\) "we" (like in \(DA\), although \(iḥna\) is current in \(RA\), \(SA\) and \(BA\)), but \((')\text{uṭx}\) "sister" (\(RA\), \(SA\), \(BA\)).

Plurals in \(BA\) \((')\text{asūd}\) "lions", \((')\text{afūm}\) "mouths", and the pl. in \(SA\) \((')\text{awād}\) "rooms".

\(aṃnī\), \(uṭx\) and \(iḥna\) are current in \(TA\), \(MA\) and \(\text{‘AyA}\).

3.1.10. The feminine suffix \((T)\) in genitive construction.

3.1.10.1. \(T\) in genitive construction preceded by \(a\) in open syllable.

In genitive constructions and when suffixed with the dual \(- ēn\) ending, and when preceded by short \(a\) in open syllable, the feminine suffix becomes \(- at\), of which the \(a\) is not elided in open syllables. In \(BA\) the resulting \(- at\) is then usually stressed if its \(a\) is in the second syllable of a \(CaCafw\)-sequence.

Some examples: \(\text{sanatēn}\) "two years" (\(RA\), \(SA\), \(BA\)), \(\text{ašaratēn}\) "two tens" (\(RA\)), \(\text{rāgabatāk}\) "your neck" (\(SA\)), \(\text{sābakailīh}\) "his net" (\(SA\), \(\text{maratāk}\) (~

\(^{409}\) Cf. ibid., p. 18 (text 5), l. 23 (± fn), and p. 23 (text 7), l. 40 respectively.

"your wife" (AA), \( \text{ragábatak} \) (AA)\(^{411} \), and the \( \text{BaA} \) examples: \( \text{šaṛṣaṛátak} \) (BaA), \( \text{ragábatak} \) (BaA), máratak "your wife" (BaA), \( \text{ragábatihi} \) "his neck" (BaA), biláhátihi "its (m.) date" (BaA).

Examples in sandhi are: \( \text{šiğárat alxüx} \) "the peach tree" (RA), \( \text{ragabat al‘abid} \) "the neck of the slave" (RA), \( \text{şağarat alxuštās} \) "the poppy shrub" (RA), \( \text{ḥāwsalat alfařxah} \) "the crow of the chicken" (SA), \( \text{ḥarakat arba‘in} \) "about forty" (RA), \( \text{ib munásabat il‘īd} \) "on the occasion of the feast" (RA), \( \text{şiğárat alburdugān} \) "the orange tree" (SA), \( \text{danabat anna‘āghih} \) "the tail of the ewe" (SA), \( \text{dàrağat arrataḥbāh} \) "the degree of moistness (said with reference to dates)"(BaA).

Such forms may also be heard in \( \text{TA}, \text{MA} \) and \( \text{‘AyA} \).

The rule may be summarized as follows:

**T-rule 1:**

\[ T \rightarrow at \ldots \text{Ca} \text{C} \ldots \text{gen.}^{412} \]

\( T = \) feminine suffix \( \text{ah/ihi} \)

3.1.10.2. The rule for \( T \) not directly preceded by \( aC \) or \( \text{\textasciitilde} \).

The rule for \( T \) not directly preceded by \( aC \) or \( \text{\textasciitilde} \):

**T-rule 2:**

\[ T \rightarrow \text{it} \ldots \text{C/v} \text{C} \ldots \text{gen.} \]

\( \text{C/v} = \) any consonant or vowel except historic \( a \)

The high vowel of \( -\text{it} \) may then be dropped if in an eligible position (cf., I, 2.4.). Examples are: \( \text{misāfītum} \) "their distance", \( \text{ğiyyitha za‘būbit rīḥ} \) "her coming is (like) a whirlwind", \( \text{bidillīha} \) "a woman given in exchange for her" (AA)\(^{413} \), and with the elided high vowel: \( \text{şuğultak} \) "yours" (RA, SA and BaA), \( \text{xāmisitak} \) "your five (pounds)" (RA), \( \text{salāmtak} \) "your well-being" (SA), \( \text{rizugtak} \) "your judge's fee", \( \text{díxīltak} \) "the woman taking refuge with you" (both AA),\(^{414} \) \( \text{gimā’tak} \) "your group of people" (BaA), \( \text{gürtak} \) "your footprints" (BaA).

Such forms may also be heard in \( \text{TA}, \text{MA} \) and \( \text{‘AyA} \).

---

\(^{411}\) For the last three AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 8 (text 1), l. 46, glossary, and p. 33 (text 14) l. 31 (+ fn) (respectively).

\(^{412}\) "+ gen." is meant to include suffixation of the dual ending -\( \text{ayn}/-\text{ān} \).

\(^{413}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 25 (text 7), l. 78.

\(^{414}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 25 (text 7), l. 76, and 86 respectively.
Notice that this $T$-rule precedes the surface rule of $a$-raising described above in I, 3.1.1.6. Hence one may hear, for example, maslibatha "its proper procedure" (AA). Exceptions to this $T$-rule may be found in loans from (presumably) MSA, such as manțigat Bir ásSi‘a‘ "the Beersheba area", and manțigatna "our area". The only example of a two-syllable word containing a high vowel in the first syllable is in min ġihat ãlbihar "from the direction of the sea" (RA).

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

However, the following examples show that, when preceded by a gahawah-vowel (by definition in open syllable) the vowel of -it is dropped while the gahawah-vowel itself behaves more like a straightforward anaptyctic, i.e. it is not stressed (cf. I, 2.2.1.3.): râhamtak (RA), râhamtih (RA), lâhamt ašši‘îr (RA), lâhamt alkusub (RA), gâhawt algaş (RA), gâhawtih (SA). Except for the fact that the short vowel $a$ following aX is not a high vowel, in terms of stress and syllabification such forms are on a par with forms like xâmistak "your five" (RA), rîzugtih "his judge’s fee" (AA), etc. We should therefore supply an additional rule:

\[
T \text{-rule 3: } T \rightarrow \text{i}t / \ldots \text{X}a\text{C} \_ \_ + \text{gen.}
\]

$a = \text{gahawah-vowel}$\footnote{If we wish to maintain the proposed rule order of 1) Elision, 2) Stress, 3) Anaptyxis, we need to make this exception here. If not, the rules would produce forms like *gahâwiîh, *naxâltîh, *râhamtîh etc.}

Or, to combine $T$-rules 1 and 3, we could summarize:

\[
T \text{-rule 4 (for RA and SA): } T \rightarrow \text{a}t / \ldots \text{C}_a\text{aC}_b \_ \_ + \text{gen.}
\]

$a \neq \text{gahawah-vowel}$\footnote{Unfortunately, no examples were recorded in which $C_a = X$, and $a \neq \text{gahawah-vowel}$. A conceivable form meeting these criteria would be dâhabah (in which $a$ of the second syllable is not a gahawah-vowel) + -hiy, where the rule would then produce *dâhabâthîy "her piece of gold", instead of dâhabîthîy.}

---

\footnote{Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 67 (text 21), l. 140 (+ fn).}
\footnote{Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 24 (text 7), l. 57.}
A conclusion is that the *gahawah*-syndrome in DA is one step further in creating full syllables than it is in RA or SA; for DA Blanc reports\(^{419}\) *-at* preceding vowel-initial suffixes, and *-it* preceding consonant-initial suffixes: *gahawatī* "my coffee", but *gahawitna* "our coffee", and we see similar forms in closed syllables in RA *gahawitiy* "her coffee", and in SA *naxalithiy* "her datepalm". This development in DA could be described as a partially executed morphological restructuring of older *CaXCah* forms, while such restructuring (to the same degree) in RA and SA has remained absent.

The particulars described above point to an older *-it*. Before the *gahawah*-syndrome became active, no *a* was present between the consonants in *aXC*. This older *-it* was preserved in closed syllables in DA and in fact, conforms to *T*-rule 2, and comparable to such forms as *garritiy* "her water jar" (RA), *țal'it aššams* "sunrise" (SA), *ṣaﬄitha* "her side" (AA)\(^{420}\), etc.

With reference to the remaining question as to what extent the syndrome has created full syllables in AA: since Stewart reports both *gahawatī* and *gahawī* for "my coffee", and also a sandhi example *raγawit annāgah*\(^{421}\) "the rutting of the she-camel", which is neither *raγawt annāgah*, nor *raγawat annāgah*, I assume\(^{422}\) that the true AA forms are *gahawāt* and (after an optional sandhi elision, cf. I, 2.4.2.) *raγawt annāgah*.

Although the treatment of *T* in BaA will frequently be in conformity with the rules described above, another, and probably older *T*-rule seems to be active in BaA as well. This older *T*-rule is more similar to the one active in DA (cf. IV, 3.1.10.), and produces *-at* irrespective of the environment, except after *v*, where it produces *-t* (cf. I, 3.1.10.4.). Examples of such forms in BaA are: šwayyat *gi'dān* "a few young male camels", *fuγratha* "its top (f. sg.)", *šuglātna* "ours (f. sg.)", *masāfat kilih* "a distance of a kilometer", *farkat ka'ib* "a stone's throw (away)", *ṣmayyatta* "its (f. sg.) water", *ḥabbat zēt zētūn* "a bit of olive oil", *ḥurmatni* "our wife", *γarγatne* "our neighbour".


\(^{420}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 21 (text 7), l. 3 (+ fn).

\(^{421}\) The examples may be found in STEWART (1990), (first example) glossary, p. 194 under root *-k-l*, (second example) p. 177 (text 66), l. 9, and (third example) p. 122 (text 38), l. 9 (+ fn).

\(^{422}\) This assumption is based on the high quality of the transcription of texts 1-16, such as they appear in STEWART (1990), and of which I received taped copies of the spoken texts from Dr. Stewart.
With the exception of BaA, our dialects in the northeast of Sinai are thus identical to BA (cf. III, 3.1.10) and eŠA\(^{423}\) with respect to this treatment of the feminine suffix. The treatment of \(T\) is the same in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

3.1.10.4. \(T\) following \(ā\).

\(T\) following \(ā\) yields \(āh\), e.g.: \(sālāh\) "prayer", \(gđāh\) "judges", \(ḥayāh\) "life", \(ḥamāh\) "mother-in-law". The rule for \(T\) following \(\ddot{v}\) in construction is:

\[
T \rightarrow t / ... Cā\_ + \text{gen.}
\]

Examples are: \(s\ddot{w}ātna\) "our action" (RA, AA, \(\ddot{D}\)A\(^{424}\)), \(gđātna\) "our judges" (SA, AA)\(^{423}\), \(s\ddot{a}lāt alfağr\) "the morning prayer" (SA), \(ḥa\ddot{s}ātī\) "my pebble" (AA)\(^{426}\), \(hay\ddot{ā}tum\) "their life" (BaA), \(ḥa\ddot{mātī}\) "my mother-in-law" (BaA). Such forms may also be heard in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

In BaA \(ma\'nāt + \text{gen.}\) was recorded several times, i.e. final \(*-ā\) was treated as -\(āT\), as in the examples \(ma\'nātah\) "its meaning" and \(ma\'nāt al\ddot{u}kalām\) "the meaning of the words".

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

The high vowel of \(-it\) in open syllable preceded by \(ā\) in open syllable is dropped in nominals, while \(a\) of the verbal ending \(-at\) in a similar position remains (which is in conformity with I, 2.4.).

Examples of nominals: \(zmāltī\) "my horse" (RA), \(nhāytih\) "its (m. sg.) end" (RA), \(mīsāftih\) "its (m. sg.) distance" (SA), \(ga\ddot{rābtak\) "your kin" (AA)\(^{427}\), \(wdā\ddot{t}ak\) "your deposit (i.e. I call you to witness)" (AA)\(^{428}\), \(nāgtak\) "your she-camel" (BaA), \(s\ddot{a}lāmtak\) "your well-being" (BaA), \(g\ddot{i}mā\ddot{tī}\) "my group of people" (BaA).

\(^{425}\) For the AA example, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 20 (text 5), l. 67.
\(^{426}\) Cf. ibid., p. 15 (text 3), l. 2.
\(^{427}\) Cf. ibid., p. 21 (text 5), l. 76.
\(^{428}\) Cf. ibid., p. 33 (text 27), l. 27.
Some examples of such elision in sandhi: zkâ’ī alburduğân "the cultivation of oranges" (RA), ḥâlṭt annâs "the situation of people" (SA), amânt Allâh "God's protection" (AA)\textsuperscript{429}, tâst aṭṭibix "the pan of food" (BaA).

Examples of verbal ending -at: hâwatah "she loved him" (RA), gâbatih "she brought it" (SA), sâlatih "she took it away" (BaA), and also in sandhi: šârat ibyâr "it (f. sg.) has become wells" (SA), fâgat annâr "the fire cooled off" (SA).

3.1.11. Genitive marker.

In the majority of cases the genitive marker in our dialects of the northeast of Sinai is šuğl, šuğlah, šuğlät, šuğlin, e.g.: alburgu’ alliy ĥû šuğl alhurmah "the face veil which is the woman's" (RA), âlmiy šuğulna "our water" (RA), âlbil šuğlit ibni’ammah "the camels of his cousin" (BaA), alġirid šuğl ânnaxa! "the palmbranches of the datepalms" (BaA).

More and more K-forms like btâ’ and tâ’ may be heard, of which the former must have come from Egyptian Arabic, either via ‘AA, or directly. The latter must have come from ‘AA\textsuperscript{430}, in which the b was presumably lost from the Egyptian K-form btâ’, e.g.: assuknah [...] tâ’itna "our home" (RA), alkâlâm btâ’ ali’yâl ahûm "the talk of those children" (SA), albiriah hëdiy blâ’t adDuwâgrih "this birzah\textsuperscript{431} is of the Dawâgrah" (BaA), ilbizir. . . illiy ibtâ’ah "its seeds" (BaA), alģirîsah btâ’ithum "their (dish of) coarsely ground millet" (BaA).

Also, tabâ’ (under Palestinian influence) may be heard\textsuperscript{432}, but in the examples available it may often express affiliation rather than possession, e.g.: taba’ aṭṭiqâfah l’Urduniy "of the Jordanian (Ministry of) Culture", taba’

\textsuperscript{429} Cf. ibid., p. 28 (text 10), 1.1.
\textsuperscript{430} In ‘AA, the dialect of the regional centre of al’Artîsh, we may hear both ibtâ’ and tâ’, but šuğl, or taba’ were not recorded.
\textsuperscript{431} A birzah is a tent (or reed hut) built for the bride and groom, erected at some distance from the main camp, to grant them some privacy during their honeymoon, cf. BAILEY (1974b), p. 126 "bridal tent".
\textsuperscript{432} BLANC (1970) only mentions tabâ’, not btâ’, which is presumably due to the much greater influence on DA of Palestinian dialects in the Negev and the lack of influence of Egyptian dialects.
annyâbih "with the office of the public prosecutor" (both RA), mûhu taba’î "it is not mine" (AA433).

Like bitâ‘ in CaA, btâ‘ and tâ‘ were also used in the meaning of "about" in estimates: ibtâ‘ nuṣṣ sâ‘ah "about half an hour" (RA), kân almisâfih tâ‘it ṭalaṭîn kîlîh "the distance was about thirty kilometres (SA).

Annexation in TA, MA and ‘AyA is regularly done with şuğl.


3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>negated*3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>hû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (m.)</td>
<td>int ~ inta (~ intih)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (f.)</td>
<td>intiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>anâ(‘) ~ âna (~ BaA ani‘)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (m.)</td>
<td>hum(ña)*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (f.)</td>
<td>hinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (m. pl.)</td>
<td>intuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (f. pl.)</td>
<td>intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>iñna*1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal pronominals in TA, MA and ‘AyA are (sg.): hû, hi, inta, intiy, âna (~ instances of anâ), and (pl.): hum(ña)*2, hinna, intuw, intin, iñna.

*1 Only a few instances of aïnà (as current in DA434) were recorded. Instead, the current form is iñna in RA, SA, AA435 and BaA.

*2 In BaA hûw and hûwâwa were recorded as m. pl. poss. pronominals alongside hum and humma. The same forms were recorded TA, but there the former two forms occur even more regularly e.g. iw f-alfatrah hêdiy algöm ġaw, iw hûwâwa miš mawgûdîn, fi ġâybiţuw "and at that moment the enemy tribe came, when they were not there, in their absence" (TA).

433 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 139 (text 45), fn 18 (in a gloss by a speaker of AA), and ibid. glossary.
435 Cf., for instance, STEWART (1990), p. 97 (text 29), ll. 7 and 11, and passim.
As to the development of these two suffixes: a parallel to the suffixed pronominals is possible, where a new symmetric pl. paradigm -kuw, -kin, -huw, -hin was created through a process of paradigmatic leveling.

Another likely parallel is with the verbal suffixes -uw and -in. It is even likely that the two parallels have been mutually reinforcing. (Notice that the exact opposite development took place in Smê'niy, where the verbal suffixes -(t)um, in analogy to the pronominals (-)hum and (-)hin, complete the symmetry in -um, -in, -turn, -tin (cf. II, 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2.).

*3\) In AA the ā of negating mā is dropped against an initial vowel of the independent pronominals, except for mā + 1st. p. sg. Some examples from the texts in STEWART (1990): mihna "not we", mint "not you (m. sg.)", mintuw "not you (m. pl.)", ihna mihna "not we", and ana māni.\footnote{436} Two such examples occurred in RA as well: inta minta zën, inta minta kwayyis, both meaning "you're not a good man".

*4\) The long vowels ü and ĩ in the first syllables are assimilations (via h) to the long vowels in the final syllable, and are more current than the forms with long a. Examples of negated pronominals with h-initial suffixes in AA are: mūhu and mūhum\footnote{437}.

In BaA the following forms (for extra emphasis?) were also recorded: mūhu, mūhi, mūhaná', mūhuňhumna, mūhīnhinnih, mūhuňna, i.e. forms that have a negated 3rd pers. pronominal, roughly meaning "it is not", followed by the actual negated pers. pronominal. In the forms mūhuňna and mūhaná' the first pers. pronominal does not correspond to the actual negated pers. pronominal, and these are then probably best translated with (resp.) "it is not we", and "it is not I".\footnote{438}

All negated personal pronominals are treated as one single stress unit, of which the first syllable is stressed, and the second may be reduced: mūhā, mīhi etc. (cf. I, 2.1.3.1.).

\footnote{436} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 95 (text 27), l. 11; ibid., l. 18; in the sentence īla mintuw šēnīn "no, you're not bad people", not appearing in the text, but uttered by one of those present at the the very end of section 2 on p. 34; p. 186 (text 69), l. 203; p. 9 (text 1), l. 60 respectively.

\footnote{437} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 113 (text 36), l. 48; p. 118 (text 36), l. 174.

\footnote{438} Unfortunately, I failed to check if such conceivable forms as *mūhunt "it is not you" occur.
Quite regularly the negated pers. pronominal is preceded or followed by the independent pronominal: mâlak in ta? 'ana mâni ʂgayir "What's the matter with you? I'm not a little boy" (RA), 'ihna mâhna warâh "we don't support him" (RA), w ana mâni ʂayîh "I (f.) am not coming" (AA)\(^{439}\). Other such forms recorded in AA are: hû mâ(hu), hî mâ(hi)\(^{440}\).

mûhû may be shortened to mû in all dialects under discussion here\(^{441}\), and only in AA was shortened mî for mîhî also recorded\(^{442}\).


3.1.12.2.1. Pronominal suffixes in RA, SA, AA and BaA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>C-ah / C-ih, -(\overline{v}h)^{1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>-hiy ~ -ha^{2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>C-ak, (\overline{v}-k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>-kiy^{5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>C-i, (\overline{v}-y^{3}) (poss.) / -nî (obj.)^{4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In TA, MA and 'AyA the same set of pronominal suffixes occur, but in TA the 3rd p. f. sg. suffix -ha was more regularly heard than -hiy. In 'AyA the variation appears to be free, and in MA -hiy is the predominant form. (For the 3rd m. pl. suff. in TA, cf. 3.1.12.2.2., remark \(^{3}\)).

\(^{1}\) -ah when preceded by primary or secondary emphatics, or by aC (where a is not a gahawah-vowel). E.g.: y\(\overline{h}ut\)tah "he puts it", t\(\overline{a}haf\)\(\overline{a}\)dah "it (f.) preserves him", t\(\overline{u}\)\(\overline{b}\)urmah "she twirls it", y\(\overline{w}\)\(\overline{u}\)t\(\overline{b}\)ah "he asks him for the hand of a girl", t\(\overline{u}\)\(\overline{b}\)\(\overline{h}\)xah "you cook it (m.)", am\(\overline{m}\)mah "his mother", g\(\overline{s}\)\(\overline{a}\)la\(\overline{h}\) \~ g\(\overline{s}\)\(\overline{a}\)la\(\overline{h}\) "twig given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies", \(\overline{d}\)\(\overline{a}\)h\(\overline{a}\)\(\overline{r}\)ah "his back". Examples where velarization is "carried" by \(\overline{h}\) and ' are: t\(\overline{h}\)hah "his soul", t\(\overline{a}\)\(\overline{b}\)\(\overline{h}\)ah "his group of men".

Cases where (historic) aC precedes: w\(\overline{a}\)l\(\overline{a}\)dah "his son", farasah "his horse", dafa'ah "he paid it (m.)", taftahah "you open it (m.)", basma'ah "I hear

\(^{439}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 21 (text 6), l. 7.
\(^{440}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 15 (text 3), l. 4, and p. 33 (text 14), l. 39 (where Stewart writes hi mîhî) respectively.
\(^{442}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 23 (text 7), l. 37.
it (m.)", hāwatah "she loved him", tamanah "its (m.) price", ʿamalah "his work", and also lāgannah "they (f.) found him" (where n is doubled after identifying preceding aC (!), cf. remark in following paragraph). If the sequence aC is T in construction (i.e. -at) the rule does not always hold, e.g. šabakatih "his net", ragabatih "his neck", mirdātih "his wife", but also māratah, sānatah "his year".

The allomorph -ih appears in other cases, e.g.: šāyiḥ "his tea", uxtih "his sister", widdih "he wants", ʿaḍāmīh "its (m.) taste", lāhāmīh "his flesh", ahālih "his family" (where a of preceding aC in the latter three examples is a gahawah-vowel).

Some suffixed verb forms are: ibyinsiğinnih "they (f.) weave it (m.)", byażazlinnih "they (f.) spin it (m.)", bitgībih "you bring him", bnīdīnjih "we bury it (m.)", bnūṭurdih "we chase him away", rahanih "I pawned it (m.)".

Notice also that the first two of these verb forms show doubling of the n of the f. pl. ending when preceding the 3rd p. m. sg. suffix (cf. below I, 3.2.).

The h in vh may often be inaudible in pause, but becomes quite clear when it precedes V, so that it may become syllable-initial after sandhi resyllabication, e.g.: iw kān yārådih inšammiṭin "and they took it (m.) with them on their way east" (RA), byirtiʾī ʿalēh iswayyih "it grazes on it a bit" (SA), yaḥānāh iw yāklūh "they grind it and eat it" (BaA).

The K-form -u may be heard as well.

*2) Initial h of the suffixes listed here is often assimilated to preceding voiceless vowels (cf. I, 2.5.), e.g.: iyḥutṭīn443 "he puts them (f.)", ḥayāṭṭum "their life", ithammissiy444 "you roast it (f.)", ǧibṭṭum "you brought them", btimsikkiy "you take it (f. sg.) (in your hand)", waggaffum "he stopped them", šēxxum "their šēx", bitxalliṣsiy "you finish it (f.)".

When these suffixes follow ī, the resulting sequence h will usually mutually assimilate to become hh, e.g.: bīḥṭiy "sell it (f.)" (RA), tazarḥṭiy "you sow it (f.)" (SA), rağṛghṣa "he returned her" (BaA). Also a sequence ḥh resulting from suffixation will become hh, e.g.: yaḥbāḥṭiy "he slaughters it (f.)" (RA), aḷaḍṭiḥṣhe "I pollinate it (f.) (i.e. the date palm)" (BaA) (cf. I, 2.5.).

443 Spelled with ﬀ for the sake of morphological transparency. The phonetic realization, however, is [e].

444 The answer to the question in BLANC (1970), p. 23 (134), (e) (on whether the h of -hiy is dropped after which the preceding voiceless consonant is doubled) is yes.
Besides -hiy, -ha may be heard in RA and SA as well. The variation between -ha / -hiy is not entirely free; -ha occurs almost exclusively after َة (445), and considerably more often after ُة than -hiy does, whereas there is a clear preference for -hiy where َة precedes (446). In other cases -ha (though much less regularly than -hiy) also occurs. In AA and DA only -ha is current (447).

(For a remark on the form -huw occurring alongside -hum in RA, cf. below 3.1.12.2.2., remark *3)).

*3) In AA an alternative for nouns ending in -ُ is the lengthened form -ُي ("morphological hypercharacterization" (448)), e.g.: ُةـُ ُةـُ "my father", ُةـُ ُةـُ "my misdeed" and ُةـُ ُةـُ "my hands" (449). In RA and SA such lengthened forms were only recorded with a short vowel preceding ُة, as in the prepositions ِ, ِ, ِ or ِ, ِ and َا, e.g.: ُةـُ ُةـُ "for me", ُةـُ ُةـُ "in me", َا ُةـُ ُةـُ "on me", and such forms are current in AA as well. (450) No such instances were recorded in BaA, nor are they reported for DA.

Like in DA (451) the prepositions ِ, ِ, ِ or ِ, ِ and َا have -َ in the 1st p. c. sg.: ُةـُ, ُةـُ, ُةـُ or ُةـُ (ِ ُةـُ), ُةـُ, َا ُةـُ (for further details, cf. I, 3.1.16.).

*4) The suffixes for the 1st. p. sg. are commonly stressed in the dialects of the entire area, with the exception of (thus far) the dialect of the Dawâgrah, and that of al'Arîsh. This feature has spread as far west as the Šargiyah. (452)

445 In RA 21, and in SA 14 instances of -ُ were recorded, against only 2 instances of -ُ in RA, and none in SA.

446 In RA 4 instances of -ُ were recorded, against more than 60 of -ُ. In SA there were 8 instances of -ُ, against more than 30 of -ُ.

447 There are no instances of -ُ in STEWART (1990), pp. 1-46 (texts 1-3, and 5-16), e.g.: ُةـُ ُةـُ "my father", ُةـُ ُةـُ "my misdeed" and ُةـُ ُةـُ "my hands". In RA and SA such lengthened forms were only recorded with a short vowel preceding ُة, as in the prepositions ِ, ِ, ِ or ِ, ِ and َا, e.g.: ُةـُ ُةـُ "for me", ُةـُ ُةـُ "in me", َا ُةـُ ُةـُ "on me", and such forms are current in AA as well. No such instances were recorded in RA, nor are they reported for DA.

Like in DA (451) the prepositions ِ, ِ, ِ or ِ, ِ and َا have -َ in the 1st p. c. sg.: ُةـُ, ُةـُ, ُةـُ or ُةـُ (ِ ُةـُ), ُةـُ, َا ُةـُ (for further details, cf. I, 3.1.16.).

448 Like, for instance, the (historically) two pl. morphemes in Dutch kinderen, eieren, or English children, contrasting in this respect with German Kinder, Eier. Another instance of morphological hypercharacterization may be found in DA ُةـُ "they came", cf. IV, 3.2.2.6.1.

449 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 5 (text 1), fn 22 (first two examples), and p. 170 (text 60), l. 65 (+ fn) (last example).

450 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 5 (text 1), fn 22.


452 WOIDICH (1979-80), p.80, 4.1. does not give stressed -(n)ُ for ُAwâmrā, ABUL FADL (1961), p. 237 reports short stressed -َ and -ُ for the villages 47 (alGâwâwiyya in area 2) and 106 (َةـُ in area 3b). BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1983b), map 150 (and map 425) list
The ‘ī is usually dropped when it clashes with a of the 1st p. sg. imperf., e.g.: widd-agra "I want to go to school", ya bint, widd-āgğawwazk-ēs rāykiy? "Girl, I want marry you, what do you think?", and widd-agōśir ağib kibrītīh "I shall go and get a match". And sometimes also ‘ī of the obj. suffix is dropped ‘awlitkiy hëdiy gabaratnî ‘inn-aktulkiy ‘this wailing of yours (f. sg.) forced me to hit you’. *5 This suffix is presumably the generalized allomorph which originally appeared only after v.

3.1.12.2.2. Older set of pronominal suffixes in BaA.

The pronominal suffixes listed above for RA and SA may also be heard in BaA, but there is yet another set of suffixes for BaA. This other set seems to be still in use in the intimacy of the home (I was told that it is used by women and children).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>-Cah ~ -Cih,  -vāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>-ha (~ hi’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>-Cak, -vāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>-CCīk, -Ckiy, -vīkiy*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>-yah ~ -yih (poss.)*454/-nī (obj.)*4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the villages of San ilHaqār (316), is’Sūfiyya (317), Ta’llāk (319), Ganiy (335), and is’Sawālîh (466) in the eastern Sarqiyyah. In addition to these, YtteH (1988), p. 148 lists the dialects of the Ḥwēdat, Bani ’Aṭiyye, Ḍullām (in the Negev), Ahaywāt (in Sinai), Bdāl and N’emāt (in Jordan) as having the same feature.

454 The -yih suffix was given spontaneously by a Balawi living in Gatyah, during the checking of body parts with a questionnaire, when he said ‘yānīh "my eyes". The same speaker also used ‘ī in other instances. Also in Girif al Gīzlān I recorded wuladyih laggā lğizs "my son joined the army", and mardīyih "my wife". On another occasion in Girif alGīzlān, an Egyptian teacher working there teaching Balawi children told me (spontaneously, i.e. I had not asked him) that the children in his school said mataratyih for "my waterbottle". When I later asked my Balawi informants whether this was true, they denied it initially, and responded that the correct BaA form should be matarati, and that the form mataratyih was Dwēgrīt. Later during the same interview they "admitted" that the form mataratyih does occur among children, and they gave additional examples saying that men say ‘afamī for "my mouth", whereas women would say ‘afāmyih. Similarly, when I checked "my eye" and "my eyes" with them, ‘aynī, and ‘yūnī were said to be in use among men, whereas women were said to use the forms ‘aynyih, and ‘yānyih respectively. Unfortunately, due to the conservative nature of the social system of Biliy, I could not manoeuvre myself into a position to check such forms with Balawi women, and on both
I have found no clues that the obj. suffix may be (or have been) -nyah ~ -nyih (like in DA, cf. IV, 3.1.12.2.1.), but this is a possibility that cannot be excluded at present.

The 2.f. sg. looks very much like a mixed system. The following allomorphs were recorded:

For -CCik I heard: lik (from #lik) "to you (f. sg.), minnik "from you (f. sg.)", `anlik "about you (f. sg.)", widdik itlaggiy? "do you (f. sg.) want to go?" (and in combination with several other verbs as well), xallik f-albêt! "stay (f. sg.) at home!", but I have also recorded šufitkiy "I saw you (f. sg.)"

For -VCkiy I have recorded: šuglîkîiy "yours (f. sg.)", fôgkiy "above you", mi`kîiy "with you", ìlîbîkîiy "your packet", banîkîiy "your daughters", šuggîkîiy "your tent piece", maṭāratkîiy "your water bottle".

Instances of vkiy which were recorded: màkîiy "your water", warâkîiy "behind you", ìlîkîiy "on you".

Since there is no apparent reason for the allomorph following CC to be different from the allomorph following C, cf. widdha, widdna etc., we may assume that older morphemes were -Cik and -vkiy, and that -Ckiy is of a later date. One is tempted to believe that -kiy in this position was loaned from (one of) the neighbouring dialects that have invariable -kiy. The fact that the -kiy allomorph was already present following V may well have facilitated such a development.

The puzzling form šufitkiy, where we might have expected *šufiik, is entirely according to the system described for RA and SA. Stress in ìlibîkîiy, where one might have expected *ìlibîkîiy (cf. stress in šuğlîkîiy), seems to be a remnant of an older possible form *ìlibîkî.

The suffix -huw was recorded in several instances. In TA the same suffix exists. This development has been taken a step further by creating the independent pron. huwwa for "they (m.)" (occurring in BaA, and even more regularly in TA), parallel to hinna "they (f.)".

Also in RA some instances of -huw were recorded, but there only in pause, which makes one wonder whether w is an approximative of m in these cases. Some examples are: inballîghuw # "we shall inform them" (RA),

visits the children were not in school. This contrasted starkly to the treatment I received from the Dawâgrah, who let me move about freely and speak to whomever I wished.

From my recordings of southern TA, it is clear that the same -huw suffix is current there, while the independent pronominal huwwa "they (m.)" (!) occurs as well, e.g.: iw fi ifatrah hēdiy igôm gâw iw huwwa miš mawgûdin, fi ġâybîttuw "and at that time the enemy tribe came, while they were not present, in their absence".
ibnug’ud ‘indhuw # "we sit with them" (RA), illiy mūhuṃ xawālhew Bīlīy "those (people) whose maternal uncles are not Biliy" (BaA), halhīn isSiwārkah bingūl ‘anhuw ēh? iwlād adDarwah "now we call the Sawārkah what? The children of adDarwah"456 (BaA). (cf. also remark *2 in 3.1.12.1.).


3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis.

Forms given below, which are marked with a question mark, were not recorded, but appear to be plausible.

Near deixis in DA457

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda</td>
<td>hōda! (-lah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis in DA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>ḡādāk (-ah)</td>
<td>hōdu!JIāk (-ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ḡēdtk (-ih)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Near deixis in RA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>háda</td>
<td>hōda! (-lah) ~ hādōl (-ah)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hēdiy (~ sometimes hādiy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In one instance the demonstrative was suffixed: hādōlitna

A description of Rmëliy, Swërkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

Far deixis in RA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hādāk (-ah?)</td>
<td>hādōllāk (-ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hēdîk (-ih*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* When this extended demonstrative precedes in adverbials of time, it is in construct state with the following noun, e.g.: hēdîkt assā'ah "at that moment", hēdîkt aliyyām "in those days" and also with a f. dem. preceding a m. noun, hādîkt annhār "on that day" (SA).

Near deixis in SA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hōda</td>
<td>hawda(-lah) ~ hōda(-lah)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hādiy ~ hēdiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* I have not come across forms like hādîl in SA!

Far deixis in SA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hādāk</td>
<td>hōdāllāk (-ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hādîk (-ih) ~ hēdîk (-ih)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hēdîkt annhār "on that day" (Cf. remark above, far deixis in RA)

Near deixis in AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda</td>
<td>hādallāh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hōdal was recorded in a text from the Braykât.

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459 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 227.
460 The forms hāda and hāda both occur, but have been generalized to hāda in the texts of STEWART (1990), cf. ibid., p. 227. (I heard numerous instances of both hāda and hāda in the recordings put at my disposal by Dr. Stewart.).
Far deixis in AA:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{SG.} & \text{PL.} \\
m. & \text{hadâk (-ah)} & \text{hadâllâk (-ah?)} \\
f. & \text{hêdîk (-ih?)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Near deixis in BaA:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{SG.} & \text{PL.} \\
m. & \text{hûâda} \sim \text{hûâda} & \text{hûدل (-lah)} \sim \text{hûdal (-lah)}^* \\
f. & \text{hûdîy} \sim \text{hûdîy} & \\
\end{array}
\]

* hûدل (-lah) \sim hûdal (-lah), all forms presumably from *hawdal (-lah). The ā in hûdal, if not in analogy to the ā in the sg. forms, could be a complementary lengthened a: after reduction of the unstressed diphthong in hawdal\(\sim\)haddâlah \(\sim\)hadâlah, i.e. like in the form like mağûd (cf. 1, 1.2.4.6.1.2.3.).

Far deixis in BaA:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{SG.} & \text{PL.} \\
m. & \text{hûdâk} \sim \text{hûdâk} & \text{hûدâllâk} \\
f. & \text{hûdîk} \sim \text{hûdîk} & \\
\end{array}
\]

N.B. In all dialects under discussion here the I of the pl. demonstrative is doubled when it is non-final.\(^{461}\)

In TA, MA and ‘AyA the following demonstratives were recorded: hûda \sim hûda, and hêdîy. hûda was recorded more regularly than hûda in MA, but in TA it was just the other way around.

\(^{461}\) PALVA (1991), pp. 164-5 regards this doubling of the I "as one of the most important peculiarities of the whole [North West Arabian] dialect group". FISCHER (1959), p. 109, also mentions this peculiarity for "several Palestinian dialects" (my translation for "[In] manchen palästinischen Dialekten").
3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-.

In all dialects mentioned here the demonstrative hal (ha + article al) occurs, and has less of a deictic force than the demonstratives listed above. One could speak of a deicticized article, specifying⁴⁶² some object(s), person(s) or abstraction(s) not physically present or demonstrable at the moment of the utterance, but which/who is/are present in the mind of the speaker, not in the mind of the hearer. Some examples are:

*bîngûm inîgîb âșsaniyyih wî naťaġîn fihiy w inmalihiy, inwallîh hânăr, iw nîrîm hallîbbîhî, w întûbbhiy, w inîgîb halbêq alîğan, ḥabbîn halbanârâh, iw dirîs haṭîmîhî, w îkswayîy almayyyîh, iw tânakat hašṣâyî, iw nûgûd nitxâraff. "and we go and get the pan, and we knead it, and we salt it, and we light this fire, and throw down the *libbih*. And we get this aubergine, a bit of these tomatoes, a clove of this garlic, and a bit of water, and this pot of tea, and we sit down to chat" (RA),

*nûgûd lêna ʿašâr t-iyyâm walla xamîstâsyr yôm w ihna bnîrmiy, fi halhamâd⁴⁶³ allâsîqi "we spend ten or fifteen days sowing, in this wide flat land" (RA), yâ salâm fi hâzzîmân mâ bîrrîdiy "my goodness, in those days we didn't want it" (RA), haḍârarna ʿînd bêt alʿUrđiy w allîyi guhnâh ʿînd alʿUrđiy... ma nisîh harTurbâniy "we went the house of alʿUrđiy, and what we had said there... this Turbâniy will not have forgotten" (AA)⁴⁶⁴, kân bîndaʿî ʿîn ʿa Falasîšîn, bîrû ʿî Falasîšîn, iw bînuhsûd ib hânâs "we used to trek to Palestine, we would go to Palestine, and we would harvest with these people" (BaA).

Another example of the physical absence of the object or (here) person referred to is: îhna widdîna názâqîb minnak halbînî, iw widdîna îlîrûb minnak w itâgâwîzâna "we want to ask for this girl in marriage, and we want to be related to you and get us married". The speaker gives an example here of the conversation that may take place between a prospective groom (taking himself as an example) and the bride's father, without referring to any girl in particular.

⁴⁶² "hal konkretisiert", cf. BLAU (1960), p. 20, and GROTFELD (1964), pp. 46-7. The demonstrability or physical presence or absence of halhin is more of a philosophical discussion, and will not be treated here.

⁴⁶³ Here the speaker refers to flat land, not necessarily barren or stony as in BAILEY (1974a) fn 49, and STEWART (1990), glossary. The area in which this speaker lives, âșîsîx Zweyyid, receives an annual precipitation of appr. 200-250 mm., which is considerably more than what falls annually on the north coast of Sinai towards the west (appr. 100 mm.), and 4 to 5 times the amount of what falls further inland. SUQAYR (1916), p. 341 lists ḥamâd as a pl. of ḥamâdaḥ "elevated land".

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 10 (text 1), l. 86 (the transcription with f is a printing error; cf. ibid., passim with /).
Another illustrative example in this respect is almâyih tkûn 'indah alliy hawwasah halKirîm fi halharâbah, bikaffîh hû w i'yâlih, iw þarþîh w halâlih w âblîh.. "He will have water (for whom) this Beneficient has gathered it in this cistern. It is enough for him and his children, his herd of cattle, his goats and sheep, and his camels." (SA).

In all dialects under discussion here the adverbial halhîn is current for "now".


For 1) "who?", 2) "what?", 3) "why?", 4) "when?", 5) "where?", 6) "which?", 7) "how?", 8) "how much?", 9) "how many/much?" the following forms were recorded:

In RA: 1) min?, 2) êh? ~ ës?*, 3) lës? (~ one instance of lëh?), 4) ?, 5) wên? (~ one instance of fën?), 6) ?, 7) këf? ~ kif?, 8) gaddêš?, 9) kam?


465 Cf. ibid., p. 9 (text 1), l. 68, and p. 36 (text 14), l. 123, and passim.
466 Cf. ibid. (for ës?) p. 8 (text 1), p. 9 (text 1), l. 72, l. 44, (for êh?) p. 33 (text 14), l. 40, (for ayš?) p. 107 (text 33), l. 10, and (for wiś) p. 24 (text 7), l. 65.
467 Cf. ibid, glossary, p. 245.
468 Cf. ibid., p. 108 (text 33), l. 33.
469 Cf. ibid., p. 107 (text 32), l. 192.
470 Cf. ibid., glossary.
* In BaA there tends to be a difference in the use of the two forms; ês occurs more often sentence-initial, while êh generally occurs sentence-final (like in CaA), e.g.: ês widdak?, but widdak êh?, and ês îsimhi?', but îsimhi 'êh? "what is it (f. sg.) called?" In RA and SA this difference was less clear, but êh tended to occur mainly in sentence-final position, while ês occurred in both positions.

For AA wiš was recorded as well\(^\text{472}\), but in RA and SA only w ês? "and what?" was recorded. The latter is without much doubt from which wiš developed.

In RA an interrogative particle ‘anabôh was recorded, which was glossed as a "surprised and indignant lêh?". bigûl lih: 'ya raqîl ‘anabôh mâhû ‘âf (‘âfiy) ‘îni gàr widdih alhagg' "he says to him: 'Man, why has he not forgiven me, he insists on his day in court'".

‘alâm + suffix.

A characteristic interrogative in the northeastern dialects is ‘alâm + pron. suffix, used "for inquiring as to what the matter is\(^\text{473}\). Examples: ‘alâmih? "what about him?" (RA), ‘alâmak, ‘asák tayyib? "what is the matter with you, I hope you are alright?" (AA)\(^\text{474}\), ‘alâmah ṭimanha gâliy? "what is it (f. g.) about it that makes it so expensive?" (BaA).

Some interrogatives recorded in TA: min?; êh? (sentence-final) ~ ês?; wên?; kêf?; gaddêh? ~ kutrays??. Interrogatives recorded in MA: min?; êh?; wên?; kêf?. In ‘AyA: min?; êh?; kêf (~ kif?); lêh?; mitâ? / wagtêh?; wên?; gaddêh?; kam?.

---

\(^{472}\) Cf. for instance, STEWART (1990), p. 22 (text 7), l. 24, p. 24 (text 7), l. 65, and p. 46 (text 16), l. 33.


Some TV viewers in Sinai told me they had had a good laugh when one day, on the popular Egyptian TV programme hakâwi il’ahâwi ("Tales from the Coffeehouses"), the unfamiliarity of Egyptians with this interrogative led to a comical situation during an interview with an elderly lady of the Rmêliât in asêšx Zwayyid. The lady interviewer (Samia El Itriby, I believe) asked the Rmêliy lady a question about her husband, to which the Rmêliy lady responded ‘alâmih? ("What about him?"). The lady interviewer then asked her gôzik ismu ‘Alâma? ("Is your husband’s name ‘Alâma?").

\(^{474}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 19 (text 5), l. 48. On the use of the particle ‘asa, cf. fn 234 to I, 1.2.4.4.3.1.
3.1.15. Adverbs.

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

Some of the adverbs that are current in RA, SA, AA and BaA are:

1) **hnuh** (RA, SA, AA and BaA) (~ **hnâk** in BaA, and twice **fi hâdâk** in BaA) (~ once **hnâk** in SA) "there";

2) **gâd** "there (far away in an unspecified place)" (RA, SA, AA and BaA)* (~ once **gâdiy** in RA). The opposite of **gâd** is **gây** "(coming) this way, hither", e.g. 'ariñhum kullhiy min 'ind Wâdiy Gazzih w u gây "all of their land is from near Wâdiy Gazzah into this direction"475;

3) **hniy** (RA, SA, AA, ~ hniyyih in RA and SA) (~ **fi hâda** in RA, SA, AA, ~ **fi hâda** in AA476), hni(‘) (BaA) (~ **fi hâda**), and often K-forms **hniy**, hniyyih, and hinih ~ hinh, once **hinâ** in BaA) "here";

4) **kidî** ~ **kidî** (RA, SA, AA) (~ **kidîyan** in RA, SA, AA) (~ **kidîiyih ~ kidîiyah ~ kidîyyi**h, and K-form **kidîh** in SA, and **kîdâ** in AA477), kidî ~ kidî' (BaA, ~ **kidî ~ kidî ~ kidîyânih**, which are presumably K-forms in BaA, cf. 1.2.4.4.2.)478. The shortened form **kih** was also recorded in RA and SA "thus";

5) **(h)alhin** (RA, SA, AA and BaA) (~ K-form **dilwâgtiy** in SA and BaA, and once **halhiniy** in BaA) "now";

6) **(a)**sâ' (RA, SA, AA and BaA) ~ sometimes the K-form **lissa** (one instance in BaA, occurring also in AA479) "still", or with neg. "(not) yet";

7) **minnih** (RA, SA, AA and BaA) "after that";

8) **'ugubha** for "after that, afterwards" was not recorded in any of the dialects480;

9) **ba'adên** (RA, SA, BA) (in AA it is glossed as "later") "after that, afterwards".

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475 STEWART (1990), glossary gives "over here".
476 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 187 (text 69), l. 216.
477 Cf. ibid., p. 106 (text 32), l. 156.
478 In AA also **kidîyân(iy)** and **hniyân(iy)** occur, cf. ibid. p. 5 (text 1), fn 25. In DA variants for **hniy** are **hniyyih**, **hniyânih**, **hniyâni**y, and a variant for **kidîy** is **kiyî**, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 35 (146).
479 Cf., for instance, ibid. p. 53 (text 19), l. 46 (+ fn).
480 However, the preposition **'ugb** "after", and the conjunction **'ugub ma** "after" occur regularly alongside **ba'ad** and **ba'ad ma** in RA and SA, whereas in BaA only **ba'ad** and **ba'ad ma** seem current, cf. below in I. 3.1.16..
The following adverbs are current in DA:\footnote{481}{\textsuperscript{481} Cf. BLANC (1970), pp. 34-5 (145-6).}:

1) \textit{hnuh} ~ \textit{hnâk} "there";
2) \textit{gâd} for "over there" is not reported, \textit{gây} "this way, hither";
3) \textit{hniy} ~ \textit{hniyyih} ~ \textit{hniyânih} ~ \textit{hniyântiy} ~ \textit{fihâda} "here";
4) \textit{kidîy} ~ \textit{kidîy} "thus";
5) \textit{(h)alhîn} "now";
6) \textit{ssâ} "still", or with neg. "(not) yet";
7) \textit{minnih} "then, next (Blanc glosses "afterwards")";
8) \textit{`úgubha} "after that";
9) \textit{ba`adên} "after that (K-form?)"

Of these adverbs the following were recorded in TA: 1) \textit{hnuh}; 2) \textit{gâd} "far away"; 3) \textit{hniy} (~ once \textit{hniyyan})(~ K-form \textit{hina}); 4) \textit{kidîy} ~ \textit{kidîy} ~ \textit{kidîyân}; 5) \textit{(h)alhîn}; 6) \textit{ssâ}; 7) \textit{minnih}; 9) \textit{ba`adên}.

Adverbs recorded in MA: 1) \textit{hnuh} ~ \textit{hnâk}; 2) \textit{gâd} (prosodically lengthened \textit{gâ:do}); 3) \textit{hniy} (~ K-form \textit{hina}); 4) \textit{kidîy} (K-form \textit{kîda}); 5) \textit{(h)alhîn}; 7) \textit{minnih}; 9) \textit{ba`adên}.

Adverbs recorded in `AyA: 1) \textit{hnuh} ~ \textit{hnâk}; 3) \textit{hniy}; 4) \textit{kidîy} (K-form \textit{kîda}); 5) \textit{(h)alhîn}; 7) \textit{minnih}; 9) \textit{ba`adên}.

N.B. "Nothing at all" is \textit{wala \textit{gâdiy} wala \textit{gây}}\footnote{482}{\textsuperscript{482} Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 225.} must have developed from the lit. meaning "(it is) not there (far), nor over here (to be found)", e.g.: \textit{lâ wala kâhrabah wala \textit{gâdiy} wala \textit{gây} "no electricity, no nothing", mâ fiha la \textit{hâgih}, lâ \textit{ramlah} wala \textit{gâdiy} wala \textit{gây} "there is nothing in it, no sand, no nothing" (both \textit{BaA}).}

3.1.15.2. "maybe".

3.1.15.2.1. \textit{xâfallah} "maybe".

Like in \textit{DA} and \textit{AA}\footnote{483}{\textsuperscript{483} For \textit{DA}, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 36, where only \textit{xâfallah} is mentioned. For \textit{AA}, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 5 (text 1), fn 5, where the shorter form \textit{xâf} is given in addition.}, \textit{xâf} or \textit{xâfallah} expresses doubt, and is translatable with "maybe, perhaps", e.g.: \textit{ya`n-int wallâh \textit{xâfallah} mina ra`gil "that is, by God, maybe you are not a (real) man" (RA). \textit{xâf ti`la` imgângafah} "perhaps she
will turn out to be useless, "..."

In the first two examples it is clearly used to refer to an undesirable possibility, more or less translatable with "perhaps, God forbid". The last example is a bit doubtful, but may be referring to an undesirable possibility, as it is unbecoming for a woman to be seen by a man who is not her relative.

The form *xaftin* "perhaps, maybe" reported by Stewart for AA, was heard neither in RA or SA, nor in BaA.

3.1.15.2.2. **küd** "maybe".

In RA a few instances of *küd* for "maybe, perhaps" were recorded: *küd* *si‘irhin yastal* "maybe their (f.) price will go up (i.e. of tomatoes, said by someone intending to sell them)" (RA), *küd* *nalga wâhad Turhâniy naxig *gamalah minnih iw ni‘thi katlih* "maybe we’ll find a Turhâniy from whom we can take a camel, and whom we (can) give a beating" (RA). These two examples suggest that *küd* is used to refer to desirable possibilities.

3.1.15.3. **balhayl** "very, extremely".

An adverb of manner expressing "very" is *balhayl* (*b + alhayl, lit.: "with strength"). A few instances were recorded in RA: *w albatix alkibîr balhayl inshawnih* "and the very big watermelons we store in *šwar*" (RA), *ta‘amih hiluw balhayl* "its taste is very good" (RA), *hâghîh si‘bih balhayl* "a very difficult thing" (RA).

3.1.15.4. **bišwēş** "slowly, carefully".

Like in DA, the adverb *bišwēş* (*b + šwēş*) means "slowly", or also in combination with other verbs "in a subdued manner" (cf. second example): *w*...
a‘āwid bišwēs "and I return slowly" (RA), gā‘id biyahariğ bišwēs "he kept speaking in a low voice" (RA).

The origin of this adverb is to be found in adverbial šwayyiḥ šwayyiḥ "bit by bit", which may have developed into šwayyiḥ (haplological drop of wayyiḥ) → šwayyēs (+ v in sandhi) → šwayēs → šwēs.488 šwēs was then interpreted as a noun, after which the prep. b was added in analogy to such adverbial constructions as balḥayl "very, extremely", barrāḥah "slowly". The i is then originally an anaptyctic resolving the cluster bsw (cf. I, 2.3.).

3.1.15.5. min xawf "lest" (cf. lahsan in CaA).

min xawf (malla), literally "for fear of/that" (cf. the use of "maybe" in referring to undesirable possibilities in I, 3.1.15.2.1.) was recorded in RA, SA and BaA, and is usually best translated with the conjunction "lest", e.g.: gā‘id ibyahariğ bišwēs, ya‘niy min xāf iysammi‘na "he was talking in a low voice, that is, lest we would hear (lit.: he would let us hear)" (RA), iw baḥa‘ī līhiy min-tahat giwālib min xāf uṣfrūš hawāfīrhiy "and I put shoes (to give the hoofs the desired shape) on her underneath lest her hoofs spread out" (RA), w ingaww‘ih, min xōf la yirmīna "and we keep it hungry lest it will throw us off" (SA), bin‘allīgha min xawf la tawga‘ "we tie it (f., i.e. the tail of the she-camel) up (on top) lest it should fall" (BaA), w inmillha b ilmālliḥ min xawf tinḥūrīg mi-lğami r "and we cover it with hot sand lest it be burnt by the live embers" (BaA).

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pron. suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BaA*6)</th>
<th>l+*5)</th>
<th>‘ala+*3)</th>
<th>mi'+</th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>fōg+</th>
<th>min+*4)</th>
<th>warā+</th>
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<tr>
<td>SG.</td>
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<td>3.m.</td>
<td>liḥ</td>
<td>‘alēḥ</td>
<td>mi‘āh</td>
<td>fīḥ</td>
<td>fōgha</td>
<td>minniḥ</td>
<td>warāḥ</td>
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<td>3.f.</td>
<td>lhu(’)</td>
<td>‘alēḥa</td>
<td>mi‘ḥa*1)</td>
<td>fīha</td>
<td>fōgha</td>
<td>minha</td>
<td>warāh</td>
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<td>2.m.</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>‘alēk</td>
<td>mi‘āk</td>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>fōgāk</td>
<td>minnak</td>
<td>warāk</td>
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<td>2.f.</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>‘alēkīy</td>
<td>mi‘kīy</td>
<td>fīkāy</td>
<td>fōgīkīy</td>
<td>minnik</td>
<td>warāk</td>
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B.I. A description of Rmëliy, Swërkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

<table>
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<th>PL.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>lhûm</td>
<td>'alêhum</td>
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<td>mi'hum*1</td>
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<td>fihûm</td>
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<td>minhum</td>
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<td>2.f.</td>
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<td>mînkîn</td>
<td>warâkin</td>
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<td>1.c.</td>
<td>inâ(')</td>
<td>'alêna</td>
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<td>mi'na</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fîna</td>
<td>fôgna*2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>minna</td>
<td>warâna</td>
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*1)  'h usually assimilates to ḥ: miḥḥa, miḥhum, miḥhin (cf. I, 2.5.).

*2)  fôgna was recorded (cf. I, 2.2.2.3.).

*3)  both 'alâ and 'a occur as independent forms.

*4)  a similar paradigm for 'an. The phonological representation is min here, as the n is doubled when vowel-initial suffixes follow. The vowel of the independent form however, is often elided in eligible positions in sandhi when it precedes a nominal with which it forms one stress unit, e.g. šârid inm-âlḥarîb "having fled from the war" (RA), # inm-âdšiɣar "from the trees (m. sg.)" (BaA).

*5)  when enclitically suffixed, lî may also be heard: gâlûlî "they said to me". A similar paradigm for b.

*6)  (presumably) older forms mi'yîh, liyyîh were also recorded (cf. pron. suffixes in I, 3.1.12.2.2.).

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<td>'îndîh</td>
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<td>'înduhûm</td>
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<td>3.f.</td>
<td>'îndâha*1</td>
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<td>'îndîhin</td>
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<td>2.m.</td>
<td>'îndak</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'îndukûw</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>'îndîk*2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'îndîkin</td>
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<td>1.c.</td>
<td>'îndî</td>
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<td>'îndîna</td>
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</table>

*1)  The AA form is the same. The BaA form in pause is 'îndîhi('). In RA and SA the form is 'îndîhiy.
*2)  The RA, SA and AA form is 'îndîkiy.

Forms with the anaptyctics prevailed, although a few instances without anaptyctics, such as 'îndîhin, were recorded in RA, SA and BaA as well.
in RA:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
 & 3.m. & 3.f. & 2.m. & 2.f. & 1.c.
\hline
SG. & lih/lah & lehiy & lak & lekiy & lay (\sim \text{layi})
PL. & lehum & fih~fih & fik & fikin & fena
\end{array}
\]

1. This is a mixed paradigm in RA: \textit{lêh} was also recorded in RA, but \textit{lih/lah} was more current. The logic seems to be that for vowel-initial suffixes the short form is used: \textit{lih/lah}, \textit{lak}, while the long base (with \textit{ê}) is in use for the consonant-initial suffixes. In cases of enclitic suffixing of the prep. + pron. suff. the short base occurs (cf. remark to \textit{b} in SA below).

Due to the phonetic overlapping of \textit{ê} and \textit{i} (cf. I, 1.2.2.1.), \textit{ê} in this paradigm will often sound like \textit{i}. As there are no phonetic factors involved which could possibly lead to lowering of \textit{ê}, so that the paradigm would have been analogous to \textit{fih}, a transcription with \textit{ê} is preferred here. This makes the paradigm analogous to \textit{\'alêh} (although \textit{\'alih} is more current, cf. below).

In RA the independent form \textit{\textasciitilde{\textquoteleft}ala} often has a raised final \textit{a}: \textit{\textquoteright}ale. This was not noticed in SA, AA, or BA.\textsuperscript{a}

\textsuperscript{a} SA has a similar paradigm, except for 3.m. sg., for which only \textit{fih} was recorded in SA, but in both RA and SA "there is/are" is \textit{fih}. In AA \textit{fiha} instead of \textit{fihiy} is current.\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{b} Cases like \textit{layî}, \textit{fayî}, \textit{bayî}, \textit{\'alayî}, \textit{m’ayî} (cf. also below) are instances of morphological hypercharacterization.

For the preposition "on" \textit{\textquoteleft}ala or \textit{\textquoteright}al + suff. 3rd. p. m. sg. one may hear \textit{\textquoteleft}alêh} in RA, but more regularly \textit{\textquoteright}alih}. In SA, AA\textsuperscript{c} and BA the regular form is \textit{\textquoteleft}alêh}. Similarly, one may hear \textit{\textquoteleft}alûk} "on you" in RA (and only one instance in

\textsuperscript{a} A few instances of \textit{\textquoteright}ale} were recorded in SA and BA, \textit{\textquoteright}ala} was heard much more regularly. For AA, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 132 where he comments on a feature of southern Tarbâniy dialect, which apparently has a similar independent form (Stewart transcribes what he hears as \textit{\textquoteright}alîh or \textit{\textquoteright}ale}). The difference in Stewart’s and my own transcription is probably best explained in terms of stress: southern Tarbâniy then has \textit{\textquoteright}alê, or \textit{\textquoteright}alê, and RA has \textit{\textquoteright}dle}. My own recordings show quite a number of instances of \textit{\textquoteright}dle} in TA as well.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf., for instance, STEWART (1990), p. 10 (text 1), l. 89, p. 12 (text 1), l. 128 (and passim).

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 141 (text 45), fn 44, commenting on the dialect of the northern Tarabin: "\textit{\textquoteleft}alah} ‘on him’ in the speaker’s dialect, for the Ahaywiyy’s \textit{\textquoteleft}alêh}.”
BaA), although 'alêk was recorded more often, probably as a result of the greater morphological symmetry in the four forms for the 2nd person 'alêk (m. sg.), 'alêkiy (f. sg.), 'alêkuw (m. pl.), and 'alêkin (f. pl.). The independent form is often 'a, also when not preceding the article, e.g. 'a til "directly" (RA), 'a hayyt arrih "in the direction of the wind" (RA), 'a râs âlgimal "on the camel's head" (SA), akadqib 'a ḥâlī "I lie to myself" (AA)⁴⁹², and 'a ḡâl "on one side" (BaA). This 'a is likely to be the product of a haplological drop of one of the two al-sequences in the combination 'ala + al (the article) which is pronounced ['îalpl], e.g. in 'ala lbêt, which becomes 'a lbêt. 'a then stabilized as an independent allomorph, after which it could appear in other positions as well, including positions where the prep. does not precede the article⁴⁹³.

In SA:

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<td>SG.</td>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>bih</td>
<td>bhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>bhiy</td>
<td>bhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>bak</td>
<td>bkuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>bkiy</td>
<td>bkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>bay (~ bayi)</td>
<td>bna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹) A similar paradigm for l in SA, except that (1 c. pl.) lna may assimilate to nna. In RA both bêh and bih were recorded, and also bêhiy, but not bhiy (this runs parallel to the prep. l in RA, cf. remark to l above). For examples of enclitically suffixed l + suffix, cf. above I, 2.1.3.2.1.

*²) RA has the same paradigm

*³) 'h often mutually assimilates to hh: mihhiy, mihhum, mihhin (cf. I, 2.5.)

The preposition "after" is 'ugb in RA, SA, AA⁴⁹⁴, co-occurring with the K-form (?) ba'ad in RA and SA, but in BaA only ba'ad ~ ba'd was recorded, examples: këf ḥalît Raṣīdah 'ugb ḡizîtiy? "how is Raṣīdah doing after her marriage?" (RA), 'ugb adduhur addayf biygayyil "in the afternoon the guest takes

⁴⁹² Cf. ibid., p. 8 (text 1), ll. 51-52.
⁴⁹³ Notice that, for instance, in CaA the allomorph 'a only appears before the article, and in 'aşân "because".
⁴⁹⁴ Cf. ibid., glossary.
an afternoon nap" (SA), albann, ba'ad ma- hammsih⁴⁹⁵ "the coffebeans, after I roast them (m. sg.)" (BaA).

The CA preposition *'an in RA, SA and AA is 'in, but it is usually 'an in BaA (~ a few isolated instances of 'in). This preposition is also used to say "we call it" bingûl 'in + suff. The n is doubled when vowel-initial suffixes follow: 'innih "about him", 'innak "about you", etc.

Unlike the high vowel in min, the high vowel in the preposition mi' seems to have a double nature in RA and SA: when vowel-initial suffixes follow i tends to be dropped, but when consonant-initial suffixes follow it it is stressed, whereas the high vowel in min is only dropped in sandhi. The high vowel in the independent form mi' is not dropped in sandhi (the underlying form can therefore be said to be lma'l).

In AA the form with vowel-initial suffixes is ma' (although a is often raised in conformity with I, 3.1.1.6., but it is not dropped⁴⁹⁶), and the form with consonant-initial suffixes is mi'. The independent form is with a: ma'.⁴⁹⁷

Prepositions in b and l in AA (references to STEWART (1990) are in brackets):

l:
lay (~ liy⁴⁹⁸ (p. 5 (text 1), l. 25) ~ layī (p. 5 (text 1), l. 22), lak (p. 5 (text 1), l. 24), lah⁴⁹⁹ (p. 4 (text 1), l. 15), lha (p. 30 (text 11), l. 3), lkuw (p. 9 (text 1), l. 77).

b:
bayî (p. 32 (text 14), l.6), bak (p. 23 (text 7), l. 42), bah⁵₀⁰ (p. 35 (text 14), l. 89), bna (p. 129 (text 41), l. 3).

By analogy we can complete the paradigms, so that we get sg.: bah, bha, bak, bkiy, bay ~ bayî, and pl.: bhum, bhin, bkuw, bkin, bna, and a similar paradigm for l.

---

⁴⁹⁵ I hear sin here, rather than sâd, and also in mîhmäsih "a long handled frying pan for roasting coffee beans".
⁴⁹⁶ Cf. ibid., glossary. The remark on raising of a → i in pre-stress positions is based on my own observations.
⁴⁹⁷ Cf., for instance, ibid. p. 3 (text 1), l. 1, p. 18 (text 5), l. 20, and passim.
⁴⁹⁸ A footnote (ibid., p. 3 (text 1), first fn 2) adds that lay "often sounds like liy".
⁴⁹⁹ Stewart states that bah and lak are current in AA, bih and lih, like in DA, are not. Cf. ibid., p. 6 (text 1), fn 35, and STEWART (1987), p. 48. In TA lah, rather than lih, is current as well. As regards bah (one instance) and bih (not recorded), my material is too limited for definitive conclusions for TA.
⁵₀⁰ Cf. preceding fn.

In MA: lih ~ lah, lhin; bih, bak, bkiy, bay, bhin, bna; ma’áh, ma’ák, ma’kiy, but also m’ay, m’ak; ‘alēh, ‘alēhiy, ‘alēhin; ‘indihum

In ‘AyA: lih ~ lah (~ once lēh); bih, mi’áh (~ once K-form ma’áh); ‘alēh.

3.1.17. Numerals, and counted plurals.


Independent cardinal numbers from one to ten in RA, SA and BA are (dependent numbers follow in braces):
1. wâhid (m.)/wihdih (f.), 2. tnën (m.)/tintën (f.), 3. talâtîh {talât ~ talâj}, 4. ârba’âh {ârba’}, 5. xamsih {xams}, 6. sittih {sitt}, 7. sab’îh {sab’}, 8. tamânyih {tamán ~ tâman}, 9. tis’îh {tis’}, 10. ‘asâra’ah {’ásar ~ ’asâr}.

In AA the same numerals are in use, except that the vowel in “one (f.)” is a: wahdah, and stress in CaCaC is invariably CaCâC (in conformity with rule 6a), cf. I, 2.1.1.). In TA, MA and ‘AyA the f. sg. is wihdih.

wâhid and wihdah/wahdah may follow the noun as adjectives for added emphasis, and so can tnën and tintën, e.g. riqlâk (~ riqlêk) aqintën "your two legs" (BA). (For duals with bases ending in ā-, cf. I, 3.1.18.)

These numerals may also appear independently, e.g. w inhutt ‘alēh ‘ûdên zayy kidiyih, iw tintën zayy kidiyih "and we put two sticks like this, and two like this", where the numeral is in concord with the gender of the sg. of the word referred to. tintën was also recorded in assâ’ah wihdih "one o’clock", assâ’ah tintën (!) "two o’clock" (both SA), assâ’ah sittih "six o’clock" (RA), etc.

Measures are formed with the independent ordinal + sg. noun: ‘asâra’ah kîlih "ten kilometres" (RA), tamânyah kîlih "eight kilometres" (SA), ânën kîlih "two kilometres", and also talât-ârba’âh kîlih "three (or) four kilometres" (SA), and kiltën "two kilometres" (RA, SA) were recorded. Likewise, one usually hears talâtîh mitr, sittih mitr, ‘asâra’ah mitr (SA), xamsih mitr (SA), and ‘asâra’ah sântiy "ten centimetres" (RA), but also (only one instance) ibyalbas tawb, sitt imtär igmâs "he wears a garment, (which is) six meters of fabric" (RA).

The pattern, it seems, is that distances which are regarded by the speaker as limited can be expressed with a cardinal + pl. noun.

Some of the recorded plural nouns which take a proclitic t- (a remnant of the feminine suffix in gen. construction) mainly preceding (older) vowel- or hamzah-initial plurals are: al'āsār t-infâr "the ten persons" (RA), xamis t-iyyām "five days" (RA), xamis t-ālāf "five thousand" (RA), talaṭ t-iyyām "three days" (SA), talaṭ t-ālāf "three thousand" (SA), talaṭ t-ifūš (assimilated ti → u, cf. I, 2.5.) "three preliminary magistrates" (AA), ʿaṣār t-iyyām "ten days" (AA), arbaʿ t-irkān "four corners" (AA), arbaʿ t-ālāf "four thousand" (BaA), arbaʿ t-infâr "four persons" (BaA), talaṭ t-ušur "three months" (BaA) (but xams išūr, sitt išūr etc.), talaṭ t-išbâr "three spans of the hand" (BaA), and also xamsa(h) t-iyyām (!!) (BaA).

Monetary units under 10 are usually formed with cardinals + pl. noun: xams iğnēhât "five pounds" (RA), ʿaṣār iğnēhât "ten pounds" (SA), ġnēhayn "two pounds" (AA), but also ʿaṣarah ġnēh "ten pounds" (RA) (which may be due to koineizing influences). This contrasts with usage in BA, where we usually have ordinals + sg.: talâtah ġnēh, etc. (cf. III, 3.1.17.1., i.e. like the system in ĈA and most Delta dialects).

The twelve months of the Christian calender are referred to by the numbers 1-12502, e.g.: šāhar iğ tên "February", šihār tisʿih "September", šihār ʿaṣarah "October", šihār ihdāʾiš "November" (SA). In adverbial expressions of time speakers may omit the word šahar: fi ḥdāʾiš "in November", fi ʿamānyih, f-awwil tisʿih "in August, (or) in the beginning of September".

N.B. ḥarb uktībār "the October war" (recorded in BaA) is, of course, an exception. māris (recorded in SA) was glossed as "a piece of agricultural land"503.

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502 This is also true for AA, cf. ibid. p. 14 (text 1), fn 147.

---
3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1-10.

Ordinals recorded in RA, SA, AA and BaA arc: awwal (-äniy) "first", tâniy "second"*, tâlit "third", râbi‘ "fourth", xâmis "fifth", sâdis "sixth", sâbi‘ "seventh", tâmin "eighth", tâsi‘ "ninth", ’âsir "tenth".

N.B. A typical adverbial expression for "the next day", recorded in RA and SA is tâniy min yöm, or tâniy min nahâr. An example from RA in its context is: tâniy min nahâr assâ‘ah tgül attîmânyih walla tîs‘îh, ‘ugub ma širîbt aššay, w faṭârña tamâm w itxârâfna, lîna wagît tûwil iw kân aģîk imrâwwîh. "the next day at around eight or nine o'clock, after I had drunk tea, and we had had a good breakfast, (and) we spent a long time talking and I then went home (lit. I came to you on my way home)"

In AA Stewart heard a comparable tâniy (an-)nahâr, which he interprets as a slip for âxar annahâr.504

3.1.17.3. Numerals: 11 and up.

In RA and SA numerals from 11-19 end in -â'is when used independently, and in -âsar when the counted noun follows, whereas in BaA only numerals ending in -âsar (or -âşar) were recorded in both positions.

Forms recorded in RA and SA included: ihdâ'is (or ihdâ'ës)505 (RA, SA), xamistâ'is "fifteen" (RA), itnâ'is "twelve" (SA), sittâ'is "sixteen" (SA), sâbi'tâ'is "seventeen" (SA), tamantâ'is (or tamantâ’s) "eighteen" (SA).

Forms recorded in BaA are: ihdâsar, itnâsar, talattâsar, arba’tâsar, xamastâsar, sittâsar, saba’tâsar, tamantâsar, tisi’tâsar.

In all dialects under discussion here the tens arc: ‘isrin "twenty", talâgün "thirty", arba‘in "forty", xamsin "fifty", sittin "sixty", sab‘in "seventy", tamânîn "eighty", tissîn "ninety".

The hundreds are: miyyih (in construction mit) "a hundred", mûtên "two hundred", talâtmiyyih "three hundred", arba‘miyyih "four hundred", xamismiyyih "five hundred", sittmiyyih "six hundred", sab‘miyyih "seven hundred", sab‘miyyih "seven hundred",

504 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 27, l. 9 (+ first fn 9).
505 Since d in ihdâ'ës is not part of the phoneme inventory of any of the dialects discussed here, preference is given to marking velarization in the d, and analogous to this, in the other forms as well.
The forms listed above seem to be the original forms, but especially in BaA one may also hear the K-forms with ṭ, such as xumusmiyyih, subu’miyyih, tumnummiyyih (but with interdental !).

The thousands are: alfl, alflén, ūlal t-âlaf, arba’ t-âlaf, xamis t-âlaf, sitt àlaf, sabz t-âlaf, ṭaman t-âlaf, tisi’ t-âlaf, ‘asor t-âlaf.

3.1.18. The dual.

The dual is formed by appending -en (or -ayn when preceded by a (secondary) emphatic or a pharyngeal (cf. 1.2.4.6.1.2.) to the sg. noun, and where f. sg. nouns with the feminine suffix are concerned, -ah, or -ih becomes -vt (on whether -it or -at, cf. I, 3.1.10.). Some examples: ‘ašaratên "two tens" (RA), šaharayn "two months" (RA), nafarayn "two persons" (RA, BaA), xaṭayn "two threads" (SA), ‘ūdên "two poles" (SA), sanatên "two years" (SA), marj tên "two times" (SA), ‘aynên "two eyes" (BaA), ‘arabiytên (BaA), šilît tên "two sacks" (BaA).

An at first sight older dual -ā ending (in construction) appeared in nominals such as rigläy "my legs", rigläk "your legs", ìdâk "your hands", ìdâhiy "her hands" (RA), ìdây "my hands" (RA), and ìdîna "our legs" (RA) was also recorded. Another plural recorded in AA506 and BaA is (')adên, of which the n is dropped when suffixed: adêna "our hands", and a pseudo-dual recorded with the ā-ending is adâhuw "their hands" (BaA).

"My legs" is rigläy (BaA) with the long ā, while "your legs" is with the long ē: riglèk (BaA), and also riglèh "his legs" (SA), and riglèna "our legs" (RA).

The forms with the base ending in -ā may look like older nominative forms, but what is more likely507 is that the ā, which is present in forms suffixed with the 1st p. c. sg. poss. suffix, whatever its origin may be508, changed the whole paradigm through a process of paradigmatic leveling. This means that the ā-ending in forms with poss. suffixes other than the 1st p. c. sg.

506 Cf. ibid., glossary, p. 285 (root y-d-d). In AA ā only appears when suffixed with the 1st p. sg. pron. suffix, adây(î) "my hands". With other suffixes ē is used, adēh "his hands".

507 A preserved older nominative form seems unlikely because, as far as I am aware, no nominative forms have survived in modern dialects to this day.

is actually more recent than the ė-ending. The forms in AA, where ě- only appears when suffixed with the 1st p. c. sg., and ė- appears preceding other poss. suffixes, would then represent the older situation.

Another plural has a similar shape: xšay "my testicles" (BaA).

3.2. Verbal morphology.

3.2.1. Regular verbs in RA, SA and BaA.

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect.

The two underlying perf. patterns for measure 1 are $C_1aC_2iC_3$, and $C_1aC_2aC_3$. Stress is subject to variation described in 2.1.1.. Below the conjugations in RA, SA and BaA are given, where stress is according to the older rule 6a) in I, 2.2.1.:

perf. "drink"                      perf. "open"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širbuw*1)</td>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>fitdh</td>
<td>fitdhaw*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>širbit*1)</td>
<td>širbin*</td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>fitāhat*2)</td>
<td>fitāhan*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>širibtiy</td>
<td>širibtin</td>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>fitāhtiy</td>
<td>fitāhtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>širibi</td>
<td>širibina</td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>fitāht</td>
<td>fitāhtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>širibtiy</td>
<td>širibtiy</td>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>fitāht</td>
<td>fitāhtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice that, unlike older *fa‘ila verbs in ḃA, the raised reflex i of older *a of the first syllable does not reappear in closed syllables in RA, SA and BaA, but like in ḃA, it is not dropped in open unstressed syllables either, so that one may say that it is still underlying īal (cf. III, 3.2.1.1. and V, 3.2.1.1. for contrasting forms in this respect in BA of group I and AA like širib, fhimt etc.). The rule is:

\[ a\text{-raising: } a \rightarrow i \text{ (but } īal) / C_1-CiC \]

For the perfect i-type verbs this raising of a in open syllable is compulsory. Even when stress conforms to rule 6b) in 2.2.1., the a in open syllable will be raised, e.g. širib.
In AA, like in DA\textsuperscript{509}, the a "reappears" in closed syllables, e.g.: tal'uw, tal'in, ḥabyit, annās ḏaḥkit "people (f. sg.) laughed" (AA), tal'uw "they got up (and left)".\textsuperscript{510}

Other examples of i in closed syllables are: fiḥmit "she understood" (SA), xilsit (SA), kitrit (SA), wirmit "it (f.) swelled" (SA), riḡ'it "they (f. sg.) returned" (BaA), ḡihzit "she prepared" (BaA), kitrit "it (f. sg.) became many" (BaA). No instances appeared in the RA recordings.

\textsuperscript{*2} The same rule of a-raising applies for the CaCāC type, but is optional: unstressed a in open pre-stress syllable may be raised, but the resulting high vowel is not dropped (cf. I, 3.1.1.6. for this rule applying in nominals as well). When stress is in conformity with rule 6b) in 2.2.1., the stressed a is not raised, e.g. fāṭaḥ.

Forms recorded in TA, MA and 'AyA show the same vowel harmony in the perfect endings of the a-type, e.g.: ga'adaw "they sat down" (TA), kataban they (f.) wrote" (MA), daxalaw "they entered" ('AyA).

The a of the i-type perfects does not "reappear" in closed syllables, e.g. ligyuw "they found" (TA), ūl'it "it (f.) came up" (MA), sim'it "she heard" ('AyA), kubrit ~ kibrit "she grew" ('AyA).

In unstressed syllables the unstressed i is not dropped: sim'īt "I heard" (TA and 'AyA), rikīt "I mounted" (MA).

However, presumably older forms in BaA which were obtained through direct elicitation only, include: ktābat "she wrote", ktābaw "they wrote", ktāban "they (f. sg.) wrote", ḏrābatīh "she hit him", msākatih "she grabbed it (m. sg.)". It is therefore assumed that a north Arabian type of resyllabication was current in an older type of BaA, and perhaps this rule still applies in the dialect type spoken in the intimacy of the home.

The resyllabication rule for verbs in BaA would then be:
\[ a \rightarrow \emptyset / C_1 C_2 a C_3 v \]

\( C_1 \neq * \) (tentative)*

\( v = \) tentative; only examples of \( v \) being \( a \) were recorded

*Tentative, because the use of the parallel verbal system may be responsible for the forms axāḏat, axāḏaw and axāḏan which were recorded.

There is a small, yet significant difference between the resyllabication rule described here and the resyllabication rule for DA (described in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6., which covers verbs as well as nominals); in DA the \( a \) of the second syllable is raised to \( i \), whereas in BaA it remains \( a \), which results in such contrasting forms (in terms of vowel quality) as ktābat (older BaA) and ktībat (DA) for "she wrote".

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect.

The imperfect patterns for measure 1 are \( yaC_1 C_2 a C_3 \), \( yuC_1 C_2 u C_3 \) and \( yiC_1 C_2 i C_3 \), with harmonized vowels of the imperfect prefix. These patterns yield the following conjugations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperf.</th>
<th>&quot;drink&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;grab&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. ( yāšraḥ )</td>
<td>( yāšraḥaw )</td>
<td>( yūgʻud )</td>
<td>( yūguʻduw )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. ( tāšraḥ )</td>
<td>( yašraḥan )</td>
<td>( tūgʻud )</td>
<td>( yūguʻdin )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. ( tāšraḥ )</td>
<td>( tāšraḥaw )</td>
<td>( tūgʻud )</td>
<td>( tūguʻduw )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. ( tāšraḥəy )</td>
<td>( tāšraḥan )</td>
<td>( tūgʻdīy )</td>
<td>( tūguʻdin )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. ( ášraḥ )</td>
<td>( nāšraḥ )</td>
<td>( ágʻud )</td>
<td>( nugʻud )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the vowel harmony of the vowels in the endings: \( a \) in a- type imperfects, and \( i \) in u- and i-type imperfects.

The measure 1 verbs where \( C_1 = X \) have a \( yaXaC_2 v C_3 \) imperfect pattern. Stress is subject to variation described in 2.1.1.. The forms listed here for AA and BaA can be heard in RA and SA as well, but in RA and SA stress tends to be \( yāXaC_2 v C_3 \) (conforming to 6b) in 2.1.1.).
Imperf. "plough"*1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In RA and SA</th>
<th>In AA and BaA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. yāharīt*2)</td>
<td>yāhartūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. tāharīt</td>
<td>yāhartīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. tāharīt</td>
<td>tāhartūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. tāhartīy</td>
<td>tāhartīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. āharīt</td>
<td>nāharīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Measure 1 verbs of the *yaC1C2iC3 imperfect type, where C1 = X, but C3 = liquid tend to have an imperf. conjugation like yimsik, e.g.: yiḥfruw "they dig", nīgisīh "we wash it", yiʿīgnīn "they (f. pl.) knead", yiʿīgnūh "they knead it (m. sg.)" (cf. I, 2.2.2.1.).

*2) For i in final syllables, cf. fn 260 to I, 2.1.1.2.1.1.

In TA, MA and ʿAyA we have similar forms with vowel harmony in the imperfect prefixes, and vowel harmony in the endings of the a-type imperfect: yikīthuw, tīkīthiyy, tīkitbin; yūguʿduw, tūguʿdiyy, tūguʿdin; yāṭṣrāḥaw, tāṭṣrābay, tāṭṣrāban, etc.

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C1aC2uC3, *yaC1C2uC3.

Of the older *C1aC2uC3, *yaC1C2uC3 verbs, which seem to have been preserved in AA as C1uC2uC3, yuC1C2uC3511, only the forms kutrat (twice in RA), kutur (RA), kutur (BaA), and the imperf. forms tukbur (5 instances in RA), yukburun (also with the harmonized high vowel!) (RA) were recorded. These forms point in the same direction as the forms recorded in AA, although the form xilsit was also recorded in SA. The information available for RA, SA, AA and BaA is perhaps too little to go on for any definitive conclusions, but the a-raising rule described in I, 3.1.1.9. may be responsible for the presence of u in the first syllable of the perfect.

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511 Cf. ibid. p. 158 (text 53), second fn 4. The examples listed are: kūṣur, yūṣur, xūṣur, šūṣur, gūṣūr, ʾurūṣur, kutur, suxun, gūṣur, and xuluṣ.
3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles.

The active participle has the patterns: $C_1\alpha C_2 i C_3$ (m. sg.), $C_1\alpha C_2 C_3 a\ liaison$ (f. sg.), $C_1\alpha C_2 C_3 i n$ (m. pl.), $C_1\alpha C_2 C_3 a t$ (f. pl.).

NB. An important difference with dialects of group III and other more sedentary dialects is that when an object follows a fem. participle in the form of a suffix, the participle is in construct state with this suffix, whereas in group III the $a$ (of $T$) is lengthened, e.g.: hi mridtih "she wants him (in marriage)" (RA), kull ḫāGHīh hi ṭāyizīh šśağarāh "everything the tree needs" (SA), kārihτah "she abhors him" (BA), and mi'rīghiti "she pleases me" (BA), while in BA one would typically hear, for instance, ṭāyzhē for "she needs him", i.e. like in Egyptian dialects (cf. remark in III, 3.2.1.4.).

Further examples are: mgāblīnī "having (f. sg.) met me" (MA), ṭāyiztah "she needs it" (TA and ṭAYA).

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives.

Like the imperfect, the imperatives to these verbs are formed with a harmonized vowel in the preformative: āṣrab, āṣraḥay, āṣraḥan, āṣraḥaw "drink!", ūg′ud, ūgu′diy, ūgu′duw, ūgu′din "sit down!", and īmsik, īmskiy, īmskūw, īmskīn "grab, take hold!".\footnote{Cf. MITCHELL (1960), p. 384 remarks on these stressed vowels in the imperatives that they are to be interpreted as exponents of $V$ (i.e. $a$ or $o$, but not anaptyctic $a$, cf. ibid. p. 377), "since in no related form are these vowels 'elided'." Interestingly, vowel harmony produces $a$ in imperative preformatives of our dialects of group I, e.g. āṣrab, ānsa, but $i$ in īktor, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 26 (137). Similarly, our group I has $a$ in ānkītal, āṣṭaḡal, but also in unstressed positions āṣṭafīlam, though not in ndabb, nhān. JANSSEN (1972), p. 50, §66 concludes a causal relationship of stress on these preformatives in the modern dialects based on the assumption that they were pronounced with hamza (‘uqtul) in Old Arabic.}

\footnote{With the exception of the oases Farafra, Daxla, and Xarga, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1982) p.58.}
3.2.2. Irregular verbs.

3.2.2.1. Irregular verbs $C_1 = w$ (primae $w\w$).

Quite often in $BaA$, the diphthong resulting in the imperfect of the primae $w\w$ $a$-type (pattern $yaC_1C_2aC_3$, after vowel harmony) verbs is not monophthongized, whereas it regularly is in the primae $w\w$ $i$-type verbs (pattern $^*yaC_1C_2iC_3$, before vowel harmony). The imperfect pattern $yaC_1C_2aC_3$ generally goes with a $C_1iC_2iC_3$ perfect pattern, while the imperf. pattern $yaC_1C_2iC_3$ goes with the perf. pattern $C_1aC_2aC_3$. For instance, one is likely to hear yawšal as well as yösal, but only yörid, not *yawrid, was recorded in these dialects during this research.

The forms of the $a$-type imperfect that were recorded in $BaA$ are: wišil (~ once wasal), yawšal ~ yösal "he arrives"; yawga' "he falls"; aw'ā! (m. sg.), aw'ay! (f. sg.) "take care! (m. sg., f. sg.); wigif, yawgaf ~ yögaf.

The $i$-type imperfects in recorded in $BaA$: byûg'annî "they (f. pl.) hurt me", btügi'nî "it (f. sg.) hurts me"; warad, yörid (~ yûrid)514 "go to a water source"; yözin "he weighs".

Although these forms present little to go on, these forms seem to corroborate the earlier conclusion drawn with respect to the $C_1 = X$ verbs: that vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix is relatively recent, as compared to monophthongization.

The forms recorded in $RA$ and $SA$ appear to go along the same lines, although monophthongization is much more regular in the $a$-type verbs. Forms recorded in $RA$ are: yösal "he arrives" (~ once nawšal "we arrive"), yögaf "he stands still", tögi' "it (f.) hurts".

Forms recorded in $SA$ are: yösal "he arrives", tôsal "she arrives", yögaf "he stands still", tôram "it (f.) swells", tawgi'nî ~ tôgi'nî "it (f.) hurts me".

Notice that imperfect forms of the type yiwCiC were not recorded in $RA$, $SA$, $AA$, $\mathcal{DA}$ or $BaA$, in contrast to the situation in 'Arāyšiy ('AA), where they are frequent (cf. V, 3.2.2.1.).

514 The variation $o \sim u$ is explained in I, 1.2.2.2.
Stewart’s impression for AA is that most primae wâw verbs have both a regular (with wâw), and an irregular imperfect (without wâw): wafâ, yawfa “carry out (of an obligation)”; wugaf, yawgaf ~ yigif; waqaf, yâqif “burn (of the biš’ah)”; wišî, yawğa~ yiga “fall ill”; warâd, yawrid ~ yirid; wišîl, yôsal ~ yawṣal ~ yisîl “reach, arrive”; waṭâ, yawta “tread”; waṭâg, yâṭîg “have faith”.

In RA only one such form without the wâw was recorded: tiṣal “you arrive”. Comparable forms in SA and BaA were not recorded.

Imperfects in TA and ‘AyA are like those in RA and SA. In MA the diphthong formed by the harmonized prefix vowel and w has more regularly remained diphthongal, and even such forms of i-type imperfects were recorded, e.g. tawṣal “you arrive”, btawg’ak “it (f. sg.) hurts you”, and tawgd “you light”, nawrid “we get water”.

Imperatives of w-’-y, w-r-d (in BaA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;pay attention&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;get water&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>āw’āa</td>
<td>āw’āaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>āw’ay</td>
<td>āw’an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other imperatives recorded in BaA: őgaf ~ awgaf “stand still!”.

Participles.

Active participles are coined on the $C_1^aC_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g.: wâgif “standing” (RA, SA), wâsiy “aware” (BaA).

For ḌA Blanc reports a passive participle miğūd “found, present”, but in RA, SA and BaA several instances of mawgûd (pattern $maC_1C_2üC_3$) were recorded.

In MA the form maygûd was recorded twice, which is comparable to the ḌA form, if we assume monophthongization of *ay there, with a possible phonetic overlapping of ē and i.

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516 Cf. fn 50 in the introduction of this study.
3.2.2.2. Irregular verbs $C_1 = y$ (primae $yâ'$).

$yibis$, $yêbas \sim yaybas$ is reported for $AA$.\(^5\) No primae $yâ'$ verbs were recorded in $RA$, $SA$ or $BaA$.

3.2.2.3. Irregular verbs $C_1 = *'$ (primae $hamzah$).

The two primae $hamzah$ verbs "eat" and "take" have parallel conjugations. Forms for "take" recorded in $BaA$ are:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>$axâd$</td>
<td>$axâdaw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>$axâdat$</td>
<td>$axâdan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>$axâd$</td>
<td>$axâduw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>$axâdty$</td>
<td>$axâdin$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>$axâdt$</td>
<td>$axâdna$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

* In $AA$ too, the perfect of the primae $hamzah$ verbs is formed with this proclitic (')a-, e.g. (bracketed references are to STEWART (1990)): (3 m. sg.) $akal$ (p. 158 (text 53), 1.13) and $axâd$ (p. 161 (text 54), 1.5), (3 f. sg.) $axâdat$ (p. 161 (text 55), 1.7), (1 m. sg.) $axâdt$ (p. 170 (text 60), 1.65), (3 m. pl.) $axâdaw$ (p. 162 (text 55), 1.8).

Notice the vowel harmony in the vowel-initial perfect endings.

Imperatives in $BaA$ are: $xu$û, $xâdy$, $xâduw$, $xâdn$ (and also $kun$, $kliy$, $kluw$, $klin$). Considerable velarization can be observed in these imperatives (under influence of present or vanished $u$), so that the anaptyctic (or older preformative?) which may precede the intial cluster may sound more like $u$.

In $AA$ there seems to be a bit of variation; proclitic (')$u$ is absent in the m. sg., but may appear in the other persons (bracketed references are again to STEWART (1990)) : (m. sg.) $xu$û (p. 154 (text 50), 1.12, and passim), (f. sg.) "$xu$ðihiy" take them" (p. 182 (text 69), 1.65). For m. pl. Stewart recorded the forms $xu$û$uw$ (p. 138 (text 44), 1.11 + fn) $\sim xu$û$uw$ (p. 152 (text 49), 1.79 + fn)

---

\(^5\) Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary.
The presence of the proclitic ‘u- in the m. sg. imperative may be the result of a wish for three radicals. If we look at some other examples, we see that in quite a number of cases a proclitic (’)v is added, of which the v is then harmonized to the base vowel, e.g. in (’)âfam ~ (’)afâm "mouth" (RA, AA, DA, BAA), the example of (cf. I, 2.2.2.1.) (’)ibil "camels" (RA, SA), and (’)iblih (~ bilih) "his camels" (AA). In ‘AA we have another example in âkam "how many?" (cf. a brief description of ‘AA in chapter V).

In ĠA (spoken in central south Sinai) we see some interesting examples as well. A number, though not all, of the short m. sg. imperatives of weak verbs show such a harmonized proclitic vowel (in my transcription, references in brackets are to NISHIO (1992)): (medial weak verbs) ugul (~ gul and gül) "say!" (p. 73), ibi’ (~ bi’) "sell!" (p. 83), uzur (~ zûr) "visit!" (p. 90).

As far as verb forms are concerned here, the parallel with the apocopated imperatives of C3 = y verbs (cf. I, 3.2.2.5.3.) may have helped to introduce similar proclitic vowels into the conjugation of *’-x-d. Compare, for instance, the imperative conjugation of r-m-y "throw": irm (often with the anaptyctic ‘irim), irmiy, irmuw, irmin, or ġ-r-y "run", which is iġir (always with the expanded bukara-vowel, cf. I, 2.2.2.1.), iġriy, iġruw, iġrin.

The imperative forms of "take" (for f. sg, m. pl., and f. pl. respectively) are uxdiy, uxduw, and uxdin. Through a process of contamination, a m. sg. uxdu may very well have been inferred by analogy from the C3 = y m. sg. imperative forms.

The rule of the proclitic harmonizing with the base vowel then worked in the opposite direction: the base vowel u was inferred from the phonetic quality of the proclitic; if (’)iġrin goes with (‘)iġir, ‘uxdin must go with (‘)uxdû.
Notice that the long ā now present in the imperfect, could have developed out of older *ya'xud. The prefix with a must have been older than a conceivable yu- prefix (to be expected after vowel harmonization), which would not have yielded the yā- prefix we now have.

"take" in RA and SA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. xad</td>
<td>xadāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. xadāt</td>
<td>xadān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. xadū</td>
<td>xadūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. xadūtiy</td>
<td>xadūtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. xadūt</td>
<td>xadūna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In AA the imperfect shows an ī523 as well, while the imperfect forms in DA are yākul and yāxud524, i.e. like the imperfect conjugation of BaA listed above.

Woidich525 interprets the presence of the ī in the imperfect yākil, but the u in the imperative kul "eat" in B'eri in Upper Egypt as "further evidence of dialect contact", as "there is, to the best of my knowledge, no way to explain this in a system-immanent manner...".

Imperatives recorded in RA and SA:

In RA: xud, xāduw, and also one instance of kūluw. From these forms we can deduce the complete set for RA: xud (m. sg.), xādiy (f. sg.), xāluw (m. pl.), xālin (f. pl.).

In SA: xud and kul (m. sg.), kliy (f. sg.), kluw (m. pl.), and klin (f. pl.) (i.e. like the forms in BaA).

For DA the forms kul, kliy, kluw, klin (and likewise xud, xdiy, xduw, xdin) are listed.526

523 Cf. ibid., glossary.
524 Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 26 (137). With reference to the f. sg. suffix, the form nākilīy (cf. ibid. p. 13 (124)) is said not to occur among the Dullām. I have assumed that the ī of the imperfect in this form is not DA either.
526 Cf. BLANC (1970), p 26 (137), and his fn 45 on marking velarization in these forms.
Active participles in RA, SA, AA, BaA are: mâخذ, mâخذة, mâخذين, mâخذات (and also makhir, makhüh, mâklîn, mâklât). One speaker of SA frequently used the koineized expression wâخذ بالاك؟ "you see? (i.e. understand)", but instances of mâخذ بالاك were also heard. Unfortunately, Blanc does not list the active participles for DA.

The passive participle recorded in AA is mâخذ "taken". No instances occurred in RA, SA, or BaA.

"Food" is 'âkl, but in RA 'îkl in both meanings of "food" and "eating" was also recorded a number of times.

In TA and MA the forms are: akal, yâkil, mâkil. In 'AyA: kal, yâkil (~ few instances of yâkul), mâkil.

3.2.2.4. Irregular verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae).

3.2.2.4.1. Irregular verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect.

Mediae infirmae perfect forms recorded in RA, SA, AA and BaA are identical to those recorded in DA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. gâl</td>
<td>gâlaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. gâlat</td>
<td>gâlan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. gult</td>
<td>gultuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. gughty</td>
<td>gultin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. gult</td>
<td>gula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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527 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, pp. 194 and 195.
528 Cf. ibid, p. 32 (text 14), l. 10.
530 As was noticed in AA, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 37 (text 15), fn 12. gâl, ygûl often also has the meaning of "do" while the speaker imitates the action intended, e.g. lamma ygûl kih, lamma yhiżz alfingûl "when he does this, when he shakes the cup" (while making a shaking motion with the right hand) (SA).
Other mediae infirmae include:
gâm - gunt - ygûm "get up", nâm - nîmt - ynâm "sleep" (RA, AA\textsuperscript{531}, BaA), šâm - şunt - yûm "fast", šâf - šût (~ šût in RA and SA) - yûf "see", tâh - tiht - yîh "fall", bâ¢ - bi't - ybt "sell", râh - ruht - yrh "go", kân - kunt - ykân "be", šâr - śîr - yšir "become", xâf - xift (in AA) - yxâf "fear", šâl - šilt - yšîl "carry", xâh - xibt - yxîh "let down (someone)".

The forms available to us indicate that originally measure 4 med. inf. verbs have joined the $i$-type measure 1 verbs, where the consonantal environment is of no consequence for the phonetic quality of the high vowel; the 1st and 2nd persons forms are formed with $i$. Original measure 1 media infirmae verbs do seem to have an $u/i$ variation (in the different verbs) depending on the consonantal (i.e. phonetic) environment. The forms mentioned by Blanc\textsuperscript{532} are: gult, šif, gunt and nîmt. Parallel forms recorded in our dialects are gult (RA, SA, AA\textsuperscript{533} and BaA), šûf (RA, SA (both ~ šît), AA and BaA), gunt (RA, AA\textsuperscript{534}), nîmt (RA, BaA).

N.B. In cases of the $b$-imperfect, where $y$ of the 3rd p. imperfect prefix is dropped, very likely as a result of diphthong reduction (cf. 1.2.4.6.1.2.3.), the vowel remains $i$ in all med. inf. verbs, and is not dropped: bišîl, binâm, birûh, not *bišîl, *biynâm etc. These forms co-occur with forms like biyšîl, biynâm, biyrûh in more careful speech.

3.2.2.4.2. Irregular verbs $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) imperatives.

The m. sg. imperatives of šâf and gâm (ygûm) were recorded with a short base vowel: šuf "see" (~ šûf in both RA and BaA), gum "get up" (BaA), and in AA there is the example gul "say"\textsuperscript{535}. But the imperative of the medial $y$ verb šâl had a long base vowel, and so did the imperative of bâ¢: šîl "take away" (BaA), biḫhîy "sell it (f. sg.)" (RA), and in SA fût (of med. wâw verb fât, yfût) "pass" was recorded.

\textsuperscript{531} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 136 (text 43), l. 12.
\textsuperscript{532} Cf. ibid.
\textsuperscript{533} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 4 (text 1), l. 15, and passim.
\textsuperscript{534} Cf. ibid. p. 11 (text 1), l. 108.
\textsuperscript{535} Cf. ibid. p. 9 (text 1), fn 81: "[here] used as a transition word, like 'so' or 'well'."
Imperatives used with the verb ǧāb, yḡib "bring, get" are hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin. Notice that for DA the forms hāt, hātay, hātaw and hātan are listed.\(^{536}\)

Comparable imperatives are reported for AA, used when offering something: hāk, hākiy, hākuw, hākin for "here you have ...". Of these forms one instance was recorded in RA: hākiy ya ʾammah, hēdiy ʾilbit ūfiy "here you are auntie, this is a box of toffees (for you)".

Notice the difference with BA forms hāk, hāki, hākum, hākin, where pers. pron. suffixes are used, as opposed to the verbal suffixes in AA (the clue is the 3rd pers. m. pl.). This is probably the result of a reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries in analogy to hāt: hā + pron. suff.\(^{537}\) was reinterpreted as hāk + verb. suff.

3.2.2.4.3. Irregular verbs \(C_2 = w\) or \(y\) (mediae infirmae) participles.

Active participles of the mediae infirmae are formed with the patterns \(C_1yC_3\), \(C_1āC_3ih/ah\), \(C_1āC_3in\), \(C_1āC_3āt\). Passive participles, of which examples were only recorded in AA, have the patterns \(maC_1yC_3\), -ih/ah, -in, -āt, e.g.: šāyil "carrying", and mašyūl "carried" (cf. Stewart p. 96, fn 12). In a few instances in BaA the active participle of an originally 4th measure was modelled on this pattern as well: rāyid "wanting".\(^{538}\)

3.2.2.5. Irregular verbs \(C_3 = y\) (tertiae infirmae).

3.2.2.5.1. Irregular verbs \(C_3 = y\) (tertiae infirmae) perfect.

\[
\begin{array}{ll|ll}
& \text{perf. "forget"} & \text{perf. "walk"} \\
& \text{*1) } i\text{-type} & \text{a-type} \\
\text{perfect} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
3.\text{m.} & nisīy & nisyuw & mašā & mašāw \\
3.\text{f.} & nisyit & nisyn & mašāt & mašān \\
2.\text{m.} & nisit & nisituw & mašēt\(^{*2}\) & mašētuw \\
2.\text{f.} & nisitiy & nisitin & mašētiy & mašētin \\
1.\text{c.} & nisit & nisina & mašēt & mašēna \\
\end{array}
\]


\(^{537}\) Cf. FISCHER (1959), p. 55.

\(^{538}\) In RA and SA active participles of ʾāz, yʾūz "want, need" occur more commonly with medial \(y\), as in ʾāyiz (4 to 5 times more often) than they do with medial \(w\), as in ʾāwiz. For AA, however, STEWART (1987), p. 49 reports just the opposite. In BaA these forms with medial \(y\) and \(w\) were recorded equally often.
Other forms recorded for BaA are: nasît, nasîtiy, nasîtin, nasîni (all with possible raising of $a \rightarrow i$ in the first syllable) nasyuw, but the same speaker said nisyit and nisyin. For the verb ligyî, forms with $a$ in the first syllable were not recorded. For a similar complex situation with these mediae infirmae $i$-type perfects in DA, cf. IV, 3.2.2.5.1.

Forms in BaA that were also recorded are mišêt, mišêtiy, mišât, mišâw, mišt, mišân. Important clues however, as regards the verb being $a$-type are the endings in $a$ and $ê+$. This raising of $a$ in open syllable preceding stressed $ê$ is not current in RA, or SA, nor is it mentioned for DA or AA.

N.B. $i$ in the first syllable of these verbs is not dropped under any circumstances (cf. I, 3.2.1.1.)

3.2.2.5.2. Irregular verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;forget&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;walk&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>imperfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>a-type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yânsa</td>
<td>yânsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tânsa</td>
<td>tânsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tânsay</td>
<td>tânsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ânsa</td>
<td>nânsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yîmšîy</td>
<td>yîmšûw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tîmšîy</td>
<td>tîmšîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tîmšîy</td>
<td>tîmšîw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tîmšîy</td>
<td>tîmšîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>âmšîy</td>
<td>nîmšîy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. In isolated instances apocopated imperfcts occur as well: $ti^i$ "you give", and perhaps the prohibitive la $tlagg$ "do not go!" (AA)\(^{539}\), $nîrîm$ hallîbbih "we throw this libbîn" (RA), and for the same verb $tîrîm$ bizîrih "you throw a seed" (SA) (the second $i$ in both $nîrîm$ and $tîrîm$ is an anaptyctic, so the base forms before anaptyxis are $nîrîm$ and $tîrîm$).

3.2.2.5.3. Irregular verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperatives.

A characteristic feature of the dialects is the occurence of "apocopated imperatives" of the 2nd p. m. sg. of tertiae infirmae verbs, examples are: $imîs$

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\(^{539}\) Cf. ibid. p. 93 (text 26), fn 33, where Stewart remarks on the form $ti^i$: "an apocopated imperfect, not characteristic of this dialect, but quite common in this particular verb...", for the second example, cf. ibid. p. 87 (text 24), 1. 267 (+ fn).
"go", ige "run", irm "throw", 'ibid lay 'alêh "let me appear (before judges) against him" (RA), and also in other measures: (measure t-1) iktif "spare yourself" (AA), (measure 2) xallih iylôlîğ f-dâşîqar "let it (m.) roam around in the bushes" (RA), (measure 2) xannni (xall + ni) "let me", saww libbih "he made (here a narrative imperative) bread" (BaA), șall 'a-nnibiyy "bless the Prophet!" (AA, BaA). Measure 4: i‘iţni "give me" (SA). In addition we find the presentative particle ir‘ ~ ar‘ as the originally apocopated imperative of the verb *ra‘a, yar‘a "see". Another example in AA is làg anNhâriy làg Mansiy "he met anNhâri, he met Mansiy" (here a narrative imperative) (AA).

Stewart remarks for AA that the imperatives ending in -iy are reserved exclusively for the f. sg., while the apocopated forms are used for the m. sg., and adds examples of apocopated imperatives of a-type C3 = y verbs: anh "restrain!", arđah! "pay him a rađwah!".

3.2.2.5.4. Irregular verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) participles.

Active participles are formed with the patterns C1âC2iy, C1âC2yih, C1âC2yin, C1âC2yât, e.g.: lägiy "having found" (RA), mâşyîn "going (m. pl.)" (SA), mâşyiy "going (f. sg.)" (AA), bânyîn "having built (m. pl.)" (BaA).

Passive participles have the patterns maC1C2iy, maC1C2iyiyih, maC1C2iyiyin, maC1C2iyiyât as in mahniy "built" (SA, BaA), marnîy (m. sg.), marnîyyih (f. sg.) "thrown down" (both AA).

Only one instance of a past participle of the a-type was recorded: masmiyyih "named (f. sg.) (BaA).
3.2.2.5.5. Irregular verbs \( C_3 = y \) (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns.

Verbal nouns may be formed with the pattern \( miC_1C_2a \). The examples were recorded from the verb \( ma\mathring{a}, \) \( yimsiy \) "go, walk": \( mim\mathring{s}ah \) "his going" (AA)\(^{547}\), \( mim\mathring{s}ahum \) "their going" (BA), and from the verb \( \mathring{g}a, \) \( y\mathring{gi}y \) "come": \( mi\mathring{g}ahum \) "their coming" (BA). But also \( \mathring{s}awy \) "grilling" (RA, SA, BA), \( \mathring{g}aly \) "boiling" (RA) were recorded.

3.2.2.6. Irregular verbs: the verb "come".

3.2.2.6.1. Irregular verbs: the verb "come" perfect and imperfect.

Forms of the verb "come" recorded in RA, SA and AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. ( \mathring{g}a(') ) (^*)(^1)</td>
<td>( \mathring{g}aw )</td>
<td>( y\mathring{gi}y(') ) (^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. ( \mathring{g}at )</td>
<td>( \mathring{g}an )</td>
<td>( \mathring{t}\mathring{gi}y )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. ( \mathring{g}it )</td>
<td>( \mathring{g}it\mathring{u}w )</td>
<td>( \mathring{t}\mathring{gi}y )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. ( \mathring{g}it\mathring{iy} )</td>
<td>( \mathring{g}iti\mathring{n} )</td>
<td>( \mathring{t}\mathring{gin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. ( \mathring{g}it )</td>
<td>( \mathring{g}it\mathring{a} )</td>
<td>( \mathring{a}\mathring{gi}y )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are also found in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

\(^{*}\) In BA the form \( \mathring{g}i(\') \) occurs (cf. I, 1.2.4.4.2.), mainly in pause, although I have also recorded \( \mathring{g}ihna \) (where the pausal form seems to have been used as the base form) \( lb\mathring{a}rih \) "he came to us yesterday" through direct elicitation. When suffixed, lengthening regularly takes place in all dialects: \( \mathring{g}aha \) "he came to her" (BA), \( \mathring{g}an\mathring{\tilde{n}} \) "he came to me" (RA, AA), "it (m. sg.) came to us" (SA), and monophthongization of \( aw \) in \( \mathring{g}ona \) "they came to us" (although \( \mathring{g}aw\mathring{ni} \) in AA)\(^{548}\). The same holds for imperf. forms ending in -\( uw \) or -\( iy \), e.g.: \( y\mathring{g}uk \) "they come to you", \( \mathring{t}\mathring{gin} \) "you come to me".

\(^{2}\) Older forms in BA, still occurring often in spontaneous speech, are \( y\mathring{gi}y, \mathring{t}\mathring{gi}y \) (3.f., 2.m., and 2.f.), \( \mathring{a}\mathring{gi}y, \) and \( \mathring{n}\mathring{gi}y \). (the forms listed above were obtained through direct elicitation, but also occur in spontaneous speech). But

\(^{547}\) Cf. ibid. p. 33 (text 14), 1. 38.
\(^{548}\) Cf. ibid., p. 32 (text 14), 1. 5.
when suffixed, the forms look the same as suffixed forms in RA, SA and AA, e.g.: mitā tīginī ya ṭāḡil? "when will you come to me, man?" (BaA). For similar imperfect forms with a short base vowel in DA and GA, cf. 3.2.2.6.1. of chapters IV and V respectively.

3.2.2.6.2. Irregular verbs: the verb "come" imperatives.

Imperatives to the verb "come" in RA and SA are: taʾāl! taʾāliy! taʾāluw! taʾālin!549. In BaA these last three forms are with a; taʾālan and taʾālow were recorded there.

3.2.2.6.3 Irregular verbs: the verb "come" participles.

In all dialects discussed here the act. participles are: ġāy, ġāyih, ġāyın, ġāyāt (cf. I, 3.1.15.1. for adverbial ġāy in the sense of "this way, over here").

3.2.2.7. Irregular verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae).

3.2.2.7.1. Irregular verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect.

"wrap, turn around"

<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.m.</td>
<td>laff</td>
<td>laffaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>laffat</td>
<td>laffuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>laffet</td>
<td>laffeuuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>laffetiy</td>
<td>laffasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>laffet</td>
<td>laffena*2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) For the phonetic quality of the high vowel in the imperfect, cf. I, 1.2.3.2.  
*2) In cases where the geminate is emphatic, or secondary emphatic (by the spread of velarization), the ĕ is usually diphthongal ay, e.g.: ḥattayt "I put" (although ḥattēna was also recorded), ḏallayt "I stayed".

549 BLANC (1970), p. 26 (137) gives the imperatives with a in taʾāl, taʾālay, and by analogy taʾālaw, taʾālan for DA. STEWART (1990), on the other hand, gives taʾāl (p. 104 (text 32), l. 113), taʾālay (p. 17 (text 5), l. 12 + fn), taʾāluw (p. 128 (text 40), l. 26), and I conclude by analogy taʾālin for AA.
N.B. In a few instances in BaA the *a was raised preceding the stressed *e, e.g. šiddētha "I pulled it (m. f.) tight", fittēna "we made fattah" (both examples show the raised *a in neutral environments). In RA and SA such raising was not recorded, nor is it reported for DA and AA.

3.2.2.7.2. Irregular verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives.

Imperatives show the base vowel of the imperfect: hutt, huttīy, huttuw, huttīn for "place!", and šidd, šiddīy, šidduw, šiddin for "pull!".

3.2.2.7.3. Irregular verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) participles.

Active participles have a basic $C_1aC_2C_3$ (where $C_2 = C_3$) pattern. This gives us: haut (m. sg.), hautah (f. sg.), hautīn (m. pl.), hautāt (f. pl.).

Passive participles have a $maC_1C_2ūC_3$ pattern, and when $C_1 = y$ the gahawah-rule may apply, e.g. mahaftū "put down, placed", cf. I, 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.

Measure $n$-1 is the basic passive measure to measure 1. The preformative is $an-$ for the perfect, with the pattern $anC_1aC_2aC_3$, and the imperfect pattern is $yinC_1aC_2C_3$. The vowel preceding $C_1$ is stressed in eligible positions in conformity with I, 2.1.1.

When in open unstressed syllables and in neutral environments the *a of the second syllable of the imperf. is usually raised. E.g.: ânkītal, yînkītal "be killed / be beaten", ânwikal, yînwikal "be eaten", ângīta', yîngīti' "be ripped, be torn".

The resulting high vowel in the second syllable is then never dropped, so we will not hear forms like *yîniwkîl in these dialects (i.e. like forms that may be heard in 'AA, cf. a brief description of 'AA in chapter V). The *a "reappears" in the second syllable, when this syllable becomes closed by appending a vowel-initial suffix, whereby *i of the last syllable is dropped, e.g.: yîngîti' + uw → yîngâtuw. To postulate a rule here of an $i → a$ change would be to turn things around. I therefore prefer to regard this $i$ as an underlying lal, which is generally
raised in unstressed open syllables. These perfects and imperfects are also
current in TA, MA and ‘AyA. (For remarks on raising of $a \rightarrow i$ preceding stress,
where stress does not necessarily have to be primary stress, cf. remark in I,
3.1.1.7.).

A participle with "reappearing" $a$ is: minkatlih (f. sg.) "beaten" (AA).\textsuperscript{550}

N.B. Although original stress in BaA appears to be $\ddash$CaCaC, yinCiCiC, one
instance of inCáCaC and quite a number of instances of yinCáCiC, and also
yinCiCiC were recorded, e.g.: yinbìsìt "he rejoices" (cf. also remark in I,
3.2.3.3.1.).

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

In $n-1$ measures to medial geminate verbs this type of raising does not
occur (because the $a$ is always in closed syllables): anxáśš, yinxášš "be entered",
anšább, yinsább "be poured", anhájj, yinhájj "be put", infátt, yinfátt "be made
into fattah", yingazz "be set up" (AA) (text 47, l. 16). The consequence of the $a$
in the perfect preformative of this measure $n-1$ is that the 3rd. p. masc. sg. of
the perfect is homophonous with the 1st. p. c. sg. of the imperfect: anhatt "I am
put/he was put".

3.2.3.1.3. Measure $n-1 C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae).

Measure $n-1$ to medial weak verbs invariably have $â$ in perfect and
imperfect, e.g.: anhânn, yinhabit "be insulted", anbâ`, yinbâ` "be sold". The result
for medial geminate as well as medial weak (or "hollow") verbs is that 1.c. sg.
imperfect is homophonic with 3.m. sg. perfect, e.g. anbâ` "I am sold/he was
sold".

In positions where the an- prefix is unstressed, its vowel often has a
centralized realization, which makes it difficult to decide what is realized: $i$ or $a$,
e.g. inhânn will often be heard in rapid speech. In more careful speech, however,
one may hear the $a$: anhânn.\textsuperscript{551}

\textsuperscript{550} Cf. ibid., p. 18 (text 5), l. 36.

\textsuperscript{551} In BLANC (1970), p. 24 (135) the $n-1$ measures to hollow and geminate roots in $\delta$A are
written without $a$. STEWART (1990), preface, p. x, however, writes that it appeared to him
that this $a$ is also present in these measures in a number of cases in $\AA$. My impression was
the same for $\beta$A (in careful answers to a questionnaire), but less so for $\beta$A and $\beta$A.
3.2.3.1.4. Measure $n-1$ $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae) participles.

The participle is formed with the pattern $\text{min}C_1\text{d}C_3$, e.g.: $\text{min}ḍāgīn$ (m. pl.) "irritated, angry" (RA), $\text{min}šāl" \text{removed, carried off}"$ (BaA).

3.2.3.2. Measure $t-1$.

No $t-1$ measure verbs were recorded in RA, SA or BaA.

3.2.3.3. Measure $1-t$.

3.2.3.3.1. Measure $1-t$ sound roots.

Like in measure $n-1$, the vowel in the syllable preceding the preformative is stressed in eligible positions in conformity with I, 2.1.1. The underlying patterns are $aC_1taC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yiC_2taC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect, e.g.: $\text{ağı}tima\text{c}, yi\text{ğı}tima\text{c} \text{"gather (intrans."), āštîwa} \sim \text{āštîwa}, \text{yistiwi}y \text{"ripen"}, \text{ântîha}, \text{yîntîhi}y \text{"end"}, \text{āštîfa}g, yi\text{ttîfi}g \text{"agree"}, \text{âštîra}, \text{yîstîri}y \text{"buy"}.$

The $a$ of the second syllable of the underlying imperfect pattern again "reappears" when its syllable is closed, while the vowel of the imperfect prefix is not harmonized, e.g. $yi\text{ğı}tâm\text{c}\text{uw} \text{"they gather"}$. The difference between the raised underlying $a$'s of the imperfect and the perfect is that in open syllables of the imperfect the $lal$ will always be raised, while such raising of $lal$ is optional in open syllables in the perfect.

The same perfect and imperfect forms may be heard in TA, MA and ʿAyA. Notice that in BaA the final -y of weak roots may close the syllable: $\text{hunma bištîryu}w, \text{inu}w\text{ bištîryu}w$ (cf. ʿAA forms in V, 3.2.3.3.1.). Unfortunately, these forms were not checked by me in RA and SA, but Stewart recorded the form $b\text{yištîru}w$ in AA552.

N.B. Like in measure $n-1$ (cf. I, 3.2.3.1.1.) original stress in BaA seems to be $âC_1taCaC, \text{yi}C_1\text{ti}C_2C$, but one instance of $iC_1\text{taCaC}$, and quite a few instances of $\text{yi}C_1\text{CaC}$ and $\text{yi}C_1\text{Ci}C$ were recorded, e.g.: $\text{nintîgi}l \text{"we move camp"}, \text{yîstâwi}y \text{"it (m.) ripens"}$.  

552 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 184 (text 69), l. 120.
3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-ı C_{2} = y or w (mediae infirmae).

Medial weak verbs, like measure n-1, have invariable ā (patterns aC_{1}tāC_{3} and yiC_{1}tāC_{3}), e.g. ahtāg, yihtāg "need", axtār, yixtār "choose". An example recorded by Stewart shows shortening of the long vowel in AA when consonant-initial verbal suffixes are appended: ḥtātāw ʿalay "you have gained me" (no such examples appear in my recordings of RA, SA or BA).

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-ı C_{2} = C_{3} (mediae geminatae).

Medial geminate verbs (C_{2} = C_{3}) have an invariable short a in the perfect and imperfect (patterns aC_{1}taC_{2}C_{2} and yiC_{1}taC_{2}C_{2}), e.g. amtāss, yimtāss "absorb" (SA), altamm, yiltamm "be gathered" (BA), aftakk, yiftakk "solve disputes" (AA).

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles.

The patterns for the participles are miC_{1}tiC_{2}iC_{3}, miC_{1}taC_{2}C_{3}ahīh, miC_{1}taC_{2}C_{3}in, miC_{1}taC_{2}C_{3}āt, with a again reappearing in the closed syllables. Some examples are: mīrtīfī (m. sg.), mīrtīfīh (f. sg.) "elevated, high", mīttīfīg (m. sg.), mīttāfīgīn (m. pl.) "agreeing" (all four RA), mīxtīfī (m. sg.), mīxtāfīyīh (f. sg.) "hidden, concealed" (both SA), mīstīnīd (AA), mīstīwīyīh (f. sg.) "ripe".

Examples of participles of the mediae geminatae and mediae infirmae verbs are: mīhtāg (m. sg.), mīhtāghīh (f. sg.) "in need (of)" (RA), mīxtāss (m. sg.), mīxtāssīn (m. pl.) "specialized" (SA and BA), mīrtāh "at ease" (BA).

3.2.3.4. Measure (a)sta-l.

3.2.3.4.1. Measure (a)sta-l sound roots.

Measure asta-l, like measure 2 (cf. I, 3.2.3.5.) has morphologically alternating a in perf., and ĩ in imperf. The morphological pattern for the perf. is astaC_{1}C_{2}aC_{3}, and for imperf. yistaC_{1}C_{2}iC_{3}, e.g.: astābšār, yistābšīr "rejoice".

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553 Cf. ibid. glossary, p. 216, example on p. 74 (text 21), l. 314.
554 Cf. ibid. p. 36 (text 14), l. 102.
(RA), āsta'ʿmal, yistaʾmil "use" (RA), āstāqāb, yistağrib "find strange" (SA, BA), āstahbal, yistahbil "play dumb" (SA), āstafham, yistafhim "inform (intrans.)" (SA), āstaʿrad, yistaʿrid "appear" (AA), āstdxal, yistadxil "give refuge" (AA), āstakbar, yistikbīr "select for old age" (BA).

The same forms may be heard in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

3.2.3.4.2. Measure (a)sta-l $C_2 = y$ (mediae infirmae).

Examples of measure (a)sta-l where $C_2 = y$ (patterns are (a)sta$C_1āC_3$557, yista$C_1iC_3$): statāʾ, yistiṭīʾ (~ yiṣṭaṭīʾ) "be able" (RA), astagām, yistigīm (~ yistagīm) "settle" (RA), stašār, yistiṣīr "consult" (RA), staʿān, yistaʿīn "seek help" (AA)558. (Notice that the $a$ in open syllable preceding stressed $i$ is raised in some of the examples).

3.2.3.4.3. Measure (a)sta-l $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae).

An example of measure asta-l verbs where $C_3 = y$ is astadʿa, yistadʿiy "make a claim" (AA)559.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure (a)sta-l $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae).

Examples where $C_2 = C_3$ (here indicated by $C_b$), patterns are (a)sta$C_1aC_3b$, yista$C_1iC_3b$): staʿadd, yistaʿidd "prepare oneself" (RA, SA), staʿall, yistaʿill "take 'ala s.o. to task b- about sth." (AA)560, and an example where $a$ in pre-stress open syllable is raised is istīḥīg! "plead!" (AA)561.

555 Cf. ibid. p. 126 (text 39), l. 3.
556 Cf. ibid. p. 71 (text 21), l. 234, where nisṭādaʿjah (sic) is given. I presume Stewart heard $a$ instead of $i$ in what should undoubtedly be nisṭādixjah (i.e. nisṭadxil +-ah) because of the high degree of velarization spreading backwards from the sequence $xl$, colouring $i$ to sound like $[i]$.
557 It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether there is a proclitic $a$, or merely an anaptyctic $i$. I have therefore followed Stewart's usage of writing a where the vowel immediately following the $st$ sequence is stressed, and writing nothing where vowels of following syllables are stressed.
558 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 178 (text 66), l. 35.
559 Cf. ibid. p. 161 (text 55), l. 5, and glossary.
560 Cf. ibid. p. 143 (text 46), l. 10 (+ fn 11), and glossary.
561 Cf. ibid. p. 142 (text 46), ll. 3-4.
3.2.3.4.5. Measure (a)sta-1 participles.

Active participles are formed with the pattern \( mistaC_1C_2iC_3 \), e.g. mistagirbin (mistagrib + in) "living nearby (m. pl.)" (BaA).

For medial geminates the pattern is \( mistaC_1iC_2C_3 \), e.g. mista'iddin "ready" (RA), mista'hillih "occupying (f. sg.)" (RA), mistafidd "able to do without" (AA).

For medial y verbs the pattern is \( mistaC_1iC_3 \) as in mista'gzul "angry" (AA), mistihillat "absurdities" (AA) (the latter example with raised a).

Only one example shows the pattern \( mistaC_1C_2iC_3 \) for \( C_3 = y \) verbs: mista'ziy "feeling upset" (a K-form, recorded in SA).

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2.

Measure 2 has morphological vowel distribution in the dialects of group I. Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns for measure 2 are: perfect \( C_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \), imperfect \( yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3 \). For measure t-2 the patterns are: perfect \( taC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \), imperfect \( ytaC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \).

3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots.

The high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 is eligible for elision in open syllables, unless \( C_2 = C_3 \), in which case it is not dropped. In cases where this elision of the high vowel does take place, the resulting consonant cluster may be phonetically reduced: \( C_2C_2C_3 \rightarrow C_2C_3 \). For the sake of morphological transparency however, this reduction is not reflected in the phonological transcription here. Some examples are:

Measure 2 imperfect: axarrfak [a'xarfak] "I tell you" (RA), bingarrrib 'á-lbiñar "we go north to the sea" (SA), ahañib "I collect firewood" (AA),ygassimha "he alots it (f. sg.)" (BaA).

562 Cf. ibid. p. 70 (text 21), l. 220.
563 Cf. ibid. p. 100 (text 31), l. 9.
564 Cf. ibid. p. 82 (text 24), l. 124.
565 Cf. fn 872 to IV, 3.2.2.6.1.
566 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 17 (text 5), l. 16.
Measure 2 perfect: *naggatnāh* "we sowed it (m. sg.) (of watermelon seeds)" (RA), *bayyat* "he spent the night" (SA), *gawwamī* "I activated" (AA), *rağgalah* (rağga' + ha) "he returned it (f. sg.)" (BaA).

Elision of the imperfect high vowel *i* may take place in sandhi as well, but then elision is optional, e.g.: *ygassm Allah* "God allots" (RA), *nbattm al'arḍ* "we make banks in the soil" (SA), *ngawwm al'arābiyyīh* "we get the car moving" (AA), *alaggm albakrag* "I stir the (coffee in the) coffeepot" (BaA).

3.2.3.5.2. Examples of measure 2 tertiae infirmae.

Examples of the imperfect of measure 2 where *C₃* = *y*, where *iy* → *ī* (cf. 1, 2.1.2.3.) when suffixed: *binsammīhiy* "we call it (f. sg.)" (RA), *binrabbihiy* "we train her" (SA), *ykaffīnī* "it (m. sg.) satisfies me" (AA), *binsawwīh* "we make it" (BaA).

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae *hamzah*.

A primae *hamzah* measure 2 verb recorded in SA and BaA is *wakkal*, *ywakkil* "give food, feed", where the *wāw* may have developed as a natural transition (in terms of articulatory phonetics) from *u* to *a* in an older form *yuwakkil* > *yu’akkil*. If this is the correct historic interpretation, the implication is that the change *y* → *w* antedates *l*-elision in pre-stress syllables.

In RA one instance of *nakkil* "we feed" was recorded, from which we may deduce *akkal*, *yakkil*.

3.2.3.5.4. Examples of measure t-2 imperfect and perfect.

Examples of imperfect t-2 are: *widd-atāgawwaz* "I want to get married" (RA), *ytagdwwazāw* "they marry" (SA), *ytimarrāğ* (AA), *bitanāggalow* "they travel around" (BaA).

As illustrated by the AA example here, the *a* of the t-2 preformative *ra-* may be raised in its unstressed position in conformity with the rule described in I, 3.1.1.6.

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567 Cf. ibid. p. 8 (text 1), l. 49.
568 Cf. ibid. p. 9 (text 1), l. 74.
569 Cf. ibid. p. 16 (text 3), l. 17.
570 Cf. ibid. p. 14 (text 2), l. 4.
Blanc and Stewart report for DA and AA that with the imperfect preformative \( t \), we get a single \( t \) in imperfect \( taC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \) (instead of \( \cdot tiaC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \)), resulting in homophonic 3rd p. m. sg. perfect forms of the same verbs. Examples are: \( w \ int \ tila\hha\ddot{a} \ kid\ddot{i} \ddot{a} \) "while you keep your eyes on it like this" (RA), \( m\ddot{a} \ widdak ti\ddot{g}\ddot{a}w\ddot{w}az \ "you do not want to get married" (RA), \( widdak ti\ddot{a}g\ddot{g}\ddot{a}h \) "if you want to see things my way" (AA), \( m\ddot{i}n \ y\ddot{a}m \ ti\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}g \ g\ddot{i}r\ddot{t}i \ddot{h} \ "from the moment that its truce payment is made (lit.: is hung up)"(AA)\(^572\). However, examples of other recorded forms (of the pattern \( t\ddot{i}C_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \)) are: \( bti\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}r\ddot{r}ak \ "she moves" (RA), \( ti\ddot{x}\ddot{a}m\ddot{m}a \ "it (f.) rises (of dough)" , \( ti\ddot{t}a\ddot{f}\ddot{f}\ddot{u}s \ "it (f.) breathes" (RA), \( ti\ddot{r}\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}h \ m\ddot{i} \ddot{h}\ddot{i} \ddot{y} \ "you are at case with it (f.)" (RA) , \( ti\ddot{t}a\bb\ddot{b}\ddot{b}a \ "it (f.) is hidden" (SA), \( bt\ddot{i}s\ddot{a}w\ddot{w}a \ "it (f.) is done" (SA), \( ti\ddot{t}\ddot{a}\ddot{b}\ddot{b}a \ "you are trained" (SA) , \( ti\ddot{t}g\ddot{a}dd\ddot{m}a \ "it is offered" (BaA) , \( ti\ddot{w}\ddot{a}k\ddot{k}a \ ‘al-\ddot{A}l\ddot{l}h \ "you put your trust in God" (BaA) , \( bti\ddot{t}f\ddot{a}k\ddot{k}a \ "they (f. sg.) fall apart" (BaA).

Examples of measure \( t-2 \) perfect: \( t\ddot{a}x\ddot{a}r\ddot{r}a \ "he told" (RA) , \( t\ddot{a}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}\ddot{w}\ddot{w}a \ "it (m. sg.) changed" (SA) , \( t\ddot{i}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}ss\ddot{a}b\ddot{a} \ "I made you responsible" (AA)\(^573\) , \( t\ddot{i}\ddot{g}\ddot{a}m\ddot{m}a \ "it was assembled" (BaA) . In the last two examples we again find raising of \( a \) in pre-stress open syllables in conformity with the rule in I, 3.1.1.6.

The forms listed for \( t-2 \) above occurred in spontaneous text, that is, they were not obtained through direct elicitation by the use of questionnaires. In many cases however, the \( t-2 \) measure is formed with the patterns \( (i)tC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \) for the perfect, and \( yitC_1aC_2C_2aC_3 \) for the imperfect. Such forms were recorded in spontaneous speech as well.

Some examples of the imperfect of measure \( t-2 \): \( bti\ddot{w}\ddot{a}l\ddot{l}a \ "he is born" , \( n\ddot{i}x\ddot{a}r\ddot{r}a \ "we talk" (both RA) , \( bti\ddot{t}\ddot{i}\ddot{n}\ddot{a}w\ddot{w}a \ "it (f. sg.) is diverse" , \( bti\ddot{t}h\ddot{a}r\ddot{r}ak \ "she moves" (both SA) , \( byi\ddot{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}s\ddot{s}a \ "he makes responsible" , \( bitt\ddot{a}\ddot{g}\ddot{a}w \ "they (m. sg.) defend" (both AA)\(^574\) , \( n\ddot{i}t\ddot{w}\ddot{a}k\ddot{k}a \ ‘al-\ddot{A}l\ddot{l}h \ "we put our trust in God" , \( bti\ddot{g}\ddot{a}m\ddot{m}a\).
A description of Rmēliy, Swērkīy and Balawiy Arabic.

Examples of measure t-2 perfect: ṭallagat (=Cf. I, 2.5.) "she was divorced", twaffa "he died" (both RA), ssallahat (=$ssallahat after assimilation, cf. I, 2.5.)"they (f. sg.) lived under improved conditions" (only example in SA), ḫatta "it was covered", ikallam "he spoke" (both BaA).

The examples of perfect verb forms fitting the $ pattern are easily outnumbered by the examples fitting the $ pattern, while for the imperfect the patterns $ and $ co-occur.

Assuming that $ and $ are the original patterns, we can conclude that in the change from the original patterns towards the more sedentary patterns, the imperfect has been the first to become affected. The original pattern for the perfect, on the other hand, has remained largely in use.

In TA the situation is as described for RA and SA; perfect forms of the type taCaCCaC are more regular than (i)taCaCCaC, and imperfect ytaCaCCaC occurs about as often as yitCaCCaC. In ʿAyA this appears to be the case as well, although recorded instances are few. For MA the material is too limited for any definitive conclusions.

575 In fact, none of the instances of perfect measure t-2 forms in AA which one may find in the texts of STEWART (1990) through the glossary fit the $ pattern; they all fit the $ pattern instead.

576 BLANC (1970), p. 135 (24) calls the $ preformatives for measures V and VI "characteristic" for DA. It must be remembered here that Blanc collected his material in the period 1953-1964 (cf. ibid. p. 113 (2)), i.e. more than thirty years ago. This situation may have changed in the course of time. 

577 PALVA (1980), p. 129 reports similar perfect patterns for measures V and VI in the dialect of the Bani ʿ轧ar, but the imperf. patterns $ and $ are labeled characteristic of rapid speech, as opposed to only a reduction of a in the $ prefix, i.e. the patterns $ and $, which are considered characteristic of careful speech. The same paragraph however, seems to hint at the possibility of influences of sedentary Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, where the patterns ($ and $) are current.
3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns.

The verbal noun of measure 2 reported by Stewart has the two patterns \( tC_1C_2C_3 \) and \( tC_1C_2iC_3 \), the latter of which is also the pattern for the verbal noun of measure t-2.\(^\text{578}\)

Only in BaA was the pattern \( tC_1C_2iC_3 \) found in the following two examples: in "bin qqayy� biih itqi\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)iy "and we cover the straw with it" (verbal noun of measure 2 here being in a maf\(\tilde{\text{u}}\)l mu\(\tilde{\text{u}}\)laq construction), and tal\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)n\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)n\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) ya nn\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) alik\(\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) bard\(\tilde{\text{h}}\) m\(\tilde{\text{x}}\)\(\tilde{\text{d}}\)\(\tilde{\text{n}}\) ‘al-\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)h? ‘ala m\(\tilde{\text{u}}\)ggul "you will find us old people also used to what? To traveling about" (an example of a measure t-2 verbal noun).

Unfortunately, no examples of this \( tC_1iC_2C_3 \) pattern were recorded in RA or SA, whereas there are ample instances of the \( tC_1C_2iC_3 \) pattern for measure 2, e.g.: t\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)r\(\tilde{\text{k}}\)z "concentration" (RA), \( t\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)c "training, domesticating (of an animal)" (RA), \( t\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{k}}\)f (with a gahaw\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)h-vowel) "thinning out (of watermelon plants)" (RA), \( t\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{m}}\tilde{\text{s}}\)579 "roasting (of coffee beans)" (SA), \( t\tilde{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{n}}\)f "drying" (SA), \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{t}}\b\tilde{\text{m}} \) "making banks (in the soil)" (BaA) \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{n}}\)f "sowing (of watermelon seeds by throwing one at a time through the funnel of the plough)" (BaA), \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{r}}\)b "training" (BaA).

As was reported for AA\(^\text{580}\), and judging on the basis of a few available examples, it would seem that measure 2 C\(_3\)-y has a verbal noun formed with the pattern \( tC_1C_2\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{h}} \) in RA, SA and BaA as well. The examples are: For RA: \( t\b\tilde{\text{n}}\tilde{\text{a}}\)n\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) ‘al\(\tilde{\text{e}}\)h \( t\b\tilde{\text{n}}\)\(\tilde{\text{n}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)n "she returned to him" (here in maf\(\tilde{\text{u}}\)l mu\(\tilde{\text{u}}\)laq construction), \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{\_}}\)\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\(\tilde{\text{m}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)mal "training camels". For SA: \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{\_}}\)\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\(\tilde{\text{m}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)mal. (unsure, because the speaker answered to a direct question containing the words \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{\_}}\)\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\(\tilde{\text{m}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)l, but corrected himself by using the word ‘\( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{\_}}\)’), and for BaA: \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{\_}}\)\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)\(\tilde{\text{m}}\)\(\tilde{\text{a}}\)\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)l "training camels".

\( ^{\text{578}} \) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 8 (text 1), fn 55, commenting on \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{r}}\b\tilde{\text{i}} \) (in l. 55): "Form II verbs have verbal nouns of this pattern (as well as the usual \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{f}}\b\tilde{\text{i}} \)), as do also form V verbs." Another example in AA is \( b\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{t}}\b\tilde{\text{g}}\b\tilde{\text{l}} \) \( t\b\tilde{\text{i}}\b\tilde{\text{g}}\b\tilde{\text{l}} \) "you cause me to slip", cf. ibid. p. 151 (text 49), l. 33 (+ fn).

ABUL FADL (1961), p. 286, mentions verbal nouns for t-2 (V) \( t\b\tilde{\text{u}}\b\tilde{\text{h}}\b\tilde{\text{s}}\b\tilde{\text{s}} \) "Besserung", \( t\b\tilde{\text{u}}\b\tilde{\text{h}}\b\tilde{\text{h}}\)\(\tilde{\text{d}}\)\(\tilde{\text{i}}\)d \( t\b\tilde{\text{u}}\b\tilde{\text{k}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\b\tilde{\text{b}} \) "Verpflichtung", and \( t\b\tilde{\text{k}}\b\tilde{\text{u}}\b\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{b}}\)\(\tilde{\text{b}} \) "Hochmut".

\( ^{\text{579}} \) Cf. fn 495.

\( ^{\text{580}} \) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 29 (text 11), fn 8, commenting on the form \( t\b\tilde{\text{n}}\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{n}} \) (in l. 8): "verbal noun of \( \b\tilde{\text{n}}\b\tilde{\text{a}} \)\(\tilde{\text{n}} \) \( t\b\tilde{\text{n}} \)\(\tilde{\text{n}} \) to return'. All (or almost all) Form II C\(_3\)-y verbs have verbal nouns of this type, e.g. \( t\b\tilde{\text{n}}\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{n}} \) from \( n\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{g}}\b\tilde{\text{a}} \) 'to select', \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{g}}\b\tilde{\text{a}} \) from \( l\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{g}}\b\tilde{\text{\_}} \) 'to go'". Another example in AA is \( t\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{n}}\b\tilde{\text{a}}\b\tilde{\text{n}} \) "making up (of an amount)", cf. ibid. p. 116 (text 36), l. 135 (+ fn).
3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles.

Active participles of measure 2 are formed with the pattern $mC_1aC_2C_3iC_3$. For example: $mtagglih$ "making things burdensome (f. sg.)" (RA), $mfallsih$ "broke, bankrupt (f. sg.)" (RA), $mkayyil-lih (= mkayyil + enclitic lih)" "having measured out for himself" (RA), $mwaššilhiy" "having taken her (to a place)" (SA), $m'aššim" "expecting, anticipating" (SA), $mgatți" "chopping (firewood)"(SA), $mșaddir" "leading the increment away from the water source" (AA), $mxalšity" "giving up, abandoning" (AA),$m'assim" "expecting, anticipating" (SA), $mgatti" "chopping (firewood)"(SA), $msaddir" "leading the increment away from the water source" (AA), $mxalliy" "giving up, abandoning" (AA), $mbassi' "bis'ah judge" (BA), $mfarrih" "making happy, causing joy to"(BA).

Passive participles of measure 2 are formed with the $mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ pattern, e.g.: $m'addal" "average" (RA), $mśawwan" "stored in a šōnah" (RA), $mkammaš" "cropped up, wrinkled" (RA), $mḥammal" "loaded up" (SA), $mgatți" "covered" (SA), $mgawwam" "activated" (AA), $m'ṭarṭahin" "sick, ill (m. pl.)" (AA), $mrabbatâh" "tied up" (AA),$msattar" "covered, shielded (out of decency)" (BA).

Active participles of measure t-2 are formed with the pattern $mitC_1aC_2C_3iC_3$, e.g.: $mitharrîk" "moving" (RA), $mitrayyîh" "at ease" (RA), $miteňāšgîn" "shredded to pieces (m. pl.)" (SA), $mitnîṭîrak" "waiting for you" (a K-form?) (AA),$mitdarrib" "trained" (BA), $mitkallîm" "speaking" (BA).

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3.

Like in measures 2 and t-2, the distribution of vowels in measures 3 and t-3 is morphological: alternating $a$ and $i$ in 3, and fixed $a$ in t-3. The patterns for measure 3 are $C_1aC_1aC_2C_3$ for the perfect, and $yC_1aC_1aC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect. The patterns for t-3 are $taC_1aC_1aC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $ytaC_1aC_2aC_3$ for the imperfect, but the same that applied for t-2 applies here to an ever greater extent; the imperfect is almost exclusively formed with the pattern $yitC_1aC_2aC_3$, while instances of imperfect formed with the $ta$-prefix are even rarer than with the t-2 measure.

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581 For the two AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 5 (text 1), l. 21 (+ fn), and p. 11 (text 1), l. 111 respectively.
582 Cf. fn 50 in the introduction of this study.
583 For the AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 9 (text 1), l. 76; p. 17 (text 5), l. 14; p. 128 (text 40), l. 8 respectively.
584 For the AA example, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 13 (text 1), l. 138.
3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3.

Examples of measure 3 are: bārak, ybārik "invoke a blessing" (all dialects), ‘āwad, y‘āwid "return" (all dialects), wāyag, ywāyig "show (intrans.)" (RA), šāwar, yšāvir "consult" (RA), kāfah, ykāfih "fight" (RA), gāmal, ygāmil "be courteous" (SA, BaA), sāfar, iysāfir "travel" (SA), bāyan, ybāyin "show (intrans.)".

Examples of measure t-3 in RA are: (imperfect) nithālaf "we enter into an alliance", yitkāwanow "they quarrel", yiigādow "they appear before a judge (against each other)", bitkātalow "they hit each other", bintalāga "we meet each other", and a perfect tabārak Allāh! "God bless!". In SA: (imperfect) titlāyaf ‘alēhin "you run into them (f.) by chance", bitanāwalih "he receives him". In Baa: (imperfect) yiigādag "he becomes angry", nitiqāda "we appear before a judge (against each other)", bitanākarow ~ bitnākarow "they feign ignorance", and of the perfect takāwanow "they quarreled", taxālfna "we disagreed". And of the many examples in AA to be found in STEWART (1990): (imperfect) nitkāfal "we exchange guarantees", niti‘āzal "we become seperated from each other", nitdārat "we abuse each other", batgārar "I deal gently with him", nithālal "we reach a settlement", and (perfect) tidāmayna "we made a blood-money pact with each other", tigārabna bak "we chose because you were closer", tikāwanan "they (f. pl.) quarrelled", talātašt "I had an exchange of words (with someone)".

In AA an example appears where one of the two ti- prefixes is haploglogically dropped (like in measure t-2, cf. I, 3.2.3.5.4.): bitihārag "you exchanged words".586

N.B. Stewart587 points out a special semantic function of measure t-3: "to choose (something) for being better suited (for whatever reason)", like in the example above tigārabna bak. Two of the other examples he lists are: ana mitgāsir albīr ḫāḏāk "I chose this well because it is shallower", and titāwalt alḥabl ḫaḍa, ḡ axaḍtih "I chose this rope because it was longer, and took it".

585 Cf. ibid., respectively: (imperfect examples) p. 33 (text 14), l. 19; p. 121 (text 37), l. 56; p. 189 (text 69), l. 283; p. 121 (text 37), l. 52; p. 121 (text 37), l. 54; (perfect examples) p. 50 (text 18), l. 3; p. 23 (text 7), l. 42; p. 181 (text 69), l. 20; p. 144 (text 46), l. 37
586 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 108 (text 33), l. 38.
Unfortunately, my own material of RA, SA and BA shows no instances of this semantic function for measure t-3.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles.

Active participles of measure 3 are formed with the pattern $mc_1aC_2iC_3$, e.g.: $m'\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}i$ "in love" (RA), $m'\text{\textasciitilde}ayid"$ "congratulating on the occasion of a feast" (RA), $m\text{\textasciitilde}awrin"$ "living next door (as neighbours) (m. pl.)" (SA), $m\text{\textasciitilde}arkihi$ "being in a partnership with him" (AA), $m\text{\textasciitilde}ardihi$ "offensive (of wars)".

Active participles of measure t-3 have the pattern $mitC_1aC_2iC_3$, e.g.: $mit\text{\textasciitilde}adiy"$ "having taken its share" (RA), $mitsawyihi$ "being similar (f. sg.)" (SA), $mitd\text{\textasciitilde}myin$ "having made a blood-money pact with each other (m. pl.)" (AA), $mit\text{\textasciitilde}flin$ "having exchanged guarantees (m. pl.)" (AA), $mit\text{\textasciitilde}wnin"$ "having a fight with each other (m. pl.)" (BA).

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns.

Stewart\(^{589}\) reports for AA that the verbal noun for measure 3 is formed with the pattern $tC_1\text{\textasciitilde}C_2iC_3$, e.g. $t\text{\textasciitilde}ewid$. Such verbal nouns were not recorded in RA, SA or BA.

3.2.3.7. Measure 4.

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect.

Like in $DA$\(^{590}\), the causative fourth measure is productive in all dialects under discussion here. The patterns in use are (perfect) $aC_1C_2aC_3$, and (imperfect) $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. Some examples of sound roots are: $a\text{\textasciitilde}lag, yi\text{\textasciitilde}lig$ "let cover (a she-camel)", $a\text{\textasciitilde}nab, yi\text{\textasciitilde}nim (\text{'ala})"$ "be a neighbour (of)" (RA, BA), $agbal, yig\text{\textasciitilde}il$ "draw close" (RA), $a\text{\\textasciitilde}tam, yi\text{\textasciitilde}tim$ "feed" (SA).

Examples of measure 4 in TA, MA and AyA: $a\text{\textasciitilde}ta, yi\text{\textasciitilde}tiy$ "give" (TA, AyA), $a\text{\textasciitilde}lag, yi\text{\textasciitilde}lig"$ "let cover (a she-camel)" (MA).

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\(^{588}\) For these two AA examples, cf. STEWART (1990), p. 186 (text 69), l. 203, and p. 118 (text 37), l. 3 respectively.

\(^{589}\) Cf. ibid., p. 14 (text 1), fn 145.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 mediae infirmae \((C_2 = w \text{ or } y)\) perfect and imperfect.

The patterns for the mediae infirmae are (perfect) \(C_1\bar{a}C_3\) (without the \(a\)) and (imperfect) \(yC_iC_3\). Some examples: \(\text{râd},\ \text{yûd} \ "\text{desire, will}"\ (RA), \(\text{gâm},\ \text{ygûm} \ "\text{stay}"\ (SA), \(\text{gâr},\ \text{ygîr} \ "\text{run}"\ (AA, BaA), \(\text{xâr},\ \text{yxîr} \ "\text{give a choice}"\ (AA)\).

Some examples:

\(\text{râd},\ \text{yrld} \ "\text{desire, will}"\ (RA),
\(\text{gâm},\ \text{ygûm} \ "\text{stay}"\ (SA),
\(\text{gâr},\ \text{ygîr} \ "\text{run}"\ (AA, BaA),
\(\text{xâr},\ \text{yxîr} \ "\text{give a choice}"\ (AA)\).

These med. inf. verbs are actually no longer fully measure 4 verbs; on the basis of the patterns for the perfect \((C_1\bar{a}C_3)\) for forms with vowel-initial verbal endings and the forms without a verbal ending, and a \(C_1C_3\)-base for consonant-initial verbal endings) they may be said to have joined measure 1 "half way", whereas the morphological pattern \(mC_iC_3\) (as opposed to the pattern \(C_1\bar{a}yiC_3\) for measure 1) of the act. participle is still measure 4 (cf. below), which is illustrated by a form like \(\text{ridtiy} \ "\text{you (f.) wanted}"\ (not \(\text{râdîtîy}\) or \(\text{aradûtîy}\) or something similar) in: \(\text{ir ridtiy} \ \text{xallkiy} \ "\text{if you (f. sg.) want (to stay with me), stay (f. sg.) with me, and if you (f. sg.) want (to go home), go (f. sg.) home to your grandmother"}\ (RA). Blanc reports an important difference between \(\text{gumt} \ "\text{I rose}"\) (of \(\text{gam},\ \text{ygûm}\)) and \(\text{gimt} \ "\text{I removed}"\) (of \(\text{gâm},\ \text{ygîm}\), originally a measure 4 verb); it is one of the minimal pairs to isolate \(/\text{û}/\) and \(/\text{û}/\) as phonemes. \(\text{592}\) Another example is \(\text{bitgît} \ \text{annâr} \ "\text{you light the fire}"\ (SA), and also in AA \(\text{gûd} \ \text{annâr} \ "\text{he lit the fire}"\).

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 tertiae infirmae \((C_3 = *w \text{ or } y)\) perfect and imperfect.

A few examples: \(\text{awfa},\ \text{yûfiy} \ "\text{be done, be completed}"\ (RA, BaA), \(\text{a'îtâ},\ \text{yi'tîy} \ "\text{give}"\ (RA, SA).

In cases where \(C_2 = (\text{primary or secondary})\) emphatic, the verbal suffixes of the 1st c. pers. sg. and pl., and 2nd pers. sg. and pl. (m. and f.) in perfect will contain diphthongs, e.g.: \(\text{a'îtaytiy} \ "\text{you (f. sg.) gave}"\, \(\text{a'îtayna} \ "\text{we gave}"\). When \(C_2\) is neutral (i.e. not \(M\) or \(X\)), the verbal suffixes will contain \(\dot{e}\), e.g. \(\text{asgeh} \ "\text{I gave water}"\ (AA)\).\(\text{594}\).

\(\text{591}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 80 (text 24), l. 53 (+ fn). The fact that these verbs are measure 4 is concluded from the participles, cf. I, 3.2.3.7.6.

\(\text{592}\) Cf. ibid. p. 24 (135).

\(\text{593}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 158 (text 53), first fn 4.

\(\text{594}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 168 (text 60), l. 16.
3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 primaewāw (C₁ = w) perfect and imperfect.

An example of a primaewāw measure 4 verb is awgad, yūgīd "light (of a fire)", as in ūgd annār ya walad! "light the fire boy!" (BaA), inğīb ālḥāṭab iw nūgdīh "we get the firewood and light it" (BaA). The same verb has also been recorded with ē (cf. phonetic overlapping I, 1.2.2.2.) in ibtōgd annār "you light the fire" (RA), and in ḏğdiy! "light! (f. sg.)" (BaA).595 Another example is awfa, yōfiy ~ yūfiy "complete, reach a full conclusion, take its full course"596 recorded in RA and BaA.

3.2.3.7.5. Measure 4 mediae geminatae (C₂ = C₃) perfect and imperfect.

In measure 4 medial geminate verbs the high vowel i of the imperfect is morphologically conditioned (cf. I, 1.2.3.3.), as opposed to medial geminate measure 1 verbs where the high vowel u or i is phonetically conditioned (cf. I, 1.2.3.2.). The perfect is formed with the C₁aC₂C₃ pattern, without the proclitic a-. Examples: șann, yṣinn "take it easy"; gatt, ygitt "make liable" (but notice measure 1 imperfect ygutt) in AA597, darr, ydirr (AA)598; hamm, yhimm "be important", habb, yhibb "wake up (someone)".

3.2.3.7.6. Measure 4 imperatives.

The imperatives of the sound roots and tertiae infirmae are formed with an i- prefix, e.g.: ītilc assakkīna "get out the knife" (RA), īrikduw "put down

595 BLANC (1970), p. 27 (138) reports similar forms in AA: awgad "he kindled", yūgīd "he kindles", ēgīd "kindle!", and the active part. nūgīd "having kindled". These imperf. and imperative forms reflect "base-initial l-iw-ī → ē...".
596 Cf. DOZY (1883), part 2, p. 833: "atteindre tout à fait". STEWART (1988), p. 139 (text 38) gives for in kaddāb, yōfiy ʿalēh addīn "if he lies, then he will have to take an oath concerning it". However, I believe, the translation for in kaddāb, yōfiy ʿalēh addīn "if he lies, religion will take its full course concerning him (i.e. he will burn his tongue in the ḻīsah ordeal)" would make better sense here. din is then used here in the meaning of "religion", not "oath". As happens more often when bedouin practices are mentioned which are presumably not of Islamic origin, religion is explicitly linked to the practice in a type of pre-emptive defense of it. Another example of linking older bedouin folklore with the more recent Islamic code is the practice of giving a twig (gasalah) to the prospective bride in betrothal ceremonies (hardly an Islamic practice), which is usually accompanied by the phrase b sunnl Allah w rasūlih "according to the tradition of God and His Prophet", cf. SUQAYR (1916), pp. 387-8.
597 Cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 223 with ref. to p. 179 (text 67), first fn 11.
598 Cf. above fn 217 to I, 1.2.3.3.
(your stuff)! (as an invitation to travelers to stay as guests)" (BaA). The tertiae infirmae may have apocopated imperatives, as in \textit{i’tînî} (RA), but the full forms occur as well, e.g.: \textit{i’tînî} (BaA) both meaning "give me!".

Medial geminate imperatives go without proclitics, as do medial infirm imperatives e.g.: \textit{ਸੁੰਤ!} "wait!, and \textit{ਕਰ ਨੀਲਾਕ!} "turn your attention!"

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles.

The active participle is formed with the patterns $miC_1C_2iC_3$ for regular verbs, $mC_1iC_2$ for mediae infirmae ($C_2 = w$ or $y$, where the absence of $i$ in the prefix is accounted for in I, 3.1.5.), $miC_1C_2iy$ for tertiae infirmae ($C_3 = y$). Examples are: \textit{migbil} "coming nearer" (RA), \textit{miṭli’} (AA), \textit{mirdîf} "having seated (someone) behind oneself in the saddle" (BaA), \textit{migiblin} "approaching (m. pl.)" (BaA).

Examples of mediae infirmae act. participles: \textit{mrîd} "wanting" (RA), but also \textit{râyîd} (in conformity with measure 1) was recorded in BaA. \textit{mgîr} "attacking" (BaA).

Examples of tertiae infirmae: \textit{tnixtiy} "being at fault" (SA), \textit{miṭtîk} "having given to you" (AA)\footnote{Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 46 (text 16), 1. 6.}.

One example of an active participle for the medial geminate verbs may be found in \textit{mhimm} "important" (probably a K-form, or a loan from CA), but often the participle is formed with the pattern for the medial geminates of measure 1, as in \textit{hâbbîn arrîh} "men who wake up the wind" (AA)\footnote{Cf. ibid., p. 50 (text 17), 1. 22 (+ fn).}.

No examples of measure 4 passive participles were recorded for RA, SA or BaA. Blanc however, reports for DA that these are formed by prefixing \textit{m} to the perfect $aC_1C_2aC_3 \rightarrow maC_1C_2aC_3$, and the same holds for AA, e.g. \textit{markan} "laid aside"\footnote{Cf. BLANC (1970), p. 25 (136).}.
3.2.3.8. Measure 9.

The conjugation for measure 9 is like that of the medial geminate. Forms recorded for BaA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>hmarra</td>
<td>hmarraw</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>hmarra ta</td>
<td>hmarra ran</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>hmarra ay</td>
<td>hmarra tuwa</td>
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<td>2.f.</td>
<td>hmarra ay tiy</td>
<td>hmarra ay tin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>hmarra ay</td>
<td>hmarra ay na*</td>
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* Where the geminate is neutral, ay will be ë, cf. measure 1 medial geminates in I, 3.2.2.7.1.

No participles of measure 9 were recorded.

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs.

The quadriliteral verbs conjugate like measure 2 with the patterns (perfect) $C_1 a C_2 C_3 a C_4$, and (imperfect) $y C_1 a C_2 C_3 i C_4$, e.g.: saytar, ysaytir "dominate" (RA), handaz, yhandiz "make look nice" (RA), maşmaş, ymaşmiş "chew and suck (on sth.)" (SA), garbal, ygarbil "sieve" (SA), gahwa, ygahwiy "serve coffee to (someone)" (SA, BaA), šarwa, yšarwiy "buy" (RA), zağraṭ, yzağriṭ "ululate (in joy)" (RA, BaA), zaḥlaf, yzaḥlīf "shove" (BaA), fargā', yfargi' "burst open (of a seed)" (BaA), darwaş, ydarwis "chatter" (AA), malwas, ymalwis "try to evade, slip through" (AA)\(^{603}\).

There are the verbs considered typical for bedouin dialects with the inserted w preceding $C_2$ in the patterns $C_1 aw C_2 a C_3$ and $y C_1 aw C_2 i C_3$: e.g.: götar, ygöṭir (~ gawṭar, ygawṭir) "go" (all), šawfar, yšawfīr "whistle" (RA), lōlağ, ylōliğ "roam around" (RA), sölaf, yśölīf "tell" (BaA), and rōfal, yrōfīl "get moving (said of a girl, to do with r-f-l "drag the skirt"?)" (BaA), lōlah, ylōliḥ "swing back and forth" (AA)\(^{604}\).

\(^{603}\) For the last two examples, cf. ibid., glossary.

\(^{604}\) Cf. ibid.
Such verbs were also recorded in TA, MA and ‘AyA: götar, ygöטir (TA and MA) gawtar, ygawêtir (‘AyA), sawlaf, ysawlif (‘AyA). Notice that in ‘AyA the diphthongs have been preserved.

The quadriliterals with a ta- / ti- (or t-, cf. above in I, 3.2.3.5.4.) prefix have the patterns (perfect) taC1aC2C3aC4, (imperfect) ytaC1aC2C3aC4 (with the same variation ta- / ti- for the perfect, and yta- / yti- / yit- for the imperfect as measure t-2), e.g.: byîttlagfat "it (m.) gets caught (tangled up in a net)" (RA), atgahwa "I drink coffee" (AA), tiïgahwëna "we drank coffee" (AA), and quite a number of examples in BaA: ytâgahwa "he drinks coffee" (BaA), tiïharfanja "you see its (f. sg.) tracks" (as it was glossed to me) (BaA), yiïtsablak "it (m. sg.) grabs hold (with its claws)" (BaA), biïlaxbat "it (f. sg.) becomes confused" (BaA), biïiïcalbëk "it gets tangled up" (as it was glossed to me) (BaA), biïta‘a‘qï‘a‘q "it (m. sg.) nibbles" (BaA), biïbahdal "he is maltreated" (BaA).

Comparable to measures 2 and t-2, the (active) participles of the quadriliterals are formed with the respective patterns mC1aC2C3iC4, and miïC1aC2C3iC4: âdïfra maïrïnsah "the millet having cobs", mitgahiwyïn "having drunk coffee (m. pl.)" (AA).

4. Remarks on syntax.

4.1. Nunation.

In two instances tanwîn (underlined in the examples) was encountered in BaA: albanät ilhînna ‘umûn. Ilhîn ‘umûmin tayybih. Gäm aîšîk biîsawir... umûn albanät... iyûsîf râyha "the girls had a mother. They had a mother who was still alive. Then the šëx consulted the mother of the girls, to hear (lit. see) her opinion", and the expression assâbgät arrâbhât, alluy sâbîgiq makrûm "First come first serve. He who comes first is blessed" (both BaA). In general, however, nunation only occurs in poetry, some fixed expressions and proverbs (as in the latter example). An example in southern Turhâniy is: aná min ‘indi, iw min ‘ind ilmin ‘ädîh diînî... "I pronounce, in accordance with the principles of law that I know...". Two examples in AA are: ... iw hiîgît bilîm ‘ind raqîl

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605 BAILEY (1981-2), p. 131 states: “indefinite nouns may carry the suffix in [e.g. baytin], which resembles the genitive tanwin of Classical Arabic, but it is merely a metrical device in bedouin poetry.”

A description of Rmêliy, Swêrkiy and Balawiy

fihım, iw dâxîl ʿal-ʿAllâh iw ʿalîk in ḥagg... ǧibîyyin ʿalây w bayyin ʿalêk. "... this is the pleading of an inarticulate man before a wise one. I seek protection with God and with you from a judgment that is hidden from me and evident to you." and ilâh hâda ʿaxar ʿūdîn fî bâgah "this is the last stalk in a field that has been harvested"

On a rather different level are the cases where nunation occurs in loans from CA (possibly via other dialects, as in the first example below), mainly in adverbs, where we may hear -an, e.g.: masalân "for instance", tabʾan "of course", tagribân "approximately", dâyman "always", abadan "never". These occur in all dialects under discussion here.

4.2. Negation.

Negation of the verb is regularly done with preceding mā, or shortened ma, e.g.:

iw yômîn hawâfîrîhî byûkburun mā btaʿârîf tîğriy "And when her hoofs grow she cannot run" (RA) (notice also that it is not *byûkbrun, cf. I, 2.2.2.1.)
walaw ʿinnî fi wâgît alhâdîr ʿasbâh ʿâqdayf mā ygîm "although nowadays the guest no longer stays" (SA, an example with strong MSA/CA influence).

Wallâhîy ya ṭâgîl inî mā ʿirfâk innak imšârîhî "by God man, I really did not know that you had entered into a partnership with him." (AA)

Aššîx tabʾan mā bydâgziy. mā byînîy māʾ allîy byînîw "the sëx, of course, does not go on raids. He does not go with those who do go." (BaA).

In TA, MA and ‘AyA the verb is negated in a similar fashion, e.g. mā šûfÎînî "you did not see me" (TA), mā šîřîh "I did not see him" (MA), mā ǧaw "they did not come" (‘AyA).

At times, the bi-partite negation ma...š may be heard due to koineizing influences of surrounding dialects where this type of negation is regular, such as ‘AA and the dialects of groups II and III. This was also noticed in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

Negating prepositional phrases is regularly done with mā, e.g. mā lih ʿindi šîy "I owe him nothing" (RA), mā fiḥ šîy "there is nothing in it" (SA), mā İkuw

607 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 16 (text 4) l. 2 (+ fn 3), p. 30 (text 11), l. 16 (+ fn), and p. 95 (text 27), l. 26 (+ fn) resp. For the translations, cf. STEWART (1988).

608 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 4 (text 1) l. 17.
"it is not due to you (pl.)" (AA)\textsuperscript{609}, mā ʾindaha "they (f. sg.) do not have" (BaA).

Negating nominals and participles, if not with the negated personal pronominals (cf. I, 3.1.12.1.), can be done with preceding miš. Examples: 'law innak rağil kān tağawwāri', iv ʿārif inni gādir 'a lğīzih iw biṣūfni miš mitgawwiz "If you were a (real) man you would have gotten married", and he knew that I was (financially) able to get married, but he sees that I'm not" (RA), w ilha ṭalāq aṣābiʾ bass, miš xamsih "and she has only three fingers, not five" (SA), miš ʿayb "not a disgrace" (BaA).

4.3. The b-imperfect.

With the exception of the dialect of the Dawāgrah, all dialects in northern Sinai studied during this research use the originally sedentary b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense\textsuperscript{610}, e.g.:

\textit{f-awwal ihdāʾīs yöm Āllah birīd biğīb liña miṯār} "In the beginning of November, when God wills it, He brings us rain." (RA), \textit{in kānat miḥtāgih ṭass binrušš} "If it (f.) needs spraying, we spray" (SA), annās kānow byāgazuw, ibyāgazuw ēh? biyīrūw. inta ʾindak ʾigmāl, ibyāgazuw. "People used to go on raids, they would raid what? They would charge. If you have camels, they would go on raids (i.e. against you)" (BaA), \textit{fih dīxīlih ma bitilagga ʾinha gār ṣafḥītha, iv fih dīxīlih bitilagga ʾinha ḥādāriyyih} "there is the woman taking refuge whom nobody defends but she herself, and there is the woman taking refuge whom those present defend" (AA)\textsuperscript{611}.

Often the b- has merged with the yi- or yu- prefix of the imperfect (in one case, in BaA, it merged with ya-) yielding (respectively) bi-, bu- and ba-, which in the latter case leads to homophonic 1.c. sg. and 3.m. sg., e.g. \textit{batla}\textsuperscript{612}. Examples: \textit{bimsikkīy} "he takes her", \textit{burbuthiy} "he ties her" (both RA), \textit{bugʿud yirti}, \textit{birti} f-āssībāt "it stays grazing (in the middle of the day), it grazes on

\textsuperscript{609} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 9 (text 1), l. 77.
\textsuperscript{610} It is also current in DA, cf. BLANC (1970), p. 28 (139).
\textsuperscript{611} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 7 (text 7) l. 2-3. For the translation cf. STEWART (1988).
\textsuperscript{612} BLANC (1970), p. 28 (139), describes the same for DA, stating that the use of ba- or bya- for 3.m. sg. is dependent on who the speaker is. It was my impression that the use of byi- and byu- is mainly a feature of careful (often lento) speech, while bi- and bu- are found in less careful (often allegro) speech.
plants 613", *bušrud* "he flees" (both SA), *alliy bizawwid*, *bizawwid* ʿa kisih "he who exaggerates, exaggerates on his (own) pocket (i.e. at his own expense)" (AA)614, *iw lamma baṭlaʿ albizir* "and when the seed comes up", *iw baṭlaʿ fi niṣalāḥ* "and I climb up a date palm", *biragğīh* "he takes it back", *bugʿud talat t-ushur* "it stays three months" (all four BaA).

When in the examples of verbs (*i)yCi~ is preceded by C, often the *b*-prefix of the imperfect, */i/y/ was historically reduced to */l/ through diphthong reduction, it is assumed, a process of monophthongization in unstressed syllables (cf. 1.2.4.6.1.2.3.): *bihuttaʿ "he puts", bifikk "he unties", bikammil "he completes". This new *i*-prefix for 3rd p. m. sg. imperfect was then generalized, and could spread to the strong verbs615, whereby it appeared in stressed syllables as well: *biktib* "he writes", and occurs as the preferred form, with the possibility of (*i)byiktib remaining in more careful speech. When this *bi-* was generalized as an alternative for *byi-* , *bu-* could, by analogy, become the generally accepted alternative for *byu-* , and *ba-* occurs, though less regularly, for *bya-* . Thus *būḍurbuw* "they hit (imperfect)" may be heard for the alternative (*i)byūṭurbuw.

Comparable instances were also be recorded in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

Notice that in the case of the use of *bi-* and *bu-* for 3. m. sg., there is no chance of a homophonic 1. c. sg., which may account for the fact that it occurs quite regularly, whereas *ba-* for 3rd p. m. sg. was only recorded once (there is, on the other hand, a quite regular *ba-* in SaA, cf. II, 4.3.).

4.4. Future marker.

The future is usually expressed by using the simple *y*-imperfect, but in a number of cases the sedentary ʿala ḡazzīh "they were going to seize control of Gaza", *law ḍarrābittiy walla nahaṭtiy ḥatmūt*, *zayy ilʿarnab* "if you hit her (i.e. the young she-camel) or scold her, she will die, like a rabbit." (both RA), *awwalan haygūṭir masalan arragīl alliy m ʾisSiwārkīh hāḍa masalan... "First, for instance, this man who is of the Sawārkah will go, for instance..."* (SA), ... *li ḡayīt bnāxī [ ... ] ḡaygīnī.

613 A type of plant, cf. LANE (1872), Part 4, p. 1295.
614 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 21 (text 6), l. 11.
615 The interpretation of the reduced diphthong is preferred to an interpretation simply stating elision of y. The latter is strictly speaking not identical to the former. Clues are the forms *biyḥuttaʿ, bīyxušš* etc. which occur as well.
"... until my nephew [...] will come to me" (AA)\textsuperscript{616}, haygib "he will bring" (BaA).

An example from MA: w iy dibb min albïr âlwalad b ismah ēh? b addaluw, iw ṭab’ an albïr iza kān tawil aw ṣawâyir hayâxid īršī fīwîl im’dâh... ḥabil mitwaffîr "and the boy will draw water from the well with what is it called? With the pail. And of course whether the well is deep or shallow, he will take a long well rope with him... enough rope". Such examples may also be heard in TA and ‘AyA.

In two instances râh (of *rāyiḥ) was recorded to express the future tense: ṭakhilak zayy ma ṣārat (a haplology of râh aṭhâkilak) "I shall tell you how it happened" (RA), and during direct elicitation hagîṭir was clarified as râh agîṭir "I shall go" (BaA).

In addition, the future may be expressed with suffixed widd (cf. I, 4.11.).

4.5. fîh "there is/are".

fîh "there is/are" functions as a prepositional predicate of a nominal sentence.\textsuperscript{617} The negation is mā fîh (recorded in all four dialects), or mâš (recorded in RA, AA\textsuperscript{618} and BaA), and sometimes the K-form mā fis (recorded in RA, SA and BaA) occurs.

4.6. Some conjunctions.

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm.

The conjunction "when" has a number of variations on lamma and yōm. As was noticed by Bruce Ingham in the dialect of the Ahaywât,\textsuperscript{619} these conjunctions may occur with verbs in the perfect and imperfect. Examples are listed below.

\textsuperscript{616} Cf. ibid., p. 53 (text 19), l. 31 (+ fn)), and glossary p. 230.
\textsuperscript{617} Cf. GROTFELD (1964), p. 87.
\textsuperscript{618} Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 27 (text 8), l. 26 (+ fn). The alternative forms maṣṣiy and maṣṣiy reported there for AA were not heard in RA, SA or BaA.
\textsuperscript{619} Cf. INGHAM (1991), p.61.
4.6.1.1. yöm.

4.6.1.1.1. yöm used independently.

yöm may be used independently in the meaning of "when", e.g.: yöm bnug'ud lêna xamastašar yöm "when we have waited for fifteen days" (RA), yöm ibtińišğ aššuggah "when she weaves the tent piece" (SA), yöm ṭawwaḥt, irî wōhîd min iwlādīh gā'id "when I went home, there was one of his sons sitting (there)" (AA)620, yöm yirkid albâtyah "when he places the wooden bowl" (BaA). Similar examples with yöm were recorded in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

4.6.1.1.2. yöm in combination with in.

4.6.1.1.2.1. yömin used independently.

Like yöm, yömin (yöm + in, or could the -in be an older nunation?) may be used independently in the meaning of "when", e.g.: yömin hawāfïrhiy byûkburun "when her hoofs grow" (RA), yömin rāh l almakân "when he went to the place" (SA), yömin balağatnî "when she informed me" (AA)621. Similar examples with yömin were recorded in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

4.6.1.1.2.2. yömin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause.

yömin may be suffixed with a pers. pronominal suffix meaning "when subj. (he/she etc.)", the n is doubled with vowel-initial suffixes. Examples recorded: yöminhiy tug'ud 'indl "when she sits with me" (RA), min yöminihih bōsal annāb "when it (m. sg.) reaches the (stage of the) old camel (from 6 years old?)" (SA), yöminnak ġit iw daxalt "when you came and took refuge" (AA)622, yöminha kibirîh "when it (f. sg.) is big" (BaA). Similar examples with suffixed yömin were recorded in TA, MA and ʿAyA.

620 Cf. ibid., p. 22 (text 7), ll. 17-18. Stewart however, places a full stop after ṭawwaḥt, and translates (cf. STEWART (1988), p. 16): "This is when we got back home. One of the sheikh's sons is sitting here and can confirm it."
621 Cf. ibid., p. 29 (text 11), l. 9.
622 Cf. ibid., p. 33 (text 14), l. 28.
4.6.1.2.3. min yōm.

As is already apparent from the last SA example above in 4.6.1.2.2., yōm or yōmin (+ suffix) may be preceded by min, and so may the unsuffixed variant. Sometimes one could actually quite literally translate min yōm with "from the day that", which is undoubtedly the original meaning, as in the example min yōm iyīth alwasim "when/from the day that the rainy season sets in (lit.: falls)" (RA), but another example quite clearly calls for the translation "when" or "as soon as": min yōm taṭla‘ aššams "as soon as the sun comes up" (SA). And similarly the translation of yōm in the example (cited above) yōm tinīšg aššuggah is clearly "when", as it certainly takes more than one day to weave a tent piece.623

Other examples are min yōmin bahōfīya624 "when I provide for her" (RA), and min yōminī sufthum "when I saw them" (BaA). Similar examples with min yōm were recorded in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

4.6.1.2.4. (min) yōm in combination with ma.

(min) yōm also occurs in combination with ma, e.g.: min yōm ma yiṭīk awwal ʾatwa, lāzim yiṭīk atṭanīyih w aṭṭalīīn w aṭṭābīih "when he grants you the first free truce, he (also) has to grant you the second, and the third, and the fourth" (RA). In this case ma is clearly not a negation, but another example shows that it may well have a negating function too: yōm m-aṭtarraṣmak f-addār ḥēdiy, afūkk arrizgah. . . "when I do not obtain an amends from you in this matter, I’ll reimburse you the judge’s fee..." (AA)625.

4.6.1.2. lamma.

4.6.1.2.1. lamma "when" used independently.

lamma may be used independently in the meaning of "when", e.g.: lamma biyyūṣūfīy "when he sees her" (RA), lamma biğēy ʾa lmaqad "when he comes to the circle of men" (SA), lamma ǧat dāwyih "when she came back in the

623 I was told that a bedouin woman is expected to weave one tent piece a year, which is then sown to the latest added piece of the tent, while the oldest piece on the opposite side of the tent is removed.
624 ahōf + hiy: ḥaf, yhōf "entretenir", cf. DOZY (1883), part 1, p. 337.
625 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 10 (text 1), l. 89.
evening" (BaA). Similar examples with *lamma* were recorded in TA, MA and 'AyA.

### 4.6.1.2.2. *lamma* + *in*.

*lamma* + *in*, which becomes *lamman*, may be used like *yōmin*, i.e. with or without suffix, meaning "when", e.g.: *lamman bag'ud ana wiyyāk* "when I stay (lit.: sit) together with you" (RA), *lammanak widdak itḍirr ḥaddak 'ale blādī* "when you want to (draw by) force your border on my land" (RA), *lammanih yukbur* "when he grows" (BaA), *lamma rağa'aw ligyuw ġar alkhrayyim, w ali'yal... mā 'indhin, wala ġanam wala ġamal wala ġāğih*, "when they returned they only found the women, and the children were not with them, nor small cattle, nor camels, nothing" (TA, comparable examples were also recorded in MA and 'AyA).

### 4.6.1.2.3. *lamma* "until".

*lamma* may be used meaning "until", e.g.: *iw kān akawwi‘ a ṣīfī lamma llēl iyūbb* "and I reclined leaning on my sword until the night fell" (RA), *iw ḍallat 'indih lamma ġa ṯiṭbhā* "and she stayed with him until her neighbour (from the same encampment) came" (AA), *w alaggīšhe... lamma 'ēh? lamma yxattim ānnixa! *and I (continue to) pollinate it..., until what? Until the datepalms close (back) up.* (BaA).

### 4.6.1.3. *lom* (+ *in*).

Like in *DA*, the (presumably either a hybrid form of *yōm(in)* and *lamma* or *law ma*, or a shortened form of *alyōm*) forms *lom* and *lomin* were also recorded: *lom tarkab 'alēh* "when you ride it" (SA), *lomin iygīna hniy ḍāyf* "when a guest comes to us here" (RA), and *lomin tağawwazwuw* "when they get married" (SA), and another hybrid *lawmannah* nsāfir "when we travel" (RA).

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626 BLOCH (1965), p. 32, mentions a similar *lammen* (< *lamma ‘an*) in Damascene Arabic, where it is only followed by the perfect. In our dialects it may be followed by either perfect or imperfect verb forms, and may also occur in a nominal sentence, e.g.: *lammanak gaddi w ana gaddak a'tḍmag leš fiha* "when we are (financially) each other’s equals, why would I invite you to it?" (RA).

627 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 21 (text 6), l. 13-14.

Stewart mentions another hybrid form *blöm*, which is also used in the sense of "when".  

(b)löm was not heard in TA, MA or ‘AyA.

4.6.2. ḥatta.

4.6.2.1. ḥatta "until", "so that".

ḥatta was recorded as "until", e.g.: ḥatta yōwṣaluw ƛmawqa‘ alliy ḥumqa widdhum yistirrūf fīh "until they arrive at the spot where they want to set up camp (lit.: "settle")".

Often though, ḥatta expresses "so that, in order to", as in biḥuṭṭlak xirīṭah fī darrīṭīy ḥatta bintīy mā tirḍāḥha "he puts (lit.: for you, cf. I, 4.14.3.) a bag on her (i.e. an animal) udder so that her daughter does not drink from it".

4.6.2.2. ḥatta + in.

ḥatta + in becomes ḥattan, and may be suffixed as well, e.g.: ḥattan ǧāhum al‘istāz "until the (stranger) gentleman came to them", ḥattanī awaffiy haddarāhim "until I pay this money in full" (both RA).

ḥattan was once recorded in the sense of "so that": ḥattan ḥāfirhiy yḏall imkamaš ḥiluw "so that her hoof stays nice and compact (making the camel faster)" (RA).

4.7. Auxiliaries and verbal particles.

4.7.1. ǧām.

Like in many Sinai dialects (cf. 4.7.1.) ǧām, usually not conjugated, followed by a verb in the perfect is often used in narrating a chain of events that took place in the past. ǧām has developed into a particle and thus acts as a marker of consequent action suggesting ingressiveness of the action expressed...
in the following verb form. It may have originally been translatable with the verb "up", as in "he upped and left", but much of the original meaning of "get up" was lost during its development into the unconjugated particle it has become. Instead, the particle gâm expresses a degree of "ingressiveness", and perhaps even a degree of "suddenness".\(^{632}\)

An illustrative example of gâm no longer having its original meaning of "get up" is: gâm mā lagga 'a lmag'ad, ḏall f-ēh? fi bētiḥ "he then did not go to the mag'ad, (but) he stayed where? At home." (BaA).

Other examples are: gâm radd 'aleh aliy ṭallaghīiy biygūllah ēs? "(this man) who had divorced her then answered him, and said to him what?" (RA), gâm Mas'ūd... giṭā' ṭagabat... al'abd aliy 'indīh "Mas'ūd then... cut the throat... of the slave that he had" (RA), gâm lamma gaw... ālbi illiy ġat kasabāḥa ḥādiyy "Then, when they came...they gained these camels that had come" (BaA), gâm tw ī biṣūṣ kīdīh, b uṣbāḥka, axaḍat laḥsīh "She then, while she was stirring like that, took a lick with her finger" (BaA).

It is likely that gâm is used in similar sense in AA, as is illustrated by the example gâm hāda [. . .] gāl "this one then said" (AA).\(^{633}\)

Our material for TA, MA and 'AyA is limited, and does not show instances of gâm.

4.7.2. rāḥ.

rāḥ was not recorded as an auxiliary or particle in RA, SA or BaA during this research.

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\(^{632}\) Cf. remarks in WOIDICH (1995, AIDA paper), pp. 265-6: "[\[^{\prime}ám\]] loses its function as a marker of launching an action or of a consequent action and merely marks a sequence of events in order to attract the attention of the hearer (shift of subject, for instance)".

\(^{633}\) Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 8 (text 1), i. 53.
4.7.3. Conditional particles.

4.7.3.1. Variations on kân as a conditional particle.

Combinations of kân with preceding in, iz (or iza), or il serve as conditional particles.634 kân may then be suffixed (with doubled n in the case of vowel-initial suffixes), or followed by suffixed in.

4.7.3.1.1. in + kân.

Examples of kân preceded by in, becoming inkân in the meaning of "if": w inkân haddah hâmîl "if his luck is rotten" (RA), inkân ẖâlihum šîgîrîh "if their (financial) situation is small" (SA), inkân wîddak tîgân’ir ‘inda wîghi “if you’re just going to sit uselessly in front of me” (AA).635

In only three instances, all coming from the same speaker, kân was conjugated: w in kânat mihtâqîgîh gizûm bîngûzim. in kânat mihtâqîgîh râsqu binruqs. in kânat mihtâqîgîh ayya šîy hî buhtâqîgîh b innisbûh li šîqârât alburdugûn, ihna bîngûm insawwîh lêhiy. "and if it (f. sg.) needs trimming, we trim. If it needs spraying, we spray. If it is in need of anything it (usually) needs with regard to the orange tree, we take care of it for it." (SA).

4.7.3.1.2. Suffixed inkân.

inkân may be suffixed with pers. pronominal suffixes serving as the subject of the clause. The examples also show doubling of the n in case of vowel-initial suffixes (an indication of grammaticalization): inkânnah ḏuhur "if it is in the afternoon" (SA), inkânnak aflast "if you have failed" (AA).636, w inkânnah kaḍdâb "and if he is a liar" (BaA).

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634 Cf. BLOCH (1965), pp. 11-20 for comparable conjunctions in the Arabic dialect of Damascus. Bloch remarks (ibid. p. 11) that ’an may only be followed by the perfect, while ’anza may be followed by the imperfect or a nominal sentence as well. In our dialects iz and ita preceded (unconjugated) kôn in all recorded instances, while it often preceded perfect verb forms other than kân as well.

635 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 11 (text 1), l. 111.

636 Cf. ibid., p. 13 (text 1), l. 139 (Stewart does not indicate doubling of the n in kânak).
4.7.3.1.3. il + kân.

kân may be preceded by il becoming ilkân (< inkân) in the meaning of "if", e.g.: ilkân lâzmih lih "if he needs it (f. sg.)" (RA), ilkân ‘á-lğimal "if it is on the camel" (SA), ilkân mā mi‘ák duxxān "If you don't have tobacco with you" (BaA).

4.7.3.1.4. kân preceded by the CA loans iz or iza.

kân may be preceded by the CA loans iz or iza (< *'idā) also in the meaning of "if", e.g.: izkân masalan yimšiy alfağir "if he is, for instance, walking at daybreak" (SA), ya‘n-iza kân rabbna ḥayiκirmu fiha "that is, if our Lord will bless it in her", izkân ana ǧațān "if I am wrong" (BaA).

Notice that in the second example other K-forms are present as well: the obj. suffix -u, instead of -ih, and the future marker ḥa-.

4.7.3.1.5. kân as an independent conditional.

kân may be used independently or suffixed in the meaning of "if", e.g.: w a‘ṭiyy lah kân widdih lah ġnēh "and I give (it to) him, if he wants a pound for himself" (RA), kân mūhū mbawwil ‘a šnābak "if he hasn’t pissed on your moustaches" (AA), and suffixed: kânnih ibin halâl bigül... "if he is a decent chap, he says..."(RA).

An alternative combination found in AA is (in)kân followed by suffixed inn, e.g.: inkân innak ya-ḥuw Sâlim "if you, oh Abu Sâlim...", kân innak mā widdak yāna "if you do not want us", inkân innih biyrūh "if he goes" (all three AA). Such instances were not recorded in RA, SA or BaA.

4.7.3.1.6. kân, inkân or ilkân introducing alternatives.

kân, inkân or ilkân may introduce alternatives, comparable to English "be it" or "if it be", e.g.: ilkân ‘ād bakrah walla gu‘ād, yabga ‘aṣil barṣah "so, whether it is a she-camel or a (young) he-camel, it will be thoroughbred too", kân xamsīn kīlih, sittīn kīlih "be it fifty kilos, sixty kilos" (both BaA), kân

637 Cf. ibid. p. 144 (text 46), fn 55.
638 Cf. ibid. p. 22 (text 7), l. 12, p. 34 (text 14), l. 45, p. 36 (text 14), ll. 103-4.
gōtaraw b xams irbā⁴, wallā bass b īwād iMḥaysin "whether they go with (all) five descent groups, or only with the Wlād Mḥaysin" (AA)⁶³⁹.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle.

Blanc reports for DA the often total absence of a conditional particle.⁶⁴⁰ Such examples have also been recorded in our dialects under discussion here, e.g.: lak sāḥib fī l'Irīš 'izāq 'alāk bitlaggiy 'alīh "if you have a friend dear to you in al'Arīš, you go to him" (RA), mā 'īlim ya'sīnī bīgīt yāniy min nahār ib gawādīh "if he hasn’t heard, that is, he comes on the second day with his animal for slaughter" (SA), inša ʿindāk ʾīgāl, ibyāgāzuw "if you have camels, they raid (you)" (BaA).

4.8. Presentative particles.

4.8.1. īrᵀ or ārᵀ.

īrᵀ (where in DA we have ārᵀ)⁶⁴¹ is a presentative particle used to direct one’s attention to something or someone, or may express "transition" (like in the first example below).

Originally an apocopated imperative of the verb raʿā "see", where we have a ‘ > ‘ change comparable to the change in saʿal > saʿal "ask"⁶⁴². It is used independently, or with a pronominal suffix.

Some examples are: ār’Tāh zārīnā bišīr xasāb "see (it) our crops become fertile" (RA), ār’Tāh halbārīh sār minnih īw gāl lay īw gāl lay "there he was the day before, and after that started saying all these things to me" (RA), īr’T ġīzlānī "here’s my wallet" (SA), īr’T waṣrīhī "here is my permit" (AA), īr’Tānā f-al'Irīš "there we are in al’Arīš" (AA)⁶⁴⁳, ār’Tāh ġa’salād ʿammaẖa "there her cousin came" (BaA), īr’Tāh Slēmah f-hāḏāk gāḏīh "there’s Slēmah sitting there" (BaA).
4.8.2. häy.

Another presentative particle that was recorded several times in BaA, and once in RA, is häy. A similar particle occurs in AA, which Stewart transcribes as hay.644 Examples: häy arrug'ah hnîy "here is the graft" (RA), hay aṣṣûrah fîh "there is the photograph inside it" (AA)645, winn hay waladah aṣṣagîr "and there was his younger son" (AA)646, häy giḏâna "here we have our system of justice" (BaA).

What is striking about the examples available, is that in all these instances häy, like the "specifying" demonstrative ha- (cf. I, 3.1.13.2.), is used to refer to abstractions, or objects not physically demonstrable, but present in the mind of the speaker at the moment of utterance. In the following other examples häy fills the same role: iw häy iṯbā'na-hna "and there we have our characteristics" (said after a description of their customs), häy ḥayāt attsâs "there we have the (daily) life of people", häy mîbâda ḥayâtânu "there we have the beginning of our life (i.e. how we used to live)" (all BaA).

One is even tempted to regard final -y here as a pronominal suffix, contrasting with final -k in the presentative particle hâk. The difference in usage would then be a difference in deixis: hâk, ḥâkiy etc. "there you have" (cf. 3.2.2.4.2.), and a nearer deictic function for häy "here we (or I) have".647

An alternative interpretation to häy being a presentative, however, would be to regard it as a specifying particle like ha- (cf. I, 3.1.13.2.). For North Israel bedouin dialects hai- and hâi- in concord with f. sg. and prefixed to the noun head-word are reported, "and often this attachment is so strong that it seems to lose the demonstrative function and serve only for definition of the noun (as Hebrew /ia-)."648 Since there are several examples of häy (or Stewart's hay) preceding m. sg. nouns, however, the interpretation of it being a presentative particle is preferred here.

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646 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 100 (text 32), 1. 3.
647 Attaching possessive suffixes to particles occurs as well, e.g. in CaA one may hear lolâni, but also loldiyâ "if it hadn't been for me" (Manfred Woidich, personal communication).
648 Cf. ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 82.
4.8.3. Particle \textit{wlin} ~ \textit{wilin}, \textit{win}.

The particles \textit{wlin} ~ \textit{wilin} ($w + lin$) and \textit{win} ($w + in$) are often used to express "a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration"\textsuperscript{649}, with a sense of "already, before anyone was aware", and may be suffixed, and also in this case, the $n$ is doubled when a vowel-initial suffix is involved, but also, it seems when a vowel follows in sandhi (it is therefore perhaps better to postulate *'inna here). Examples: \textit{táxabi}	extit{f}-	extit{ašşabakah byubruk 'alêniy barik zayy kiğiy wâllâhiy zayy ma tûbrik 'a 'arûstak. imzig iwlinnih màsîkhîy "it strikes the net (i.e. gets caught in it), he bends over it like this, by God, like you would bend over your bride. He tears it and there he's (already) got it (in his hand)" (RA), iw binkammil \textit{win gâl} "and we were finishing up, and (suddenly) he said" (RA), \textit{linn algursah btistiwiy} "the gursah is (already) becoming done" (SA) \textit{wilinn ìnhna kullna f-al'Ms} "and there we were, all of us in al'ArîF" (AA)\textsuperscript{650}, bi\textit{ta'aq'aq minha w linnah dâbîtha "she nibbles at it, and (look) then (suddenly) it (m. sg.) has (already) caught her (of a rabbit in a trap)" (BaA).

4.8.4. Particle \textit{wlâ} +.

The particle \textit{wlâ} (+) may be used like \textit{wlin} ~ \textit{wilin} and \textit{win}\textsuperscript{651}. One instance was recorded in RA: \textit{kän nañâr yöm Allâh râd iwla yûgîy hniy, wâhad imσaddir ib ãgamalâh mn aššëx ìZwayyid òali\textsuperscript{2} ìmσarrîg "{then} one day, when God had wanted it, he suddenly came here, someone coming from aššëx Zwayyid turned up on his way south (RA).

4.9. \textit{gayr}.

Among the several functions of \textit{gayr}, often appearing as \textit{gär} or \textit{går} (cf. I, 1.2.4.6.1.2.3.) is its usage as a particle preceding imperfect verbs expressing necessity. It is then roughly translatable with "must", or "most certainly". Hopkins\textsuperscript{652} plausibly explains the development of this particle through ellipsis of the negation.

Examples are: \textit{iw fina gär iygôtir iydawwir lah wâhîd iygîbih} "and among us (there are people who) must go and find himself someone to bring one"
4 B.I. A description of Rmêliy, Swêrkiy and Balawiy Arabic.

(RA), gâr āxid ḥaggî 'ind Abuw ‘Bêd Allâh "I must get what is due to me with (the judge) Abuw ‘Bêd Allâh" (RA), tâlâg min râsî āda gâr allêlih ‘aṣâk ‘indî "(I swear that) I shall pronounce my divorce, (if not) tonight you must have dinner in my house" (RA), gâr axušš "I shall most certainly enter" (AA)653.

4.10. Intensifying particle la.

The intensifying particle la followed by the 1st. p. c. sg. "is used to indicate determination to do something, especially in the face of opposition"654. Among the examples Stewart gives for AA is la- ‘tiy "I shall certainly give", and also in DA this intensifying la is reported: la-mza' râsak "I shall certainly cut your head off".655 Only a few examples are available in our dialects: uskût wilt'allah, in kattart kalâm la-dâbähhin kullhin "shut up, by God, if you keep talking I shall certainly kill them (f. all)" (RA), la-gullak "taďđal ‘indî!". "I shall certainly say to you "please come to my house!"" (RA), la-yrûḥuw "they will certainly go" (BaA). The last example also shows that not only the 1st. p. c. sg. may follow this particle.

4.11. widd + pron. suffix.

Like in DA656, "want" or "need" is expressed with suffixed widd, e.g.: yimkin widdî aţîmhiy fi bêî w assîhiy "maybe I want to feed it (f. sg.) at home and give it water" (RA), intuw widdkouw tûw ma'na "you need (or: must) to come with us" (RA), wïdâna minnak sitt mît lîrah "we want six hundred pounds from you" (SA), iw widdak min? "and whom do you want?" (AA)657, wên widdkouw thuťjuw? "where do you want to make camp?"658 (BaA), widdih albint itsarîk lah álîgânam "he wants the girl to take the goats and sheep out to graze for him" (BaA).

In numerous instances widd may not have entirely lost its sense of volition or necessity, but expresses an added sense of futurity, e.g. (comparable to the development of the verb "will" in the English language): ihna widdna nbûg

653 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 19 (text 5), l. 43.
654 Cf. ibid. pp. 29-30 (text 11), fn 11.
656 Cf. ibid. p. 36 (147). widd + pron. suffix is "characteristic of the whole north-Arabian and Syrian desert" .
657 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 20 (text 5), l. 64.
658 The verb ḥaff, yhuff is also used in the meaning of "make camp", cf. ibid., p. 235, and BAILEY (1991), p. 434, "to encamp".
al’âhad hâda w widdna nağazâhum “we shall (or want to) betray this pact and raid them” (RA), widd-âşalliy âli’ši’ “I shall (want to) do my evening prayers” (BaA), and probably also the example inkân widdak tigan’ir ‘ind wiği “if you're going to just sit uselessly in front of me” (AA)⁶⁵⁹.

In the following examples widd expresses purpose⁶⁶⁰, translatable with "(in order to)”: yöminhiy ‘awwalat görir widdih yraqḏîhiy "when she was wailing he went to conciliate her" (RA), yiğiıy lwâlad widdah ylimm arrihâyi! "the boy comes in order to round up the camels (used for loads)” (BaA).

widd is also current in TA, MA and ‘AyA.

N.B. When not used in a question, widd may also express necessity from the perspective of the speaker (cf. "need" or "ought to"⁶⁶¹ in English), e.g. widdkuw tguw ma’na "you must (or: need to) come with us” (RA), widdak ti’aggah im’dy "you must turn with me" (AA)⁶⁶², widdak inaggiyı ya walad hât alfard! "you must (or: need to) sow (watermelon seeds), boy, get the plough!” (BaA).

Also, widd may be used to express intended direction, usually with a verb of motion, as in the example mšammlin widdhum sūg Rafâh "going (m. pl.) east headed for the market in Rafah”⁶⁶³. Without a verb of motion, there is the example widdak wen? in the meaning of "where are you going?" or "where are you headed?”.

4.12. ‘âd.

The particle ‘âd serves to express "so, thus, then"⁶⁶⁴, more or less comparable to the usage of ba’a in northern Egyptian dialects (in Upper Egyptian dialects ‘âd is current as well). Examples are: yâ raqîl, xâfalâh kull yöm kull yöm ‘âd bašîfha, miš bass ‘ârifha, âhiy gâritna ‘aia tül. "Man, I used to see her then perhaps every day, every day. I did not just know her, she lived right next door.” (RA), lömin ytağawwazaw biğiyw ‘âd nás min barṛah. w alkull bigûd. "When they get married, people then come from outside. And everyone

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⁶⁵⁹ Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 11 (text 1), l. 111.
⁶⁶⁰ BLOCH (1965), p. 76, mentions the same function for bodd in Damascene Arabic.
⁶⁶² Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 7 (text 1), l. 41.
⁶⁶³ BLOCH (1965), p. 76, points out that that bodd in the dialect of Damascus very often occurs with verbs of motion.
(of them) leads an animal to be slaughtered (as a present)." (SA), ibnarhal 'âd min hâda. binhûtf... fi misâft arribi' hâda "So we move away from here. We make camp... (and stay there) throughout spring. (BaA)

4.13. yabga ~ yibga, and yagba ~ yigba.

The K-forms yabga ~ yibga, as well as metathesized yagba ~ yigba, rather than strongly velarized BA (of group III) yugba, serve as the particle expressing "(so) then", e.g.: iw barüh šigg tânîy w ūlîlî. iw baxallîs yibga šammastîh "And I go to a next men's section (of a tent), and a third. And when I'm done, I will then have left him exposed.665 (RA), w allîy ūlîttiî ywâyiis bîrîmîl ūsgêtên, 'ala hasab. . . ketêt ãnâmêh-în kân ãnâmêh kêtir, yibga ii'mîl ūsgêtên "And she who is well off makes two tent pieces, according to... the large number of her goats and sheep, if they are many, she will then make two tent pieces. (SA), yabga "Awwâdah sawwai 'îha bêt na difíc "so then 'Awwâdah will have made herself a nice tent" (BaA).


4.14.1. Imperative of narration.

A conspicuous characteristic of the narrative style is the narrative imperative666. A number of instances have been recorded, of which examples are: saww libbih "he made a small round of bread" (BaA), yûmîniyî 'awwalat götîr widdih ywàdhîhîy "when she was wailing, he went (because he wanted) to conciliate her" (RA), algôm gâtîm 'a lglôm... tuṭrub fi baçădhiy. 'ixbi. . . 'uṭrub, 'ixbiî! "the (enemy) tribe went after the other (enemy) tribe, to fight each other. They were [beating], they were hitting, and beating." (RA), bayyît l așṣûbûh "he spent the night until the next morning" (SA), 'aggîl aliêmâl iw râh "he tethered the camels and went" (SA).

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665 šammîs, yšammîs, (v.n.) tašmîs: literally "to expose to the sun", is sometimes done with members of the blood group who behave irresponsibly, and for whose actions the other members no longer wish to assume responsibility. This ultimate sanction is taken in anticipation of misdeeds of such an ill-adapted member by going to other blood groups to openly disavow him. He is thus exposed and will no longer be protected by his own blood group. He will be solely responsible for his future actions.

4.14.2. kân as a temporal marker.

Another frequent characteristic of the narrative style is the use of unconjugated kân as a temporal marker accompanying a (b-) imperfect, a participle, or putting the nominal sentence in the past. Examples are: arRumêlât kân sâknînf-addïr "the Rmêlât used to live in Dêr (alBalâh)" (RA), kân agayyd âlgimal iv kân dîšîfâdah, iv kân akawwi ‘a sîfi lamma lêl iyûbb "I hobbled the camel and took care of it, and I reclined leaning on my sword until the night fell" (RA), albîr ya’niy kân ‘umgah "the well, that is, was deep" (SA), kân zîmân annâs ūb’an zurûffiy êr kidîy "In the old days, of course, people’s circumstances were different" (SA), zamân kân biygôtiruw "in the old days they used to go" (SA), iw kân aḥill âlgizlân "and I untied the wallet" (AA), ihna kân ṭânaba "we were neighbours (i.e. in the same camp)" (AA), intuw kân ištârayuw "you (m. pl.) bought" (BaA).

In two instances kân was placed at the end of the sentence, more or less expressing "used to be": la’inn bîhhiy zayy ma tbi’ īwiliyyih kân "because selling it (f. sg., i.e. a mare), was like selling one’s wife (i.e. not done)", ā fîh hrûb bên algibâyil kân "yes, there used to be wars between the tribes" (both RA).


One instance of the ethical dative was encountered in BaA, one in RA, and none in SA (which is considerably less often than in BA, cf. III, 4.14.3.). The examples are: fîh ‘yâl bâyzin biyrûhuw Imidâris, īw hîna ‘a lîmâyya ‘a tîl, îfîrîf la-yrûhuw ‘ind ibtîa... ‘ind illi mîs almûwâṣîy, l algarkil iydayy’ah lak fi digayig."There are rotten kids who go to school, and (then come) straight to the water here. You know, they will (certainly) go to this one... to the one who is with the cattle, (they go) to the jerrycan and he’ll finish it (for you) in (a matter of) minutes." (BaA), bihûtîlak xiřîfah fi darrîtiy ḥattah bînttiy mà tirḍahha "he puts (for you) a bag on her (i.e. an animal) udder so that her daughter does not drink from it" (RA). An example in AA is: lâg gi a nas "go to people!".

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667 Cf. STEWART (1990), p. 26 (text 8), l. 16. A footnote adds: “Instances of the common use of invariant kân & impf in narrative sequences.”
668 Cf. ibid., p. 67 (text 21), l. 148.
669 Cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 94 (5.8.) for similar usage of kân in il‘Awâmra (in the eastern Šarqiyyah).
Stewart reports for AA that the verb "come" frequently appears with Vk or Cak, which he presumes to be an instance "- though not undisputed - of the ethical dative". Recorded instances in our dialects are: *iw kân ally humma xawāli yğik mśammlīn widdhum süg Rafāh* "and these people, who were my uncles, came (to you) heading east on their way to the market of Rafah" (RA), *līna wagit tuwil iw kân aği̇k imrawwi̇h* "it was a long time before I came (to you) (going) home" (RA), *fā hawwadīt misāfi̇h, w alxurg iyīṭīh... b alkurgad, w alkibābiy, w ālgidāli̇, w addawshi̇n hādi̇y kullhi̇y. w aği̇k imawwid, iw laggett 'a zalāmāh bya'rif" "so I had proceeded a (certain) distance, when the saddlebag fell, with the teapot, the glasses, and the wooden bowl, and the whole caboodle. And I came (to you) slowly proceeding, and went to a man who was knowledgeable (i.e. on the topic the speaker wished to consult him on)" (SA).

4.15. Pluralis paucitatis.

In RA, SA and BaA a number of examples were recorded where for smaller or counted numbers a "healthy" plural was used, while for indefinite or larger numbers a "broken" plural was used.

Examples: *iw minnah itfarrig itwaddiy lēhin iḥšās laḥām* [a few lines further] *inkân ixwāni̇hī talāṭīh talga talaṭ huṣṣāt w inkāñhum xamsah, xamas iḥšās* "and after that you distribute and send them (f.) portions of meat [and a few lines further] if she has three brothers and sisters, you will find three portions, and if they are five, five portions." (RA), notice that the speaker here uses the broken plural in the last instance, which is somewhat puzzling. Other examples are: *iw bindībba aği̇rār... inn attimīli̇h hēdi̇y, iw bīni̇y. biṭkūn miṛrāt... mā bitdībb al'arba' girrāt* "and we fill the earthenware jugs... from this water-hole, and we come. Sometimes you're... you don't fill the four jugs" (RA), *sīt 'ilbātī tāfi̇y "six boxes of candy"* (RA), whereas in SA we have *hi assamn-alliy f-āli̇līlab* (for expected *f-āli̇līlab*) "this (f.) is the ghee which is (sold) in tins" (SA), *bnilghāb imrār tāb fī xirwīs annās* "at times we find that it has started to eat from the castor-oil plants of the people (i.e. cultivated plants)”, whereas in another text we find *ibtaṭhā talat marrāt* "she bakes three times (a

670 Cf. ibid., p. 24 (text 7), fn 56. STEWART (1987), pp. 48-9 mentions the same feature, and adds "notably common (and characteristic for the dialect) is the combination: impf. + ǧa + k + act. participle...", like in our examples here. INGHAM (1993), p. 22-3, also notes that this ethical dative is often used with verbs of physical movement of people from place to place, and that its usage with the verb ǧa is particularly frequent.

671 A "pluralis paucitatis", like in CA, although without prefixed 'a-. Cf. FISCHER (1987), pp. 57-8.
day)" (both SA), bitsawwiy lêhiy 'âd ġawâliy yimkin... xamis šuggât, sitt šuggât [a few lines down] ixayyît assugag fi baʿâdhîn... ġassag. f-âssinah bišmil lêhiy šuggah "So she makes for herself about, maybe... five tent pieces, six tent pieces [a few lines down] she stitches the tent pieces together... the tent pieces. She makes a tent piece a year for herself" (SA).

A similar example in BaA is: ya walad hât inn iarîr! iyigîh lih 'ârba' ġirrât, aw sitt ġirrât "Boy, go get some jugs! He will bring four or six jugs with him" (BaA), and also during direct elicitation speakers of BaA clarified that the plural šwan (of šônîh "storage place for grain") was used for large numbers, whereas šônât was used for smaller numbers. Similar remarks were made by these informants with reference to the plurals for firgah "group of people" and nugrah "hole": firgât beside frag, and nugrât beside ngar.


Numbers of animals are referred to in the f. pl., and so are limited, or countable numbers of things.

Examples: yômîn wâra baʿâdhîn "two consecutive days" (RA), iw billimm iw binsawwiy šarâbât bingûl 'inînîh ihlêl "and we gather (the harvest) and we make pits which we call hîlal672(RA), ... îgûnîtîn bîtûštîhîn fôghîhî "... (little) live embers. You put them on top of it (f. sg.)" (RA), xaytayn mi' baʿâdhîn "two threads together" (SA), lamûna rağga'awînîn, 'îrif sâhîb âğgmâl inn âğgmâl hâdîy riğ'îtîn inîh ibni'âmîh ššârid hàdâ "when they brought them back, the owner of the camels realized that these camels returned from this cousin of his who had fled" (BaA), talât ġirrât wall-ârba' ġirrât. iyûn iyûntîn 'â-rbâ' ġirrât "three or four (earthenware) jars. He then goes and puts them on the camel"673(BaA).

Sometimes, even a limited number of men may be referred to in the f. pl., e.g.: xawàlak yâblâ'ân alâ'garâdât "your maternal uncles swallow locusts (i.e. they are poor suckers674)" (RA), w ixwân xamsîthin iwîlâd Ḥamdân "and the brothers, the five of them are the sons of Ḥamdân" (AA)675, ibymîshûw 'â-rbâ'...
igmâl xamsih, râkbîn ‘alêhin. iw kull wâhid minhin mirdif wiliyih warâh āṭṭha t’a gafâh mirkibha mi’dh.’they go on four, five camels, riding them, everyone of them having placed a woman behind him (to ride with him), having placed her behind him, having her ride with him” (BaA).

N.B. The examples available show that in number the dual goes with the plural, e.g.: alxattèn azzurug “the two blue stripes (talking about rainbows)”, allalfên hâdol widd-a’thum "these two thousand (pounds) that I want to give to them", yömên wara ba’aḍhin "two days in a row" (all three RA).

5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

In cases where extra emphasis is intended, a peculiar type of double stress may be used. Primary stress remains where it is, but the syllable with secondary stress may receive a higher pitch than the syllable with primary stress. A western ear would probably associate such stress/pitch patterns with indignance or complaining.

This type of pitch was heard among our tribes in the northeast (Rmêlât, Sawârkah), and further to the south (Tarâbin, Ahaywât) and may be graphically represented as follows676:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

at Ta râ bin

Notice that in these dialects primary stress (underlined) does not necessarily coincide with highest pitch677.

To do full justice to this feature of our dialects, one might transcribe texts in a type of musical score. I felt that this had better be left to future researchers, with hopefully a better ear for music than myself.

---

676 The description given here is still rather impressionistic, and the subject certainly deserves a more thorough investigation than it can receive here.

677 MITCHELL (1960), p. 369, fn 2 describes the phonetic features of a prominent syllable as:

"(i) the greater stress or force with which it is uttered in comparison with other syllables of the form, (ii) the higher pitch of at least its initial phase in relation to adjoining syllables, (iii) the kinetic or moving (falling) tone on which it is pronounced in contrast with the static or level tones of the remaining non-prominent syllables.” This is certainly true for e.g. CaA and BA, but in these utterances with extra emphasis none of the three are true.
II. A description of Smē'niy and 'Gēliy Arabic

The Samā'nah are a fully settled tribe living in the oasis of Gatyah in the district of Bir al-'Abd in the northwest of Sinai. They are reported to have been one of the oldest tribes to settle in the north of Sinai following the coming of the tribes which emigrated from the Šām (i.e. approximately today's Syria): the Biyyāḍiyyah, Axārsah and ʿAgāylah.678

The Samā'nah may have originally settled in Sinai, but a large number of them moved to Egypt proper. Their presence in the Šarqiyyah, in Manufiyyah, and in Upper Egypt is reported, but most of the Samā'nah who came to Egypt from Sinai now live in the district of Fāgūs and alHasaniyyah in the Šarqiyyah, where they number over 50,000 souls.679

The majority of those who did not move away from Sinai today live in the Gatyah oasis, where they number an estimated 5,000 souls, and where they are neighbours of the Biyyāḍiyyah (to their north and east), the Axārsah (to their northwest), and the ʿAgāylah (to their west).

I was told by a notable Smē'niy that the Samā'nah are originally from the Hiğāz, but later emigrated from atTūr, the mountainous region in southern Sinai, to where they are now. This information was only given as a fleeting remark, but we shall see that there are a number of distinctive dialectal features shared with the dialect of the Gbāliyyah (who live in central south Sinai, around St. Catherine's Monastery) described in NISHIO (1992), which underlines the significance of this remark.

People interviewed for this study are members of the Ḥasāsnah family living in alGanāyin, in the southern part of Gatyah.

The ʿAgāylah are reported to be living today in the villages of alHMēsah, Naqīd, adDab', ašṢōha, alKarāmah, and Bir alKīb, all near the northern coast of Sinai.684 Speakers of ʿGēliy who were interviewed for this study all lived in adDab'.

678 Cf. AṬṬAYYIB (1993), pp. 600-4. Unfortunately, BAILEY (1985) does not date the arrival of the Samā'nah.
680 The estimate of 5,000 souls in Gatyah is from one of my Biyyāḍiy informants.
681 Most tribes in Sinai claim this.
682 Bilād atTūr "the Land of the Mountain" is used with reference to southern Sinai in general, cf. E.I., p. 625.
Because of the relevance of SaA for the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyah, quite a number of references will be made to ABUL FADL (1961), WOIDICH (1979, 1980), and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985a, 1985b, 1988, 1994) to illustrate observed differences between, and similarities of these dialects.

1. Phonology.

1.1.1. | plosive | affricate | fricative | nasal | lateral | trill | semivowel |
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v = voiced, vl = voiceless

There is, for instance, a village with the name isŠama’na (i.e. asSamā’nah), the (original) inhabitants of which are members of our tribe. Cf. ABUL FADL (1961), village nr. 92 on p. 12, and pp. 132-5 for a text from this village, and ATȚAYYIB (1993), p. 602, who reports that the Samā’nah who were the first to settle there are of a Smē’niy family by the name of alHilwāt. Another possibility is that these ‘AwāMrāh form a sub-group of the Šalāţnah of the ‘Ayāydah, cf. BAILEY/SHMUELI (1977), p. 31. They may also be a sub-group of the Mawālkah clan (of the Biyyādyyah), of whom ATȚAYYIB (1993), p. 607 reports that they are settled in Samākin alGarb and alHasaniyyah in the Šarqiyyah.
The inventory of consonantal phonemes of SaA and 'AgA is almost identical with that of group I, but a minimal pair may be found in SaA lēk "to you (m. sg.)" - lēk "to you (f. sg.)", and a minimal pair for 'AgA may be found in mi'k "with you (m. sg.) - mi'k "with you (f. sg.)", which yields the additional phoneme /k/ in these dialects686 (for more detail cf. II, 3.1.12.2.).

1.1.2. Reflexes of *t and *d are interdental ɬ and ɬ respectively: atar "tracks", yāhar "he ploughs", màxid "having taken", ɡahab "gold". These reflexes are found in 'AgA and in the speech of the older generation of SaA speakers. In the speech of the younger generations of SaA speakers, however, ɬ and ɬ are being replaced by ɬ and ɬ. For example, where a sixty year old Smê'niy said ɡanayy ittnten "my (two) cars", his forty-four year old son said ɡanayy and itnên, although still aware of the difference, but the twelve year old grandson (who turned out to be going to school in Râb'ah, i.e. in Biyyâdiy territory, where the dialect of group III is spoken) was unaware that there even was a difference. The grandfather commented with respect to the treatment of ɬ and ɬ that his speech was more ɭurfiy, or "traditional".

Like in all bedouin dialects in northern Sinai researched so far, the reflex for *d and *d is ɬ in both SaA and 'AgA: ówad "rooms", ɡall "remaining", and this is also true for younger speakers of SaA, who may have lost plain interdentals, but still pronounce this merged emphatic interdental (cf. situation in group III).

In SaA and 'AgA "this (m. sg.)" is hâda ['haːda].

In K-forms: talat marâkiz "three centres", masalan "for instance", kida "thus", izkân "if", mazûn "official authorized to perform Muslim marriages", barâd "also", nžâm "system", maţbûhil "correct" (but also ydabbîlh "set" in 'AgA).

1.1.3. Like in group I, e.g.: sûg "market", digî "flour", kbâr "old (pl.)", sakkinih "knife".

686 The superscript " of the m. sg. pron. suffix -k preceded by C or V should not be interpreted as a vowel, but is merely a device to indicate the strong degree of liprounding accompanying the articulation of this k.
In azZa'azi’ "Zaqâziq (name of a town in the Delta)" *q had a ’ reflex, and a k reflex in katal "he killed". q for *q was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

1.1.4.

*g is the regular reflex for *g; ğ was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

1.1.5.

Glottalization of t was only heard in one instance in SaA.

1.1.6.

In SaA: sa’al, yas’al (also ‘AgA); īr’iy; rās, rūs (also ‘AgA); fās, fūs; yākul (also ‘AgA); ēlīh; šāyif; mēfīh; wakkal, ywakkil; (elicited) mādāniḥ, and additionally: mēxīr "back pole in a tent" (‘AgA).

alanḡar, alarg (though more often al’arg), lá-halu "to his family", b aṭeru "with his tracks".

SaA and ‘AgA forms: ‘āša(h), sáma(h), fštā(h), bēḏa(h), sāmra(h), āni (~ anī in ‘AgA), bi’dna, máša, ráma.

1.1.7.

The situation is basically like in group I, e.g. (forms recorded in SaA and ‘AgA unless indicated otherwise): gâl, āḍra, ġrâḥ (only SaA), kṭār, (sg. firn) frān (only SaA), ġrâb (pl. of gīrbah), but rikbih, árkab687, ḏrāʾ, zrā’ah, miḥrāt, and grayyib (only SaA), ṃayyīh #, ṭāgil, ṭōb.

1.1.8.

A minimal pair isolating l and l as phonemes was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA; waļa "or" and wallah "by God" sound the same to my ears. A minimal pair isolating r and r as phonemes was not recorded either.

Examples in SaA and ‘AgA (unless indicated otherwise): nār, dār, xīrā (only SaA), ġār, fuxxār (only SaA), xḥār "news" (only ‘AgA), but no velarization in ārif, ārefīn, bikārīg, šārīb, ūrīs, mūrīy (only SaA), mūdarīs (only SaA), wārid (only ‘AgA), šāri‘ (only ‘AgA), ilbāriḥ "yesterday".

1.1.9.

Not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

687 Which contrasts with ārkāb "mount!" also recorded in ‘AgA.
1.1.10.
Like in group I.

1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1.
The inventory of vowel phonemes for SaA and ‘AgA contains five long vowels, and three sort vowels:

Long vowels: $i$ $ü$

Short vowels: $i$ $u$

$ë$ $ó$ $ä$ $a$

1.2.2.1.
No phonetic overlapping of $è$ and $i$ was observed in SaA and ‘AgA.

1.2.2.2.
Phonetic overlapping in neutral environments of $ö$ and $ü$ was not heard in SaA and ‘AgA: $dór$ "round" will be clearly distinguishable from $dûr$ "houses"; and also $ö$ in $sôda$ "black, bad (f. sg.)" and $gôl$ "speaking", is clearly distinguishable from $û$ in $usûd$ "lions" and $gûl$ "say!".

Phonetic overlapping occurs in velarized environments: clear lowering could be heard in ‘AgA $Bâlôdah$ "name of a village (Pelusium)", $mâ'âtûb$ "guilty", $mâxârûg$ "pierced", $'ârûr$ "nape of the neck". And $mû'n$ (with a close $[o:]$) in ‘AgA shows the lowering effect of ‘ on following $ü$.

1.2.2.3.
Situation like in group I. The $â$ in ‘ârif is an open $[a:]$.

1.2.2.4.
Examples in SaA: $bâbûr$ "tractor", $bîtôn$ "armpits", $sigân$ "thighs". Examples in ‘AgA: $Bâlôdah$ "name of a village (Pelusium)", $gâbôha$ "they brought her", $ârba' t-âlûf$ "four thousand".
1.2.3.1.

Minimal pairs in SaA:

\[
\text{fitt! } \text{"make fattah!"} - \quad \text{fati } \text{"I passed"} - \quad \text{fatt } \text{"he made fattah"} \\
\text{And } \quad \text{sikkah } \text{"path"} \quad - \quad \text{sukkah } \text{"plough share"}
\]

A near minimal pair in ‘AgA:

\[
\text{girbiḥ } \text{"watersack"} \quad - \quad \text{gurḥ } \text{"kinship"}
\]

1.2.3.2.

In SaA: ‘imy and ‘irg "lame, limping", but gur’, ṣurt, ḥumr. In ‘AgA: šidf "left-handed", but turš "deaf", ḥumr "red".


Puzzling examples in SaA are yḥubb and yʾudd, although one could imagine b in the first example to constitute enough of a labial environment for u to appear. The same holds for m in the last example yllumm in ‘AgA.

1.2.3.3.

In SaA measure 4 verbs are yṣinn "wait" and yxiff "thin out (of seedlings)"; and yhimm "be important". ygill "reduce" was recorded in ‘AgA.

The instability of k with respect to its influence on the short high vowel was noticed in ‘AgA as well. The same speaker (!) said fikk! and fukk! "set free!".

For morphologically fixed vowels in other verb measures, cf. II, 3.2. In ‘AgA ykipb was recorded.
B. II. A description of Sm'nty and 'Géliy Arabic.

1.2.3.4.1.

The situation is basically like in group I, but in SaA and 'AgA a number of instances were recorded where /i/ had a realization close to [u]. These instances occurred where the 2nd p. m. sg. pron. suffix was involved, e.g. in SaA: bitsûbûgk "she races you", and in 'AgA: hurmûtk "your wife", šuglûtk "yours", tixabûtk "it (f. sg.) collides with you".

1.2.3.4.2.

Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.1.

Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.2.

In pre-stress syllables preceding i or ä, older *a has usually been raised to i in a neutral environment, or u in labial (and velarized) environments. Examples of *a preceding stressed i: kibîr "large", kiîr "many", šiîr "barley", 'iğînîh "dough", hidîdîh "piece of iron", hiîb "milk", siîm "well, intact", ġirîd "palm leaves", tuwil "long", but also şafîihîh "tin", and in 'AgA kaţîr "much, many", ba'îd "far", dagîg "flour".

*a* raised to i preceding stressed ä: bikâriîg "coffee pots", dirâhim "money", zimân "in the old days".

*a* raised to u preceding stressed ä in labial environments â: kumân "also", fuwâkih "fruits", Suwârkîh (~ Siwârkih), "name of a tribe", šuwârih "lips". Examples where stress of â is not primary: dirâhimkum "your (m. pl.) money", muwačîr "pumps", muwaçîn "pots and pans" (for more detail cf. II, 3.1.1.5.).

1.2.3.4.3.3.

The situation is as described for group I, although more non-raised reflexes in neutral environments occur in context. Reflexes of final *-â(') however, are treated similarly in SaA and 'AgA (cf. II, 1.2.4.1.), although haşwîh # "pebble" was also recorded in 'AgA.
1.2.3.5.

Like in group I, e.g. in SaA: *iwalk *bitxudd. bitgul bëh kdih, lamma: rabbna subhâna w ta'âla ysawwi zibdih "and after that you churn. You do like this with it until our Lord - may He be praised - makes butter."

*iwalk min 'a lgtâl itrudd iggamal, itšid tiiggamal tânî yâwîd. lammain tâharît w tibaâtil tug'udluk yôm, xamis t-iyám, siit t-iyám, 'ala ḥassab al'ard illus 'induł "and from way over there you bring back the camel, you pull the camel again so that it goes back. Until you have ploughed and stopped you spend a day, five days, six days, depending on the land that you have."

In 'AgA such instances were not recorded.

1.2.4.1.

Diphthongs *ay and *aw have monophthongal reflexes in all environments, i.e. irrespective of phonetic surroundings, e.g. in SaA and 'AgA: (for *ay) riğlën "two legs", zêt "oil", ḍalal "of better breeding" (el. to asîl), ċês "bread", xêl "horses", ḥêl "wall", ḍêl "field", ḍëf "guest", wâstên "two middle poles (in a tent)", ṣêd "hunting", and (for *aw) zór "throat", tób "garment", yôm "day", ődâh "room", gôl "speaking", säma'ah "silo", ḥôlih "cross-eyed", xôf "fear", and also (unstressed *ay > ċ) in zêtûn "olives".

Exceptions: mawğûd "present", and word-final as in tagray "you read", lay (< *layy) "to me", tfâddalaw "go ahead! (m. pl.)" (for verbal ending -aw in SaA and 'AgA, cf. III, 3.2.).

Both i- and a-type imperfects of primae wâw verbs regularly have monophthongs, e.g. in SaA: ḍôsl "I arrive", tôlad "she gives birth", yôrid "he gets water" (also 'AgA), yôzin "he weighs", nôgid "we light", and in 'AgA: yôgaf "he stands (still)", and yôrid "he goes to a water source" (cf. III, 3.2.2.1.).

1.2.4.2.

Minimal pairs in SaA and 'AgA:

gôl "speaking" - gûl! "say!" - gâl "he said"
dên "debt" - din "religion" - dûn "without"

---

688 Cf. fn 530 to I, 3.2.2.4.1.
1.2.4.3.

Allophones of *lāl are basically like in group I, but *hāḍa without velarization.

1.2.4.4.1.

In *SaA and *‘AgA older final *-.ā(‘) has usually been raised in neutral environments to become -ih, but its raising is more regular in pause than in context, e.g. (examples recorded in *SaA and *‘AgA, unless indicated otherwise): māsih "evening" (only *SaA), līših "evening prayer", mēfih "cylindrical oven dug into the ground" (only *SaA), walāyih "female relatives" (only *SaA), īnhīh "here", īštīh "winter", īršīh "well rope", miḍīrīh "horn of a gazelle used as a beating hook in weaving" (only *SaA), hōlīh "cross-eyed (f. sg.)", xārsīh "dumb (f. sg.)" (only *SaA), tāršīh "deaf (f. sg.)", ʾarğīh "lame, limping (f. sg.)" (only *SaA), and verb forms ǧīnīh "we came", ʾarmanīh "we threw", ǧīh "he came".

Recorded ǧānīy in *SaA is best regarded as a B-form; "water" is more regularly māyyīh in both *SaA and *‘AgA.

"I" is ānī (~ anī in *‘AgA), and *-.ḥā and *-.nā may be raised, mainly in pause, to become -hih and -nih respectively: ʾyalḥīh # "her children", ʾshābniḥ "our friends".

With the article stress remains where it is, e.g.: fi līštih "in (the) winter", salāṭ līših "evening prayer".

1.2.4.4.3.1.

Like in BA (cf. III, 1.2.4.4.3.1.), raising in *SaA and *‘AgA may occur in conformity with II, 1.2.3.4.3.3. Since reflexes of final *-.ā(‘) are never stressed, a glottal catch never follows. Often an h-like off-glide may be heard instead, as is the case with realizations of T, e.g. mēfih, īštih, miʿzīh.

1.2.4.4.3.2.

In *SaA and *‘AgA, like in group III, a in open syllable preceding reflexes of final *-.ā(‘) is of no consequence to the presence or absence of raising of these reflexes, e.g.: ilmāsīh "the evening", and verb form mâṣī(h) "he went".

1.2.4.4.4.

The phonetic factor of (secondary) emphatics that will not allow raising of *-.ā(‘) in BA is effective in *SaA and *‘AgA as well; no raising takes place where such consonants precede, e.g. (examples may be heard in *SaA and *‘AgA): āḍrah "sorghum", xāḍrah "green (f. sg.)", hāmrah "red (f. sg.)", bēḍah "white (f. sg.)", ʾīgtah "cover", gāṛḥah "bald (f. sg.)", ilxālāh "the desert". In two instances
in SaA with preceding w no raising took place either: ilhâwah "the wind", innâwah "the fruit kernels".

Some of the examples in SaA and ‘AgA listed for group I are: wâra(h), râma(h), gâdah.

N.B. In SaA and ‘AgA one will hear ġih "he came" (in all unsuffixed positions), a tertiae infirmae verb in these dialects is ānsa "I forget".

1.2.4.4.5.

The details given above lead to the conclusion for SaA and ‘AgA that raising of final *-â(’) has not led to full morphological restructuring of the base form, i.e. such raising still depends on a pausal position of the word in question, although the raised forms may (less regularly) also occur in context.

1.2.4.4.6.

No glottalization of raised or non-raised reflexes of final *-â(’) occurs in SaA and ‘AgA.

1.2.4.4.7.

In SaA and ‘AgA no C3 = y imperfects of a-type verbs were recorded in pause. Several recorded perfects ending in -a did show raising.

Final -a of häda may be raised in pause: ilwódâd hâdih # "this boy".

1.2.4.4.8.

N.B. Like in BaA (cf. I, 1.2.4.4.8.), although the reflexes differ, SaA reflexes of older *-iy endings in plurals as in ištîy "sticks" (SaA and ‘AgA, and suffixed ištîkum "your (m. pl.) sticks"), īrhiy "hand-mills" (SaA and ‘AgA), īlhîy "beards" (but īlha, and suffixed ilhâna "our beards" in ‘AgA), are kept separate from reflexes of older *-â(’) endings with their -ih reflex.

1.2.4.4.9.

In cases where suffixation is (grammatically) possible, all reflexes of older *-â(’) appear as -â in SaA and ‘AgA, and the rule described in I, 1.2.4.4.9. holds for these dialects as well. Examples are: hawâk "your wish", gafâk "the nape of your neck", balwâh ~ balâh "his distress", wařâk "behind you", and verb forms ğâh "he came to him", waddâhin "he sent them (f. pl.)". 
1.2.4.5.1.
Like in group I.
Although the reflex of *aw after emphatics is ö as well, ü preceded by an emphatic (e.g. xux "peaches") still strikes me as a closer [oː] (which is perhaps phonetically more accurately described as a lowered [uː]) than the reflex of *aw (e.g. xöf "fear", with [oː]) in such a position.

1.2.4.5.2.
Like in group I.

1.2.4.5.3.
Like in group I.

1.2.4.6.
In addition to the five long vowels, there are four diphthongs: word-final -ay, -aw, and word-final -iy and -uw. When i and u are anaptyctics these last two diphthongs may occur in all positions in the word.

1.2.4.6.1.1.
Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments in SaA and 'AgA are ö and ø respectively, cf. II, 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.1.2.
Reflexes of *ay and *aw in non-neutral environments are ê and ö as well, cf. II, 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.1.2.1.
Cf. II, 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.1.2.2.
Cf. II, 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.2.1.
Word-final diphthongs -iy and -uw as reflexes of *-i and *-û occur in SaA and 'AgA as well. Like in BA and AxA (cf. III, 1.2.4.6.2.1.) these tend to be short in allegro style, e.g. iysawwi 'a dignu "he does (it) on his chin (i.e. spills it)".

689 In I.P.A the vowel will have a subscript sign to indicate lowering, which is not on my keyboard.
Diphthongs iy and uw resulting from anaptyxis occur regularly, e.g. 'imiy # "blind (c. pl.)", # iyêt "he puts", and ginuw # "bunch of dates".

1.2.4.6.2.2.

A diphthong *iw that might have resulted from morphological patterning was not recorded in SaA and 'AgA. Primae wāw verbs all have ū, as in (measure 1) yōsāl, and (measure 4) yōgid "he lights" (cf. II, 3.2.2.1.).

1.2.4.7.

One instance recorded in SaA: iw min 'a īgād itrūdd iğgamal "and from way over there you bring the camel back". None recorded in 'AgA.

2. Stress and phonotactics.

2.1.1.

Stress in SaA and 'AgA is of the máktaba-typù. Rule order is the same as in group I. (Like in RA and SA, gahawah- forms such as yāʿarfuw "they know" are special cases, cf. II, 2.1.2.4. and 2.2.1.4.). The rules for SaA and 'AgA are:

1) Like in group I.
2) The domain of stress is formed by the last four syllables, excluding the article, the verbal in- prefix, and the syllable preceding the -t infix, but including the suffixes.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity.
4) The following types of "heavy" sequences occur: vCC(C), vC (including v(h)).
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed.
6) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the first syllable from the left.

2.1.1.1.

Examples of stress in SaA and 'AgA conforming to II, 2.1.1. 5): máḥfaḍatu "his wallet", máṭrāhu "his place", ysdādu "he helps him", šiddu "pull it", fard "plough", tutulbūh "you (m. pl.) demand it (m. sg.)", ʿaṣāh "stick", ʿagabamī "she pleased me".

Then there are the idiosyncratic forms ʿagābuk "he pleased you (m. sg.)", ʿagābk "he pleased you (f. sg.)" (cf. II, 3.1.12.2.).
2.1.1.2.1.

Stress in *CaCaC(v)* and *CiCiC* is regularly on the vowel of the first syllable in *SaA* and *'AgA*.

2.1.1.2.1.1.

Examples of stress in *CaCaC* in *SaA*: *şánab* "moustache", *áwaḏ* "rooms", *kátal* "he killed", *qárab* "he hit", and the *gahawah*-forms *şá'ar* "hair", *náxal* "palm trees", *áhal* "family".

Examples in *'AgA*: *sámak* "fish", *ḥáṭab* "firewood", *ḥárat* "he ploughed", and *gahawah*-forms *láḥam* "meat", *fáḥam* "coal".

Examples of stress *CaCaCv* in *SaA*: *rágabah* "neck", *sámakah* "fish (n.u.)", *qárabat* "she hit", and *gahawah*-forms *gáhawah* "coffee", *áḥamar* "red", *yáḥarit* "he ploughs".

Examples in *'AgA*: *rágbah* "neck", *kátabat* "she wrote", and *gahawah*-forms *náxalah* "palm tree", *dáxaqar* "green", *táxabiṭ* "she collides".

2.1.1.2.1.2.

Although *CáCaCv* stress is regular in *SaA* and *'AgA*, a few instances of *Ca CáC(v)* were recorded, e.g. *SaA*: *'addás* "lentils", *labán* "milk", *yahánar* "he roasts", and in *'AgA*: *ahámar* "red".

2.1.1.2.1.3.

Examples of stress in *CaCaCaCv(C)* in *SaA*: *rágbatü* "his neck", *sámakatu* "his fish (n.u.)", *kátabatü* "she wrote it (m. sg.)", and the *gahawah*-forms *láḥamatu* "his piece of meat". In *'AgA*: *kátabatü* "she wrote it (m. sg.)", and *rágbatäk* "your neck".

2.1.1.2.1.4.

Examples of stress in *CiCiC* in *SaA*: *šírib* "he drank", *yībis* "it dried up", *símiʿ* "he heard". In *'AgA*: *'írif* "he knew", *nîzil* "he descended".

2.1.1.2.1.5.

Although stress in *CaCaC(v)* and *CiCiC* does not vary as much as in group 1, stress in *CiCiC* seems to point to an earlier stage where stress was *CiCiC* (or *CaCiC*), since the vowel in the first syllable is raised. However, it appears to have remained "underlying" *lal*, since it is not dropped in unstressed positions, not even in sandhi, e.g.: *šíribt* "I drank", *símiʿt* "I heard" (cf. II, 3.2.1.1.).
A CaCaCV sequence is not resyllabicized in SaA and ‘AgA.

The restriction made for the article, the verbal in- prefix, and the syllable preceding the verbal -t infix in rule 2) in II, 2.1.1., result in stress in iCCaCvC to be iCCdCvC in SaA: iššánab "the moustache", issámak "the fish (coll.)", inkátal, yinkitil "be killed", inmála, yinmíliy "be filled", ištágal, yištígil "work", îttáfag, yittifig "agree", and gahawah-forms innáxlâ "the palmtrees", ilbâhar "the sea".

In ‘AgA: ilhâgar "the stone", ilxâsah "the wood", inxázan, yinxizin "be stored", ixtálf, yixtílif "differ", and a gahawah-form isšâcár "the hair".

In a few instances however, the article was stressed in SaA: délğimâl, délğíbal, délğanam, délbil (also recorded in ‘AgA), and délmiy. Such forms are best interpreted as B-forms; stress in the first three examples was more regularly délgmâl, délğéal and délğánam, while délğmäl for "the camels" and délמâîy "the water" are much more current in SaA (notice also that the article is il- rather than al-).

Notice that the verbal forms of the patterns yinC_tC_tC_tC and yitC_tC_tC_tC have "underlying" la! in the second syllable, which may be concluded from the fact that the surface forms are not *yiniC_tC_tC_tC and *yitC_tC_tC_tC (cf. III, 3.2.3.1.1.).

In SaA the verbal preformative, or the article preceding a sequence CaCaCv(C), is not stressed in SaA and ‘AgA, which is covered by rule 2) in II, 2.1.1., e.g.: iřrágâbhah "the neck", issámakah "the fish (n.u.)", îngásalat "it (f. sg.) was washed", ištágâlal "she worked", and gahawah-forms innáxâlal "the palm tree", ilgâhâwah "the coffee".

Notice that stress in (C)dCCaCaCv is perfectly regular in SaA and ‘AgA (in contrast with the situation in group I), provided that the stressed vowel is not part of the article or the verbal preformative, e.g. mâhfaḍatu "his wallet".

Raised or non-raised reflexes of final *-ā(‘) are not stressed in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g.: âdראh "sorghum", îštîh "winter", îgṭâh "cover", mîfîh "cylindrical
oven dug into the ground", *bêdah* "white (f. sg.)", *hôlih* "cross-eyed (f. sg.)", *xârsih* "dumb (f. sg.)", *fi lîstih* "in (the) winter", *fi lxâja* "in the desert", *lâdara* "the sorghum", *salât lî'sîh* "the evening prayer".

2.1.2.2.

Reflexes of final *-îy* (and *-î`) are not stressed in *SaA*, e.g.: *gîniy* "rich", *şîgiy* "wretched", *tîriy* "dry", *wîliy* "saint", *bîriy* "innocent". One example in *'AgA*: *'Ilîy* "male given name".

2.1.2.3.

When the article precedes, stress remains where it is, e.g.: *ilwîliy* "the saint", *innihibiy ~ inndbiy* "the Prophet", although a few instances of *ânnihibiy* were heard which are best interpreted as B-forms (notice also the a in the article). No such forms were recorded in *'AgA*.

*Nisbah*-endings are not stressed either, e.g. (*SaA* and *'AgA*): *Smê'niy* "(member) of the Samâ'nah", *bdêwiy* "bedouin", but *'arabiyyih* "car".

Unsuffixed reflexes of *-î* (or *-în*) remain unstressed, e.g.: *gâliy* "expensive", *tânîy* "second", but when suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the morphophonemic rule described in I, 2.1.2.3. applies in *SaA* and *'AgA* as well, e.g. *râ'îha* "her master".

Examples of verb forms in *SaA*: *nisîy* "he forgot", *lîgiy* "he found", and when suffixed *nisîha* "he forgot her", and *ligîha* "he found her". An example in *'AgA*: *yirônihâ* "he throws it (f. sg.)".

2.1.2.4.

Like in group I: *ta'âmha* "its (f. sg.) taste" (*SaA*), *zayy ba'âdha* "like each other" (*SaA*, *'AgA*), *tâhâtuk* "under you" (*'AgA*), although there was one instance in *'AgA* *dâhirha* "her back".

Like in *RA* and *SA* of group I, stress is less predictable in *byâ'arfuv* "they know", *tâhartum* "you (m. pl.) plough", *nâhashdu* "we harvest it (m. sg.)" (for more detail cf. II, 2.2.1.1.). No such verb forms were recorded in *'AgA*, but a comparable nominal *gâhawti* "my coffee" was recorded.

2.1.2.5.

An example in *SaA*: *bixâffîfu* "he thins it out". None were recorded in *'AgA*. 
2.1.3.1.

Instances of the preposition *min* forming a single stress unit with a following word were not recorded in either *SaA* or *'AgA*.

2.1.3.2.1.

Instances of the enclitically suffixed preposition *l* + suffix in *SaA*: *tugˈud-luk yōm* "you spend a day", and *xātīb-lak* "having become engaged (for yourself)"; *biiktutt-lak* "she throws for you". In *'AgA*: *yguˈlu* "he says to him".

2.1.3.2.2.

One instance of enclitically suffixed *b* + suffix recorded in *SaA*: *maˈrhabā-bkum* "welcome to you (m. pl.)". None in *'AgA*.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1.1.

The *gahawah*-syndrome is active in both nominals and verbs in *SaA* and *'AgA*. Examples are (from both dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *ndxal* "palm trees", *āhal* "family", *táhat* "under", *gahawah* "coffee", *máˈanad* "partition in tent", *áxaˈdar* "green", *maxarūg* "pierced" (only *SaA*), *yāˈarif* "he knows", *yáˈhariḥ* "he ploughs".

Instances of the *gahawah*-syndrome creating full syllables: *ḥaˈgar min táhat iw ḥaˈgar min fōg* "a stone underneath and a stone on top", *báˈad iʃˈʃiˈr* "after the barley".

The *gahawah*-vowel in stressed positions: cf. II, 2.1.2.4.

2.2.1.2.

In the *maXC2aC3(ah)* pattern the *gahawah*-vowel appeared in *maˈanad* "partition in tent" (*SaA* and *'AgA*), *máˈharam* "women's section of a tent" (*'AgA*), *máxazan* "storage place" (*'AgA*), but not in *máˈ hạ ṣ aḥ* "wallet" (*SaA* and *'AgA*), *máˈlagaḥ* "spoon" (*SaA* and *'AgA*), *maˈrakah* "battle" (*'AgA*), *máˈhkamah* "court" (*'AgA*), *maˈna* "meaning" (*SaA*), nor in *máˈgribiy* "North African" (*SaA*), or *maˈgrib* "sunset" (*SaA*). These forms suggest that the *gahawah*-syndrome is more stable in *maXCaC* than in *maXCaCah*. 
The *gahawah*-vowel appeared in all passive participles of measure 1 with \(C_1 = X\) recorded in *SaA* (contrast group I), e.g.: *maxarùg* "pierced", *mahadùd* "bordered off", *mağasîl* "washed", *ma'arûf* "known", *ma'atüb* "guilty", *mahasîb* "calculated". No measure 1 passive participles where \(C_1 = X\) were recorded in *'AgA*.

2.2.1.3.

No measure 4 verb with \(C_1 = X\) was recorded in *SaA*. In *'AgA* *aṭānî* "he gave me" was recorded, showing that the *gahawah*-syndrome is not active in measure 4 (i.e. the form is not *aʿāṭânî*).

In *(i)sta*-I verbs with \(C_1 = X\) the *gahawah*-syndrome is not active in *SaA*, e.g.: istahmal, yistahmal "tolerate, bear", isṭaʿgal, *yistaʿgal* "hurry", nor in quadriliteral verbs laḥlab, ylahlib "flare up", laxbat, ylaxbaṭ "confuse", and *'AgA* *(i)tgahwa, yitgahwa* "be served coffee". *(i)sta*-I verbs did not appear in the *'AgA* recordings).

Geminates are treated as in group I: *axx* "brother", *saḥh* "right" (*SaA* and *'AgA*).

The *T*-rule formulated for *SaA* (cf. II, 3.1.10.1.) produces *a* when preceded by a *gahawah*-vowel, and the resulting sequences are stressed like any *CaCaCatv* sequence, e.g. *lāhamatu* "his piece of meat", *nâxâlau* "his palm tree".

In verb forms however, stress is like in group I, i.e. the *gahawah*-vowel behaves more like an anaptyctic (cf. I, 2.2.1.3. and 2.2.1.4.), e.g. (*SaA* forms) *yâhalbin* "they (f.) milk", *tâhartum* "you (m. pl.) plough", *nâhaṣdu* "we harvest it (m. sg.)".

The example *gâhawti* "my coffee" in *'AgA* shows that for *'AgA* the *T*-rule 3 of group I holds (cf. I, 3.1.10.3.), rather than the *T*-rule for *SaA* (cf. II, 3.1.10.1.).

2.2.2.

Instances of the influence of *rī* creating *bukara*-vowels in *SaA* and *'AgA* also occur. E.g. ("simple" *bukara*-vowels underlined): *nugarah* "pit (dug)", *bizirih* "seed (n.u.)", *xibirih* "experience", *tikirīm* "you honour", *yâṣarab* "he drinks".
Only a few examples were heard in 'AgA (where the bukara-syndrome does not appear to be very active): Mas'iriy "Egyptian", byihirîğ "he speaks".

Verbs in SaA and 'AgA with $C_1 = X$, and $C_3 = R$ have a double conjugation as well, e.g. (in SaA): both yîgzîl ~ yâgazîl, and yîmîl ~ yâ'amîl (although more regularly yasawwîy).

In 'AgA the gahawah-syndrome is not consistently active in verbs, and this is also true for verbs with $C_3 = R$. Recorded 'AgA forms are: âhâfir "I dig", and yâgâsîl "he washes", but yihîfrûh "they dig it", and the a-type imperfects yâ'mal "he does" (occurring about as regularly as yasawwîy), and yâhîsâl "it (m. sg.) happens".

But this is not only true for $C_3 = R$ verbs; the imperative î'rifî! "know! (whereas the imperfect always had the gahawah-vowel: ydâ'arif), and imperfects yuhûsîd ~ yâhâsid, and yîhlîf yîmîn "he swears" were recorded in SaA. In 'AgA yâ'arîf "he knows", but also (again a-type imperfect) ma bi'râfîîs "they don't know", and the gahawah-form tixabîîţîk "it (f. sg.) collides with you", but yûxtûb "he asks for a (girl's) hand"

An example of non-elision of the high vowel in SaA: bigâddîrûw "they consider". No such instances were recorded in 'AgA.

In 'AgA an example of an "expanded" bukara-vowel in sandhi: Masîr ibta'mal "Egypt makes". Non-elision of a base vowel in sandhi: Dâhir ibîn 'Id "male given name".

2.2.2.2.

A few instances in SaA of the influence of $l$ preserving a high vowel (only recorded in sandhi) are: 'âmîl iftiwwâ "he acts like a bully", itwakkîl i'yâlîî "she feeds her children". An example in 'AgA is: yûgâmil a'bû l'arîs "he is amiable to the father of the bride".

Expanded bukara-vowels (underlined) in the SaA examples: suqûl almîhrât "of the plough", gâbîl iyrûh "before he goes", ašîl ibtû' ağgâbal "originally from the desert", la zrzâmil illî... "to the comrades who...". No such examples were recorded in 'AgA.
2.2.2.2.1.

The forms álbil, (ir)râgil were recorded in SaA and 'AgA, which do not yield any clues as to the identity of the high vowel.

The forms rağluk "your (m. sg.) man" and rağlik "your (f. sg.) man" (contrast marâ'tik "your wife", galâmûk "your pen", and compare riğlik "your (f. sg.) leg", riğluk "your (m. sg.) leg") recorded in SaA, however, suggest that the high vowel in rağil is an anaptyctic, or rather an expanded bukara-vowel (on the -uk and -uk suffixes, cf. II, 3.1.12.).

The forms râgilhi(h) # "her man", is stressed like riğilhi(h) # "her leg" (recorded in 'AgA) which also leads to the conclusion that the high vowel in rağil is not part of the base; in both cases the i preceding l is anaptyctic.690

2.2.2.3.

A few examples of the influence of n were recorded in SaA, but such high vowel insertion occurred by no means consistently: ibānī "my son", xađone "we took", ozəniy "weigh! (f. sg.)" (the last instance is perhaps an example of non-elision of the high vowel). No such instances appeared in 'AgA.

Examples of non-elision of the high vowel in (sandhi): Özîn alxûx! "weigh the peaches!", biygâmîn iyfaddgînну "they (f.) go and crack it open", titammin innâs "you put people's minds at ease". No such instances appeared in 'AgA.

2.2.3.

Three examples were recorded in SaA: irruddî 'alêha êh? "what do we put back on it (f.)?", havwaddî 'a lîbir "I came to the well", yxutî 'alêha "he draws a line on it". One example appeared in 'AgA: raddî 'alayy "an answer to me".

2.3. Anaptyxis

Rules formulated for group I hold for SaA and 'AgA as well.

2.3.1.

Anaptyxis in SaA and 'AgA like in group I.

690 In these cases the high vowel is an anaptyctic, since it is not stressed. If this vowel appears with V following l in sandhi, as in e.g. irrağil illiy ... "the man who" ..., it is better to speak of a vowel resulting from the "expanded" bukara-syndrome, since it does not resolve a cluster.
2.3.2.

Sandhi anaptyxis in SaA and ʿAgA is like in group I.

2.3.2.4.

Remarks made for group I hold for SaA and ʿAgA as well, but like in group III a further development has led to restructured morphological base forms like ágrab "watersacks" and ʾistih "winter", ʾihnih "here" (cf. II, 2.3.5.).

2.3.3.1.

Unresolved clusters mentioned for group I are generally tolerated in SaA and ʿAgA as well.

2.3.3.1.1. Like in group I.

2.3.3.3.2.

In SaA only forms without anaptyctics were recorded: ʿindna, ʿindhunm, ʿindha. In ʿAgA the form with the anaptyctic ʿindina "with us" was recorded several times (cf. II, 3.1.16.).

In sandhi the cluster nd+C remains intact in SaA. In ʿAgA no such sandhi clusters were recorded.

2.3.3.3.3.

An exception to the anaptyxis rule in SaA and ʿAgA are the 2nd p. sg. pronominal suffixes (m.) -k and (f.) -k.

When these suffixes are preceded by only one consonant, the resulting cluster is not resolved, e.g. (SaA): ʿilbīk / ʿilbīk "your pack (m./f.)", ragabāṭk / ragabāık "your neck (m./f.)", galāmk / galāmık "your pen (m./f.)", walāḍk / walādık "your son (m./f.)". Comparable ʿAgA forms are: marāṭk "your wife", zalamaṭk "your (f. sg.) man", ʾaḡabāṭk "she pleased you (m. sg.)", ʾaḡābk "he pleased you (f. sg.)", taḥāṭk "under you (m. sg.)", and taḥāṭk "under you (f. sg.)".\(^{691}\)

When more than one consonant precedes, vowel-initial allomorphs are appended\(^{692}\), e.g. (SaA forms) ʿinduk / ʿindik "with you (m./f.)", axtuk / axiik

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691 On the spelling of the m. sg. suffix preceded by one C as -ušk (with the superscript ʰ) cf. remark *3* to II, 3.1.12.2.

692 That these vowels in the -ušk and -išk allomorphs could originally have been anaptyctics as well is an option that cannot be excluded. In any case, since they can be stressed (cf.
"your sister (m./f.)", ḥummuk / ḥummik "your mother (m./f.)", bidduk / biddik "you want (m./f.)", and also minnuṭk / minnink "from you (m./f.)". Comparable forms in ḤAgA are: ḡambuk "beside you", ard̄uk "your (m. sg.) land" / ard̄ik "your (f. sg.) land", and also ḥummuk / ḥummik, axtuk / axtik (cf. II, 3.1.12.2.1.).

2.3.4.1.1.
   Like in group I.

2.3.4.1.2.
   Like in group I.

2.3.4.1.3.
   Like in group I, e.g. in ṢaA and ḤAgA: ʿilibtak "your packet", šuguṭītī "mine", but naxalāwu "his palm tree" (only ṢaA) (for variation -(u)k / -ak of the 2nd p. m. sg. poss. suffix, cf. II, 3.1.12.2.).

2.3.4.2.1.
   Like in group I, word-initial clusters are resolved with i in ṢaA. Proclitic vowels of imperatives are identical with the base vowel, e.g. (ṢaA forms): úguʿdin "sit down! (f. pl.)", and a (at least originally) measure 4 imperative ifsig! "declare! (m. sg.)". Similar forms were recorded in ḤAgA: inzil! "come down!", úgʿud! "sit down!".

2.3.4.2.2.
   Like in group I.

2.3.5.
   Like in group III, the *CICv(C) pattern has been morphologically restructured to become *vCCv(C), but unlike these restructured patterns in group III, the stressed vowel tends to assimilate to the vowel of the base, e.g. (ṢaA and ḤAgA forms): ádrāh "sorghum", árkab "knees", ágrab "watersacks", and áhnih "here", stīth "winter". Additional forms recorded in ṢaA: ábrak "ponds", ángr "pits", áhlīal "cooking pots", ášwān "storage places for grain", although only t̄̄rāh "cover, blanket" was recorded. An additional form in ḤAgA is irsiḥ ̄ "well rope".

examples in remark *3) in II, 3.1.12.2.), they are now to be considered full phonemic vowels.
With *' as the first radical (SaA): ābar "needles", and āwaḍ "rooms". Plurals ending in *-iy (SaA and 'AgA): īrḥiy "hand-mills", īṣiy "sticks", īḥiy "beards" (but īḥa in 'AgA, cf. II, 1.2.4.4.8.).

N.B. For the suffixed preposition la in SaA and 'AgA, cf. II, 3.1.16.

2.4. Elision of short vowels.

The rule described for group I is valid for SaA as well.

2.4.1.

Like in group I.

2.4.2.

Like in group I.

2.4.3.

An example in SaA: ʿārf ifrūʾ ikkalām "I know the meaning of the talk". The rules are applied in the following order: (1) ʿārif + frūʾ → (2) ārif frūʾ → (3) ārif ifrūʾ → (4) ʿārf ifrūʾ, where the cluster ffr is resolved first, after which the high vowel in ārif is dropped.

Another example in SaA is (1) nāhasib + ḥsāb → (2) nāhasib ḥsāb → (3) nāhasib ifṣāb → (4) nāhash tḥsāb "we take into consideration".

An example (from a poetic passage) in 'AgA is: (1) glayyil + yzīd → (2) glayyiLyzid → (3) glayyīl iyzīd → (4) glayyl iyṣīd "little becomes much (i.e. it is too little)".

2.4.4.

An example in SaA: bixāffīfū "he thins it out". No such instances recorded in 'AgA.

2.5. Assimilation.

Instances of regressive total and partial assimilation mentioned in I, 2.5. may occur in SaA and 'AgA as well.

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693 The same plural for "needle" is reported for ğbāliy Arabic (spoken in central south Sinai), cf. NISHIO (1992), p. 16.

694 An older plural of lihyah *liḥiy or *luḥiy is not known to me, but this form is probably related to the pl. for "jawbone" *luḥiyy. N.B. pl. of dalw "pail" is dlāw (SaA, 'AgA), of ginw "date bunch" it is gnāw.
Examples of regressive total assimilation in *SaA* are fewer than in group I, but do occur, albeit almost exclusively with *h* assimilating to preceding *t*, e.g. (*SaA*): fāthiti(h) "her Fāṭihah (i.e. the opening sūrah of the Koran read for her)", rikbitti(h) "her knee", taʿarīffa "you know her". *'AgA* examples: ‘aṣātti(h) "her stick", ‘ammitti(h) "her aunt".

In *SaA* the 3rd p. m. sg. pronominal suffix *-h* optionally assimilates to *š* of the negation, as in e.g. ma rāmēnāššī "we did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma rāmāššī "he did not throw it (m. sg.)", but also ma lēhši "not to him". In *'AgA* ma rāmāššī was recorded.

3. Morphology

3.1.1.1.1.

As mentioned in II, 1.2.3.4.3.2., *a* in open syllable preceding *i* may be raised in the majority of cases, and irrespective of phonetic environment, e.g.: tīmilīh "water-hole", kīṯir "many, much", kībir "big, large", digīg "flour", sīmisn "fat", niḏīf "clean", figīr "poor", ḥīdīḏih "piece of iron", ilʿIrīš "name of the town alʿAriš", šīrīk "partner", gīlīl "little, few".

But also ḥalīf "ally", ḥāṣīḏih "harvest", ḥāḏid "iron", ḥalīb "milk", šāhīh "right", šaṣīr "barley", šaḡīr "small", and sometimes even without the inhibiting factors (mentioned in I, 3.1.1.1.1.) no raising has taken place: dagīg "flour", kaṯīr "many", kābir "big, large", gāḍīm "old", and with *" preceding: aṣīl "thoroughbred" (but also ilīlīl "the thoroughbred"), amination "safe".

Such raising can be concluded to occur optionally in *SaA* and *'AgA*, without being phonetically conditioned. If such raising occurs, the resulting high vowel is not dropped.

3.1.1.1.2.

The raising of *a* in *CaCiy* (*C₃ = y*) is regular enough in *SaA*: gīnīy "rich", šīgīy "wretched", tīriy "dry", bīriy "innocent", innībīy "the Prophet", wīliy "saint", wīlīyīyih "woman", but also forms without such raising were recorded innāby (and the B-form ānnībīy), and xātiyyīyih "(responsibility for) offense"695, radiyyīyih "wickedness".

Only one example was recorded in *'AgA*: 'Iliy "male given name".

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695 As in the phrase xātiyyīyīthā min ṭagabatī fi ṭagabatak "the (responsibility for) her offense(s) (has passed) from my neck onto your neck", uttered by (usually) the father of the bride to the prospective groom.
N.B. SaA and ‘AgA form is yiğiy.

3.1.1.2.

No instances recorded in SaA and ‘AgA, but cf. radiyyih in II, 3.1.1.1.2.

3.1.1.3.

No raising in SaA, e.g.: sakkânih "knife", baṭṭîx "watermelons" (also ‘AgA), baddî: "rhymer of ditties", barṭîl "bribe", kâbrît "matches", barsîm "clover", mandîl "handkerchief", but (i)brîg "jug".

3.1.1.4.

Raising of a in the pattern CaCCâC is regular in SaA and ‘AgA, i.e. the morphologically restuctured base forms are now CîCiCnCâC and CîCiCnCân.

3.1.1.4.1.


Examples in ‘AgA: hîgguînîh "camel riders", birrâd "teapot", gîllâyah "coffee pot (to boil the water)", Subbâh "male given name", and also quadriliteral Buğdâd "Baghdad".

3.1.1.4.2.

Examples of CîCiC2C3ân in SaA: šib’ân "saturated", ġîltân "at fault" (also ‘AgA), zi’ilân "distressed" (also ‘AgA), īryân "naked", yîbsân "dry", wiģ’ân "in pain", Sîlmânîh "name of the village Salmânah", and ġî’tân "thirsty".

N.B. marrât, without raising, was recorded a number of times in SaA.

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696 The context is nîhsâb ihsâb arrîh, ‘ašân ilmiddâd iyâsarrîg "we take the wind into account, so that the furrow goes east". "Furrow" is how it was glossed to me, the furrow being ploughed at a 90 percent angle to the predominant northern wind, i.e. running east-west. It is also possible that the plough-tail is meant here (cf. BEHNSTEDT WOUDIC (1994), pp. 445-6).
3.1.1.5.

Raising of a in CaCâC... occurs regularly in SaA and ‘AgA, but is optional, e.g. (in SaA): šifāyif "lips", bikârig "coffeepots" (also ‘AgA), midâris "schools", ilǦinâyin "name of part of the Gatyah oasis where the Samâ’nah live", Šimâ’nah "name of the tribe Samâ’nah", timânin "eighty", and fuwâkh "fruits", muwâ’in "pots and pans", kumân "also". Additional examples in ‘AgA: ţimâ’ah "group (of people)", šuwârbên "two lips" (a morphological hypercharacterization: a pl. form suffixed with the dual morpheme).

Such raising may remain absent, and notably does so when the inhibiting factors mentioned in I, 3.1.1.5. are present (i.e. it is largely phonetically conditioned), e.g. (SaA) ‘asâh "stick", hawâliy "about", ĥayâh "life", ḍAgâylîh "name of tribe ḍAgâylah" (also ‘AgA), ‘ašân "because" (also ‘AgA), hawâk "you want", xaţâwiy "steps", kalâm "talk" (also ‘AgA), salâm! "greetings!" (also ‘AgA), ‘alâtihih "three" (also ‘AgA), xalaš "that’s it!", marâkîh "boats" (also ‘AgA), šarîr "sparks", marâkîz "(administrative) centers", ašâhić "fingers", aḍâfić "nails", amân Allâh "God’s protection", asâmiy "names", aţâwîd "good men" (also ‘AgA).

Isolated instances like ‘isâh "stick", ‘imâyim "turbans" (SaA) were also recorded.

Examples of non-raising in neutral environments are: zamân "in the old days", layâliy "nights", ġawâz "marriage", banât "girls, daughters".

Like in group I, a verb form baštâwir "I ask advice" will contrast with bištâwir "he asks advice", and basâfir "I travel" contrasts with bisâfir "he travels".

N.B. Raising of a in ‘alâ + suffix was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

3.1.1.6.

Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed a occurs, but only in neutral environments, and such raising is limited in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g.: katâbih (I.P.A. [ke’tâbê]) "I wrote".

3.1.1.7.

The rule described in I, 3.1.1.7. holds for SaA and ‘AgA when A = stressed å, but when A = stressed a such raising occurs much less than in group I, and when it does, it does not go much higher than centralized [e] or [u].
N.B. Like in group I, stress in the syllable following the \(a\) to be raised does not have to be primary, e.g. (SaA): *Misā‘īd "name of tribe Masā‘īd", muwā‘īn "pots and pans", miṣārīf "expenses". ‘AgA examples: fināgīl "coffee cups", dirāhimhin "their (f.) money".

The examples ālḡīmal "the camel", ālḡībal "the desert" are best regarded as B-forms (also since they are stressed on the article, cf. II, 2.1.1.2.2.1.).

3.1.1.8.

Like raising of \(a\) in open syllable preceding stressed \(i\) (cf. II, 3.1.1.1.1.), raising of \(a\) in open syllable preceding stressed \(ū\) occurs, but appears to be optional in these cases as well, e.g. (SaA): gu’ūd "young male camel", ġumūs ~ ġamūs "food dip", but only rasūl "Prophet", ʿarūs "bride", ʿağūz "old woman". ‘AgA examples are: ibīn Suʿūd "male given name", xurūf "goat", but also ʿalūmah "news (item) ", ibīn Saʿūd, rasūl, ʿarūs.

No raising with * preceding (SaA and ‘AgA): axūḥ "his brother", aḥūha "her father", and imperfect verb forms (b)asūf "I see", (b)agūl "I say".

N.B. ā in CāCūC may be shortened, but it is not raised, e.g. (SaA): šabūnih "piece of soap", babūr "tractor", maʿūn "pot, pan" (also ‘AgA), xazūg "dirty trick". In ‘AgA: ‘amūūd "pillar", mazūn "official authorized to perform Muslim marriages".

The reflex of *zaytūn is expected zêtūn in SaA and ‘AgA.

Like in group I, a gaḥawah-vowel in open syllable preceding stressed ā is not raised in SaA, e.g.: maxarūg "pierced", maʿarūf "known", maʿatūb "injured, damaged". No such forms were recorded in ‘AgA.

Verb forms: ẓarabūḥum "they hit them" (SaA), saʿalūhum "they asked them" (‘AgA).

The conclusion for SaA and ‘AgA is that raising in CāCūC is optional (but not very regular), and, although ġumūs and xurūf offer little to go on for any definitive conclusion, this raising does not appear to be inhibited by preceding X.

3.1.1.9.

Forms recorded in SaA are: kibirna "we grew", but also ġūhuz "become ready". In ‘AgA: kibrit "she grew", kibir "he grew" (cf. III, 3.2.1.3.).
3.1.1.10.

The first rule in I, 3.1.1.10 is valid for SaA and 'AgA as well (although no instances of a preceding û being raised to i were recorded), but is optional.

The material for SaA and 'AgA is too limited for conclusions with regard to the second rule described in I, 3.1.1.10.

N.B. The plural for ásad is usúd, and xašm, not áfam is current for "mouth" in SaA and 'AgA.

3.1.2.

Reflexes in SaA and 'AgA include: badw, táhat, fáham, wiñdiñ, wakl, and gi'dd. Additional SaA forms: karš, gáhañ, wiñh, sadr. An additional 'AgA form: kalb.

3.1.3.

Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah) include (SaA): kilmih, kitf (also 'AgA), wiñk (also 'AgA).

3.1.4.

Reflexes of *CiitC2C3(ah) include (SaA and 'AgA): bann (only 'AgA), kíll, amm, axt, and sinnih (only SaA), hinñah, zibdih (only SaA), tur'ah (only SaA), suggah (only SaA, but šigg in 'AgA). Notice here that both amm and axt have initial a in SaA and 'AgA.

3.1.5.

The rule described for group I holds for SaA as well. Exceptions in SaA are: muía'alímnä 'educated (f. pl.)", su'ál "question". Exceptions in 'AgA mu'aggatah "temporary (f. sg.)", musä'dih "support".

Like in group I, i in the forms (e.g.) giğání "neighbours", sığán "thighs", sığán "baking sheets", bihán "doors", kimâwiñ "fertilizer", Balúdah "Balúdah, name of a village" results from shortening of the long vowel in the first syllable (in conformity with I, 1.2.2.4.).

In SaA *bügäz is bgäz "opening in dune ridge connecting the lagoon with open sea".
3.1.6.

Besides lexicalized forms šwayyih, šgayyir, grayyih, kwayyis, etc., we have the forms: šhayyih "meager, scarce", giemât "little pieces", xrëfih "little story", ūwêgih "smaller variety of sorghum", gzelân "name for a type of camel", ūlëtiy "name for a camel in its fourth year".

The following forms all occurred in bidti' rhymes: suggêf "inferior offspring", mxêmât "dirty little tricks", dulêćat "little ribs", bdêwiy "bedouin", hêtëriy "settled individual", ūwëgiy "little stub (said in scorn of a man)", šbayyin (with nunation underlined) "little boy".

3.1.7.

Like in group I, the pattern for colours and physical defects is aC1C2aC3, and when C1 = X, it is dC1aC2aC3. Examples are (SaA and 'AgA): ābyal "white", āzrag "blue", āswad "black", and with the gahawah vowel dhamar "red", āxaḍar "green".

Corresponding f. sg. and c. pl. forms have the patterns C1dC2aC3a(h) (for f. sg., with C1aC2C3a(h) where possible, cf. II, 1.2.4.4.1. and 1.2.4.4.3.1.), and C1uC2C3, e.g.: bēḍa(h), bīḍ, zārga(h), żurg, sōda(h), sūd, ḥāmra(h), ḥunnir, xḍrai(h), xuḍr.

Examples for physical defects (SaA and 'AgA, cf. II, 1.2.3.2.): āgrać "bald", ātraş "deaf", āhawal "cross-eyed", ā'arağ "lame, limping". Corresponding f. sg. forms are gārća(h), tārši(h), hōli(h), ā'argi(h), and c. pl. forms are gūrć, tūrš, hūl, and īrğ (SaA), and īṣdf ('AgA) of which the latter two suggest that the pattern is actually C1JC2C3, with u appearing where there is sufficient backing (cf. remarks made for īṣdf in group I in I, 3.1.7.).

3.1.8.

The elative patterns are like in group I, e.g. (SaA and 'AgA): ākītar "more/most", agāl "less/least", a gahawah-form āhala "tastier/tastiest", and also in SaA (cf. I, 1.1.6., *a'sal > *aysal >) ēsal "more/most thoroughbred, nobler/noblest".

3.1.9.1.

The article in SaA and 'AgA is il- , and the relative pronoun is ilinx. In a limited number of instances al- and alliy were recorded in SaA as well, and even more often in 'AgA.
When the preposition \( \text{f}i \) precedes, the high vowel of the article is dropped\(^{697} \), e.g. \( \text{f}i \text{ l}i\text{'}sh\)i\(\)h "in winter".

3.1.9.2.

In SaA and ‘AgA: \( \text{amn} \), \( \text{axt} \), but \( \text{ihn} \). Plurals in SaA are \( \text{\'}a\text{b}a\text{r} \), \( \text{\'}awad \), but \( \text{us\'ud} \) (also ‘AgA). For initial \( \text{a} \)- in \( ^{*}\text{CICV(C)} \) plurals, such as \( \text{\'}arak\) "knees", cf. II, 2.3.5.

3.1.10.

SaA and ‘AgA differ with respect to the treatment of \( T \) when the gahawah-vowel precedes.

3.1.10.1.

In SaA the feminine suffix in genitive construction becomes \(-\text{at} \) when preceded by \( \text{a} \) in open syllable, and even when this \( \text{a} \) is a gahawah-vowel (in contrast with group I, cf. I, 3.1.10.3.).

The rule for \( T \) in SaA is:

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

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

The \( \text{a} \) resulting from this rule is then not dropped. Examples are: \( \text{ragabat} \) "my neck", \( \text{ragab\'ar\'\k} \) "your neck", \( \text{m\'aratu} \) "his wife", \( \text{gasal\'atha} \) "her twig (given in betrothal ceremonies)"), and with gahawah-vowels \( \text{\'alamat\u00e6} \) "his piece of meat", \( \text{na\'alat\u00e6} \) "your (f. sg.) palm tree", \( \text{la\'gawat\u00e6} \) "our dialect". An example in sandhi: \( \text{m\'arat \'if\'an} \) "so-and-so's wife".

The conclusion for SaA is that the gahawah-syndrome has created full syllables in nominals, which are treated in the exact same way as "historic" \( \text{Ca(C)} \) syllables. The morphological restructuring of nominals is thus complete, and SaA can be said to be a step further in this development than \( \text{DA} \), and two steps further than \( \text{RA} \) and SA (cf. remarks in I, 3.1.10.3.).

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\(^{697} \) That the \( \text{i} \) of the article is dropped, rather than the \( \text{i} \) of the preposition, may be deduced from the fact that when the preposition \( \text{\'a} \) precedes \( \text{\'}il- \), the result is \( \text{\'a} \text{\'}il- \), e.g. \( \text{\'a} \text{\'}s\text{\'ag} \) "on the iron baking sheet".
In 'AgA T-rule 3 of group I (cf. I, 3.1.10.3.) applies, when T is preceded by a gahawah-vowel. The only example available is gāhawti "my coffee" (notice the unstressed poss. suffix).

Where historic a in open syllable precedes, T-rule 4 (described in I, 3.1.10.3.) applies in 'AgA.

T-rule 4: \[ T \rightarrow atC \ldots C_a a C_b + \text{gen.} \]

\( a \neq \text{gahawah-vowel} \)

Examples are: ragabātī "my neck", marātī "my wife", xašabatēn "two pieces of wood", samakatēn "two fishes", sanatēn "two years".

3.1.10.2. If not preceded by a or \( \bar{v} \) in open syllable, T becomes -it in construct state both in SaA and 'AgA. The rule is T-rule 2 given in I, 3.1.10.2.

Like in groups I and III, the high vowel resulting from this rule may be dropped in eligible positions as defined in I, 2.4., or stressed in conformity with rules in II, 2.1.1.

SaA examples: (morphophonemic elision) lēltu "his evening", sukktu "its plough share", nhāytu "its (m. sg.) end", wīltu "his wife", (stressed) ṭayyitha "its (f. sg.) water", rikkīthi(h) (< rikkitha) "her knee".

SaA examples in sandhi are: biš‘it misilmīn "a fire ordeal" for muslims. Not dropped in sandhi as in aḡīnit ilgamh "dough of barley". Dropped in sandhi as in xreft ilbiś’ih "the story of the fire ordeal", gūrbi ilmāyyih "the (water) sack for water".

Examples in 'AgA are: (morphophonemic elision) nāgtu "his she-camel", bagtī ilmāyyah "the rest of the water", šugultī "mine (f., c.)", (stressed) ṭayyitha "her water", rikkīthi(h) "her knee", šuglītk "yours (f., f.)" (For the special cases hūrmūtk "your wife", and šuglūṭk "yours (f., m.)", cf. II, 1.2.3.4.1.)

A sandhi example in 'AgA: guwwit il‘arīs "the power of the groom" (in this case absence of optional sandhi elision).

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698 Cf. fn 50 in the introduction of this study.
3.1.10.3.

For T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a, cf. II, 3.1.10.1.

3.1.10.4.

Like in group I (T-rule in I, 3.1.10.4.), e.g.: šalāt ilīʿāsh "evening prayer" (SaA and 'AgA), mixlāt ilbizir "the sack for seeds" (SaA), ʿašātī "my stick" (‘AgA).

In SaA maʿnāh "its (m. sg.) meaning" was recorded a few times".

3.1.10.5.

In SaA: šāfatu "she saw him", nhāyu "its (m. sg.) end", and salāmtak "greetings to you!". In 'AgA only nāguțu "his she-camel" and nāgtī "my she-camel" were recorded (cf. also II, 3.1.12.2.).

3.1.11.

In SaA and 'AgA the genitive marker is šuğl, šuğlah, šuğlin and šuğlāt. Only two instances with btā', and one with btü' were recorded in SaA. taba' was only recorded once in SaA, and I was told that this is not current.

3.1.12.1.

Personal pronominals in SaA*1) and 'AgA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>He</th>
<th>Hū ( ~ a few times huvwa in both SaA and 'AgA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>Hi (~ a few times hiyya in 'AgA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (m.)</td>
<td>Inta (~ once int) in SaA; inta (~ a few times int) in 'AgA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (f.)</td>
<td>Intiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>Iḥna*3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The negated pronominals are formed with ma ... ʃ in SaA, e.g. ma ḥuṃmāʃ "not they", ma-ḥnāʃ "not we". In 'AgA one instance of māhū "not he" was recorded.
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B. II. A description of Smè‘nîy and ‘Gëliy Arabic.

*2) The form anî must have been coined in analogy to the stressed 1st p. c. sg. suffixes (cf. II, 3.1.12.2.), since raising of final *-â yields -i(h), as in the more regular âni (cf. II, 1.2.4.4.1.).

*3) *aîna was not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

3.1.12.2.

Pronominal suffixes in SaA and ‘AgA:

SG.

3.m. C-u, s-h*1)
3.f. -ha*2)*5)
2.m. CC-u[k, V(C)-uk*3)
2.f. CC-ik, V(C)-k*3)
1.c. C-î, s-y*4) (poss.) / -nî (obj.)

PL.

3.m. -hum*5)
3.f. -hin*5)
2.m. -kum*6) (~ -kuv / kuw in SaA); -kuw in ‘AgA (~ once -kum)
2.f. -kin
1.c. -na*2)

V = v or s

*1) -h may often be inaudible in pause, but is clearly audible in sandhi: yûgab ‘alîh iygûl "he has to say" (SaA) (where h is syllable-initial in sandhi syllabication), and also in ma lêhî "no to him" (SaA). A similar example may be found in ‘AgA: yuṭubxîh iw . . . "they cook it and". For assimilation of h as in SaA ma râmênâssî "we did not throw it (m. sg.)", cf. II, 2.5.

-û following a consonant is a feature of bedouin dialects in the northwest of Sinai (cf. also III, 3.1.12.2.), rather than C-ah /C-ih in the northeast (cf. I, 3.1.12.2.). This suffix C-û is also reported for Ġbâliy Arabic in the central south of Sinai699, as well as for the Šarqiyyah700. It also occurs among the Garârsah of Wâdi Fêrân in southern Sinai (M. Woidich, personal communication).

700 Cf. ABUL FADL (1961), passim, and WOIDICH (1979), passim.
In ‘AgA a number of instances of C-ah /C-ih were recorded in poetic passages, but also in spontaneous speech. C-u appeared in the clear majority of instances, however.

*2) Final -a may be raised to become -i(h), cf. II, 1.2.3.4.3.3.
*3) This velarized and labialized -u'k, and the f. -ik or -k, are also features of a dialect type spoken in the south of Sinai. Similar forms are reported among the Ġbāliyyah (-ok ~ -ku (as it is transcribed there) (m. sg.), and -k ~ -ek (f. sg.)) 701, and forms like ‘alēt'k "on you (m. sg.)" and ‘alēt'kum "on you (m. pl.)" are common among the Ga réalité in Wādi Fērān (M. Woidich, personal communication). 702

This -u'k has to be the result of a back formation of the pl. forms: first the k in masc. pl. *‘alēkum was labialized and velarized → ‘alēt'kum, as opposed to k in fem. pl. ‘alēkin. Then -um and -in, like the verbal suffixes in SaA (e.g. ḍārābihum/ḍārābin "they hit (m./f.")", cf. II, 3.2.1.1.) were interpreted as the pl. morphemes. After k had become stable in this position, it acquired phonemic status in a new symmetric opposition ‘alēt'k - ‘alēk.

Examples are (SaA): (after CC) ‘indōk "with you (m.)", ‘indīk "with you (f.)" (for more examples cf. II, 2.3.3.3.3.), and the high vowel may be stressed as in ma yhimmikši! "don't let it worry you!", and also in ‘AgA ma ṣūftūkš "I did not see you (m.)", ma ṣūftūkš "I did not see you (f.)".

‘AgA examples are: ārdōk "your (m. sg.) land", ārdīk "your (f. sg.) land" (for more examples cf. II, 2.3.3.3.3.).

The SaA examples minnūk "from you (m.)" and minnik "from you (f.)" show that doubling of n takes place before the allomorph is selected.

Examples in SaA following C: ragabāt'hk "your (m.) neck", ragabāthk "your (f.) neck", walād'hk "your (m.) son", walādhk "your (f.) son". In these last two examples the last part of the d is already voiceless (regressive assimilation).

Examples in ‘AgA following C: ḡār'hk "your neighbour", ṣar't'hk "your wife", zalamādi'k "your (f.) man", ragabāt'hk "your neck", ‘asāt'hk "your (m.) stick", ‘asātk "your (f.) stick".

Notice here that the allomorphs following C are vowelless (the superscript u in this case is merely a notational device indicating considerable backing and liprounding), which may be concluded from the fact that stress is drawn onto the vowel immediately preceding the cluster created by the allomorph. The u and i following VC may appear as anaptyctics when sandhi CC C clusters need to

702 BAILEY (1991), map on p. 4, gives the position of the Garāṛšā in Sinai at the beginning of this century. As far as I am aware, they are still found in the same area today.
be resolved, e.g. law middēt ʾidūk b iššmāl "if you stretch your left hand", and ǧawābīk # "your (f.) answer" (both SaA). In two more instances recorded in ‘AgA the anaptyctic is also coloured by its surroundings: ma šufnākuš # "we did not see you (m.)", and ma šufnākiš # "we did not see you (f.)".

When in SaA (m.) -uḵ is preceded by ṣ, a strong off-glide towards [u] is noticeable, while such an off-glide is absent when (f.) -k is suffixed, e.g.: ʿalēḵk "on you (m.)" thus contrasts with ʿalēk "on you (f.)", as does lēḵl "to you (m.)" with lēk "to you (f.)". In the pair ʾaḥūk "your (m.) father" and ʾaḥūk "your (f.) father" the contrast is less obvious, but the ḳ is articulated still noticeably further back than the k. In the ʿAgA example ma sufnaḵuṣ # the ḳ is a back [oː], as opposed to [aː] in ma sufnaḵiš # (instances with preceding high long vowels were not recorded in ʿAgA). The SaA examples ʿarabiyyuṭuk # "your (m.) car" and ʿarabiyyuṭik # "your (f.) car" show similar colouring of the anaptyctic.

Both SaA ʿilibtuk and ʿilibtuḵ "your (m.) packet" were said to be acceptable, but it appears that the former is a secondary development in analogy to ʿilibtak; logically one would expect the latter, comparable to "your (f.) packet" ʿilbīk, which was recorded in SaA as well.

Like in group I, when -i clashes with initial a-, the former is dropped, e.g.: bidd-ařuḥ la zɔmil "I want to go to the comrades", and bidd-aɡiḵum "I want to come to you" (both SaA). In three comparable instances recorded in ʿAgA this did not take place. One of these instances is: biddi aḍbəḥ "I will slaughter".

When -y follows the older dual ending used for body parts, this dual ending has remained diphthongal, e.g. (SaA examples) ḡanayy "my (two) ears", ʿanayy "my (two) eyes", riɡlayy "my (two) legs", and also Ṭdayy "my (two) hands" (not recorded in ʿAgA).

When suffixed to final -iy, an allomorph -yi is used (and rule iy → i applies, cf. I, 2.1.2.3.), e.g.: takṣiyi "my taxi", and takṣāṣiyi "my taxis" (SaA). (In ʿAgA one will hear takṣi (taks is the sg. base form), and pl. takṣiyāti.)

Prepositions suffixed with the 1st p. c. sg. pron. suffix are (SaA): bay, lay, ṣay, miʿāy (but mɨ in ʿAgA), ʿalayya (ʿalāy in ʿAgA) (cf. II, 3.1.16.).

h of these suffixes may assimilate regressively to (mainly) preceding voiceless t, e.g. ma ramēttāš "I did not throw it (f. sg.)" (SaA), riḥbitt(h) "her knee (ʿAgA)" (for more examples cf. II, 2.5.).

When ʿ precedes reciprocal assimilation usually yields hh, as in miḥhum "with them" (both SaA and ʿAgA, cf. II, 2.5.).

The ū in -kuṭ completes the paradigmatic symmetry in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. in SaA. The question of whether this is a survivor of an older *-kuṭ, or
the product of paradigmatic leveling in a later development is difficult to answer, but since -m in the independent pronominal intum was only recorded once, paradigmatic leveling appears more likely (in this respect, cf. also SaA 2nd and 3rd p. pl. verbal endings in II, 3.2.).

As is the case with suffixation of -k in SaA, a prominent off-glade towards [u] is noticeable when long high vowels precede -kum, e.g.: lē'ukum "to them", bitukum "with them" (SaA).

In 'AgA the 2nd p. m. pl. suffix is -kuw / -kuw, which corresponds to verbal endings in 'AgA (cf. II, 3.2.2.).

The pronominal suffixes listed above for the 2nd p. sg. occur regularly in the speech of the older generation, but the younger generations of SaA speakers use:

(SG) 2.m. C-ak, V-k 2.f. C-ik, V-kiy (sometimes C-kiy)

In the dialect of the younger generations we no longer find the -uk or -uk suffixes; they have yielded to C-ak and V-k. The f. suffix -k has yielded to -ik when following a consonant, and to -kiy when following a vowel, and sometimes even -kiy when following a consonant (i.e. like in groups I and III), e.g. axtak, instead of original axtuk for "your (m.) sister", māhfaḍatak, instead of older mahfaḍatuk for "your (m.) wallet", and gālamik instead of older galdmik for "your (f.) pen", and (C-kiy) in 'ilbitkiy "your packet" (all SaA).

This change is presumably the result of dialect contact, but it is unsure which dialect type is the principal originator of this change, as most surrounding dialect types (and also CaA) have the masc. suffix -ak. Based on geographical proximity one would conclude however, that the dialect type of the Axârsah ...
and Biyyādiyyah (i.e. group III) is responsible for effecting this \( ^{-u}k > -ak \) change in SaA. But the problem is that the \( -ik > -ik \) change cannot be attributed to contact with this dialect type, for AxA, BA as well as group I have invariable \(-ki(y)\) in all positions.\(^{706}\)

What appears to be plausible then, is that after the \( -u^k \) suffix had been replaced by \(-ak\) through dialect contact, a new symmetric opposition \(-ak I -ik\), instead of the original \(-k I -k\) opposition, became possible, i.e. an asymmetric opposition \( ^{-ak} I ^{-ik} \) had to make way for the symmetric \(-ak I -ik\) opposition. The fact that \(-ik\) appeared after \( CC\), as in \( axtik \) "your (f.) sister", \( râglîk \) "your (f.) man", and that \( CaA\)\(^{708}\) has the same opposition \(-ak I -ik\), could only have contributed to this development. Thus \(-ik\) could become stabilized as the new 2nd p. f. sg. suffix when following a consonant.

Besides pronominal suffix \(-kun\), \(-kuw ~ -kuw\) too may be heard in SaA, but irrespective of whether the suffix appears in sandhi or in pause. The variation is presumably due to koineizing influences of group III or I (cf. remarks on 2nd and 3rd p. verbal endings in II, 3.2.1.).

The 2nd p. m. sg. suffixes listed above for \( 'AgaA\) listed may still be heard, but just as regular is the new set:

\[
\text{(SG)} 2.m. C-ak, \bar{v}-k.\]

\(^{706}\) Although, in the village of \( asSama'na\) in the Delta the suffix \(-ik\) when following a consonant appears in the text of ABUL FADL (1961), p. 134: \( 'aljâh yixrib bêtik ya ba'ida! \) (my transcription), and \(-ki\) when following a vowel, cf. ibid. p. 133: \( middiki\). I assume that \( yixrib bêtik \) "may He destroy your house" is too much of a koinized expression (this phrase may be heard throughout Egypt) to draw any definitive conclusions here. Generally we have invariable \(-ki\) in the eastern \( Sârqiyyah\) as well, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 152.

The other possibility of \( BaA\), where we have an older \( CC-ik\) as well (cf. I, 3.1.12.2.2.), contributing to this change appears less likely; only two or three Balawiy families are reported to be living near \( Gâiyah\) (in an area called \( izZuhûr,\) south of \( il'Ganâyin,\) on the southern border of the \( Gâiyah\) oasis) (oral information from sources in the field), and the territory of \( Biliy\) does not border on \( Sâmî'niy\) territory (cf. the second map on p. 1 in the appendix).

\(^{707}\) That \( i\) in \( CC-ik\) was originally an anaptyctic, as well as \( u\) in \( CC-uk\), is a possibility that cannot be excluded. These would then have appeared in \( CC_C C\) (including \( CC_C #\)) clusters as anaptyctics, after which they became stable high vowels, so that they could appear as such in \( CC_CV\) as well.

\(^{708}\) The youngest generation is increasingly being exposed to \( CaA\), mainly in primary schools where teachers are often speakers of \( CaA\). Furthermore, it should be noted that many members of the northwestern tribes (who are now in their mid thirties and forties) of Sinai spent a considerable number of years in Egypt proper during the Israeli occupation, and often received an education there.
The new -ak suffix, as opposed to the original -u kad suffix, is no longer vowelless, which may be concluded from the fact that it does not affect stress or syllabication in the examples: mág'adak (not something like mag'ada kn) "your circle of men", gahawitak (not something like gahawitak) "your coffee". Furthermore, there are full vowels in the examples rásak # "your head", góla # "your words (i.e. what you say)".

Although velarization may accompany the -ak suffix in other dialects as well, it is a much more stable and more prominent feature in the ‘AgA suffix -ak. This new suffix therefore appears to be an interdialect form; the vowel a has its origin in one of the contact dialects, while prominent velarization (as in the phoneme /k/) originated in ‘AgA itself. The resulting form -ak is thus new and unique as it did not appear in any of the dialects involved in the contact. The 2nd p. f. sg. suffix preceded by one C or V was not recorded in ‘AgA, but if paradigmatic symmetry is anything to go by, one would expect *C-ik, and either *V-k or *V-kiy (i.e. the latter like in the new set in SaA).

3.1.13.1. Demonstratives recorded in SaA and ‘AgA:

Near deixis in SaA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>háda</td>
<td>c. hódal (-lah) ~ högal (-lah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hádiy</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In SaA, for near deixis (m. sg.) dah / dih, (f. sg.) diy (without interdentals!) may often be heard, and twice (c. pl.) dól (with interdental!) was recorded.710

709 The only dialect near with similar original velarization is SaA. Since SaA has gone through a comparable development with regard to the 2nd p. sg. suffixes (i.e. the original suffixes have yielded to a new set as well, cf. remarks made above), possible dialect contact of ‘AgA and SaA does not seem a plausible option to account for the prominent and stable velarization in the new ‘AgA suffix (indeed, such velarization is not obvious in the new SaA -ak suffix).

710 These forms may be the result of dialect contact with group I, where we have the same sg. forms without interdentals. The interdental in the pl. may have been preserved because group I also has the phoneme q, albeit not in demonstratives (cf. III, 3.1.13.1.). Cf. also III,
B. II. A description of Smē'niy and 'Gēliy Arabic.

Near deixis in 'AgA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>c. hādūl – hādallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hādiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 'AgA m. sg. dah / dih was recorded a number of times, and the c. pl. dūl (like in SaA, with the interdental) was said to occur as well. A f. sg. *diy was not recorded. Once ilkalb ha # "this dog (in reference to a despised individual)" was recorded.

Far deixis in SaA:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hādāk</td>
<td>c. hōdallāk – hōdallāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hādīkīh</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis in 'AgA:

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>hādāk</td>
<td>c. (hā)dallāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>hādīk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both SaA and 'AgA non-final l of the pl. is doubled like in group I.

3.1.13.2.

Examples recorded in SaA: halbē'ah "this sale (used in reference to a bride)", and adverbially in widdna nitrayyah hattālīh "we need to (or shall) rest this evening".

Comparable to the example in BA (cf. III, 3.1.13.2.) one SaA instance occurred in which ha- was used to address persons unknown to the listener, but present in the mind of the speaker: ġum, intuwa 'ārfīn yā haṛrabi' "they have come, you know (this) oh men".

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711 Cf. fn 461 to I, 3.1.13.1.
712 ṭab' is a "group of men", cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, p. 255.
B. II. A description of Smê’niy and ‘Gêliy Arabic.

In SaA halwagt(iy) ~ halhin(iy) (~ ilhin) are current for "now", the former of which could be a hybrid form of the latter and dilwagt, which was recorded once.

In ‘AgA only halhin (~ ilhin) "now" was recorded (but cf. also remark to near deixis in ‘AgA in II, 3.1.13.1.).

3.1.14.


* Like in RA and SA of group I (cf. I, 3.1.14.), ēṣ tends to be used sentence-initial, while ēh usually appears sentence-final in SaA. This is also true for ‘AgA, but the difference is less clear-cut.

’alām + suffix was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

3.1.15.1.

Adverbs in SaA:
1) hnâk (~ once elicited hnuh), 2) ġâd (~ once ġadiy)*, 3) ihnih (~ few times K-form hîna), 4) kîdîh ~ K-form kidal/kîdîh (~ once kidahû), 5) halhîn (~iy) (~ ilhîn) ~ halwagt (~iy) (~ twice dilwagtiy), 6) iissâ (~ once lissa in the meaning of "not yet"), 7) minnu, 8) ‘úgubha was not recorded in SaA, 9) ba’dên ~ ba’dên.

* ġâd was also recorded meaning "aside" or "out of the way", i.e. not necessarily far away, as in iw minnu thîṭṭha ġâd bardû, fi ñišamis bardû. "and after that you lay it aside as well, in the sun as well", and (in combination with ‘a ġâl) binkawwmu ‘a ġâl ġâd "we store it in heaps out of our way".

Adverbs in ‘AgA:
1) hnâk (~ once hänîk), 2) ġâd, 3) ihnih (~ few times hâna, and K-form hînih), 4) (only) kîdîh, 5) halhîn (~ ilhîn), 6) not recorded, 7) minnu (~ twice minnih), 8) ‘úgubha was not recorded in ‘AgA, 9) ba’dên.
3.1.15.2.1.

One example (in an incomplete sentence) recorded in SaA: ma humna lhîn xâfat inkân iygûl xôf Allâh inkân sanah wall-aktar wall-agall... "They were now afraid, if like perhaps... if after a year or more... or less..." (the reference is to female relatives held in captivity by an enemy tribe; anything might have happened while they were held). No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

3.1.15.2.2.

An example in SaA, where kûd clearly refers to an undesired possibility: biziri bizirih. kûd hâgah tisût gasbin, ya'ni kêf fi leh? fi lbûg illi taww bitgûl 'annu-nta "(sowing) the seeds one at a time; (to avoid that) perhaps something might slip through in spite (of me), like how... in the what? In the funnel you just mentioned." No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

3.1.15.3.

b ilhêl was recorded once in SaA, but here in its original sense of "strong, in great strength": ani ssâ'... b ilhêl. la şâh lay ilgawâz gêr agatî' gîl "I am still in great strength. Marrying is not the right thing for me unless I skip a generation". No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

3.1.15.4.

bišwêš was not recorded in SaA and 'AgA.

3.1.15.5.

In SaA min xôf was recorded elliptically in: bînhûthi... 'a Ijariš... fi lmašârrah, min xôf ilhawa "we put it... on the cloth... in the mašârrah" to keep it out of the wind". No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

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713 A mašârrah is an unroofed construction built of ġirîd in which harvested dates are spread out in the sun to dry for about three days. Cf. mišarr or mašarr in LANE (1872), part 4, p. 1525.
3.1.16.

Prepositions in SaA (where similar paradigms are reported for 'AgA in the remarks below, SaA -kum should be substituted with -kuw / -kuw for 'AgA, cf. II, 3.1.12.2.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+,*1)</th>
<th>'ala+,*3)</th>
<th>min+,*4)</th>
<th>war+,*5)</th>
<th>'ind+,*6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>lēh</td>
<td>'alēh</td>
<td>minnu</td>
<td>warāh</td>
<td>'indu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>lēha</td>
<td>'alēha</td>
<td>minha</td>
<td>warāha</td>
<td>'indha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>lēºk</td>
<td>'alēºk</td>
<td>minnuk</td>
<td>warāk</td>
<td>'indk</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>'alēk</td>
<td>minnik</td>
<td>warāk</td>
<td>'indk</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>lay*2)</td>
<td>'alāy(ya)</td>
<td>minni</td>
<td>warāy</td>
<td>'indi</td>
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<td>PL.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>lēhum</td>
<td>'alēhum</td>
<td>minhum</td>
<td>warāhum</td>
<td>'indhum</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>lēhin</td>
<td>'alēhin</td>
<td>minhin</td>
<td>warāhin</td>
<td>'indhin</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>lēºkum</td>
<td>'alēºkum</td>
<td>minkum</td>
<td>warākum</td>
<td>'indkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>lēkin</td>
<td>'alēkin</td>
<td>minkin</td>
<td>warākin</td>
<td>'indkin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>'alēna</td>
<td>minna</td>
<td>warāna</td>
<td>'indna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Other independent forms occurred in SaA as well, e.g. álhum, álha. These were not nearly as regular as the forms given above, however. The same is true for 'AgA.

Recorded enclitically suffixed forms in SaA are: (older generation) ruhtluk "I went (lit.) for you", tug'udluk "you stay for yourself" (both ethical datives, cf. I, 4.14.3.), (younger generation) hagüllak "I'll tell you". It must be observed however, that enclitic suffixing of the verb gāl, ygūl with l+ is not very regular in SaA; much more frequently one will hear gāl lēh "he said to him", etc. The same is true for 'AgA.

The unsuffixed preposition "for" is usually la in SaA and 'AgA, as in ġum la mag'ad "they came to a circle of men". The independent preposition "with" is usually b in SaA and 'AgA, as in gahl il'irs ib lēlh "one night before the wedding".

A similar paradigm for b+ in SaA and 'AgA (although once biha in 'AgA). An example of enclitically suffixed b+: marrhabābkum! "welcome to you (m. pl.)!" (SaA) (no enclitic suffixing of b+ recorded in 'AgA).
The same paradigm for fi+ in SaA and ‘AgA, but with i instead of e, and no enclitically suffixed forms.

*2) In SaA the 1st p. c. g. was always li in the phrase sallêt li ‘a nnábiy? "have you blessed the Prophet for me?".

*3) The same paradigm in ‘AgA. The independent forms ‘ala and ‘a occur, e.g. biittsgu lêhun ‘a yôm "they agree on a (certain) day" (SaA), and yuṭlub ‘a gadd ma yuṭlub "he asks as much as he can ask" (‘AgA).

Raising of final -a in ‘ala was not heard in SaA and ‘AgA.

*4) Notice that in the 2nd p. m. and f. sg. the n is doubled in SaA, cf. remark *3 in III, 3.1.12.2. This form was not recorded in ‘AgA, but similar doubling occurred in ‘AgA minñe, minnu (~ minnih), minnak. An additional form recorded in ‘AgA is minhum.

In sandhi both the unsuffixed forms min and mn were recorded in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g. igtb ilhaltb imn ilganam "you get the milk from the goats", gôtar min ‘ihnih "he went away from here". The independent form is then min, while mn may appear through (optional) sandhi syllabication (cf. I, 2.3.2.3.).

*5) The preposition wara+ was not recorded in ‘AgA.

*6) When the preposition ‘ind is followed by a consonant-initial suffix, it has an anaptyctic in ‘AgA, as in ‘indina, but not in SaA, where we have forms like ‘indhum, ‘inda, etc.

The preposition mi‘+ has a very mixed paradigm in SaA, and several forms may occur side by side. Recorded were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>mi‘āh</td>
<td>mi‘hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>mi‘ha</td>
<td>~ mi‘āha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>mi‘uk</td>
<td>~ mi‘ák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>mi‘k</td>
<td>~ mi‘akiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>mi‘alay</td>
<td>~ mi‘ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms in column (1) are presumably the original SaA forms. The forms in column (2) have come into use under influence of group I dialects, and the forms in column (3) have become current under the influence of the group III dialect-type.
The initial h- of the suffix will usually reciprocally assimilate with the preceding ' to become hh: mihha, mihhum, mi'hin.

Forms recorded in ‘AgA are: (sg.) im'u (!), mi'hu, mi’uk, mi'k, mi'i, (and pl.), mi'hum, mi'hin, mi'kuw, mi'kin, mi'na. (cf. forms current in RA and SA in I, 3.1.16. where the high vowel of this preposition may be dropped in eligible positions as well).

The preposition fôg+ "above" has the SaA and ‘AgA paradigm: (sg.) fôgu, fôgha, fôg'k, fôgk, fôgî, (pl.) fôghum, fôghin, fôgkum, fôgkin, fôgna, but forms with consonant-initial suffixes which include i were also recorded in SaA, as in (younger generation) fôgîhin, fôgîna, etc.

Like in group I, the CA preposition *‘an is ‘in in SaA and ‘AgA, and the n is doubled when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, e.g. bingul ‘innu ... "we call it ...".

3.1.17.1.

Recorded in SaA and ‘AgA:
1. wâhid (~ few times wâhad) (m.)/wi’hadh (~ once wâhadah in SaA) (f.), 2. tînêm (m.)/tîntên (f.)714 (the latter not recorded in ‘AgA), 3. talatâh (tâlat (~ once tâlat in ‘AgA, cf. tâlat t-iftûs in AA, in I, 3.1.17.1.), 4. arba‘ah {árba’i}, 5. xamsah (xams), 6. sittah {sitt}, 7. sab’ah {sab’}, 8. tâmânah { tôman}, 9. tis’ah {tis’}, 10. ‘dârarah {‘dâr‘}.

Raising of -ah occurs in conformity with II, 1.2.3.4.3.3.

Measures like in group I, e.g.: talatâh mitr "three metres". Cardinal + pl. noun with reference to measures was not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

Recorded plurals with proclitic t- in SaA: ‘dârarah t-âlûf "three thousand", xams t-tîshihur "five months", tâlat t-iyyâm "three days", and xams t-irğal "five men", the latter example must reflect a base form rğal (an older hamzah-initial pl. *arğal is not known to me), which is treated like a C1C2aC3 reflex of *aC1C2aC3 in analogy to a pl. like nfîr "persons" (< *‘anfâr). Thus also quite regularly arba‘ t-infâr "four persons".

In ‘AgA: tâlat t-iyyâm "three days", sabi‘ t-âlûf "seven thousand", ‘aşâra(h) t-iyyâm (!, cf. BaA xamsa(h) t-iyyâm in I, 3.1.17.1.).

714 Cf. fn 501 to I, 3.1.17.
Monetary units with numbers 3-10 were not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

Months are referred to like in group I, e.g.: šahr ītnēn "February" (SaA), and šahr iḥdāšir "November" (‘AgA).

3.1.17.2.
Recorded in SaA and ‘AgA: awwal(-āniy), and ṭāniy.

3.1.17.3.
Recorded in SaA: (i)nāšir "twelve", but also ṭamāntāš "eighteen". In ‘AgA both forms ending in -āšir, as well as in -ā'iš occur, e.g.: iḥdāšir, xamistāšir, and iḥdā'iš, iṭnā'iš (without interdental), arba'tā'iš, xamistā'iš, ṭamāntā'iš. The forms in -āšir occur when the counted noun follows, but may also be used independently.

Tens: ʿišrīn "twenty", ṭalāṭīn "thirty", xamsīn "fifty", sabʿīn "seventy", ṭamānīn "eighty" (SaA and ‘AgA).

Hundreds in SaA and ‘AgA: miyyīh (in construction mit) "hundred", ṭultīmiyyīh "three hundred", ṭubīʿmiyyīh "four hundred", xumīsmiyyīh "five hundred". In ‘AgA forms like ṭalāṭmiyyīh "three hundred", arbaʿmiyyīh "four hundred", xamīsmiyyīh "five hundred", ṭamānmiyyīh "eight hundred" were also elicited.

Thousands in SaA and ‘AgA: alf "thousand", alfaren "two thousand", ṭalat t-âlāf "three thousand", ʿaṣar t-âlāf "ten thousand".

3.1.18.
The dual is formed by appending -ēn to the sg. noun, e.g.: dānēn "ears" (a pseudodual) (SaA and ‘AgA), yruudd ṭīssāʿ ṣaʿēn "he brings double retaliation" (SaA), giršēn "two piastres" (SaA), wāṣṭēn "two middle poles (in a tent)". After T: rikibtēn "two knees" (SaA and ‘AgA), lēlētēn "two evenings", ʿaṣāyītēn "two sticks" (SaA), samakatēn "to fish" (SaA and ‘AgA), sanatēn "two years" (SaA and ‘AgA).
Duals of body parts recorded in SaA: ʾidēn "hands", ʾidēh "his hands", ʾidayy "my hands", riṭlēn "legs", riṭlēwɔk "your legs", riṭlēwɔkun "your legs", riṭlayy "my legs", ḏānēn "ears", ḏānēh "his ears", ḏānayy "my ears".

In ʿAgA: ḏānēn "ears", ʿenēn "eyes", rikibtên "two knees", ʾidēn "hands", and ʾsuwārbên (the last of which is a morphological hypercharacterization; a broken pl. (ʾsawārib) is suffixed with the dual suffix).

3.2. Verbal morphology.

Although my material for SaA contains some contradictory information, I have allowed myself to make generalizations without omitting the facts that contradict these generalizations.

In my opinion, the reason is that this contradictory information reflects the development SaA is going through: from a dialect-type originally spoken in southern Sinai (the ʾṬur area), it is now developing towards a type-already spoken in the north, partly through dialect contact with other dialect types spoken there (ʿAgA and groups I and III), and partly through education, the media and increased mobility, whereby the younger generations are being exposed to CaA as well.

The result of this development is that several forms exist side by side (sometimes even in the speech of one speaker, but more often the different forms can be assigned to different generations), often originally from the different dialects involved in the dialect contact, but sometimes new and unique forms have developed. These new forms occupy an intermediate position as "compromise" forms, so to speak, between the different forms of the different dialects (i.e. "interdialect" forms).

To predict the path this development will follow is of course risky, as influencing future factors are as yet unknown, but indications are that SaA is developing towards the group III type. This type is itself already a dialect type considerably influenced by a sedentary dialect type spoken in the Egyptian Nile Delta. An important indication is the absence of interdentals /XML/ and /XML/ in the speech of the youngest generation (cf. remarks in III, 1.1.2.).

We shall see that ʿAgA verbal morphology strongly resembles that of group I, and that SaA verbal morphology has some important characteristics not shared by any of the surrounding dialects.
3.2.1.1.

Like in RA, SA and BaA of group I, the two underlying perfect patterns for measure 1 in SaA and ‘AgA are $C_1aC_2iC_3$ and $C_1aC_2aC_3$. The high vowel $i$ of the first syllable in the surface base of the former ($C_1iC_2iC_3$) is not dropped in conformity with II, 2.4., and is therefore considered to be "underlying" $i$al. It does not however "reappear" in closed syllables.

perf. "drink" in SaA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širbum*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>širbin*2),*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>širibət</td>
<td>širbitum*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>širibtiy</td>
<td>širibtin*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>širibti</td>
<td>širibna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

perf. "write" in SaA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>katab</td>
<td>katabum*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>katabat</td>
<td>katabin*2),*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>katabt</td>
<td>katabum*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>katābtiy</td>
<td>katābtin*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>katābt</td>
<td>katābna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice the endings in -$m$ in both 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. in SaA (in contrast with groups I, III and IV). There is some contradiction in my material as to the vowel preceding the $m$ in the $C_1aC_2aC_3$-type perfect: I have elicited -$am$, as in katabam "they wrote", gá’adam "they sat down" but in spontaneous speech I have only recorded -$um$, as in sākanum. I have also elicited katabum, which is what has been generalized here (on the endings -$an$ and -$am$, cf. remark below in II, 3.2.1.2.).

When suffixed, these endings are $ū$, and the $m$ is absent in SaA, e.g. katabûh "they wrote it (m. sg.), sa’alûhin "they asked them (f.)", and also for $C_1iC_2iC_3$-type ma širbūs "they did not drink".

*2) Notice that the vowel in the 3rd p. f. pl. does not harmonize with the base vowel. The same problem presented itself with respect to the vowel preceding $n$ in the $C_1aC_2aC_3$-type: direct elicitation yielded -$an$ and -$in$, but spontaneous speech only showed -$in$, which is what I have generalized here (on the endings -$an$ and -$am$, cf. remark below in II, 3.2.1.2.).

*3) $n$ of the f. pl. ending is doubled when suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, e.g. širbinnu "they (f. pl.) drank it".

In ‘AgA the verbal endings are those listed for RA, SA and BaA in I, 3.2.1.1. Stress in ‘AgA forms is in conformity with II, 2.1.1., e.g.: katabaw "they (m.) wrote", kātaban "they (f.) wrote" (notice also the harmonized vowels in these endings).
Like in group I and SaA, the \( i \) of the first syllable in the \( i \)-type perfect is never dropped, and is therefore considered to be "underlying" \( lal \). And like in SaA, this \( lal \) does not reappear in closed syllables, e.g.: \( \text{širibt} "I \text{ drank}, \text{širbit} "she \text{ drank}".

Raising of \( a \) in pre-stress syllables in the \( C_1aC_2aC_3 \) perfect is limited, and certainly not as high as in groups I or IV (cf. relevant chapters, 3.1.1.6.).

3.2.1.2.

The basic measure 1 imperfect patterns in SaA and ‘AgA are like in group I \( yaC_1C_2aC_3 \), \( yuC_1C_2uC_3 \), and \( yiC_1C_2iC_3 \), with harmonized vowels of the imperfect prefix. We have the following conjugations in SaA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperf.</th>
<th>&quot;drink&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;write&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. ( yāšraḥ*1) \</td>
<td>( yāšraḥum*2) \</td>
<td>( yūg'ud \</td>
<td>( yūg'u'dum*2) \</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. ( tāšraḥ \</td>
<td>( tāšraḥum*2) \</td>
<td>( tūg'ud \</td>
<td>( tūg'u'dum*2) \</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. ( tāšraḥ \</td>
<td>( tāšraḥum*2) \</td>
<td>( tūg'ud \</td>
<td>( tūg'u'dum*2) \</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. ( tāšraḥiy \</td>
<td>( tāšraḥin*2) \</td>
<td>( tūg'u'diy \</td>
<td>( tūg'u'din*3) \</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. ( dāšraḥ \</td>
<td>( dāšraḥ \</td>
<td>( dūg'ud \</td>
<td>( dūg'u'dum*2) \</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) For a remark on the vowel in the prefixes, cf. below (in this paragraph).
*2) Notice the presence of \( m \) in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. Again, there is some contradictory material on the vowel in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. of the \( yaC_1C_2aC_3 \)-type: I have several elicited instances of -\( am \) and -\( an \), but in spontaneous texts I only recorded -\( um \) and -\( in \).

When suffixed, the \( m \) disappears, and the \( u \) is lengthened, e.g. \( tūtulbūh "you (m. pl.) demand it (m. sg.)". \n
*3) Like in the perfect, the -\( n \) of the f. pl. imperfect ending is doubled when suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, e.g. \( tūṭulbīnū "you (f. pl.) demand it". \n
In ‘AgA the imperfect forms of the \( a \)-type, \( u \)-type and \( i \)-type are identical with the forms reported for group I in I, 3.2.1.2.
B. II. A description of Smē'niy and 'Gēliy Arabic.

Imperfect "plough"*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yāhariṭ</td>
<td>yāḥarītum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tāhariṭ</td>
<td>tāḥarītum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tāhariṭ</td>
<td>tāḥarītum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tāharṭiy</td>
<td>tāḥartīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>āharīt</td>
<td>nāḥarīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms of measure 1 verbs with $C_1 = X$ and $C_3 = L$: yāgāzlin ~ yīgīzlin "they (f.) weave", but also with $C_3 \neq L$: tīḥlīf yīmīn "you swear" (cf. also II, 2.2.2.).

In 'AgA the imperfect forms of verbs with $C_1 = X$ are like those reported for RA and SA of group I in I, 3.2.1.2. Measure 1 verbs of the *yaCiC imperfect type, where $C_1 = X$, but $C_3 = $ liquid with a conjugation like yiktib, have also been recorded in 'AgA, but also verbs with $C_1 = X$ and $C_3 \neq $ liquid (cf. examples in II, 2.2.2.).

N.B. Although the forms with $m$ are undoubtedly the original SaA forms, it should be noted that they occurred exclusively in the speech of the older generation, and then mainly in sandhi, while the -uw ending in their speech occurred predominantly in pause.

Younger SaA speakers used -uw in sandhi and in pause (compare -uw in 'AgA, and -u in group III, cf. III, 3.2.1.). During direct elicitation they even used -aw in the a-type perfect and the a-type imperfect, also in sandhi and in pause, i.e. like forms in 'AgA and group I (cf. I, 3.2.1.). (cf. also remarks made on the variation of SaA pronominal suffixes -kum and -kuw ~ -kuw in II, 3.1.12.2.).

The SaA ending -am in the a-type perfect (mentioned in II, 3.2.1.1.) and in the a-type imperfect mentioned above may be interpreted as an "interdialect form", i.e. a new and unique form resulting from dialect contact, which did not occur in that particular shape in any of the dialects involved in the contact.

In this case the $m$ originated from SaA -um, while vowel harmony in the verbal ending (yielding $a$ in the a-type imperfects and perfects) originated in group I, so that -um could become -am.

---

The ending -an is likely to be a straight loan from 'AgA or group I (since group III has invariable -in, cf. III, 3.2.1.), and its presence must have been instrumental in the creation of the new -am ending in a process of paradigmatic leveling.716

This scenario of dialect contact is one, but on the other hand, another scenario is that the -am ending originated in the tertiae infirmae verbs, e.g. ramam "they threw" (cf. also remarks in II, 3.2.2.5.1.), from which it may have spread to other verbs.

Another aspect of the ongoing development in SaA is the changing of the harmonized vowel a in the imperfect prefix of the a-type imperfect, which is yielding to i, also when stressed (i.e. like in AxA, cf. III, 3.2.1.). Thus the older speakers will quite consistently say yaftah "he opens" and yâftahum "they open" but among younger speakers yifțah and yifțahuw is not uncommon. In 'AgA the same was observed, e.g. yisʿal and yiṣrab.

3.2.1.3.

For forms recorded in SaA cf. II, 3.1.1.9.: kibirna "we grew", but also gihuz "become ready". The latter example is again little to go on, but the raising of a described in I, 3.1.1.9. may have taken place, assuming that stress was originally on the second syllable in *gahuz (cf. also II, 2.1.1.2.1.5.). In 'AgA only kibir and kibrit were recorded.

3.2.1.4.

Forms of act. participles in SaA and 'AgA are like in group I.

N.B. In one instance 'ayıztāha "she wants them (f. sg.)" was recorded in 'AgA, which is a peculiar hybrid form showing the lengthening of the vowel as in more sedentary 'ayzāha, and the t (of T) as in more bedouin 'āyzitha or 'āwzitha. No instances were recorded in SaA.

716 Although -am and -an were only recorded during direct elicitation, and they do not seem to be current in spontaneous speech, they appeared relevant enough to be mentioned here; even if the informant in question made everything up, he did follow a logical path of reasoning, and it is exactly such reasoning that led to the -um endings of the 3rd p. pl..
3.2.1.5.

Imperatives of measure 1 in SaA are: āṣrab, āṣrabiy, āṣrabum, āṣrabin "drink!", ūg‘ud, ūgu‘diy, ūgu‘dum, ūgu‘din "sit down!", īktib, īkitbiy, īkitbum, īkitbin "write".

It must be noted that these were recorded through direct elicitation, and vowel harmony in the f. sg. and m. and f. pl. endings in the a-type was then regular. I have, however, generalized the imperfect endings -i(y), -um and -in for the imperative (cf. remarks in II, 3.2.1.1. and II, 3.2.1.2.).

To add to confusion: forms such as ās‘alum "ask! (m. pl.)" were recorded in spontaneous speech.

Imperative forms in ‘AgA are like in group I: āṣrab, āṣrapay, āṣrahaw, āṣrahun (i.e. like in the imperfect with the harmonized preformative); ūg‘ud, ūgu‘diy, ūgu‘dum, ūgu‘din; īktib, īkitbiy, īkitbum, īkitbin.

3.2.2.1.

Imperfect forms recorded in SaA all show monophthongized ō (cf. II, 1.2.4.1.): wiṣil, yōsal "arrive", wazan, yōzin "weigh", warad, yōrid "go to a water source", wagad, yōgid "light (a fire)", and also tōlād "she gives birth", but there is ū in the CA loan yūgāb ‘āleh "he should".

Two primae wāw verbs in ‘AgA are: wigif, yōgaf "stand", and warad, yōrid.

These forms also corroborate the earlier conclusion that vowel harmony in the imperfect prefixes is relatively recent when compared to monophthongization (cf. I, 3.2.2.1.).

Imperatives in ‘AgA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>&quot;Pay attention&quot;</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>&quot;Get water&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>&quot;pay attention&quot;</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>&quot;get water&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>āw‘a</td>
<td>āw‘am</td>
<td>órid</td>
<td>órid</td>
<td>órdum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>āw‘ay</td>
<td>āw‘an</td>
<td>órdiy</td>
<td>órdin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

717 The conclusion that the imperfect endings are the same as the endings for the imperative forms is drawn from the fact that in other dialects, as far as I am aware, this is always the case (although dialects that have -ūn and -īn imperfect endings normally have imperative endings -u(w) and -i(y) respectively. DA is an example of this, cf. IV, 3.2.1.2. and 3.2.1.5.).
B. II. A description of Smē'niy and 'Géliy Arabic.

Other imperatives:

In SaA: ágaf, ágafi, ágafum, ágafín.

Primae wāw imperatives were not recorded in 'AgA.

Active participles in SaA and 'AgA: wāgif, wāgfaḥ, wāgfin, wāgfāt.

Passive participles in SaA and 'AgA: mawḡūd, mawḡūdah, mawḡūdin, mawḡūdāt.

3.2.2.2. A primae yā verb recorded in SaA and 'AgA: yībīs, yēbas.

3.2.2.3. Primae hamzah verbs have the following conjugation in SaA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. xad</td>
<td>xādum*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. xādat</td>
<td>xādin*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. xadt</td>
<td>xāditum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. xādtiy</td>
<td>xādtın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. xadt</td>
<td>xādna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'AgA conjugation is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. xad</td>
<td>xādaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. xādat</td>
<td>xādan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. xadt</td>
<td>xādతu w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. xadtiy</td>
<td>xādతın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. xadt</td>
<td>xādna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperatives had several forms in SaA. Direct elicitation yielded xuḏ, xūḏiy, xūḏum, xūḏın (and similar imperatives for kal, yākul), but also kul, kliy, klan, klaw. In spontaneous texts however, I recorded īxuḏiya bint! "take, girl!"
B. II. A description of Smē'niy and 'Gēliy Arabic.

and ükluw ya rğä! "eat, men!", so that the original forms are presumably kul (or perhaps ükul\textsuperscript{718}), ükliy, üklum, and üklin (Cf. also remarks in I, 3.2.2.3.).

Imperatives in 'AgA are: kul!, ükliy!, ükluw!, üklín!

Active participles in SaA and 'AgA: mâkil, mâklah, mâklín, mâklât. Passive participles were not recorded in SaA and 'AgA.

"Eating" and "food" is wakl in both SaA and 'AgA.

3.2.2.4.1. "say" in SaA\textsuperscript{719}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Perfect SG</th>
<th>Perfect PL</th>
<th>Imperfect SG</th>
<th>Imperfect PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>gâlum*</td>
<td>ygül</td>
<td>ygûlum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>gâlaî</td>
<td>gâlin*</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
<td>ygûlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gultum</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
<td>tgûlum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>gultiy</td>
<td>gultin</td>
<td>tgûliy</td>
<td>tgûlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gulna</td>
<td>agûl</td>
<td>ngûl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The problem of whether the endings are -an and -am, or -in and -um arose again because of the contradictory information (cf. remarks in II, 3.2.1.2.); direct elicitation yielded šâlan, šâlam etc., while forms like šâdinni(h) # "they (f.) hunted us", šâlin "they (f.) carried", ŧâbum "they brought", and šâfum "they saw" appeared in spontaneous texts. These latter forms have been generalized here.

The 'AgA forms differing from the SaA forms are: (perfect) 3rd p. m. pl. gâlaw, 3rd p. f. pl. gâlan, (imperfect) 3rd p. m. pl. ygûluw and 2nd p. m. pl. tgûluw.

Perfect forms of the 1st p. c. sg. in SaA and 'AgA are: gult, šuft, nîmt, gumt, ruht, šilt. An additional form in SaA: sumt, and an additional form in 'AgA: xuft.

\textsuperscript{718} NISHIO (1992), p. 91, reports üxud ~ xud, and ükul ~ kul (ibid. p. 21) (my transcription) for Ĝbâliy Arabic (in southern central Sinai), and the Garâršah, who live to their west in the same area, also have üxud (M. Woidich, personal communication).

\textsuperscript{719} Like in group I, gâl, ygûl can have the meaning of "do" in SaA and 'AgA, cf. fn 530.
N.B. SaA and ‘AgA b-imperfect forms are like in group I: birûh ~ birûh, binâm ~ biynâm, bigib ~ biygib, not *brûh, *bnâm, *bgib.

### 3.2.2.4.2.

One instance of a mediae infirmae imperative with a short base vowel in SaA is šuf! "look", but gûl "say!" was also recorded. In ‘AgA fut! "pass!" with a short base vowel was recorded, but also rûh! "go!".

Imperatives in SaA with the verb ġâb, yģîb: hät, hätîy, hätum, hätîn. In ‘AgA hätaw was recorded (so that the forms completing the set must be hät, hätay, and hätân, cf. forms reported for DA in I, 3.2.2.4.2.), but suffixed hätûh "bring (m. pl.) him!".

### 3.2.2.4.3.

Both ‘āyiz and ‘āwiz were recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

### 3.2.2.5.1.

In SaA we have the following conjugations of the tertiae infirmae ($C_3 = y$):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf. &quot;forget&quot;*1)</th>
<th>Perf. &quot;walk&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>i-type</strong></td>
<td><strong>a-type</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. nısıy</td>
<td>nısıyum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. nısıyt</td>
<td>nısıyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. nisisî</td>
<td>nisisînum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. nisîtiy</td>
<td>nisîtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. nisît</td>
<td>nisîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Here we encounter the same problem of the -am or -an endings: direct elicitation yielded -am and -an, but in spontaneous texts I recorded mâšum and râmum, so -um is what has been generalized. I did not however, record any 3rd p. f. pl. of tertiae infirmae in spontaneous texts, so there is a chance that the f. pl. form is actually mâsin.
The ʿAgA tertiae infirmae imperfect conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nīsīy</td>
<td>nīsyyuw</td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>nīsyyit</td>
<td>nīsyyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>nīsit</td>
<td>nīsituw</td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>nīsitiy</td>
<td>nīsitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>nīsit</td>
<td>nīsīna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.m. m'siy nisyuw mäsa mäsaw*1
3.f. m'syit nisyin mäsat mdsan*2
2.m. nisit nisituw mašēt mašētaw
2.f. nisitiy nisitin mašētiy mašētin
1.c. nisit nisīna mašēt mašēna

*1) Negated: ma mašūṣ "they did not go". Suffixixed ramūḥ "they threw it (m. sg.)". Suffixixed and negated: ma ramūḥs (ma ramūhiš #) "they did not throw it (m. sg.)".

*2) Negated: ma mašanṣ "they (f.) did not go". Suffixixed ramannu "they threw it (m. sg.)". Suffixixed and negated: ma ramannūṣ "they (f.) did not throw it (m. sg.)".

3.2.2.5.2.
Tertiae infirmae imperfect conjugations in SaA:

"forget"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yānsa</td>
<td>yānsum*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tánsa</td>
<td>tánsan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tánsa</td>
<td>tánsum*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tánsay</td>
<td>tánsan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ánssa</td>
<td>nánsa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"walk"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yīmsiy</td>
<td>yīmsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tīmsiy</td>
<td>tīmsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tīmsiy</td>
<td>tīmsum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tīmsiy</td>
<td>tīmsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ámsiy</td>
<td>nímsiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* On whether the endings are not -am and -in, cf. remark in II, 3.2.2.5.1. Since I have only recorded -an in the 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl. and -ay in the 2nd p. f. sg. (but both during direct elicitation only), the forms listed above have been generalized.

The ʿAgA conjugations of the imperfects of the verbs nīsiy, yansa, and mäṣa, yīmsiy are identical to the conjugations listed for group I (cf. I, 3.2.2.5.2.).

N.B. Apocopated imperfects were not recorded in SaA and ʿAgA.
3.2.2.5.3.

Apart from *xallak maʕay! "stay with me!*, no apocopated imperatives were recorded in *SaA* (on the pron. suffixes, cf. II, 3.1.12.2.). In *’AgA* no apocopated imperatives were recorded.\textsuperscript{720}

3.2.2.5.4.

Active participles in *SaA* and *’AgA* are like in group I, e.g.: *wātiy "deep", māṣyiḥ "walking (f. sg.)". Examples of passive participles in *SaA*: *matwiy "covered", and madniy "man who belongs to a group that is liable for a killing"*.\textsuperscript{721}

No passive participles were recorded in *’AgA*.

3.2.2.5.5.

Only *maṣy* was recorded in *SaA*.

3.2.2.6.1.

The verb "come" in *SaA*:

<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.m.</td>
<td><em>giT</em>\textsuperscript{1)}</td>
<td><em>gum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td><em>gât</em></td>
<td><em>gin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td><em>git</em></td>
<td><em>gitum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td><em>gitiy</em></td>
<td><em>gitin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td><em>git</em></td>
<td><em>gina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiğiyy</td>
<td>yiğiym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiğiyy</td>
<td>tiğiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiğiyy</td>
<td>tiğiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ağiyy</td>
<td>niğiyy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1)} Forms with proclitic *i-* , such as *iğa, iği* (i.e. like in group III, but *gum, and *gin*) were recorded through direct elicitation in *SaA*, but the forms listed in the conjugation above occurred in spontaneous texts.\textsuperscript{722} In *’AgA* one instance of *iğa "he came" occurred in spontaneous speech, but *gih* occurred more regularly.

---

\textsuperscript{720} Apocopated imperatives do occur in the dialect of the Garāṣakh of Wādi Fērān in southern Sinai, e.g. *gann "sing!", ʿinīṣ "go!"* (M. Woidich, personal communication).


\textsuperscript{722} This is an example of how direct elicitation may lead to the production of K-forms (cf. remarks in A. II. d. Gathering linguistic material in the introduction of this study). The forms recorded in spontaneous speech were generalized in the conjugation listed here.
In ‘AgA the perfect forms are identical to the forms listed for SaA. With the exception of SaA 3rd p. m. pl. yiğum (yiğuw in ‘AgA), and 2nd p. m. pl. tiğum (tiğuw in ‘AgA), the SaA imperfect forms listed above are current in ‘AgA as well.

Additional remarks on SaA:

Negated forms in SaA are: (sg.) ma ġâš, ma ġâts, ma ġîtš, ma ġîtš, ma ġîtš, ma ġîtš, ma ġêtaš, ma ġêtaš, ma ġêtaš, ma ġêtaš.

The plural m is also dropped when suffixed in the following examples: (imperfect) yığuna "they come to us", (perfect) ġâhum "they came to them". Another example of final -a of ġih (cf. II, 1.2.4.4.1.) being lengthened is: ġâh "he came to him. The final -iy of the imperfect is lengthened in conformity with I, 2.1.2.3. as in ağiyk "I come to you".

The first example also shows that the imperfect prefix is without i in connected forms (and in the last example a of the 1st. p. c. sg. is short). Other examples are: bığüna "they come to us", and yığük "they come to you".

When b precedes yiğiy the resulting form is byığiy, but this may become bığiy (cf. II, 4.3.).

3.2.2.6.2.

Imperatives of the verb "come" recorded in SaA are: taʿāl and taʿâluw (without pl. -m), but one would expect taʿāl, taʿâliy, taʿâlum and taʿâlin. In ‘AgA only m. sg. taʿāl' (without the 1) was recorded.

3.2.2.6.3.

Active participles in SaA and ‘AgA are: ġây (cf. also II, 3.1.15.1.), ġâyah, ġâyîn, ġâyat.
3.2.2.7.1.
Mediae geminatae imperfect conjugation in SaA:

"wrap, turn around" in SaA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>laff</td>
<td>yliff*¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>láffum</td>
<td>yliffum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>laff*¹</td>
<td>tiiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>laff*¹</td>
<td>tiiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>liffët*¹</td>
<td>tUff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>liffët*¹</td>
<td>tUff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>liffët*¹</td>
<td>tUff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹) Unstressed a of the first syllable preceding ê is usually raised, and not only in neutral environments. Other examples (from spontaneous speech) are: *middët you stretched", *ruddëtum "you (m. pl.) returned", *hibbëna "we liked" and *xissët "I entered". But *dallët "I remained" and *habbët "I liked" were also recorded.

²) Only -aun was recorded in direct elicitation. The endings in -ê+, and this -aun show that these mediae geminatae have a conjugation similar to the tertiae infirmæ.

In *AgA the verbal endings are identical with those in group I in neutral environments (cf. I, 3.2.2.7.1.), e.g. *xaš, *xašaw, *xašan. Like in SaA (and also in BaA of group I), raising of the a occurs in pre-stress closed syllables, e.g. *xissët "I entered", *xissëtuw "you (m. pl.) entered" (cf. also II, 3.2.3.4.4.).

3.2.2.7.2.
Imperatives are like in group I.

3.2.2.7.3.
Active participles and passive participles are like in group I, e.g.: *dāll "staying", *hāff "having placed" (also *AgA), and a passive (gahawah-form, cf. II, 2.2.1.2.) *mahadūd "bordered off" in SaA (no passive participle was recorded in *AgA).

3.2.3.1.1.
Like in groups I, III and IV, measure n-1 is the basic passive measure to measure 1.
Unlike the other dialect groups in northern Sinai, SaA and ‘AgA have an (i)n- preformative for the perfect, which has the pattern (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃. The imperfect pattern is yinC₁iC₂iC₃.

Stress in SaA and ‘AgA is of the māktaba-type, but since the (i)n- prefix is not a stressable unit, the forms are stressed: (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃, yinC₁iC₂iC₃ (cf. II, 2.1.1., and II, 2.1.1.2.2.1.).

The high vowel in the second syllable is not dropped, so that it may be considered to be underlying lal. This lal does not "reappear" in closed syllables, e.g. tinxibtum "you (m. pl.) collide" (SaA), yindirbuw "they are beaten (‘AgA”).

One example in SaA shows that y is not dropped in yinhîryin "they (f.) are cooked until they desintegrate" (cf. also tertiae infirmae in II, 3.2.3.3.1., and also Baa in I, 3.2.3.3.1.).

3.2.3.1.2.

In SaA and ‘AgA, as in group I, measure n-1 mediae geminatae have a in perfect and imperfect: (i)ndâbb, yindâbb "be filled", (i)nḥâṭṭ, yinḥāṭṭ "be placed".

3.2.3.1.3.

Measure n-1 mediae infirmae in SaA and ‘AgA have ā in perfect and imperfect: (i)nḥân, yinhân "be insulted", (i)nšāl, yinsāl "be carried" (both SaA), and (i)ngâl, yingâl "be said" (‘AgA).

3.2.3.1.4.

We find one example in SaA: minhâf "grained (of a goat skin)”\(^{723}\).

3.2.3.2.

No r-1 measure was recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

3.2.3.3.1.

Like in measure n-1, stress in measure 1-i in SaA and ‘AgA is an exception to the stress rule (cf. II, 2.2.1.). The preformative of the perfect is (i), and the vowel of the second syllable in the imperfect is i. Although this high vowel is underlying lal (since it is not dropped), a does not "reappear" in closed syllables. The patterns are (i)C₁tdC₂aC₃, yC₁iC₂iC₃.

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\(^{723}\) This is how it was glossed to me. For a related verb, cf. LANE (1865), Part 2, root h-w-f, p. 672 (there measure 5). It was used here with reference to a si’n "goat skin used to churn butter", cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1994), pp. 207-8.
Examples in *SaA* and *AgA*: (i)štákār, yiyśıkir "think", (i)štásfag, yittīfīg "agree" (and yittīfğum "they agree"), (i)štāra, yišūriy "buy", and like in measure n-1, y of tertiae infirmae is not dropped in *SaA* yištīryum "they buy" (no example available for *AgA*, cf. also *BaA* in I, 3.2.3.3.1. and *AA* in V, 3.2.3.3.1.).

3.2.3.3.2.

Measure 1-ṭ mediae infirmae: (i)xṭār, yixṭār "choose" (*SaA*), (i)ṭāš, yiṭṭāš "make a living" (*AgA*).

3.2.3.3.3.

Measure 1-ṭ mediae geminatae: (i)lṭamm, yīlṭamm "be gathered" (*SaA*), (i)ṭḥall, yīḥṭall "occupy (of land)" (*AgA*).

3.2.3.3.4.

Examples of participles in *SaA* are: miḥṭīrṣīh "twisted, incorrect", mistīwyī (m. sg.), mistīwyīh (f. sg.) "ripe", and an example of a medial weak verb is miḥṭāğ "in need (of)".

In *AgA* only mintāṣrah "spread out" was recorded. The fact that a "reappears" here may be due to the fact that the word is from a higher register.

3.2.3.4.1.

Unlike measure asta-1 in group I, measure (i)stä-1 in *SaA* has morphologically fixed a in perfect and imperfect (i.e. in analogy to measure f-2, cf. II, 3.2.3.5.). The patterns are (i)staC₁C₂aC₃, yistaC₁C₂aC₃.724 Examples (all from spontaneous speech): (i)stäḥmal, yistaḥmal "bear", (i)stağal, yistağal "hurry", (i)stāwțan, yistawțan "settle".

In *AgA* no examples were recorded.

3.2.3.4.2.

Not recorded in *SaA* or *AgA*.

3.2.3.4.3.

Not recorded in *SaA* or *AgA*.

---

724 The vowel a is also morphologically fixed in the eastern Šarqiyyah, cf. WODICH (1979), pp. 89-90, and BEHNSTEDT/WODICH (1985b), map 254.
3.2.3.4.4.

In SaA and ‘AgA (i)sta‘add, yista‘idd (with i) "prepare (oneself)" was elicited. In ‘AgA raising of a in pre-stress syllables was observed like in measure 1 mediae geminatae (cf. II, 3.2.2.7.1.), e.g. (i)sta‘iddët (< (i)sta‘addët) "I prepared".

3.2.3.4.5.

Recorded in SaA and ‘AgA: mista‘idd ~ misti‘idd, misti‘iddin "prepared, ready".

3.2.3.5.

Like in groups I, III and IV, vowel distribution in measure 2 alternates morphologically in SaA and ‘AgA: a in perfect, and i in imperfect. The patterns are: $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3, yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$. Like measure (i)sta-1 in SaA, measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a in perfect and imperfect in SaA and ‘AgA. The patterns are: (i)tC_1aC_2C_2uC_3, yitC_1aC_2C_2aC_3. Unlike the situation in group I, ta- did not occur as the verbal prefix in SaA. It did occur twice in ‘AgA perfect forms (but not in the imperfect): tagabbah "he uttered shameful things (obscenities)", tağawwaz "he got married".

3.2.3.5.1.

Examples of measure 2 imperfect in SaA: yfaddginnu "they (f.) crack it (m. sg.) open", ma y’allgûş "they do not comment", twakkilnî "you feed me". In ‘AgA: biylaggiy "he goes", biylagguw "they go", biybayytuw "they spend the night".

Examples of perfect in SaA: ma maddannûš "we did not become civilised (here: live a settled life in civilisation)", ma lawwatûş "they did not soil". In ‘AgA: ga‘î‘ad "he received in his circle of men (i.e. mag‘ad)", kâttasîfu "he tied his hands".

Elision of the high vowel in sandhi: bissarrx ışrâx "she cries out", ywall‘ innâr "he lights the fire".
3.2.3.5.2.

Examples of measure 2: binsawwiha "we make it (f. sg.)" (SaA, ‘AgA), awarrî‘k "I show you". Notice that y is dropped in SaA ysawwum "they make", and in ‘AgA ylagguw "they go".

3.2.3.5.3.

Like in group I "give food, feed" is wakkal, ywakkil in SaA.

3.2.3.5.4.

Examples of t-2 imperfect (SaA): nitwakkal ‘a-llâh "we put our trust in God", bitxayyaşin sawa "they (f.) sew together", bnīxarrāf "we speak together", yitgadda "he has breakfast".

In ‘AgA: btitkallam "they (f. sg.) say", ittdalla "they (f. sg.) are lowered (of pails in a well)".

Examples of t-2 perfect (SaA): itwakkal ‘a-llâh "he put his trust in God", itigadda "he had breakfast".

In ‘AgA: (i)txarraf "he spoke".

3.2.3.5.5.

Verbal nouns of measure t-2 were not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA. Verbal nouns of measure 2 have a taCiCziCi pattern, e.g.: taxmln "guessing", tangïl "sowing (of watermelon seeds by dropping seeds one at a time)", tangïl "transport", tahmîs "roasting (of coffee beans)".

Verbal nouns of tertiae infirmae were not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

3.2.3.5.6.

Measure 2 active participles: mxarrîb "having destroyed" (SaA), mšarrîg "going north" (‘AgA).

Measure 2 passive participles: mxallâl (SaA), mbahhar "spiced" (‘AgA).

Measure t-2 active participles: mitgattîy "covered" (SaA), (loan) mit’akkîd "convinced" (‘AgA).
3.2.3.6.

Like in group I: SaA and ‘AgA have morphological alternation of i and a in measure 3, and morphologically fixed a in measure t-3. The verbal preformative in measure t-3 is (i)tr-, rather than •ta- (like in measure t-2, cf. II, 3.2.3.5., and in contrast with group I). The patterns are: (measure 3) C1âC2aC3, yC1âC2iC3, and (measure t-3) (i)tC1âC2aC3, yitC1âC2aC3.

3.2.3.6.1.

Examples of measure 3 in SaA: nâgaš, ynâgiš "discuss", sâ‘ad, ysâ‘id "help", gâ’dâ, ygâdiy "take to court" (y is dropped in ygâ’dum). In ‘AgA: bâ‘yan, ybâ‘yn "show (intrans.), be visible".

Examples of measure t-3: (i)tbâda‘, yiibâda‘ "exchange improvised verses", (i)tkâwan, yitkâwan "fight, quarrel", (i)tlâga, yiitlâga "meet (each other)". In ‘AgA: (i)tnâwal, yiinâwal "receive, take".

N.B. The semantic function of measure t-3 mentioned for AA in I, 3.2.3.6.1. was not observed in SaA and ‘AgA.

3.2.3.6.2.

The active participles of measures 3 and t-3 are like in group I, e.g. (SaA): (measure 3) mwâfig "having agreed" (also ‘AgA), mgâbil "meeting", mbâriy "camel in its third year", (measure t-3) mitgâblîn "meeting (m. pl.) each other", miinâwil "having received, taken" (‘AgA).

An example of a measure 3 passive participle is mnâsabah "occasion" (SaA), but none were recorded in ‘AgA.

3.2.3.6.3.

Verbal nouns of the tCiâC2iC3-type were not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

3.2.3.7.1.

Although imperfect forms like yiitli‘ "take out" (yatla‘ "come out"), yirkib "make mount, ride" (yarkab "mount"), yiib‘id "take away", yikrim "treat hospitably (of a guest)", yilhig "add (of food)", yirkin "put aside", yiîtlig "set loose", yisgiy "give water" were recorded in SaA, there is no real evidence that the fourth measure is productive since perfect forms of the aCiC2aC3-type were not recorded, nor were participles of the miC1C2iC3-type (the only participle of this type occurred in a poetic passage: mirxiy "letting down").
Other originally measure 4 verbs are: *ydir* "let go round" (*ydür* "go around, turn"), *yrid* "want" (no *mCiC*-type participles were recorded), *yhim* "be of importance". Perfects recorded are: *habbēt* "I loved", *hibbēna* "we loved".

The conclusion is that, although we cannot exclude the possibility of an active fourth measure in *SaA*, this does not appear to be very likely considering that there were no indications to corroborate this in about 5 hours of speech.

In *'AgA* measure 4 is active, e.g.: *aṭa, yīṭiy* "give", *aḥad, yībīd* "go away", *aṭlag, yīṭlig* "(here) send out". A (lexicalized) active participle is *migdim* "front pole in a tent".

3.2.3.7.2.
Cf. preceding paragraph.

3.2.3.7.3.
The verb "give" is *idda, yiddiy* in *SaA*, and *aṭa, yīṭiy* (~ *adda, yiddiy*) in *'AgA*.

3.2.3.7.4.
No instances were recorded in *SaA* or *'AgA*.

3.2.3.7.5.
*ṣann, yṣinn* "wait" was recorded in *SaA*, but not in *'AgA*. *gall, ygill* "reduce" is an example of (at least originally; a participle was not recorded) a measure 4 verb in *'AgA*, which should account for the phonetic quality of the high vowel (cf. I, 1.2.3.3.).

3.2.3.7.6.
Imperatives of original measure 4 verbs in *SaA*: *ṭili* "take out!", *irkid* "lay down! (your gear)!" (as an invitation to dismount and stay as guests). In *'AgA*: *ṭīṭiy* "give! (m. sg.)", *ṭīṭuw* "give! (m. pl.)". An imperative of a mediae infirmæ is *dir* "go around!".

3.2.3.7.7.
Cf. remarks in II, 3.2.3.7.1.
3.2.3.8.

Measure 9 has a conjugation like the mediae geminatae of measure 1. The forms recorded through direct elicitation in SaA were (perfect) (i)ḥmār, (i)ḥmarrat, (i)ḥmarrēt, (i)ḥmarrum (which should presumably be (i)ḥmarrūm, since both measure 9 and mediae geminatae conjugate like tertiae infirmae), (i)ḥmarrān. Recorded imperfect forms: yiḥmār, tiḥmār (for variation of the verbal endings, cf. remarks in II, 3.2.2.5.).

‘AgA has its own verbal endings for measure 9, also based on its tertiae infirmae conjugation: (sg.) (i)ḥmarr, (i)ḥmarrat, (i)ḥmarrēt, (i)ḥmarrētiy, (i)ḥmarrēt, (pl.) (i)ḥmarrāw, (i)ḥmarrān, (i)ḥmarrētuw, (i)ḥmarrētin, (i)ḥmarrēna.

The active participle is mihmār.

3.2.3.9.

The quadriliteral verbs conjugate like measure 2 in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g. (SaA): salwag, ysalwig "do in a hasty and sloppy manner", laxbat, ylxbit "confuse", rafraf, yrfrif "flutter", and ‘AgA gahwa, yghawiy "serve coffee".

The quadriliteral verbs with the (i)t- prefix conjugate like measure t-2, e.g.: (i)tmaqmaq, yitmaqmaq "rinse the mouth" (SaA), (i)tghawwa, yitghawwa "be served coffee" (‘AgA).

The verb götar, ygötir "go" was heard once in SaA725, and twice in ‘AgA.

Participles of quadriliterals were not recorded in SaA.

4. Remarks on syntax.

4.1.

One instance of nunation in SaA occurred in a poetic passage: sügah ḍala-lli wāfyātin ihgūgah "present it to the man whose (legal) rights are respected".

In ‘AgA nunation was recorded several times, and always in poetry. An example is: (#) isbayyin balā fēd mā-rid "I do not want a worthless lad".

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725 Although members of the younger generations said that the (typically bedouin) verbs götar, ygötir, lagga, ylaggiy, and also ‘aggad, y’aggid were not common in SaA, a member of the older generation was heard to use the verb lagga, ylaggiy twice, and götar, ygötir once.
SaA has the CA loans *masalan* "for instance", *tab'an" of course", *'asāsan* "originally", and also a rarer CA loan *ḥāman* "definitely".

4.2.

Like in group III, negation of the verb is regularly done in SaA and 'AgA with bi-partite *ma ... ši*, and less regularly with *ma ... ši*.

Examples in SaA: *ma šuṣṭiš* "I did not see", *ma biywaffrūš* "they are not sparing", *ma ġinš* "they (f.) did not come", *ma ġāš* "he did not come", *ma ġāš* "they did not come", *ma gālūhāš* "they did not say it (f. sg.)", *ma ṭāfšiš minhi(h)" don't be afraid of it (f. sg.)", *ma yhimmūkši* "don't let it bother you", *ma ramāšši* "he did not throw it" (with assimilated *h*).

Examples in 'AgA: *ma bi'rāfšiš* "they don't know", *ma šuṣṭišši" I did not see you", *ma ramēṭiš" I did not throw it; you (m. pi.) did not throw", *ma ramānnuš "they (f. pl.) did not throw it", *ma mašši" they did not go".

Negating prepositional phrases in SaA: *ma lēhši* "not to him", *ma lhāš ~ ma lhāši" not to her", *ma mišši" not with me". (None were recorded in 'AgA).

Negating nominals and participles in SaA and 'AgA: *al'agwah mis wāhid w asāḥb'ak miš wāhid" Pressed dates are not all alike, and your fingers are not all alike" (SaA), *miš gā'id itilīf īw bass "(you should) not just (be) sitting and traveling around" (SaA), *bass iykūn ṭālič min issīgin šīrīf, miš wāhid hāmil "but he should be coming out of prison as an honourable man, not a worthless man" (SaA), *miš 'arfat" they (f.) do not know" ('AgA), *da fi l'āsr ilgadīm, miš fi l'āsir halḥīn "that was in the old days, not nowadays" ('AgA).

The single negation *ma* in SaA was recorded mainly in poetic passages, e.g.: *"ma ximinna yā Salāmah tagbal albarṭīl bahṣa'b ti'dil ḥalifak yom ḥaggah yimīl* "We would not have guessed, oh Salāmah, that you would accept a bribe, I reckoned you would have treated your ally fairly when his (legal) rights take a (bad) turn".

In a few instances single *ma* was used to make the negation more emphatic (like in group III), e.g. *ma hadēt* (SaA), and *ma hazʿal "I shall not be angry" ('AgA).

In 'AgA single *ma* (without š(i)) was also used a number of times in negation when quoting other speakers, e.g. *ilkān gōlak mā yšīr zayy fīlak, wāllāh*
"if your words will not match your deeds, by God, I shall cut your head off".

4.3.

In SaA and ‘AgA, like in groups I and III, the b-imperfect is used to express the habitual present tense; or the present continuous. Examples: fiḥ banāt ād min ʾiliḵār ibyibninnu, biyibninnu ʾānīh "there are girls, of the grown-ups, who build it, they build it from clay" (SaA), gaḥl ilḥār kān bīṭrūth Falāṣīn "before the war we used to go to Palestine" (SaA), ya ʾDāhir, lēh ibuṣrūb... alʾasākir? "Oh ʾDāhir, why are you hitting... the soldiers?" (‘AgA).

Examples of merged prefixes bi-, and ba-, the latter being much more regular than in group I (cf. I, 4.3.): biḡūl lēḵ ʾēh? "what does he say to you? (SaA), bass ilbīr bagba maṭwiy "but the well is (always) covered" (SaA), Abu Nuwwāb ibyusṛuf, yaʾni buṣruf min ṣēbīh "Abu Nawwāb spends, that is, he spends money from his (own) pocket" (‘AgA).

4.4.

The use of ha- as a future marker preceding the imperfect is not uncommon in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g.: miš ʾiddaxanah ḥattiği ʾalṣūḵ? "is the smoke not coming towards you?" (SaA), inkānnu biriy, haḡūl 'biriy', w inkānnu maʾṣūb ḥayḡūl 'maʾṣūb' "if he is innocent, he will say 'innocent', and if he is injured, he will say 'injured' (i.e. guilty)"726 (SaA), gāl lēh: 'in gult tāzʿal.' gāl lēh: 'la, mā hazʿal.' "He said to him: 'If I tell (you), you will be angry.' He said to him 'No, I shall not be angry.'" (‘AgA).

In addition, futurity may be expressed with suffixed widd or bidd (cf. II, 4.11.).

726 This was said with reference to the biṣṭah "fire ordeal". When someone is "injured", i.e. his tongue is burnt as a result of licking the hot iron, he is concluded to be guilty of the crime he is accused of. The reasoning is that the mouth of a guilty person will go dry for fear of being found out. Cf. also fn 50 to I, 3.2.3.5.6.
4.5.

The prepositional predicate of nominal sentences *fih* is common in *SaA* and *'AgA*. The regular negation is *ma fiš* (*māš* or *mā fih* were not recorded).

4.6.1.1.

The conjunction *yom* "when" only appeared once in a poetic passage in *SaA*: *baḥsāb ti'dil ḥalīfak yom ḥaggah yimil* "I reckoned you would treat your ally fairly when his rights are lost". The variations mentioned in I, 4.6.1.1.2.1. - 4.6.1.1.2.4. were not recorded in *SaA* and *'AgA*. Instead, variations on *lamma* are current.

4.6.1.2.

Variations on *lamma* are current in *SaA* and *'AgA*.

4.6.1.2.1.

Examples of *lamma* used independently: *lamma biğīna nās... ašīl ibtiʿ aḡgābal, biṣaddru-nūqna ya'ni 'ēh? ḥaḍar.* "when people come to (visit) us, who are originally from the desert, they regard us as what? ḥaḍar*727*" (*SaA*), *gām lamma širib, imn awwal fiṅāl... tamamm* "Then, when he drank, from the first cup... he (disapprovingly) said 'mmm'" (*'AgA*).

4.6.1.2.2.

The conjunction *lamman* may be used independently (first example, not recorded in *'AgA*) or suffixed, as recorded in *SaA* and *'AgA*: *yārḡa'uw tāniy lamman yā'arjūw ūli* min ʿindna "they go back again when they learn that he has left us" (*SaA*), *alwalad lammanu yrūḥ hū w aḡūh, aw gābil hū yimšiy, biyalg-axuw lbint "the boy, when he goes together with his father, or before he goes, he meets with the brother of the girl" (*SaA*), *ḥukm isSaʿūdiy lammanu... masak aiblād w ihtallih, ... "the reign of the Saoudi, when he took the land and occupied it, ..." (*'AgA*).

4.6.1.2.3.

Two *SaA* examples of the conjunction *lamma* in its meaning of "until": *biyḥūṭūh fi šśams lamma yarṣaf "they put it in the sun until it dries", binnaggihin w inḥūṭhin fi lmallih bardū. lamma: yinhīrīyīn "and we put them (f.) in the hot ashes as well. Until they (f.) are cooked until they disintegrate". An

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727 ḥaḍar - settled, as opposed to nomadic population - *'arab.*
example in ‘AgA: iybusṣ ́fi bint Sālim iw bibusṣ ́fi bint ‘Aliy iw biybusṣ ́fi bint iflan lamma ti’īgbu bint. . . fulān “he looks at Sālim’s daughter, and he looks at ‘Aliy’s daughter, and he looks at the daughter of . . . so-and-so, until he likes so-and-so’s daughter”.

Conjunctions lūm or lūmin were not recorded in SaA or ‘AgA.

4.6.2.

hatta and hattan were not recorded in SaA, and in ‘AgA only independent hatta: biyṣir lūnah lāhū ayyad wala-hāmar zayy hādiḥ, hatta ma thāyin fih al’arag walla hāgiḥ “its colour does not become white or red like this, so that sweat or anything is not visible on it”, and ibin Sa’ūd ḏabaḥ minhum kitūr, hatta tā’aw “Ibn Sa’ūd slaughtered many of them, until they obeyed”.

4.7.1.

Unconjugated gām is current in SaA and ‘AgA as a "marker of consequent action". An illustrative example of this marker "having lost its function of launching an action or of a consequent action and merely marking a sequence of events in order to attract the attention of the hearer"728 is: gām mātat willytu “his wife then died” (SaA). An example in ‘AgA is: gām Abu Nuwwāb, kabb ilbikāriğ kullhih fi nnār "Abu Nawwāb then threw all the coffee pots in the fire”.

4.7.2.

rāḥ was not recorded as an auxiliary in SaA or ‘AgA.

4.7.3.1.1.

The conditional inkān "if" is current in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g.: w inkān wiyyāh giršēn, ya’ni fih ‘arabōn la lkalām "and if he has some money (lit. two piasters) with him, there is a down payment for the whole thing" (SaA), and inkān gōlak yṣir zayy fi’lak "if what you say is going to be like what you do" (‘AgA).

4.7.3.1.2.

inkān may be suffixed in SaA as well, e.g.: inkānnu biriy, haygūl ‘biriy” "if he is innocent, he will say 'innocent'”, inkānhum lamma yāṣrabum, iyawwī ‘a dignu, īrif innu xarīt xuṣah “if they, when they drink, (changed subject to he)

spills on his chin, then know that he is a knife's clipping". No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

4.7.3.1.3.

ilkän occurs in SaA and 'AgA as well: ilkän iyğābwuw 'māšiy' [...], lazim iyğūłuw 'ā' "if they answer (saying) 'okay', they have to answer (saying) 'yes'" (SaA), ilkän gōlak mā yṣir zayy fi'lak, wallāh la-gta' fāṣak "if what you say is not going to be like what you do, by God, I shall cut your head off" ('AgA).

4.7.3.1.4.

An example of izkän in SaA: izkän abūha ya'ni tayyib, mawğūd ya'ni 'a lhayāh. bigūl: 'w Allāh ihna tālībn bintuk ya flān' "if her father is well, still alive, that is, he says: 'By God, we ask for (the hand of) your daughter, oh so-and-so'".

An example of suffixed iza kān in 'AgA: w iza kānīnh zi'lān "and if he is angry".

4.7.3.1.5.

kān as an independent conditional (i.e. without preceding in-, il-, or iz ~ iza), either suffixed or unsuffixed, was not recorded in SaA and 'AgA.

Constructions of the type (in-) kān inn were not recorded in SaA or 'AgA.

4.7.3.1.6.

inkän may be used to introduce alternatives in SaA: ibyadfa' 'ād zayy ma tḡūl 'arabōn, inkän miyyih, walla 'aşara "so he pays like a down payment, be it one hundred, or ten" and illi rabbna mgassmu, inkän 'adas, walla laban "whatever our Lord allots, be it lentils or milk". No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

4.7.3.2.

An example of the absence of a conditional particle was not recorded in SaA, but an example in which the conditional particle supplied in the first

729 xarī xūsah possibly refers to anything that has to be cut away to get to the kernel, or the true core (?). In any case, the context indicates the meaning to be something like "he is worthless", but I am not familiar with the expression.
B. II. A description of Smê‘niy and ‘Gëliy Arabic.

sentence is not repeated in the second conditional sentence is\(^{730}\): w Allâh izkân hû lêh niyyih, iygûł: ‘ya ma’aḥab!’ ma lêhši niyyih, ya’nî ‘îrf innî miš mansab lêh, iygûł. . . "By God, if he has the intention (to agree to the marriage proposal), he says: ‘Welcome!’. If he has no (such) intention, that is, he has learned that I am not suitable for him (to be married to his daughter), he says..." (SaA). None were recorded in ‘AgA.

4.8.1.

The presentative particle irdiy was recorded once only in SaA. Answering to the question "where is so-and-so's house?", the answer may be irdih "there it is", or irdiy Ibêt hâdâk "there, it is that house".

4.8.2.

hay was not recorded in SaA and ‘AgA.

4.8.3.

The particle w lin or w lan (presumably < \*w la ‘inna, cf. remarks in 1, 4.8.3.) occurred several times in SaA and ‘AgA, e.g.: iw gâm yashab isSmê‘niy - Allâh yarhamuni w yarham sâsu - iw lannu sâhib ma’srab... fa’däh, ismu ma’srab w iyšidd innî iliñnâbih\(^{731}\), iw lannu miš ḥâgih. iw gasalu w ḥâṭṭu mâṭrahu. iw oddha tjâniy w linnu sâhib zayyû. "And then the Smê‘niy - God rest his soul and the souls of his forefathers - took a draught (of milk), and (unexpectedly) he takes out a cup... silver. It is called a ma’srab (i.e. a silver cup), and he takes a draw from the milk bowl, and (unexpectedly) there was nothing (of the milk spilled). And he washed it and put it back in its place. And he passes it to the other man, and (unexpectedly) he takes a draw like he (i.e. the first man) did"(SaA)\(^{732}\), and iw linnu màsik hâda aṣṣîniyyih "and there he was holding the chinaware" (‘AgA).

\(^{730}\) Like the CaA example in kân ḥalâl kalnâ ḥârâm kalnâ "if it is (ritually, according to Islamic practice) permissible (to be eaten) we eat it, (and also) if it is forbidden we eat it", cf. WOIDICH (1969), p. 117 (§ 58b).

\(^{731}\) A ħnâbah is a flat bowl made of tamarisk wood or earthenware, which may also be used to serve food or coffee. For its specific meaning of "milk bowl" in North Middle Egyptian, cf. BEHNSTEDT/ WOIDICH (1994), p. 492.

\(^{732}\) The reference is to a test to establish true Bedouin lineage; if someone can drink milk (of a she-camel) from a ħnâbah without spilling any on his beard, he cannot be a peasant, and passes the test. Cf. also ATTAYYIB (1993), p. 604, fn 1, who reports the same test. The outcome of the test is then used to decide whether guests are to be received in the men's circle and be treated with all the respect due to the true ‘arab, or not.
w inn was recorded once in this sense in 'AgA: alinsân iflân hasal kaza w ḥaṣal kaza w ḥaṣal kaza, iw innih hasal kaza "this person so-and-so, this happened, and that happened, and this happened, and then (suddenly) this happened".

4.8.4.

The particle wlâ+ was not recorded in SaA and 'AgA.

4.9.

One of several examples of ġēr in its meaning "must" or "most certainly" recorded in SaA: 'bidd-arūh lēhin, ašūfīn.' gāl lay: 'aṣṣūbih.' gult lēh: 'lā, ġēr ḥalīhin..." "I want to go to them (f.), to see them.' He said to me: 'In the morning.' I said to him: 'No, it must be now.'"

In 'AgA: wallâhiy ġēr amšiy, inšâllâh sanatēn, w ašūfī biysawwîy... gahawâh zayîf, wallâ la' "by God, I must go, if need be two years, and see if he makes coffee like I do, or not".

4.10.

One example of the intensifying particle la was recorded in SaA: hatman la-yalhas "he will definitely (have to) lick". An example in 'AgA: wallâh la-gta' râsak "By God, I shall certainly cut your head off".

4.11.

Both suffixed bidd (like in group III) and (though much less often) widd (like in groups I and IV) were used to express "want" or "need" in SaA. In 'AgA only suffixed bidd was recorded.

Examples in SaA: biddî li xalâg 'ağûz "I want an old woman (lit. rag) for myself", "ani... yâybâh, widdî 'arûh ēh? la ṭRâhây illâbinnih. bidd-arūh la ẓzamîl "Father, I want to go where? To ṭRâhây illâbinnih. I want to go to the comrades (i.e. my friends)". An example in 'AgA: biddna Iğûrub minnak "we want to be related to you (by marriage)".

733 The reference is to the fire ordeal, cf. fn 50 to the introduction, and fn 726 to II, 4.5.
734 This is how I hear it. I have no explanation for stress being where it is.
An example expressing "need" in SaA: ibyagba ma'aruf illi biddu yiltamm "It will be known what needs to be gathered". No instances were recorded in 'AgA.

*bidd* or *widd* expressing an added sense of futurity in SaA: hâttî fi muxxu innu biddu iysâbig 'alêh "having put in his head that he is going to race it (i.e. a thoroughbred)", and *widdna* nitrayyah hallêlih "we shall (want to) rest this evening". An example in 'AgA: iṣṣubâ‘ biddi a flowing milk "In the morning I shall slaughter a sheep".

An example of *bidd* expressing purpose: law gih biddu yutbug 'alëhi(h) "if he comes in order to cover her (i.e. a he-camel coming to a she-camel)" (*widd* was not recorded in this sense, and no instances were recorded in 'AgA).

*bidd* or *widd* was not recorded expressing necessity from the perspective of the speaker, neither did it express intended direction in SaA and 'AgA.

4.12.

The particle 'âd "so, thus, then" is current in both SaA and 'AgA, e.g.: iw widdna ġêw 'âd? in 'ammar735 ilbihråd w insawwi shay la ǧěyuf "so what are we going to do? We fill the kettle with tea and sugar and make tea for the guests", and hâda ‘âd lamma biddu yiğiyy ybi' "so this is when he is going to (or wants to go and) sell" (SaA), and ‘âd huwwa biygûl... "so he says..." ('AgA).


Instances of the narrative imperative were not recorded in SaA or 'AgA.

4.14.2.

Unconjugated *kân* as a temporal marker occurs regularly in SaA and 'AgA. Examples in SaA: kân ani barûh aštîriy ğmâl min sâg ilHimmâm "I used to go and buy camels from the market in alHimmâm", kân lamma btâ'arf innu bidduhum yaxdıha, bidduhum iyhuṭûha fi l'arâbiyyah bişśawwit "when she would learn that they were going to put her in a car she would cry", and w ana şgayyir kân birrûh Falaṣṭîn "when I was young we used to go to Palestine".

---

735 *'ammâr, y'ammîr* with reference to food or beverages has the meaning of "prepare with the necessary ingredients".
Examples in ‘AgA: bêt Dâhr ibn ‘Id kân ġāyîn lih... ūtalā ḫdyūf, min ḡibilîh ġānyîh "three guests came to the tent of Dâhr ibn ‘Id, from another tribe", and kân ma bi’refûs ishāy "they did not know tea".

kân may be placed at the end of a sentence as well, e.g.: miḥaṃ isyūf maṣâyiįg kân. "They used to have ornamented swords with them." (SaA).

4.14.3.

Three of the instances of ethical datives recorded in SaA are: ani ruḥtluķ Iskandariyya "I went to Alexandria (for you)", iw bitkuttlak il‘ēş kida, iw yaṭla‘ mistiyyiy "and she throws the bread like this (for you), and it comes out (of the oven) done", byihartuha luk ‘ād b ilbābûr "they plough it (f. sg.) (for you) with the tractor". No such instances were recorded in ‘AgA.

4.15.

Examples of pluralis paucitatis in SaA: ibnazzara‘ zēûn bin‘udd ‘aṣar xaṭawiy, w ḫuṣṭa zēûnîh. kull ‘aṣar xaṭawat ḫuṣtî zēûnîh "we cultivate olive trees, we count ten steps, and we plant an olive tree. Every ten steps we plant an olive tree" (the form xaṭawât is the pl. paucitatis), xamis liḥyât "five beards", but ilḥiyi "(unspecified number of) beards". No instances were recorded in ‘AgA.

4.16.

An example in SaA of animals referred to in the f. pl.: iġmâl iw mîs iġmâl, nahabûhin nûs tânyîh "camels and not camels (i.e. other animals), which other people had plundered". No such instances were recorded in ‘AgA.

Examples of a limited number of things referred to in the f. pl.: w ḫuṣṭî isbâx iw nā‘azig kidīh, ‘aṣan i‘rûgha yduggin "and we put manure and loosen the soil like this, so that its roots can grow out" (SaA), and ilwussat illiy hiyya bi‘gillîn... ilbēt min annuss “the middle poles which support... the tent in the middle" (‘AgA).

An example of a limited number of men referred to in the f. pl.: bidd-arûh la zzamil illi ‘ēh? ‘tab’an awāy wiyyayy... wiyyaḥin Allâḥ yârhumu, fi wën? ‘ala Bîr Wâṣît. gult: ‘bidd-arûh lēhin asûjihin’. "I want to go to the comrades who are what? My brother was of course with me... with them, God rest his (i.e. my brother’s) soul, where? In the direction of Bîr Wâṣît. I said: 'I want to go to them to see them.'" (SaA).

An example of a limited number of people (men, women and children) referred to in the f. pl.: taq‘an il‘aṣṭrah kullîn “the whole clan sets out on the trek" (‘AgA).
5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

The type of pitch/stress, as impressionistically described for group I, was not observed in SaA and 'AgA.
III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

The Biyyādiyyah are a fully settled bedouin tribe living in and around the villages of Bir al‘Abd (4,490 souls), Rāb‘ah (3,414 souls), Nağīlah (2,960 souls), Amm ‘Ugbah (2,007 souls), Xirbah (4,100 souls), and Gtayyi‘ in the northwest of Sinai. Members of this tribe make a living raising small cattle (a waning activity executed by girls and older women) and fishing on the Bardawīl lagoon. A disproportionally large number of the men work as civil servants, teachers, doctors etc., while an increasing number of men and women make a living in the expanding agricultural sector.

According to one popular story, they derive their name from whitewashing the Ka‘bah at one time in history. Their neighbours in the town of Bir al‘Abd and towards the north and east are the Dawāgrah with whom they have a protector-protected relationship. To their west live the Axārsah in Bālūdah, Sittah Uktūbar (formerly named Abu Ḥamra), Rummānāh, and Šuhada, the ‘Alawīyyah in Gatyah, and the ‘Ayāydah in Abu ‘Urūg. Their neighbours to their southwest are the ‘Agāylah in the villages south of Bālūdah: aḏPab’, Šōha, Karāmah, Abu Ėlūd, alḤmēsah. The Masā‘id live to their west in Ṣīlbānāh on the main road to the ferry of alGantarah Šarg on the Suez Canal, and the Samā‘nah in Gatyah (in the area named alGanāyin).

Subsections (‘asā‘ir) of the Biyyādiyyah are: Hrūs in Rāb‘ah (3,000 souls), Darāhsah (2,500) in Gāṣr Awēt, Mawālkah in Nağīlah and Gtayyi‘ (2,000), Krēmāt in Amm ‘Ugbah (1,300). The Rabāy‘ah in alXirbah (Abu Sa‘dān) (1,000), Maṟāḏah in Bir al‘Abd (800-1,000), Zawāydah in Bir al‘Abd (1,000), the Mrābiyyīn (who are part of the Mawālkah) in Gtayyi‘, the Yamāniyyah in Nağīlah (300). The numbers of inhabitants listed in the main text are field survey estimates done by Garpad/Atkins in 1989 quoted from EUROCONSULT (1992), E.13. As these figures reflect the numbers of inhabitants including Egyptian settlers and members of other tribes, they can only partly represent the numbers of members of the Biyyādiyyah. The numbers listed in brackets in this footnote are estimates of members of families of the Biyyādiyyah in these villages obtained from a Biyyādiy. After testing him on verifiable numbers (i.e. total numbers of inhabitants), his estimates proved to be quite reliable. He estimated e.g. 3,000 for Nağīlah, less than 2,000 for Amm ‘Ugbah, 5,000 for Bir al‘Abd.


Traditionally mainly rainfed agriculture of watermelons and dates (groundwater), but increasingly also other crops by means of drip irrigation in plots reclaimed from the desert.

The Biyyâdiyyah are quite numerous\footnote{As reported by VON OPPENHEIM (1943), Band II, p. 141, they are the most numerous of the "Qaṭya tribes", which is still true today.} and are locally considered to be a strong tribe, a large part of whom have received university training in Egypt proper during the Israeli occupation\footnote{EUROCONSULT (1992), E.19 reports that in the village of Naǧīlah 80 of the male inhabitants hold a university degree. ATṬAYYIB (1993), p. 607 reports that throughout history the Biyyâdiyyah have had the highest level of education. He mentions that there are more than 20 doctors, many engineers, 18 university professors, several teachers, and army- and police officers. Like the Biyyâdiyyah, many of the Axârsah are also reported to hold positions as civil servants, professors, doctors, teachers and engineers; in terms of education, of the tribes in northern Sinai they are said to be second to the Biyyâdiyyah only, cf. ATṬAYYIB (1993), p. 611.} of Sinai, which must have influenced their speech. The dialect of the Biyyâdiyyah (which will be referred to here as BA), and to a lesser extent that of the Axârsah (henceforth AxA), on which numerous remarks have been included in this chapter, bear striking similarities to the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyah\footnote{The term al-Ǧafār was given to the sandy district in north Sinai between Egypt proper and Palestine." The eastern part of lower Egypt with the metropolis Bilbēs (Bilbeis) was also known as alḤawf. cf. ĞAMMAR (1944), p. 19, fn 1.} (eŠA) as described in ABUL FADL (1961) (his area 2), WOIDICH (1979), and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985a/b, 1987). We shall see that this group III stands directly opposite group I in the regional dialect spectrum. Similarities and differences with eŠA, which are used to classify the dialects in the conclusion of this study (cf. C. V. d. Bundles of identified isoglosses in northern Sinai), are mentioned in footnotes to the relevant paragraphs.

ATṬAYYIB (1993), p. 607, reports that many Biyyâdiyyah have settled in numerous locations in the Šarqiyyah. Of the Axârsah many families may found in Egypt proper, and also in the Šarqiyyah, where some of them have settled in Kafr Ṣaqr and azZaqâzīq (cf. ibid., p. 611).
1. Phonology.

1.1.1. The inventory of consonantal phonemes of BA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>lateral</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

v = voiced, vl = voiceless

In the inventory of consonantal phonemes of AxA the plain (i.e. non-emphatic) interdentals t and d are present, but these are phonologically marginal, since in the majority of cases reflexes for *t and *d are plosives t and d respectively.

1.1.2. The most striking feature of BA phonology is the presence of the emphatic interdental /d/ as the reflex for both *d and *q, in combination with the absence of the interdental reflexes for */t/ and */q/ for which BA has plosive reflexes /t/ and /q/: e.g. yumrut "squash", talâta "three", xad "he took", yubdur

743 BA is one of the few Arabic bedouin dialect in which interdentals are only partially retained, cf. FISCHER/JASTROW (1980), p. 50, 4.1.4. Interdentale, and FERGUSON (1959), p. 630.

Other dialects in which interdentals have developed less predictably are e.g. Bahârî Arabic, the dialect of Bahrayn, where *d became d, *q became q, but */j/ became f. Thus hâda "this", duhr "afternoon", and falâfa "three". And in the Siirt-dialects of Anatolia the three interdentals all have labio-dental reflexes, whereas the dialects of 'Azax (of the Mardin
"sow", hâda "this (m.)". Compare this to the interdental reflex of *d in bëd "eggs", and of *d in qâhr "back".

In AxA the interdental reflexes of *t and *d have almost completely been replaced by the plosives t and d, e.g.: atarhum "their tracks", ba'at "he sent", tâni "second, another", hâda "this (m. sg.), dib "hyena", xad "he took", dabâhīt "I slaughtered", but also kitīrih "many (f. sg.)", talāt t-ušur "three months", äxudha "I take it (f. sg.)", and xudhe (ū) "take it (f. sg.)!", dâkar "male". But the stops t and d occur much more often as reflexes of *t and *d, and even in the same lexemes, e.g.: talātih "three", atar "tracks", ba'at "he sent", tâni "second", dabāh "he slaughtered", xad "he took", hâda "this (m. sg.)", hâdi "this (f. sg.)" (of which the last two never have interdentals).

In K-forms (usually loans from CaA) z: muḥāfza "governorate", ḥaffazūhum "they taught them" (both BA), b iżżâbih "exactly" (AxA).

Examples of forms with q recorded in BA: muṭawādi'īn "behaving (m. pl.) modestly and humbly", il'aḍḥa "(the Feast of) Immolation". In a K-form: barḏu "also", and in poetry dālilīn il'ugūl "those with straying minds".

In K-forms the sibilants s and z may be the reflexes of *t and *d respectively. BA examples: masalan "for instance", and in loans from CA 'asarat 'alëh "she found him", sabāt "stability", and bīzr "seed". Examples of CA loans in AxA: asbit "I establish", iżzâkā' aṯ̣ārig "extraordinary intelligence".

In two instances the regular reflex for *d is ḍ : īḍra "sorghum", and also ma ḍuǧūš (~ ma ḍuǧūš) "I did not taste" was recorded745 (both in BA).

1.1.3.

The reflex of *q is voiced g, like in all of northern Sinai.746

dialects), and of Bohzānī (of the Tigris group) both have sibilants, cf. JASTROW (1978), pp. 35-9. Cf. also remarks on the dialect of Gazzāh in the second part of chapter V in this study, where t and d are reported to be the reflexes of *t and *d, while d is the merged reflex of *d and *q.

744 Reflexes of *t and *d in eSA are t and d, and *d and *q have a merged reflex in the emphatic plosive ḍ. Cf. ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 261, and 273-4.

745 W. Marçais, "Trois textes arables d'El-Ḥamma de Gabès", in Journal Asiatique (Paris: 1932), p. 220, quoted in FISCHER (1959), p. 78, noted the same ḍ < ḍ change, and even in the same verb: ḍāg (< *ḍāg) "he tasted", and also in ḍkar (< *ḍakar) "male".

746 In eSA *q has a g reflex as well, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 259, and map 3 (p. 302), Cf. BEHNSTEDTAWOIDICH (1985b), maps 6-8, 15.
B. III. A description of Biyyûdîy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

In loans from CA \(q\) for \(*q\), e.g. (BA): \(yá Qayyûm\) "oh Everlasting (one of the epithets of God)"; \(awqât im'ayyâna\) "specific times", \(miqyâs\) "measure"; \(tûnmû\) "its (m. sg.) depth", \(mulâqîth\) "you (will be) meeting with him". In AxA: \(ilQâhîra\) "Cairo".

1.1.4.

The BA and AxA reflex for CA \(*g\) is \(g\) (I.P.A. \([g]\)), but the tip of the tongue is nearer to the alveolar ridge resulting in less of a resonance cavity created by the blade of the tongue.\(^{747}\) When directly preceding alveolar consonants \(n, l, t, d, y\) and \(r\) much of the friction in the release is lost, yielding a sound between [d] and [dy], and [d] with a lateral release when followed by \(l\): \(mağmû\) [mdy\(\mu\)] "group", \(iğtama'\) [sd\(\mu\)tum\(\mu\)] "they gathered (together)", \(riğlî\) [rid'li:] ([d] with a lateral release) "my leg", [dy\(\mu\)n\(\mu\)] "pound". When \(g\) is realized intervocally in allegro speech, only minimal articulatory contact, if any, may be realized, the result being almost [y] with hardly any friction: \(hâgât\) [ha\(\mu\)d\(\mu\)] "things", \(räğîl\) [rad\(\mu\)] "man", and also \(ağdâd\) [avy\(\mu\)xax]\"ancestors".

1.1.5.

A few isolated instances of glottalization of \(t\) were heard in BA, but this was not nearly as regular as in group I. In AxA no glottalization of \(t\) was heard.

1.1.6.

In BA and AxA: \(sa'al, yis'al\) "ask"; \(râs\) "head"; \(yâkul\) "he eats"; \(êla\) "family"; \(tâyîr\) "flying"; \(mèfa\) "cylindrical oven dug into the ground used for baking bread"; \(wâkkal, ywâkkîl\) "feed".

In BA and AxA \(\prime\) is of a phonotactic nature, like in group I, e.g. one may hear: \# 'ahlû "his family, but \(râh l\) ahlû "he went to his family", \# 'îd "hand", but \(f-\) \(îdî\) "in my hand" (BA and AxA). But \(\prime\) may be heard in loans from CA as a reflex of \(*\prime\), e.g.: \(lawla\) 'atatna "if she had not come to us", \(iza\) kânât il'arâd gawiyyih "if the soil is hard" (both BA).

In some cases \(\prime\) may be heard for \(*q\) in loans from CAA, as in intu gâltânîn fi l'îstim "you people in the police precinct are at fault" (in a telephone conversation with a civil servant) (BA).

\(^{747}\) In eŠA we have a similar \(g\) reflex for \(*g\), Cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 189, and map 5 (p. 304), WOIDICH (1979), p. 77 "[g] wird hier [...] apiko-dental gesprochen", and BEHNSTEDTWOIDICH (1985b), maps 10-12, 15.
In BA and AxA glottalization in pause was not recorded; forms with reflexes of final *-ā(') are: ʿāša “dinner” (BA, AxA), ġāda “lunch” (BA), ānī “I” (BA, ~ few instances of āna in AxA), biddna “we want” (BA, AxA), gāfa “neck” (BA), hāwa “love” (AxA), and verb forms māša “he went” (BA, AxA), ʿāfa “he gave” (BA), ţāma “he threw” (BA), gāfa “administration of law” (AxA).

1.1.7.


In two instances noted in BA the spread of velarization caused *d to become velarized ɡ, and in this form the reflex of *d survived as ɡ, instead of the expected d: ʿidra “sorghum”, and also ma ḍugtis (~ ma dugtis) “I did not taste” was recorded. If these forms were not loaned in these shapes, the conclusion must be that BA did have plain (i.e. non-emphatic) interdentals (in any case ɡ) at an earlier stage.

1.1.8.


1.1.9.

No remarks for BA and AxA.

1.1.10

Devoicing like in group I.

748 For eŠA such velarization is also reported, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 170, W_OIDICH (1979), p. 77, and BEHNSTEDT/ W_OIDICH (1985b), maps 25-34.
1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1.

The inventory of vowel phonemes for BA and AxA contains five long vowels and three short vowels:

Long vowels: \( \ddot{i}, \ddot{u} \)  
Short vowels: \( \ddot{e}, \ddot{o} \)

1.2.2.1.

When in a neutral position, \(/\ddot{e}/\) will be I.P.A. \([i:]\): \(b\ddot{r}\) [bi'r] "well", \(m\ddot{n}\) [mi:n] "who?". When preceded by back spirants (\(X\)), lowering occurs in the initial stage through an on-glide, but usually the opposition \(/\ddot{e}/-/i/\) is maintained.

Instances of off-glides caused by following emphatics: \(\ddot{g}ab\ddot{i}t\) [yə'bi:t] "saddle", \(b\ddot{d}\) [bi:θ] "white (pl.)".

When stressed and especially when followed by sibilants, \(/\ddot{e}/\) may have a slight off-glide towards [\(a\)], and when followed by an emphatic, a stronger off-glide towards [\(o\)]: \(\ddot{B}i\ddot{l}b\ddot{e}\ddot{s}\) [bɪl'be:θ] "Bilbeis (name of a town in the Šarqiyyah)", \('\ddot{s}\) [cːθ] "bread", and \(b\ddot{d}\) [be:θ] "eggs".

1.2.2.2.

\(/\ddot{u}/\) and \(/\ddot{u}/\) are quite stable in BA and AxA, but some overlapping with \(/\ddot{u}/\) may occur when \(/\ddot{u}/\) is preceded by emphatics or laryngals, so that its phonetic realisation may be quite near (a close) [\(o\)], \(t\ddot{u}b\) [tɔ:θ] "mudbrick", \(m\ddot{x}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\) [mɔx'θoθ] "churned", and \(m\ddot{a}\ddot{\ddot{u}}n\) [me'θɔ:m] "receptacle", \(\ddot{g}\ddot{u}l\ddot{a}\) [yədɔθ] "giant desert creature".

In a few instances a slight off-glide of stressed \(/\ddot{o}/\) followed by a sibilant was observed: \([hɔθ]\) \(h\ddot{o}θ\) "courtyard".

\(749\) eŠA has the same vowel phonemes, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 224-9, 286, and BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1985b), map 1 (for \(\ddot{e}\) and \(\ddot{o}\)).

\(750\) Phonetic overlap of \(\ddot{e}\) and \(\ddot{i}\) in eŠA is not reported, except for one example: \(l\ddot{i}l\ddot{a}\), ABUL FADL (1961), p. 286. The example \(m\ddot{u}lid\) is better explained as a back formation: \(m\ddot{o}lid\) \(i\ddot{n}\ddot{n}\ddot{a}b\ddot{i}\rightarrow m\ddot{o}ld\ i\ddot{n}\ddot{n}a\ddot{b}\ddot{i}\), after which \(o\) was interpreted as shortened \(\ddot{u}\), hence the back formation \(m\ddot{u}lid\).
B. III. A description of Biyyāḍiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

1.2.2.3.

The situation is like in group I. Quite an open quality of ā in ‘ārif: [‘aːrɪf].

1.2.2.4.

The situation is like in group I.\(^{751}\)

1.2.3.1.

Minimal pairs in BA and AXA to isolate the three short vowels as phonemes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BA</th>
<th>AXA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fitt: &quot;make fattah!&quot;</td>
<td>futt: &quot;I passed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiḍr: &quot;male given name&quot;</td>
<td>xuḍr: &quot;green&quot; (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatt: &quot;making fattah (v.n.)&quot;</td>
<td>futt: &quot;I passed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radd: &quot;he answered&quot;</td>
<td>rudd: &quot;answer!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadd: &quot;he pulled tight&quot;</td>
<td>šidd: &quot;pull tight&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.3.2.

Examples in BA largely corroborate the findings for group I, e.g.: ḫaṭṭab "knees", ḫrab "waterskins", ḫdra "corn". Examples of colours and physical defects: humr, xurs, but also šudf (cf. III, 3.1.7.), and "plough" is mihrāt. Cf. also remarks on u- and i-type imperfects in III, 3.2.1.2.

AXA examples are: rgāb "necks", šbāk "nets".

BA and AXA imperfects of medial geminates have a high vowel distribution like in group I. Examples from BA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BA</th>
<th>AXA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥaṭṭ: yḥuṭṭ &quot;place&quot; (also AXA); baṭṭ, ybuṭṭ &quot;break open&quot;</td>
<td>taṣṣ, yruṣṣ &quot;throw&quot;; xaḍḍ, yxuḍḍ &quot;churn&quot;, baṣṣ, ybuṣṣ &quot;look&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxx: ybuṣṣ &quot;spit&quot;; ḡaṭṭ, yḡuṛ &quot;deceive, mislead&quot;; ḥakk, yḥuṣṣ &quot;rub&quot;; kaff, ykuﬀ (≈ ykifff) &quot;surrender&quot;; gaff, yḡurr &quot;drag, pull&quot;; raṣṣ, yruṣṣ &quot;spray&quot;; radd, yrudd &quot;answer&quot; (also AXA).</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^{751}\) In eṢA long vowels in unstressed positions are regularly shortened, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 227 and 245, and WOIDICH (1979), p. 80.
fakk, yfikk "untie" (also AxA); šadd, yšidd "pull tight" (also AxA); laff, yliff "wrap", lamnn, ylinnn "gather"(also AxA); ḥabb, yhibb "love" (also AxA), and an additional AxA example gall, ygill "carry on the shoulders".

1.2.3.3.
There is no active measure 4 in BA or AxA. The form ygill (in AxA) with an unexpected i in the imperfect must historically have been measure 4 (i.e. a reflex of (*'aqall), *yuqill).

Like in group I, we see that k is not entirely stable in this respect: yhukk, but yfikk, and also ykuff ~ ykiff.

Morphological conditioning of high vowels in imperfects of derived measures is like in group I.

1.2.3.4.1.
Like group I.

1.2.3.4.2.
Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.1.
Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.2.
When short a in open syllable precedes stressed i, there may be phonetically conditioned raising of a → I in BA of Rāb’a (the Hrūš), e.g.: kitir "much", gidid "new", digīg "flour", gimīd "solid", yimin "right", but when followed by bilabial w the short vowel tends to be more akin to /u/: tuwil "long" (for further detail, cf. I, 3.1.1.1.1.).

a is usually not raised in open syllable preceding stressed ā, e.g.: nahār "day", gawā’il "caravans", zamān "in the old days", ma’āy "with me", banāt "girls, daughters", gawād "charger (fast horse)" (examples from BA and AxA) (for further detail, cf. III, 3.1.1.5.).

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752 Such raising of a in open syllable preceding A is not reported for eŠA either, and in contrast to the situation in BA and AxA, a is not raised preceding stressed i or ā in eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 270, map 31 (p. 330), WOIDICH (1979), p. 84, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 90-91.
1.2.3.4.3.3.

When raising of final -a (and of the feminine suffix) occurs, it does so in pause and only in neutral environments, and the phonetic value reached is between [e] and [i]753, e.g. (BA examples): 'arabiyye "car", mayyi "water", minhe "from it" (f. sg.), ġërhe "other than her", na'ği "ewe", ḥāği "thing", Xirbih "place name". AxA examples: lēhe # "to her", fihe "in it" (f. sg.), ġārīthe "her neighbour (f.)", kwayysi "good" (f. sg.), miyyi "hundred", wištiiyi "advice", sāni "year".

Such raising generally does not take place after primary or secondary emphatics, x, h, , ġ or w, e.g. (in BA): ġalja "mistake", gōnāsa "gizzard", Ānīm 'Ugba "place name", īḍra "millet", although also rixīsi "cheap" (f. sg.), mzaxxia "foul smelling" (f. sg.), giddāha "lighter", arbā'a "four", ġamā'ā "group of people" (although one instance of zrā'īh "agriculture"), ġilwa "beautiful", gahwa "coffee", āḡwa "cake of pressed dates". When following ġ it varies: nāga "she-camel", ārīga "manner", but šiggi "women's section of a tent, and Marāzgi (vanished i from *Marāziga, pl. of Marūg) "name of a sub-tribe (or clan) of the Biyyādiyyah".

Some examples in AxA: ġurra # "tracks (footprints)", īl'ārab īl'àrba # "the true bedouins", mára # "woman", ġazwa # "raid", Bālūqa # "Pelusium", xāssa # "special (f. sg.)".

Forms with a raised final -a occur mainly in pause, not generally in sentence-medial positions.

1.2.4.1.

The long vowels ĕ and ŏ are the BA and AxA reflexes of older *ay and *aw, both in velarized and in non-velarized environments, and also when preceded by X. "Systemzwang" on the other hand has left diphthongs in forms like mawgūd "present" and mawgaf "station (for taxi's)" untouched. Phonemic overlapping of /il/ and /êl/ does not occur in neutral environments.

Examples for *ay are: zêt "oil", lēla "evening", ĭrēša "small hut (rectangular shape), used for storage (of e.g. water)", haṭṭet "I placed", ġallett "I stayed", ĺef "guest", šēf "summer", ėš "bread", bilhēl "very, extremely", xēl "horses", ḡēri "fishing net", so called because it is carried on the back (i.e. to go

753 The degree of pausal raising is like the situation described for eŠA by WOIRDICH (1979), p. 77. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 204 transcribes ā ("a [ist] häufig im Auslaut nach i gefärbt") for his area 2 (eastern Šorqiyyah), which I interpret as being somewhere near I.P.A. [e], as in German "schätzen".
fishing without a boat")", and also ‘ëla "family", and a verb form yëbas "it (m. sg.) dries", and (unstressed *ay > e) in zëtân "olives".

Examples for *aw are: sôt "voice", dôr "floor", tôb "garment", yôm "day", gôm "enemy tribe", hôn "earthenware mortar used for grinding coffee", hôla "cross-eyed (f. sg.)", hôš "a courtyard for people made of mudbrick, or reed in semi-permanent constructions", òdah "room".

Verb forms: yôsal "he arrives", òcål "pay attention! (m. sg.)", yözín "he weighs", yôrd "he gets water".

1.2.4.2.

Minimal pairs for BA and Axa are:

- šâf "he saw" - šâf! "see!" - šôf "seeing"
- gâl "he said" - gûl! "say!" - gôl "saying"
- dën "debt" - din "religion"
- bëd "eggs (coll.)" - bîd "white (c. pl.)"

N.B. Verbal endings -aw and -ay do not occur in BA and AxA. Word-final -ay as in lay "to me", fay "in me", and ‘alay "on me" is not monophthongized.

1.2.4.3.

Like in group I, but hâda [ˈhɔːdə].

1.2.4.4.1.

Raising of reflexes of final *-â(’) only takes place in conformity with III, 1.2.3.4.3.3., e.g. (BA examples): ištâ "winter", šalât ilîśâa "evening prayer" (also AxA), ʿâśa "dinner" (also AxA), ʾînna "here" (~ more regularly hänâ in BA and AxA, and K-form hîna), and also the adverb ʾikda (< *kiḍâ) (~ kiḍa), mëfa "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground, used to bake bread", miʿza "goats", and the 3rd. pers. sg. f. suffix -ha (also AxA).754

N.B. Stressed articles are not current in BA and AxA.

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754 In ešA the situation is as described for BA and AxA, cf., for instance, ʾima "blind", WOIDICH (1979), p. 85, and īgma "blindfold", idra "sorghum", šîra "buy", iʾša "evening prayer", šîta "winter", ibid. p. 86, and forms in ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 222, and 244, b).
1.2.4.4.3.1.

In BA raising may occur in conformity with III, 1.2.3.4.3.3. A glottal catch never follows reflexes of final *-â(′) in BA. Instead, often an h-like off-glide may be heard, as is the case with realizations of T, e.g. mēfiḥ, ʾstiḥ.

1.2.4.4.3.2.

An a in open syllable preceding reflexes of final *-â(′) has no influence on the presence or absence of raising of these reflexes, e.g.: ilʾāšīḥ "the dinner".

1.2.4.4.4.

Cf. remarks in III, 1.2.3.4.3.3.

N.B. In BA and AXA the perfect of the verb "go" is ʾiḡa. a-type imperfects are yiynsa, yilga etc. In none of these forms mentioned was raising of a ever observed in BA, probably because they did not occur in pause. In AXA ʾiḡih # was recorded twice.

1.2.4.4.5.

Neither in BA and AXA, nor in BaA of group I, has morphological restructuring taken place; raising of final -a, whether of T or final *-â(′), is of a phonetic nature.

1.2.4.4.6.

Cf. remark in III, 1.2.4.4.3.1.

1.2.4.4.7.

Cf. remark in III, 1.2.4.4.4. A comparable form in BA is (measure t-2): bissawwe # "it (m. sg.) is done".

1.2.4.4.8.

Like in BaA, a form ʾalmiy may be heard as a B-form from neighbouring dialects. The current form in BA and AXA is ilnayya.

Like in BaA, plural endings in *-iy have an -iy reflex in BA, e.g. ʾigniy "bunches of dates"755, tšiṣiy "sticks", ṭirḥiy "hand-mills". And again like in BaA,

755 Since extreme raising of final *-â(′) is not known to occur in BA, igniy is more likely to be a reflex of *quniy or *qiniy than of *ʿaqna.
B. III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic. 337

these plurals have thus been kept separate from the older *-ā(') endings with their -a reflexes. Unfortunately no suffixed forms were recorded in BA.

No such forms occurred in the AxA material.

1.2.4.4.9.

The situation is like in group I, e.g. (BA): ma'nah "its (m. sg.) meaning", warāna "behind us", hawāy (fi) "I desire/love", ġāk "he came to you". Examples in AxA are: īgāh "he came to him", b hawāk "with your permission", warāha "after her".

1.2.4.5.1.

The situation is like in group I, except that in BA there may be a phonetic overlap of reflexes of *aw and reflexes of ā preceded by emphatics or X, since /ā/ tends to be lowered to a close [o:] in such positions, e.g. tūb [tə:b].

1.2.4.5.2.

The situation is like in group I. In a few instances in slower speech, an off-glide in stressed /el/ in neutral environment followed by a sibilant towards [s] was observed, e.g.: Bilbēs [bil'be:s] "Bilbeis, name of a town in the Šarqiyyah", 'ēs [e:ss] "bread".

1.2.4.5.3.

The situation is like in group I. In a few instances in slower speech, a slight off-glide of stressed /o/ preceding a sibilant could be heard, e.g. hōš [ho:ss] "courtyard".

1.2.4.6.

But for cases of "Systemzwang", and some prepositions suffixed with the 1st p. sg. pron. suffix, BA and AxA have no diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw.756

1.2.4.6.1.1.

Cf. 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.1.2.1.

Cf. 1.2.4.1.

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756 This is true for eŠA as well, ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 226-234.
1.2.4.6.1.2.2.

Cf. 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.2.1.

Word-final diphthongs -iy and -uw as reflexes of *-ï and *-û occur in BA and AXA as well, but are heard best in slower speech. In faster speech in sandhi the reflexes tend to be short, e.g. ǧam ani baṭhi ʿa lmēfa "I then started baking bread in the mēfa", and ilmēfa hādi byiʿmālu b ṣittīn "this mēfa they make with clay".

Diphthongs iy and uw resulting from anaptyxis occur regularly, e.g. ǧīdiykiy "your billy goat", # iyhuṭṭ "he puts", and ilbiluw # "the bedouins" (~ baduw in AXA).

1.2.4.7.

An example of prosodic lengthening for extra stress is: iblā:dnab "our land" (BA).

2. Stress and phonotactics.

2.1.1.

Stress in BA is of the maktdba-type. Stress in AXA is of the mdktaba-type. In both BA and AXA rule order is like in group I. The rules for BA are:

1) Like in group I.
21) The domain of stress is formed by the last three syllables, including the article il- and the in- (or it-) prefixes, and the suffixes.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity
4) The following types of "heavy" sequences occur: vCC(C), vC (including v(h)).

757 Like in BA, stress in ešA is of the maktdba-type, cf. WOIDICH (1979), pp. 81-2. Although ABUL FADL (1961), p. 242, and map 23 (p. 322), reports stress in his area 2 (the eastern Šargiyyah) to be madrasa, this is corrected to be madrīsa in WOIDICH (1979), p. 81. For a description of stress in the Šargiyyah, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 237-251: širīb, bālaḥ (p. 241, c)), bāgara, rāgaba (p. 242, d)).

Paradoxically, because of rule 51 b) further below, we may include the article and in- and it- prefixes in the rule for stressing, although they are not stressed.

ABUL FADL (1961), p. 243 reports stressable articles in the bedouin villages alHağra, Mīršāq ʿIżbit alʿAfṣī, and Čazīrīt Abu ʿAmr, but the article is il-, not *al-. Examples listed are: tiwilad, itiğanal, and also ilʿağīn (?).
5I) a) The vowel in the first "heavy" sequence from the right is stressed, unless the heavy sequence is followed by two open syllables. In that case b) the vowel of the following sequence is stressed. When no "heavy" sequences are available, c) the vowel of the first sequence from the left is stressed.

Rules 1), 3) and 4) are true for AxA as well. Rule 2II) for AxA reads:

2II) The domain of stress is formed by the last three or four (?, cf. III, 2.1.1.2.1.3.) syllables, excluding the article il- and the in- (or it-) prefixes (provisional*), but including the suffixes.

Rule 5II) for AxA is:

5II) a) The vowel in the first "heavy" sequence from the right is stressed. When no "heavy" sequences are available,

b) the vowel in the first syllable from the left is stressed.

* ad 2II) Provisional, since there is only one instance of a 1-t participle available: muhtāram "respected", which may well be a loan (therefore not *mihtāram). No further instances of n-1 or -t verb forms were recorded, which gives us too little information to form a conclusion here. As far as the article is concerned, things are clearer in AxA: ësßahat "the month", il‘ārab "the bedouins", ilğanam "the small cattle", ilgaşr ilmálaki "the royal castle", although two instances of stressed articles were recorded as well: álğanam, and álbil, which are best interpreted as B-forms (notice that the vowel of the article is also a in these cases!).

2.1.1.1.

In conformity with III, 2.1.1. rule 5I) and 5II) a) (BA and AxA): gumt "I got up", šutfu "I saw him", biddha "she wants", kibir "large", šustūh "you (m. pl.) saw him", ñaga "she-came!", tğâhâlna "we met", ašiidd "I pull", and râqabatî "my neck".

In conformity with III, 2.1.1. rule 5I) b) (BA): madrása "school", yinçárrib "he is beaten", mêdâna "minaret", mërâka "cushion supporting the leg of a camel rider", gönása "gizzard".
In conformity with III, 2.1.1. rule 5\(II\) a) (\(Ax\)A): \(m\acute{a}g'\text{dak}\) "your men's circle", \(y\acute{i}sma'\text{u}\) "they hear", \(\text{\(\check{t}\)}\text{\(\check{r}\)}\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(b\)u}\) "drink! (m. pl.)", \(\text{\(\check{t}\)}\text{\(\check{l}\)}\check{\(\check{l}\)}\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(t\)}\) "she raised", \(\text{\(y\)\(\check{s}\)}\text{\(\check{y}\)}\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(l\)u}\) "they arrive".}

2.1.1.2.1.

In conformity with III, 2.1.1. rule 5\(I\) c) and 5\(II\) b) (\(BA\) and \(Ax\)A): \(d\acute{a}x\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(l\)at}\) "he entered", \(d\acute{a}x\check{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(l\)at}\) "she entered", \(n\acute{a}x\text{\(\check{a}\)}\) "date palms", \(m\acute{a}r\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(t\)u}\) "his wife", \(x\acute{\check{d}}\text{\(\check{a}\)}\text{\(t\)u}\) "she took it (m. sg.)", \(m\acute{a}s\acute{a}k\text{\(\check{u}\)\(\check{\(\check{a}\)k}\)}\) "they took", \(m\acute{a}h\acute{f}\\text{\(\check{d}\)}\text{\(a\)}\text{\(t\)a\)k}\) "your wallet" (last example heard only in \(BA\), not available for \(Ax\)A).

2.1.1.2.1.3.

When four open syllables with short vowels occur (the first three of which, by necessity, contain a): \(CaCaCaCv(C)\), and the penultimate is the f. sg. verb perf. -at suffix or the f. sg. -at preceding a vowel-initial obj. or poss. suffix\(759\), the vowel of this penultimate syllable is stressed in \(BA\): \(\text{\(\check{d}\)\(\check{a}\)r\(\check{a}\)b\(\check{a}\)\(\check{\text{\(\check{t}\)u}\)\)}\) "she hit him", \(\text{a\(\check{g}\)\(a\)b\(a\)\(\check{t}\)a\)k}\) "it (f.) pleased you", \(m\acute{a}s\acute{a}k\text{\(\check{u}\)\(\check{\(\check{a}\)k}\)}\) "she took it", \(\text{\(r\)\(a\)g\(a\)b\(a\)\text{\(\\check{\(\check{a}\)t}\)a\)k}\)\) "your neck".\(760\)

In \(Ax\)A however, both \(\text{\(r\)\(a\)g\(a\)b\(a\)\text{\(\\check{\(\check{a}\)t}\)a\)k}\)\) (one instance) and \(\text{\(r\)\(a\)g\(a\)b\(a\)\text{\(\\check{\(\check{a}\)t}\)a\)k}\)\) (twice) "your neck" were recorded, and no examples of verbal \(CaCaCaCv(C)\), which leaves too little for any definitive conclusions.

2.1.1.2.1.4.

Stress in \(CiCiC\) in \(BA\) and \(Ax\)A: \(\text{\(t\)\(i\)l\(i\)}\, \text{\(n\)\(i\)z\(i\)}\, \text{\(r\)\(i\)k\(i\)b\),} \text{\(s\)\(i\)m\(i\)}\, \text{\(k\)\(i\)b\(i\)r\, (~ \(k\)\(u\)b\(u\)r),} \) and also \(l\text{\(i\)g\(i\)\(t\)}\)\((y), \text{\(n\)\(i\)s\(i\)\(t\)}\)\((y).\)

2.1.1.2.1.5.

If we assume a stress shift has taken place in \(BA\) as well, we can account for the high vowel in the first syllable of \(i\)-type perfects. This high vowel is dropped in unstressed open syllables, so we may conclude that it is underlying \(\text{lil}\) as well, i.e. the base form has been morphologically restructured, as in e.g. \(\text{\(s\)\(r\)\(i\)b\(t\)}\) "I drank", \(n\text{\(z\)\(i\)l\(t\)}\) "I descended".

In \(Ax\)A there are examples where \(i\) in comparable positions is not dropped: \(m\text{\(a\) \(l\)\(i\)g\(i\)\(t\)\(s\)\) "he did not find", and \(m\text{\(a\) \(i\)r\(i\)f\(i\)t\) "you did not know", and \(s\text{\(i\)m\(i\)\(t\)\(\text{\(\check{t}\)\(\check{t}\)\(\check{\(t\)h\)\)\)\)h}\) "you heard it (m. sg.)", so a conclusion of \(i\) being underlying \(\text{lil}\) is justified for \(Ax\)A.

\(759\) The only possibility of such a sequence occurring being the two cases described.

\(760\) Stress in comparable \(\text{\(e\)\(S\)A}\) forms is the same, cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 84: \(\text{\(s\)\(a\)\(\check{\(\check{a}\)l\)\(\text{\(\check{a}\)t\)u}\)}\), \(\text{\(s\)\(a\)\(g\)\(a\)\(r\)\(d\)\(a\)\(t\)\a\)k}\), in which stress is morphologically fixed.
The argument for a historical stress shift in BA and AxA becomes stronger if we wish to account for such forms as *ir'kab* "knees" and *i'nab* "grapes"; and also in AxA: *iktat* "pieces", *išba* "youthfulness", and *i'nab*.

2.1.1.2.1.6.
No resyllabication rule for *CaCaCv* sequences is active in BA or AxA.\(^{761}\)

2.1.1.2.2.1.
Nominals with preceding article (BA and AxA): *ilgámāl* "the camel", *innáxal* "the datepalms".
Perfect forms of *n*-1 (BA): *indábah* "it (m. sg.) was slaughtered", *inwákal* "it (m. sg.) was eaten, *intáhat* "it (f. sg.) ended".
Imperfect forms of *n*-1 (BA): *yindábih* "it (m. sg.) is slaughtered", *yinwáxid* "it (m. sg.) is taken", *yintáhiy* "it (m. sg.) ends".
Perfect forms of *t*-1 (BA): *imásu* "he was forgotten", *itráma* "it (m. sg.) was thrown".
Imperfect forms of *t*-1 (BA): *yitnásiy* "he is forgotten", *yitrámiy* "it (m. sg.) is thrown".
Perfect forms of 1-*t* (BA): *iltáfat* "he looked back", *ištára* "he bought", *ibtáda* "he began".
Imperfect forms of 1-*t* (BA): *yiltáfīt* "he looks back", *yištáriy* "he buys", *yibtádiy* "he begins".\(^{762}\)

2.1.1.2.2.2.
Stress in nominals (BA and AxA): *irrágaba* "the neck", *iššágara* "the tree", and also (only BA) *mahfádatak* "your wallet".
Stress in verb forms (only BA): *ittáfagu* "they agreed", *ittáxadat* "it (f. sg.) was taken", *iriáhalu* "they set out on a journey", *indábahu* "they were slaughtered".

2.1.2.1.
Reflexes of final *-ā(') are not stressed in BA, e.g.: *sódā* "black (f sg.)", *šita* "winter", *ihna* (though more regularly *hānā*) "here", *išā* "dinner", *šalāt ilša* "the evening prayer", *gáfā* "nape of the neck". In AxA they are not stressed either: *dša* "dinner", *išba* "youthfulness".

\(^{761}\) This resyllabication is not reported for eŠA either.

\(^{762}\) The same *yiC₁diC₂iC₃* imperfect pattern is current in the eastern Šarqiyyah, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), map 30 (p. 329), and WOIDICH (1979), p. 90.
With a preceding article stress remains where it is, e.g. (BA): \textit{ilīṣ}ta, \textit{ilgāja} and \textit{ṣalāt ilīṣa} (also AxA).

N.B. Although the definite article is hardly ever stressed, it is in stock lexemes such as \textit{ālbil} "the camels" and \textit{ālmīy} "the water", which must be loans from neighbouring bedouin dialects (since the vowel of the article is \textit{a})\textsuperscript{763}, and are best interpreted as B-forms\textsuperscript{764}.

2.1.2.2.

Stress in reflexes of \textit{*CaCly} is invariably on the first syllable, e.g. (BA): \textit{tīriy} "dry", \textit{gīniy} "rich" (also AxA), \textit{nībiy} "prophet" (one instance of \textit{innābiy} in AxA), and also \textit{fiği}y "Koran reciter".

2.1.2.3.

With the definite article preceding \textit{*CaCly}, stress remains where it is (BA): \textit{innībiy} (\textit{innābiy} in AxA) "the Prophet".

When suffixed, \textit{iy} → \textit{i} as in (BA and AxA) \textit{layālitha} "those nights (adverbially)"), and the same holds for verbs, as in \textit{tišwiḥ} "you grill it (m. sg.)".

Final \textit{nisbah} endings -\textit{iy} are not stressed, e.g. (BA and AxA) Biyyādiy "belonging to the Biyyādiyyah", but stressed when suffixed: Biyyādiyya.

Reflexes of suffixed CA *-iya verbal endings: \textit{nislḥ} "he forgot him", \textit{liglḥa} "he found her" (BA\textsuperscript{765} and AxA).

2.1.2.4.

When the gahawah-vowel \textit{a} is inserted in aXC clusters (cf. I, 2.2.1.1.), this \textit{a} may be stressed in conformity with the rules in III, 2.1.1., e.g.: unstressed in (BA) \textit{nāxal} "date palms", \textit{bāḥar} "sea" (also AxA), \textit{lāḥam} "meat" (also AxA), \textit{sāḥar} "month" (also AxA), and stressed in \textit{ba'ādhum} "each other" (also AxA), \textit{naxālha} "her datepalms".

But there are ample examples of the gahawah-vowel not appearing in such sequences, e.g. (BA): \textit{ṭd'imḥa} "its (f.) taste", and \textit{māhirḥa} "her dowry", \textit{ḍāhirḥa} "her back" (although in one instance \textit{ḍahar} by an older speaker), \textit{ḍhilḥa}

\textsuperscript{763} Although these forms may be loans, their stressing is perfectly consistent with the rules formulated above.

\textsuperscript{764} Cf. fn 94 to A. III. b. True bedouin dialect.

\textsuperscript{765} I failed to check whether the \textit{i} of the first syllable is dropped in such forms in BA, like in \textit{nsīḥ}, \textit{lgīt} etc. (cf. III, 3.2.2.5.1.)
"her family" and also bâgiltu "his she-mule". An example in AxA: āhilha (~ one instance of ahâlha, by the same older speaker) (cf. III, 2.2.1.1.).

2.1.2.5.

In cases where the high vowel in open syllable follows a geminate, which is phonetically close to, or identical with the consonant which follows that high vowel, the high vowel is not elided in conformity with III, 2.4.4., but neither is it stressed. If it is not stressed in AxA (no such forms were recorded), this would not be an exception to the stress rule for AxA (cf. III, 2.1.1. 51 a) ), but it is an exception to the stress rule for BA.

Examples of this exception to the rule described for BA in III, 2.1.1. 51 b) are (BA): bihâllilu "they ululate", bihâddidu "they demarcate", mzâxxixa "foul smelling (f. sg.)", where one might expect •bihâllîlu, •bihâddîdu, •mzâxxîxa.

Other examples of such morphophonemic non-elision of the high vowel, which is then not stressed in conformity with III, 2.1.1. 51 b) are: gûttitu "his cat", and hîttitu "his piece".

2.1.3.1.

In BA one would hear min tîht or min tâht. (For stress in negated pronominals in BA, cf. III, 3.1.13.1.).

2.1.3.2.1.

When the preposition / + suffix is enclitically appended, the resulting form is treated as one single stress-unit, e.g. (BA): gûltlu "I said to him", gâlî "he said to him" (also AxA), gâlîtlu "she said to him", gâlîli "they said to me", gâlîhum "he said to them", and an additional example in AxA: gîbulu "bring (m. p.) to him!" (For enclitic allomorphs, cf. III, 3.17.).

2.1.3.2.2.

Enclitic b + suffix does not seem to be very regular in BA, but a recorded example is: il’ašah illi bisîgbâha Ibadawi îgamal "the stick with which a bedouin drives the camel". No examples were recorded in AxA.

2.2. Phonotactics.

2.2.1.1.

Insertion of a in aXC → aX_C occurs to a limited extent in BA and AxA. When the vowel a is inserted in such clusters, it occurs mainly in nominals, not
in verbs, and this a is only stressed according to the rules formulated in III, 2.2.1.: e.g. náxal "date palms" (BA), báhar "sea" (BA and AXA), láđham "meat" (BA and AXA), šáhar "month" (BA and AXA), baťâqhúm "each other" (BA and AXA), naxálha "her datepalms" (BA). Another example in AXA: máḥal "barren, dry (of land)". The gahawah-vowel in these forms has become stable a.\textsuperscript{766}

The nominal forms listed above suggest that the syndrome may have been present in BA at a certain stage, but more examples listed below will show that it has been lost, leaving behind a number of "frozen" traces (i.e. the forms with the stable gahawah-vowel), which have joined the CaCaC nominals\textsuperscript{767}. The gahawah-vowel a survived in positions where often an anaptyctic (i or u) would have had to appear had it been lost, i.e. in the ultimate syllable when followed by C or #, but less so in word-medial position, unless a nom. unitatis is coined by suffixing the feminine suffix to a frozen form, or a vowel-initial suffix is added, so that the gahawah-vowel becomes word-medial: náxala "palm tree", láhama "piece of meat". And in both BA and AXA: bá'ad (~ bo'èd) "after", and wâhada "one (f. sg.)", although this last form may also be explained as a mixture of wàhida "one (f.)" and 'ahad "someone".

In many forms however, the gahawah-vowel is absent, e.g. (BA): báģîltu "his she-mule", šaḥîn #, "bowl", šâhra "desert" (also AXA), gahwa "coffee", gâhîš # "donkey", na'īğa "ewe", sa'îb # "difficult", naḥîl # "bees", ta'mu "its (m.) taste", tâ'îmha "its (f.) taste", and máhirha "her dowry", ñâhirha "her back" (although in one instance ñâhar by an older man in BA, and once hâdjâhâr in AXA), ahlî "his family", ñâhiha "her family" (also AXA). An additional example from AXA: ġâ'n "trek with camels".\textsuperscript{768}

Notice that among these last examples there are many highly sonorous consonants following X as well. The presence or absence of the gahawah-vowel following X therefore appears to be unrelated to the degree of sonority of the next consonant.

2.2.2.1.

The bukařa-vowel insertion occurs much less regularly than in group I, but instances recorded in BA are (simple bukařa-vowels are underlined): bizîrît

\textsuperscript{766} In one instance an older BA speaker was recorded using a type of mixed form yi'âğinnu "they (f.) knead it" twice, after which he used more regular BA yi'îğinnu.

\textsuperscript{767} A very workable rule of thumb is to suffix such words with consonant-initial suffixes, and present the various alternatives to native speakers: when their responses show stressed anaptyctics, one may conclude that the gahawah-syndrome has created "full" syllables.

\textsuperscript{768} An active gahawah-syndrome is not reported for eŠA.
ilwis iittäsi' "the seed of Louis IX", hätt bakaraqū fi nnār "having placed his bakrāq in the fire", w aṣurud bēhe # "and I flee with her". Examples in AxA: bákaraq "coffeepot", and an example of a proclitic bukara-vowel in # urūzz "rice".769

Examples with vowels resulting from the "expanded" bukara-syndrome are (BA): tigta' il'ağir iw tišwīh fi nnār "you cut the young melons and grill them in the fire", and gābu lēh xamīr iw ḥattūh lēh fi ʿodāh "they brought him wine, and put it in a room for him."

These bukara-vowels are not stressed in BA and AxA.

2.2.2.2.

An instance of morphophonemic l-elision not taking place through the influence of liquids (BA): msaytirīn "controlling (m. pl.)", and in AxA mhammilāh "having loaded (f. sg.) them (m. sg.) up".

Preserved high vowels (underlined) in sandhi, possibly through the influence of l (BA): nīżīl ilwād dīh "this boy descended", ḡarādīl ilblastik "plastic buckets". An example in AxA: wiṣīl ēh? "where did he arrive?" (but also wiṣl ilxabar ilmalik "the news reached the king").

An "expanded" bukara-vowel (BA): lamma yi'nībṣīn fī rramīl urubṭīhīn "if they scratch (with their paws) in the sand, tie them up!" (no example with l recorded in AxA).

2.2.2.2.1.

Stress being regularly on the vowel following the "heavy" sequence in article il + CvCvC (cf. II, 2.1.1.), as in (BA) irrağīl ibtā' il'eṣ "the man of the bread", it is not possible to decide here whether the high vowel in the ultimate syllable of irragīl is a preserved high vowel in sandhi, or an "expanded" bukara-vowel (in contrast to group I, cf. I, 2.2.2.2.1.). Similarly the example in AxA: irragīl issabi' "the strong man", and also the AxA example irragīl ilkīrīm "the noble man" do not give us any clues; the high base vowel may have been dropped in sandhi, or the "expanded" bukara-vowel fails to appear due to allegro speech.

The general term ālbul "the camels" was recorded several times in BA, and once in AxA, but a more current term is liğmāl.

769 A special case, and by no means regular in AxA. Such proclitic vowels are reported in the area south of Bani Śwēf between (appr.) ilFāṣn and Gūlūṣana in the Nile valley, cf. BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1985b), maps 47-8.
2.2.2.3.

No delay in the articulation of \( n \) was observed in BA or AxA.

2.2.3.

No delay in the articulation of \( ' \) was observed in BA or in AxA.

2.3. Anaptyxis.

Rule order in BA and AxA is like in group I. Rules for anaptyxis in BA and AxA are as described for group I.

An exception to these rules for anaptyxis are \( ibni'amm \) "nephew", and \( binti'amm \) "niece", which are not \( *ibin 'amm \) and \( *bint 'amm \).

2.3.1. - 2.3.2.3.

Cf. preceding paragraph.

2.3.2.4.

Remarks made for group I hold for BA and AxA as well, except that here we have a further development: the anaptyctic which often must have preceded the cluster in \( 'nab \) (e.g. \( # s'nab \)) has become stressed, so that the restructured morphological base form is now \( i'nab \) (cf. III, 2.3.5. for more detail).

2.3.3.1. - 2.3.3.3.

The situation is largely as described for group I.

2.3.3.3.1.

The situation is like in group I, cf. I, 2.3.3.3.1.

2.3.3.3.2.

No anaptyctic in BA or AxA e.g.: \( 'indhum \) "with them", \( 'indha \) "with her", \( 'indna \) "with us".

In sandhi a three-consonant cluster is not resolved either, e.g. \( 'ind xâlî \) Sâlma "with my aunt Sâlma" (BA), and \( 'ind gânamu \) "with his small cattle" (AxA).
2.3.3.3.3.
M. and f. pron. suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. behave predictably in BA and \( {\text{AgA}} \).

2.3.4.
Remarks for group I are valid for BA and \( \text{AxA} \) as well.

2.3.5.
The morphological base of nominals which historically had a \( CICV(C) \) pattern has been restructured in BA to be \( iCCV(C) \). The anaptyctics that originally resolved initial clusters stabilized, and could therefore become stressed,\(^{770}\) e.g.: \( i\text{š}a \) (*\( š\text{š}a \)) "winter", \( \text{salāt i\text{š}a} \) (*\( \text{i\text{š}a} \)) "evening prayer" (but \( \text{ā\text{š}a} \) "dinner"), \( \text{idrā\text{d}ra} \) (reconstructed \( \text{durā} \)) "sorghum", \( \text{ihna} \) "here" (\( ~ \) more regularly \( \text{hāna} \), and K-form \( \text{hi\text{n}a} \)), and also the interjection \( \text{id}ka \) (*\( \text{kidā} \)) "thus, like this", although the K-form \( \text{ki\text{d}a} \) can often be heard.

\( \text{īniy} \) "females", \( \text{īgni} \) (~ \( \text{gnāw} \)) "bunches of dates", \( \text{i\text{š}iy} \) "sticks", \( \text{ir\text{h}iy} \) "hand-mills", \( \text{i\text{n}ab} \) "grapes", \( \text{i\text{r}tā\text{b}} \) "ripe dates", \( \text{i\text{r}kā\text{b}} \) "knees", \( \text{i\text{gr}ā\text{b}} \) "waterskins", \( \text{i\text{br}ak} \) "ponds", \( \text{i\text{lh}al} \) "heaps", \( \text{i\text{t}a\text{c}} \) "pieces", \( \text{i\text{sw}al} \) "sacks", but not in (loaned) \( \text{gi\text{r}af} \) "rooms", and when the first radical is \( *\text{tā\text{d}āq} \) "rooms", \( \text{ā\text{b}ar} \) "needles".

Judging by the few examples available to us in \( \text{AxA} \), the remarks made for BA appear valid for \( \text{AxA} \) as well. These \( \text{AxA} \) examples are: \( \text{i\text{š}a\text{b}a} \) "youthfulness", \( \text{salāt i\text{š}a\text{š}a} \) "evening prayer", \( \text{i\text{n}ab} \) "grapes", and \( \text{i\text{h}t\text{a\text{t}i}} \) "pieces".

The new phonemic status of such older anaptyctics may be established with a contrasting minimal pair: \( \text{i\text{gr}ā\text{b}} \) "watersacks" - \( \text{ā\text{g}rā\text{b}} \) "nearer".

N.B. For the suffixed preposition \( \text{la} \) in BA and \( \text{AxA} \), cf. III, 3.1.16.

2.4. Elision of short vowels.
Remarks made for group I are valid for BA and \( \text{AxA} \) as well.

2.4.1.
Remarks made for group I are valid for BA and \( \text{AxA} \) as well.

\(^{770}\) Comparable forms are found in \( \text{eŞA} \), cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 222, and WOIDICH (1979), p. 86.

Notice also that in BA these anaptyctics have become stressed \( i \), irrespective of the consonantal environment and in contrast to the stressed preformatives of imperatives which are \( i \) or \( u \), cf. in this respect the remarks made by MITCHELL (1960), pp. 384-5.
2.4.2.

Remarks made for group I are valid for BA and AXA as well.

2.4.3.

Two examples from BA: kull wāhid biğahhz ib ṭarigtu "everyone prepares in his (own) manner", and mósim irmāyi ilgamḥ "the season for sowing wheat".

The rules are applied in the following order: (1) biğahhz + b + ṭarigtu → (2) biğahhz b ṭarigtu → (3) biğahhz ib ṭarigtu → (4) biğahhz ib ṭarigtu, where the cluster zbt is first resolved, after which the high vowel in the last syllable of biğahhz is dropped.

Similarly: (1) mósim + rmāyi ilgamḥ → (2) *mósim rmāyi ilgamḥ → (3) mósim irmāyi ilgamḥ → (4) mósim irmāyi ilgamḥ.

Since mósim irmāyi ilgamḥ (without the optional sandhi elision of i in mósim) is an acceptable alternative in sandhi, the interpretation of step (2) preceding step (3), rather than the two steps being in the reverse order, is preferred here.

2.4.4.

Examples in BA: biḥāddidu "they set", biğāddidu "they renew", mzāxxixa "foul smelling (f. sg.)". Similarly, i is not dropped in nominals, e.g.: bnīitiitu "his (many) daughters", ḥīttiitu "its piece", giĭtiitu "his cat". No examples are available for AXA.

2.5. Assimilation.

In BA and AXA the same assimilations occur as in group I. In addition to the obligatory assimilation of ṭ of the article to "sunletters", ʃ very regularly has assimilating power as well, although such assimilation is optional, e.g.: iggerān "the neighbours", iggerābal "the desert (lit. the mountain)", iggeridiy "the billy-goat", iggeriza "the marriage", iggerura "the tracks", but also ilgīrān, ilgībal, etc.

The other types of assimilation as listed in I, 2.5. are also heard in BA and AXA, except for the progressive total assimilation of h of the pronominal suffixes -ha and -hum, which is not current.

3.1.1.1.1.

In the dialect of the Hrūš section (in Rāb‘a) assimilation of /a/ may take place in open syllables preceding /l/ in the pattern C₁aC₂iC₃(a) → C₁iC₂iC₃(a) when C₁ is neutral, i.e. not X, e.g.: kitir "much", ǧidid "new", digīg "flour". 
B. III. A description of Biyyāḍiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

gienid "solid", yinin "right", but when followed by a labial the short vowel tends to be more akin to /u/ : iuwil "long".

In a guttural environment, the vowel is often not raised in assimilation\(^771\): šatir "barley", qatip "weak", raksiṣ "cheap", baṣil "stingy", gabip "saddle", ḥadid "iron", aqin "dough", nor when preceding /l/ or /r/ tarīga "manner", farīsa "prey", sarīma "bridle", zarīca "agriculture", galī "little", galīs "one with whom one sits". And with both factors involved: ḥarim "women", ḥarīs "bridegroom", ḥalīb "milk", although forms like hidid, qīgin, qirīda "palm leaf" may occur. Similarly in AxA: ḥarim "women", xabīr "expert", ḥagiqa "truth", xafīf "light", nasīb "portion". But forms like kirīm "noble", bi'ir "camel", qīgīd "leader (of a tribe)", xafīf "light" and niṣīb "portion" were also heard in AxA.\(^772\) The resulting i is never dropped.

Also, when preceded by *' this assimilation does not take place (BA): aṣīl "thoroughbred", and 1st c. sg. imperf. forms of med. inf. verbs: ağīb "I bring" (also AxA).

The vowel /l/ or /u/ resulting from this assimilation is not elided\(^773\) in BA and AxA nominals, not even in sandhi, and may be considered to remain "underlyingly" lał.

N.B. In the dialect of the Biyyāḍiyah from Nağilah, the Mawālkah section, and from G-gayi', the Mrābiyyin section, this assimilation is reported not to take place\(^774\). We therefore find: laṣimah "a type of food", Nağilah\(^775\) "place name Nağilah", yamin "right", and like in BA (Hråś section): gabīt "saddle".

\(^771\) Cf. JOHNSTONE (1967b), p. 11, where this assimilation does occur when C\(_2\) is a guttural.

\(^772\) This seems to be an ongoing change, possibly influenced by the dialect of al'Arīs in which this assimilation is also conditioned by consonantal environment, but where the the resulting high vowel is dropped: ikūr, iǧīd, cf. V, 3.1.1.1.1.

\(^773\) This type of non-elision of superficially high vowels i and u, but which are underlyingly lał, is termed "very 'différentiel' " in BLANC (1970), p. 5 (116).

\(^774\) Cf. JOHNSTONE (1967b), p. 11, where this assimilation does occur when C\(_2\) is a guttural.

\(^775\) On C\(_1\)aC\(_2\)C\(_3\) in eSA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 270, map 31 (p. 330), and WOIDICH (1979), p. 84. Cf. also remarks by GROTFELD (1964), p. 107, § 107, on whether we should perhaps regard a as underlying lał, i.e. a long vowel, in these cases. Cf. also fn 779 to III, 3.1.1.8.

\(^775\) At football matches the Biyyāḍiyah from Rāb'ah teasingly shout to the Biyyāḍiyah from Niğilah: Nağilêh, Nağilêh!!, also meaning: "Why do we come (here)?" (to beat them, I suppose).
B. III. A description of Biyyâdiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

3.1.1.1.2.

In reflexes of \(*C_1aC_2iC_3\) raising of \(a\) is quite regular in BA and AxA, e.g. (BA): \(\text{ti} \text{ri} \text{y} \) "dry", \(\text{gi} \text{n} \text{i} \text{y} \) "rich", \(\text{i} \text{n} \text{n} \text{i} \text{b} \text{i} \text{y} \) "the Prophet", \(\text{fi} \text{gi} \) (CA *\(\text{faq} \text{i} \text{h}\)) "legal expert", \(\text{bi} \text{r} \text{i} \text{y} \) (CA \(\text{bar} \text{i} \text{r}\)) "innocent", and also \(\text{wi} \text{l} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \) "woman", but (in poetry) \(\text{s} \text{a} \text{b} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \) "girl".

Comparable forms in AxA: \(\text{gi} \text{n} \text{i} \text{y} \) "rich", \(\text{wi} \text{s} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \) "instruction", \(\text{wi} \text{l} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \) "woman", but \(\text{s} \text{a} \text{b} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \) "girl", and (once, presumably a CA loan) \(\text{i} \text{n} \text{n} \text{a} \text{b} \text{i} \text{y} \) "the Prophet".

N.B. The BA and AxA imperfect for "go" is \(\text{yi} \text{g} \text{i} \).

3.1.1.2.

No reflexes of \(*C_1aC_2iC_3\) nominals were recorded in BA or AxA. The \(a\) in the perfect of verbs of this pattern is raised, and is no longer underlying \(\text{lal}\) in BA, since it is dropped in unstressed positions, e.g. \(\text{si} \text{r} \text{i} \text{b} \) "he drank", \(\text{s} \text{r} \text{i} \text{b} \text{t} \) "I drank". This means that the base form has been morphologically restructured (cf. III, 3.2.1.1.).

In AxA the raised \(a\) is still underlying \(\text{lal}\), since the examples available do not show elision, e.g.: \(\text{m} \text{a} \text{l} \text{i} \text{g} \text{i} \text{s} \) "he did not find", \(\text{m} \text{a} \text{ l} \text{ i} \text{r} \text{i} \text{f} \text{t} \) "you did not know", \(\text{s} \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{t} \text{u} \text{h} \) "you (pl.) heard it (m. sg.)".

3.1.1.3.

Like in group I, e.g.: \(\text{s} \text{akk} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \) (although more usually \(\text{x} \text{o} \text{s} \text{a}\)) "knife", \(\text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d} \text{i} \text{l} \) "handkerchief", \(\text{k} \text{a} \text{b} \text{r} \text{i} \text{t} \) "matches", \(\text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d} \text{i} \text{l} \) "jellyfish", \(\text{b} \text{a} \text{t} \text{t} \text{i} \text{x} \) "watermelons", but \(\text{i} \text{b} \text{r} \text{i} \text{g} \) "water jug" (all BA). No examples are available for AxA.

3.1.1.4.

The \(a\) in closed syllable in \(\text{CaCCaC}\) (either \(\text{C_1aC_2C_2aC_3}\) or \(\text{C_1aC_2C_3an}\)) is regularly raised in BA and AxA irrespective of phonetic environment. This compulsory raising occurs conforming to the rule described in I, 3.1.1.4., but has resulted in morphological restructuring of the \(*\text{CaCCaC}\) pattern as \(\text{CICCaC}\) in BA and AxA.\(^{776}\)

\(^{776}\) In eȘA the same morphological restructuring has taken place, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 265, maps 26-7 (pp. 325-6), and WOIDICH (1979), pp. 84-5, 3.2.
3.1.1.4.1.

giddäha "cigarette lighter", šiyyäd "fisherman", filläh "farmer", ḡizzār "butcher", hīggān "camel rider", ġinnām "shepherd", xiddām "servant", ḥissād "an envious person (having an evil eye)"; šīḥhāt "beggar"; and also ḡillābiyya "men's garment", Biyyādiyyah "name of the tribe of BA speakers". An example in AxA is: ḏīḥāk "frequently laughing".

With a following the (velarized) labial the quality of the high vowel can, but need not necessarily be more akin to u (BA): zummāra "siren", Ẓubbāḥ "Ṣubbāḥ, male given name), suwwāq "driver".

3.1.1.4.2.

Examples in BA are: kislān "lazy", ʿittān "idle", wiğʿān "hurting", yībsān "dry", zihgān "fed up", ʿilfān "good-for-nothing", but ǧaʿān "hungry", which must have developed from ʾgīʿān, in which ā was consequently shortened → ģīʿān, after which ā could easily be assimilated to ā over ʾ. In a loan from CA, however: irRahmān "the Merciful", and in a poetic passage sahrān "sleepless". Examples in AxA: milyān "full", tiʿbāna "in a bad condition (f. sg.)", but the CA loan irRahmān "the Merciful".

N.B. Regular BA forms are marrāt "times", garrāt "earthenware vessels", but inhabitants of the Šarqiyyah, Garbiyyah and the "barr" (i.e. the desert) are called (ṣarg →) širgāwī, -yyīn, (pl.), (garb →) gīrbāwī, -yyīn, (barṛ →) biṛṭāwī, -yyīn (or barāra (pl.)) respectively (all BA), reflecting morphophonemic raising of a. 777

3.1.1.5.

Apart from an instance (in a poetic passage) nīfāyil "lavish gifts", raised ā in ...CaCāC... does not regularly occur in BA or AxA, e.g. (BA and AA): zamān "in the old days", gawāfīl "caravans (of camels)", gābāyil "tribes", makān "place", but also nḥāṣ (BA), which must hark back to *niḥāṣ. 778

N.B. No raising of ā in 'alā + suff.: 'ālēḥ, 'alēna, etc. in BA or AxA.

777 Cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 80, 2.4.
3.1.1.6.

The raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed a does not occur in BA or AXA nominals, e.g.: labâนha "her milk", walâдha "her son", nor in BA verb forms, e.g.: fatâحtu "I opened it (m. sg.)", ġasâلtha "I washed it (f. sg.)", табаът "I cooked", etc.

Notice that CaCaC in BA and AXA is always stressed CâCaC (cf. III, 2.1.1.).

3.1.1.8.

In BA of Râbʿa, the a in reflexes of C₁Ca₂uC₃(a) is raised to u, ġumûs "food dip", and ʿumûd "pillar, post", xurûf "ram", ʿurûs "bride", guʿûd "young male camel".

In BA of Ǧıayyi and Nağila this raising is reported not to take place: ġamûs, ʿamûd, xarûf, gaʿûd.779

Also, ʿiğûz "old woman" was heard several times in BA of Râbʿa, but with * preceding: abûh "his father", axûh "his brother", and in verb forms (b)agûm "I get up", (b)arûh "I go".

One example in AXA suggests a situation similar to BA of Ǧıayyi and Nağila: ʿarûs "bride" (recorded twice). The examples abûh, and axûh are current in AXA as well.

N.B. ġamûsa "buffalo cow", Balûğa "Pelusium, place name", šarûga "fuel chamber of oven", kanûn "earthenware or metal tray (metal with legs) used for heating with glowing embers inside the house or in the hūš" are all reflexes of the *CâCaC(a) pattern.

*zayûn "olives" is as expected: zêtûn.

779 For the information on BA of Nağila and Ǧıayyi I had to rely on a secondary source (a native speaker of BA from Râbʿa). Unfortunately I have been unable to verify this information. It must be observed, however, that this informant from Râbʿa was not very consistent himself in this respect. Perhaps we have to assume underlying long vowels in these cases, cf. GROTZFELD (1964), p. 107 § 107 c. Another informant (also a BA speaker from Râbʿa) told me that they actually pronounce hàkûma, ʿarûs, ʿamûd, gaʿûd but also kâbir, şâgîr, ū̱wâlî. Notice that the same (i.e. C₁aC₂uC₃ and C₁aC₂uC₃) patterns are current in eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 270, map 31 (p. 330). Cf. also fn 774 to II, 3.1.1.1.
B. III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

3.1.1.9.
In BA both kūtur and kītir, as well as kūbur and kībir were recorded. In AxA only kītir was recorded.

3.1.1.10.
The pl. of āsad in BA is usūd. afam is not current for "mouth" in BA, but xašm or hanak is.

3.1.2.
Some reflexes of *CaCC(ah) include (BA): bidw, ģidy, tīkt ~ taht, fiḥm, šikl ~ šakl, šīlun, kirš, wiżh, but ģašš, kalb, wāhada, sašb, šadr, waql ~ akl. In AxA: ģidy, tūh, šikl, wiżh ~ waţh, but badw, kalb, wāhada.

3.1.3.
Two reflexes of *CaCiC(ah) are kilma "word", širka "company" (BA).

3.1.4.
In BA: binn, ruzz, kull, kimm, anuş, axt, ġim'a, hinna, zibda. gissa "story", xulla, ġurda, gursa, ġuffa, tur'a, šigga "women's section/oblong tent piece". In AxA: ruzz, kull, anuş, axt, hinna, gissa.

3.1.5.
Remarks for group I are valid for BA and AxA as well, e.g. šmāl "left", sbū '781 "week" (but also asbū in BA and AxA).

Exceptions in BA occur as well: ġurūfu "his circumstaces", ġuhūr ilţimāl "the backs of the camels", ġihāz "apparatus" (probably MSA influence), 'ugūd ġawāli "expensive necklaces" (in poetic passage), mīhārib "fighter", and agwa fatamināt fi laban inniyyāg "the strongest vitamins are in camel milk". An exception in AxA is: ġunun "craziness"

780 For reflexes of *a in eŠA, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 101, 102, 104, 105, 106. A difference is malh.
781 A minimal pair asbū "week" - isbū "lions" was noticed in the dialect of il'Awāmra in WOIDICH (1979), p.80, where phonemic status is claimed for the i. In BA, however, i is clearly anaptyctic, since the l of the article assimilates to the sunletter, like in issnūn "the teeth", not lisnūn. Therefore we must conclude that the base form is snūn, as it is sbū, which makes i in isnūn a mere anaptyctic.
Examples of reduced long vowels (BA): ġihān "fem. given name", bibān "doors", siğān "iron (bread-) baking sheets". In AxA: diwān "gathering room for men", miśād "appointment".

3.1.6.

Besides lexicalized diminutives in BA and AxA šgayyir "small", grayyib "near", glayyil "little", kwāyyis "good", and šwayya "a little", b'hērā "lake", a number of other cases have been recorded in BA: ḫrayyim "women" (also AxA), xme'a "weakling", kbešāt "(lit.) little studs"\(^782\), nwēgāt "little camels", wḍēhān "type of thoroughbred camel (brightly coloured)", kẖēlā "dark-coloured thoroughbred she-camel", ghēba "little harlot" (in a children's rhyme), ḥēri "fishing net, so called because it can be carried on the back (i.e. to go fishing without a boat)" , 'irrēśa "small hut (rectangular shape), used for storage, e.g. water", hizzēra "riddle", so that one might consider the patterns of some productivity.\(^783\)

The one example from AxA xurrēfah "fairy tale" is too little to go on for any conclusions to be made.

3.1.7.

The pattern for nominals denoting colours and physical defects, the CA pattern *aC₁C₂aC₃, has an iC₁C₂aC₃ reflex in BA and AxA. The stressed li is best interpreted as the result of a context-form: hāda+āhmar "this is red" → hādā-hmar, after which an anaptyctic is prefixed to the CC cluster when this cluster directly follows C or #, and is consequently stressed, thus ḥmar "red" from *āhmar via *ḥmar was reconstructed.\(^784\) Other examples are: ixdar "green", ibyād "white" (also AxA), īswid "bad". One exception was recorded in a nickname 'ammu ismu l'Mot lAhmar "his uncle's name was Red Death."

In a similar manner the pattern for physical defects was morphologically restructured, e.g.: ḫ̣bal "stupid", ḫ̣wal "cross-eyed", and ḫdāf "left-handed".

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\(^{782}\) SUQAYR (1916), p. 96, mentions the kubah as a thoroughbred type of horse. The Rmešā, Sawarkah and Tarābīn are reported to be the only tribes in Sinai who kept horses

\(^{783}\) It is difficult to establish whether the pattern is productive, or the forms which display the patterns are to be considered B-forms, i.e. forms which are loaned "ready-made" in their diminutive shapes.

\(^{784}\) Cf. remark on 'ma "blind" in eŠA in WOIDICH (1979), p. 85. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 264 reports the same 'if'al (i.e. iC₁C₂aC₃ in our notation) pattern for eŠA, and also BEHNSTEDT/loidich (1985b), maps 338, 341.
Corresponding feminine and c. plural forms are respectively (BA): ħámra, ħumr; xádrə, xuḍr; bêda, biḍ; søda, süd; hábla, hubl; hōla, hūl; šādfa, šudf.

Notice that the endings of the f. forms are not stressed in BA (cf. III, 2.1.2.1.), and that the high vowel in "left-handed (pl.)" is u.

3.1.8.

The elative patterns in BA and AxA are: \( aC_1C_2aC_3 \) as in \( āktar \) "more/most", \( 1C_2a \) for tertiae infirmae, as in \( āqwa \) "stronger/strongest", and \( aC_1aC_2C_2 \) for mediae geminatae, as in \( ądėd \) "stronger/strongest".

3.1.9.1.

In BA and AxA the article and the relative pronoun have an initial i-, e.g.: il'āsāh illi bisūgbāhā lbadawi lḡamal "the stick with which a bedouin drives the camel" (BA), and ilwalad illi ħumma bišākalow ʿalēh dīh "that boy about whom they are quarreling" (AxA). 785

When the preposition fi precedes the article, i of the article is dropped, e.g.: fi lʿarab "among the arabs". The fact that it is i of the article which is dropped, rather than i of the preposition can be inferred (although not conclusively) from comparable forms such as gābu lʿurūs "they brought the bride" (BA), axalllha mastiira Iʿamaliyya "I keep the matter hush-hush" (BA).

3.1.9.2.

Instances of initial a in BA are: amm: "mother", axt "sister", aḥna "we", and the plural āwaḍ "rooms", but usūd "lions".

In AxA: amm, axt, but only iḥna. 786

3.1.10.1.

Like in group I, the feminine suffix preceded by a in open syllable becomes -at in construction, e.g. (BA): māratak "your wife" (also AxA), ragabatī "my neck" (also AxA), māhṣāḏatak "your wallet".

Examples in sandhi: sānāt sittin "in the year (nineteen) sixty (adverbially)", šaḡarāt sayāl "acacia" 787, and in AxA šaḡarāt iʿnāb "grape bush".

785 In ēŠA the article and rel. pron. have an initial i- as well, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), passim.
786 In ēŠA (references are to ABUL FADL (1961)): uxt, p. 50, l. 5, and p. 160, l. 2; ummings, p. 51, l. 6, 8, and 14; iḥna, p. 90, l. 10 and 15, and p. 104, l. 13.
787 šaḡarāt siyyāl : a tree by the side of a watershed, cf. STEWART (1990), glossary, appears to be a folk etymology: sayāl is a species of mimosa or acacia, cf. LANE (1874), part 4, p.
3.1.10.2.

In conformity with T-rule 2 in I, 3.1.10.2. in BA and AxA, e.g. (BA): bāgīltu "his she-mule", gōlīthin "their (f.) talking", ēlīlu "his family", nāgītha "her she-camel", nāgrī "my she-camel", kīrīstu "its (m.) stomach".

Examples in AxA are: wiliyu "his wife", mḥabbtu "his love", qurūrithum "their tracks (footprints)", qārītha "her neighbour (f.)", kīrūntak "your wife".

3.1.10.3.

No instances were recorded in BA or AxA.

3.1.10.4.

An example in BA: ʿalāt ilʿīd "the prayer of the feast", and in AxA: ḥayātak "your life".

In BA maʿnāh "its (m.) meaning", and maʿnāha "its (f.) meaning" were recorded.

3.1.10.5.

Like in group I, e.g. nāgī "my she-camel" (BA), salāmtak "your well-being" (AxA), and in perfecta of verbs the f. sg. ending following āC is -at, the a of which is not dropped in this position, and may be stressed in conformity with I, 2.4.: dāgātu "she tasted it", and also dāgātha "she tasted it (f.)" (BA), and in AxA fātātāna "she went past us" (no example of ā in open syllable for AxA was recorded, but we may expect a form like fātātātu "she went past him", cf. stress rules in III, 2.2.1.).

Some examples in sandhi (BA) are: zrāʿt ilbatīx "the cultivation of watermelons", ḥamāmt ilfard "the handle of the plough", but rāhat ilbint "the girl went away", qābat abūha "she fetched her father". In AxA: ya ṣalālt almalik "Your Highness the King", but nātat amīḥhum "their mother died", sārat ilʿarib itgūl "the members of the tribe were then saying".789

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786. Cf. also TÄCKHOLM (1974), p. 842, where sayyāl is given in Arabic script (with ṣaddah), and sayāla ~ seyāla (without doubling) is given in transcription.

788. The word ʿasfūr is also used metaphorically for a grip or handle on the plough in the Egyptian Delta, cf. BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1985b), map 474.

789. T in eṢA is treated like in BA: if preceded by āC → -at, otherwise -it. The high vowel is dropped in eligible positions, cf. VOIDICH (1979), p. 83.
B. III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

3.1.11.

The original BA genitive marker is šugl, -a, -m, -ât, which is still used, but appears to be losing ground to btâ', -a, btâ' (c. pl.). Examples are: illîf šugl innaxal "the fibres of the palmtrees", bint šuglit göł w i'yâda "a girl who likes to talk and repeat that (talk)" byit'mâli bêh ilfutî ibtâ' illâhami "they make the meat broth with it", izzibda btâ'tu "its (m.) butter".

In AxA one instance with btâ', and one with šugl were recorded.

taba' was recorded a number of times in BA, but more in the meaning of "according to", e.g. fihin ibyugha sâbig, miš zayy ba'dhin, taba' ittadrib in taba' ilhiğğân "among them (f.) there will be a horse racer, they are not all alike, (there are) those who train them, and those who ride them", ilmašanna bî... fiha ḥâbil, taba' annaxalâ ūwilîh, aw ilgiṣṭîh "the mašna (a large flat basket) has a rope, for the tall date palm, or the low one". tâ' was not recorded in BA or AxA.

3.1.12.1.

Pronominals recorded in BA791:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>hû (~ less huwwa)</td>
<td>(hû) mahuwwa ~ mahûš ~ mahuwwâs *1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>hi (~ less hiyya)</td>
<td>(hi) mahiya ~ mahîš ~ mahiyyâs *1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (m.)</td>
<td>inta</td>
<td>(inta) manta ~ mantâš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (f.)</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>(inti) manti ~ mantîš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>âni (~ less âna)*2)</td>
<td>(âni) mâni ~ mantîš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (m.)</td>
<td>hûnî ~ hûnûna</td>
<td>(hûnî) mahûnî ~ mahûnîš ~ mahûnînâs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (f.)</td>
<td>hin~hinna</td>
<td>(hin) mahîn ~ mahînîš ~ mahînînâs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (m. pl.)</td>
<td>intu</td>
<td>(intu) mantu ~ mantûš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (f. pl.)</td>
<td>intin</td>
<td>(intin) mantin ~ mantînîš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>âîna*3)</td>
<td>(âîna) mahna ~ mahnîš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

790 ibtâ' in eŠA, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 189.

791 Pronominals in eŠA: huwwa ~ hû, hiyya ~ hi, âni, îhana. Suffixed pronominals in eŠA: (3 m. sg.) C-u / v-h, (3 f. sg.) -ha, (2 m. sg.) C-ak / v-k, (2 f. sg.) invariable -ki, and (1 c. sg.) C-i / v-ya. There is no m./f. distinction in the pl., cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 87, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 143, 146, 150, 152, 154, 157. For a number of bedouin villages (San ilHağar, isŞuflîyya, Talrâk, Ganîr, isŞawâlîh) in the eastern Šargiyyah stressed 1 c. sg. C-i (ABUL FADL (1961), p. 237, transcribes -î) is reported. These villages (except Talrâk) and the village of Gazâli also have C-a for 3 m. sg. Cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 150 and 154.
Forms like *mahū and *mahī in group I are not generally used.

The final -ī may be the result of imālah, in combination with the analogy to the (though stressed) 1 sg. c. suffix -nī (cf. III, 3.1.12.2.1.).

Initial ā must have developed under influence of the following ĥ.

Pronominals recorded in AxA: sg. hū ~ huwwa, ĥī ~ hiyya, inta, inti, ana ~ ani. Pl. humma (~ once hum), (hin or hinna not recorded), intu, (intin not recorded), ihna.

Negated pronominals recorded in AxA: māhū, māhī.

3.1.12.2.

Pronominal suffixes in BA and AxA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m. C-u<em>2), ṯ-h</em>4)</td>
<td>-hum*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. -ha</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. C-ak, ṯ-k</td>
<td>-ku*5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. -ki</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. C-ī, ṯ-y *1(poss.), -nī (obj.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) In BA: "my taxi": taksiyi, not •taksiyy or •takisyi, and plural "my taxis": takasityi. Both 'anáyy and 'anayi bōga'inni "my eyes hurt (me)" are possible.

*2) BA, AxA and the dialects of group II and that of al'Arīš are the only dialects in northern Sinai with -u researched so far. In southern Sinai: NISHIO (1992) also lists -o for Ğbāli Arabic, and the Garāršah of Wādī Fērān have -u as well (M. Woidich, personal communication).

*3) The initial ĥ of suffixes may be assimilated to preceding voiceless consonants: hāttum "get them", bëttu "her house", šāffu "he saw her".

When ĥ follows ' , the result of reciprocal assimilation is ĥḥ, as in ygaṭṭīhha "he cuts it (f.) to pieces", and ĥ + ĥ yields ḥḥ as well, as in rwāḥhum "their souls".

*4) Like in group I, the ĥ is often inaudible when in pause, but may be clearly audible in sandhi, or when followed by -ṣ of the negation, e.g. iydarđīš lēn išwayyiḥ "he chats a bit to himself" (BA), and with the negation: ma šuftaḥiš # "you (m. pl.) did not see him" (BA).

*5) In AxA one instance of -kum was recorded (against a dozen instances of -ku(w)).

792 For pron. suffixes in eŠA, cf. preceding fn.
A preceding \( n \) is doubled when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, e.g. (BA) \( k\text{'a}nnak '\text{ayz} im\text{mut} "if you want to die" (on the doubling of \( n \), cf. remarks in III, 4.7.3.1.2.) and yi'i\text{gn}innu "they (f. pl.) knead it (m.)", and (AxA) 'a\text{\'a}nnu "because he", minnu "from him".

3.1.13.1.

Demonstrative pronouns, near deixis, preceding nominals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Near deixis, following nominals or independent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}da ~ da ~ d\text{h}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}di ~ d\text{i}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives recorded in AxA: h\text{\'a}da ~ d\text{h} ~ d\text{hi} \#, h\text{\'a}di ~ diy and d\text{\'o}l (had\text{o}l was not recorded).

An alternative construction in BA: il\text{\'a}g\text{\'u}l dah\text{\'a} "this \text{\'a}g\text{\'u}l" was recorded at one instance. Also, once, duh was recorded in d\text{h} ibig\text{\'u}l 'malik', iw duh big\text{\'u}l 'malak' "one said 'a king', and another said 'an angel'.

Demonstrative pronouns, far deixis, preceding or following nominals in BA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}d\text{'a}k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>h\text{'a}d\text{'i}k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The -a extension is reserved for the f. pl.

Demonstratives far deixis recorded in AxA: h\text{\'a}d\text{\'a}k, h\text{\'a}d\text{\'i}ka, h\text{\'a}da\text{\'a}l\text{\'a}ka (for m. pl.).

793 Demonstratives in e\text{\'A} are: (near deixis) m. sg. da / d\text{hi}, f. sg. di / di\text{yy}, c. pl. d\text{o}l / d\text{o}li. (far deixis) m. sg. da\text{\'a}ka, f. sg. di\text{\'i}ki, c. pl. duk\text{\'u}m. ha- has been preserved in adverbs of time hal\text{\'i}n and hal\text{\'a}g\text{\'i}l, cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 87.
Extensions to demonstratives*1):

m.sg. : (ha)duwwa, (ha)duwwan, (ha)duwwat  
f.sg. : (ha)diyya, (ha)diyyan, (ha)diyyat  
m. pl. : (ha)dōla, (ha)dōlat*2  
f. pl. : hadinna*2)

*1) Except for the m. pl., these forms are derived from hāda + independent pron. suffix (+ t or n).
*2) Conceivable forms *hadōlan and *dinna were rejected during direct elicitation.

Examples of extended demonstratives were not recorded in AxA.

3.1.13.2.
Examples recorded in BA arc:

w itlāgi ššabāb in’āllāgin haṭxašab, in fīha ššānākil ʿašān yidbāhuw "and you’ll find that the boys will have hung up this wood(en balk), in which there are hooks, so they can slaughter."

ʿana ṭabʿan ʿišit miḥārib, la ḥadd ma d-ani bagēt ēš? ṣayyūxa giddāmkū fi lmaqʿad. ġāllū : ṣayyīb, halmiḥārib dāh miṣ ibtiḥāl leh mufāgʿāt fi lḥarb, walla bass ibtiḥārib kida ʿala ṭūl? "I, of course, lived my life being a fighter, until I became what? An old man sitting in front of you in the men’s circle." He said to him: ‘Okay, this fighter, doesn’t he meet with surprises (lit. don’t surprises happen to him) in war, or does he just fight all the time?’.

There is an example in which ha- is used to address a person unknown to the listener, but present in the mind of the speaker (comparable to the SaA example in II, 3.1.13.2.): kīff, ya halfāris! ana ʿAmr ana kāṭlak! "surrender, you knight! I am ʿAmr and I’m going to kill you!".

Like in group I, ha- is used here to specify objects or persons not physically present or demonstrable (as in the case of abstractions) at the moment of speaking.

In the last example (recorded three times) ha- is used in addressing a stranger directly, more or less expressing "hey, you there!". It is clear that hāda could not have been used in the same position, but ha- in this position was new to me.
In BA and AXA ilhin ~ halhin is used for "now" too, but alongside the K-form dilwagt(i).\textsuperscript{794}

3.1.14.

Interrogatives recorded in BA\textsuperscript{795} are:

1) \textit{min}? "who?" (also AXA), 2) \textit{êh}? (also AXA) (~ only one instance of êš, and one in AXA) "what?"*, 3) \textit{ê(h)}? "why?" (not recorded in AXA), 4) wagte(h)? "when?" (not recorded in AXA), 5) \textit{fên}? "where?" (also in AXA ~ one instance of \textit{wênh} in AXA), 6) ânhu, ânhi / iyyât? (both for m. and f.) "which?"(not recorded in AXA), 7) izzây? "how?" (also in AXA), 8) \textit{b kam} ~ \textit{b kâm}? "how much? (when asking for the price)" (not recorded in AXA), 9) "how many/much?" gaddêh independently, or \textit{kam} (~ \textit{kâm}) + sg. nominal (not recorded in AXA).

\* In BA êš was placed at the end of the sentence: \textit{la hadd ma da-ni bagêt êš? sayxûxa giddâmku fi lmagʿad.} "Until I became what? An old man sitting in front of you in the men's circle." In AXA it was sentence-initial: êš râyak? "what do you think? (lit. what is your opinion?)". êh was generally recorded sentence-final in BA, and always so in AXA (cf. remark in I, 3.1.14.).

The interrogative \textit{ʿalâm} + suffix was not heard in BA or AXA.

3.1.15.1.

Adverbs recorded in BA\textsuperscript{796} are:

1) \textit{hnâk} (also in AXA) (~ one instance of \textit{hnâka} in BA), 2) \textit{gâd} (not recorded in AXA), 3) \textit{hâna} (also in AXA), but also regularly \textit{iḥna} (not recorded in AXA), and less often the K-form \textit{iḥna} (also in AXA) (and once \textit{ḥinahuwwan} in BA), 4) \textit{ikda} (not recorded in AXA), and also the K-form \textit{kîda} (regular in AXA) "thus" (~ kidahó and kidahuwwan in BA), 5) \textit{ilhîn} ~ \textit{halhîn} is used alongside the K-form dilwagt(i) "now" (also in AXA), sometimes the two are paired: dilwagt(h) halhîn, 6) lissa "still" (BA), ssâ' "still (AXA) issâ' ma ... š "not yet" (also in AXA), 7) \textit{minnu} "after that" (also in AXA), 8) \textit{baʿd ḵîda} (BA), baʿad kîda (AXA) (ʿugb was

\textsuperscript{794} Generally \textit{dilwagt(i)} in eŠA., cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 178, but this was recorded for BA as well. For several villages the form \textit{halwagt(i)} is attested, cf. ibid. map 179.

\textsuperscript{795} Some interrogatives in eŠA are: \textit{mîn}? , \textit{ê(h)}?, \textit{leḥ}? ~ \textit{la ē(h)}?, \textit{mta}? ~ \textit{wagte(h)}?, \textit{fên}?, izzây?, cf. WOIDICH (1979), pp. 87-8, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 183 and 187.

\textsuperscript{796} Some of these adverbs in eŠA are: \textit{hnâk}, \textit{ḥîna}, kih (~ K-form \textit{kîda}), cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 88.
not recorded in BA or AxA, 9) \( ba\acute{d}\bar{e}n \) (not recorded in AxA) (and the conjunction \( ba\acute{d} id \ ma \sim ba\acute{d} ad \ ma \) in BA and AxA).

3.1.15.2.1.

Forms derived from the root \( x-w-f \), such as \( x\acute{a}fallah \) for "maybe" were not recorded in BA or AxA.

N.B. Cf. remark in following paragraph.

3.1.15.2.2.

\( k\acute{u}d \) was not recorded in BA or AxA. Instead, a number of instances with \( yimkin \) were recorded, e.g.: \( yimkin fih \ \&agir yi\acute{y}la\acute{a} isg\acute{a}wa \), \( yug\acute{b}a \ \&ali \ "Maybe there is a falcon which will grow up to be a sg\acute{a}wa\)\(^{797} \), it will be expensive (then)" (BA), and \( yimkin \ h\acute{a}da l\acute{a}rab \ "perhaps this is the tribe (i.e. we are looking for)" (AxA).

N.B. Since the instances available referred to desirable possibilities, and no instances of undesirable possibilities were recorded, a conclusion that \( yimkin \) is used for undesirable possibilities as well cannot be drawn here.

3.1.15.3.

One instance of \( b\acute{i}lh\acute{e}l \) "very" was recorded in BA: \( k\acute{a}n \ t\acute{a}\acute{e}mha \ h\acute{u}luw b \ b\acute{i}lh\acute{e}l \ "its (f. sg.) taste was very good". Not recorded in AxA.

3.1.15.4.

\( b\acute{i}\acute{s}\\acute{w}\\acute{e}\\acute{s} \) was not recorded in BA or AxA.

3.1.15.5.

Forms from the root \( x-w-f \) meaning "lest", or "for fear that" were not recorded in BA or AxA (cf. III, 3.1.15.2.).

\(^{797} \)Apparently (here) a favoured type of falcon (sold to Arabs from the Gulf for hunting purposes), cf. also \( \&ag\acute{a}w \) in BEHNSTEDT/ WOIDICH (1994) (root \( \&-q-w \)), and BEHNSTEDT/ WOIDICH (1985b), map 439.
Suffixed prepositions in BA are:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{la}^{+1} & \text{ma'a} & \text{fi} & \text{fög} & \text{min}^{+4} & \text{'ind} \\
\text{SG} \\
&3.m. \text{läh}^{*2} & \text{ma'äh} & \text{fih} & \text{fögu} & \text{minnu} & \text{'indu} \\
&3.f. \text{lēha} & \text{ma'āha} & \text{fiha} & \text{fögha} & \text{minha} & \text{'indha} \\
&2.m. \text{lēk} & \text{ma'āk} & \text{fik} & \text{fögak} & \text{minnak} & \text{'indak} \\
&2.f. \text{lēki} & \text{ma'āki} & \text{fiki} & \text{fögki} & \text{minki} & \text{'indki} \\
&1. c. \text{lay} & \text{ma'āy} & \text{fay} & \text{fögi} & \text{mînî} & \text{'indi} \\

&\text{PL} \\
&3.m. \text{lēhum} & \text{ma'āhum} & \text{fihum} & \text{föghum} & \text{minhum} & \text{'indhum} \\
&3.f. \text{lēhin} & \text{ma'āhin} & \text{fihin} & \text{föghin} & \text{minhin} & \text{'indhin} \\
&2.m. \text{lēku} & \text{ma'āk} & \text{fik} & \text{fögku} & \text{minku} & \text{'indku} \\
&2.f. \text{lēkin} & \text{ma'ākin} & \text{fikin} & \text{fögkin} & \text{minkin} & \text{'indkin} \\
&1. c. \text{lēna} & \text{ma'āna} & \text{fîna} & \text{fögna} & \text{minna} & \text{'indana}^{*3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*1) The prepositions \(b\) and \('ala\) (of which the independent form \('a\) occurs as well) have a similar paradigm.

The independent forms are \(la\) and \(b^{798}\) (sometimes \(bi\), not \(\text{•li}\) and \(\text{•ba}\), e.g.: \(la\ \text{labint}\ "to the girl", \(la\ \text{Yihya}\ "to Yahyà", \(b\ \text{labint}\ "with the girl", although \(ba\ \text{'innu}\ "that he" was recorded twice.

Enclitic \(b\) + suffix does not seem to be very regular, but was recorded (cf. III, 2.1.3.2.2.). Enclitic \(l\) + suffix is regular, but shorter allomorphs are used in that case: \(-lu, -lha, -lak, -lki, -li, -li\) etc. (cf. III, 2.1.3.2.1.).

*2) The \(h\) may seem absent when in pause, but is often clearly audible in sandhi (in terms of sandhi syllabication), e.g.: \(iy-hutt-'a-lē-hil-fil-fil\ "he puts pepper on it", \(i-dar-diś-lē-hiś-way-yih\ "he talks a bit to himself" (cf. remark *4) in III, 3.1.12.2.).

*3) \(wiyya\) and \(war\) have similar paradigms.

Less regularly, the shorter, more typically group I forms were heard (from an older man): \(mā'\)^{798}, \(ma'ha\) (assimilated \(ma'h\)^{798}, cf. remark *3) in III, 3.1.12.2.), \(ma'\) etc..

---

798 As is the case in \(eŠA\), cf. ABUL FADL (1961), (for \(la\) p. 271 (Anm. Nr. 1), and map 33 (p. 332), (and for \(b\) the texts. Cf. also WOIDICH (1979), p. 91, 4.5. The suffixed preposition in \(eŠA\) has initial \(\text{•}:\) \(lu, \text{lha, fik, etc., cf. ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 222-3, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 375 and 377.}
**3.1.17.1.**

**Numerals in BA are:**

1. wahad ~ wahid (m.) / wahada (f.)\(^799\), 2. tin (tinten was not recorded), 3. talata [talat ~ once talat], 4. arb'a, [arba'] 5. xamsa {xams}, 6. sitta [sitt], 7. sab'a {sab'}, 8. tamanya [taman], 9. tis'a {tis'}, 10. 'dsara {'dsar).

---

\(^799\) In eSA also wahada, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 368-369, and ibid. (1987), p. 300 (several instances from sentence 20 onwards). "Alone" was recorded in BA as la wahdu, la wahdak, and la wahadha.
B. III. A description of Biyyāḍīy Arabic, with notes on Axraṣīy Arabic.

Numerals in AxA are:
1. wahid (once wāḥad) (m.) / wāhada (f.), 2. tnēn, 3. talāta (tālat), 4. arba’a (arba’), 5. xamsa (not recorded), 6. not recorded, 7. sab’a (sab’), 8. tamānya (tāman), 9. not recorded, 10. ‘âsara (‘âsar).

Time:
BA: issā’u tnēn "two o’clock", issā’a talāta "three o’clock".

Measures:
BA: talāta kīlu "three kilometres", ‘âsara kīlu "ten kilometres", xamsa mitr "five metres".

Plurals with proclitic t-:
BA: talat t-inwā’ min il’eš “three types of bread”, ba’id talat t-iyyām “after three days”.
AxA: arba’ t-iyyām “four days”, tāman t-ušur “eight months”.

Monetary units:
BA: xamsa ġnēh “five pounds”, ‘âsara ġnēh “ten pounds”.

Months of the Christian calender
BA: šāhar arba’a "April", and ivw ba’den biḍallu la ‘âsara fi l’arḍ “and after that they stay in the soil until October”

3.1.17.2.
Forms recorded in BA are: awwal, tâni, tālit, râbi’, tâsi’.
Forms recorded in AxA are: awwal, tâni, tâlit, râbi’.

N.B. In BA: tâni yom ~ ilyom ittâni "the next day".

3.1.17.3.
In BA and AxA numerals from 11-19 end in -âsar (~ one instance of independently used inâ’iš in poetry in BA).

Tens:
BA and AxA: ’īsrīn, talāīn, arba’in, xamsīn, sittīn, sab’in, tamānīn, tīsin.

Recorded hundreds in BA are: miyya (when counted sg. follows mīl) (also AxA), xumusmiyya.

Recorded thousands in BA and AxA are: alf, aifēn.
3.1.18.

Like in group 1 (but no diphthongal -ayn), e.g. (BA): yömên "two days" (also AxA), sanatên "two years" (also AxA), xaṭuwtên "two steps", ‘agidiṭên "two bundles", rafftên "two tent-sections".

In BA the plural of id is adên, but idayy "my hands", and idêki "your (f. sg.) hands" were also recorded. The plural of ripl is riplên, and for widn "ear", both danên (!) and wdân were recorded.

In AxA plurals adêh "his hands", and riplêk "your legs" were recorded.

3.2. Verbal morphology.

3.2.1.1.

The perfect of measure 1 has the two basic vowel types in BA and AxA:

\[ C_iC_iC_i \text{ and } C_iC_oC_j. \]

In BA800:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;drink&quot;</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>širih</td>
<td>širbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>širbit</td>
<td>širbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>širibt*1</td>
<td>širbot*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>širbit*1</td>
<td>širbotin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>širbit*1</td>
<td>širbna*1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;open&quot;</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>fâtah</td>
<td>fâtahu*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>fâtahat</td>
<td>fâtahin*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>fatâhi</td>
<td>fatâhtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>fatâhti</td>
<td>fatâhtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>fatâhi</td>
<td>fatâhna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice that the i as a reflex of (the first) *a in *CaCiC verbs is dropped when it is in unstressed open syllables in BA801 whereas in AxA it is not dropped (e.g. širibt). A similar conjugation is found for: rikib "mount", nizil "descend, alight", gifil "lock", ḍilik "laugh", ʿirif "know", fikir "think", fiḥim "understand", simiʿ "hear", tiʿib "get tired", kibir (~ kubur) "grow, increase", kitir (~ kutur) "become many", ripiṭ "return", fiḍil "remain".

800 eŠA has a similar conjugation, except for the 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl. forms, which are only reported for the bedouin village of asSamaʿna, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), text on pp. 132-5 (cf. fn 802 to HI, 3.2.1.2.). The forms listed here as m. pl. are in use as c. pl. forms in eŠA.

801 Forms indicative of such morphological restructuring like išribi, ilgit may be heard in eŠA as well. Cf., for instance, ABUL FADL (1961), pliʿna (p. 103, l. 2), inzilt (p. 103, l. 10), irkibri (p. 103, l. 12), and ibid. p. 231, d), 2.
*2) Notice the absence of vowel harmony in these verbal endings. A similar conjugation for: katab "write", šarad "flee", katal "kill", masak "take, grab", fatah "open", ʿaqab "please".

3.2.1.2.

The imperfect patterns for measure 1 are yiC1C2aC3, yuC1C2uC3, and yiC1C2iC3, with only harmonized vowels of the imperfect prefixes of the i- and u-type imperfects in BA and AxA. These patterns yield the following conjugations in BA.802

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yisrab</td>
<td>yisrabu*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tisrab</td>
<td>tisrabin*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tisrab</td>
<td>tisrabu*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tisrab</td>
<td>tisrabin*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>aisrab</td>
<td>aisrab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yudrub</td>
<td>yudrubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tudrub</td>
<td>tudrubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tudrub</td>
<td>tudrubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tudrub</td>
<td>tudrubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>udrub</td>
<td>udrub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix. A similar conjugation is found for: yi'mal "do", yiḥsal "happen", yixlas "end (intr.)", yiğlat "make a mistake", yiğdal "remain", yis'al "ask", yizra' "cultivate", yidbaḥ "slaughter", yilbas "dress", yitṣab "get tired", yisba' "eat one's fill", yigta' "cut", yitṣrah "throw", yigmat "collect", yinfa' "be of use", yigdar "be able", yihfaẓ "preserve", yirza' "compose rhymes during sāmir803", yisma' "hear".

AxA has a similar conjugation, but stress in these forms is in conformity with III, 2.2.1. 5II a): yisrabu, yisma'u, etc.

*2) Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the verbal endings.

802 eŠA has a similar paradigm, except for the 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl. forms, which are only reported for the bedouin village of asSama'na, cf. examples in ABUL FADL (1961): biṭhaddasan "they (f. pl.) speak", bigūlin "they (f. pl.) talk", (p. 132, l. 2). Notice, however, that in l. 5 of the same text the c. pl. ga'dīn, instead of the f. pl. ga'dāt appears, which is an indication that the f. pl. is not entirely stable. The forms listed here as m. pl. are the c. pl. forms in eŠA. Another difference between eŠA and BA and AxA is that this 3rd p. c. pl. may end in -m: katabum (like in SaA, cf. II, 3.2.1.2.), cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 88.

803 For sāmir, cf. fn 291 to I, 2.2.1.3.
The conjugation in AxA is identical. Some verbs with a similar imperfect conjugation are: yug'ud "sit", yuṣrud "flee", yurgud "lie down (to rest)", yungul "transport", yudxul "enter", yugṣuf "strike dead", yumrut "squash", yunfux "inflate", yuḥrut "plow", yudbur "sow", yuḥṣud "harvest", yudrus "thresh", yurgus "dance", yuṭbux "cook", yuṭul "kill", yuṭlub "ask", yuṭbruk "kneel (of a camel)", yunfuḍ "shake".

The conjugation in AxA is identical. A similar imperfect conjugation for:

yinbis "scratch the ground", yixbiz "bake", yinzil "descend", yiglib "turn over", yimsik "take, grab", yīhsib "consider", yiktib "write", yīgsil "wash", and (C measure IV:) yi'gib "please", yixrib "destroy", yi'ṭi "give", yiṭlig "let go, set loose".

N.B. The gahawah-syndrome is not active in any of the $C_1 = X$ verbs.

The conclusion can be drawn that in back environments $u$ tends to be the base vowel, and in neutral environments $i$ (cf. I, 1.2.3.2.). Through vowel harmony the vowel of the imperfect prefix is then assimilated to the high base vowel of regular verbs (yi- or yu-), but not in med. gem. or med. inf. verbs (cf. III, 3.10.1.2.4. and III, 3.10.1.2.7.).

3.2.1.3.

The perfects kutur and kubur were only recorded in BA through direct elicitation, never spontaneously.

3.2.1.4.

Like in group I, e.g.: tālib, tālba, tālbīn, tālbāt "having requested" (BA and AxA).

N.B. In BA and AxA the $a$ of the f. sg. active participle is lengthened when an object suffix follows, e.g.: māskāha "having taken hold of it (f. sg.) (with the hands)", mwałldāha "having given birth to it (f. sg.)", amnīha rāgbāni "her mother wants me". An example in AxA: mḥammilāh "having loaded (f. sg.) them (m. sg.) up" (for non-elision of $i$ in the last example, cf. III, 2.2.2.2.).

---

804 $T$ in eŠA is treated similarly, e.g. banyāh "having built (f. sg.) it (m. sg.)", cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 92, ḥassāhum miš nāmu "having noticed (f. sg.) that they hadn't fallen asleep", cf. BEHNSTEDT/ WOIDICH (1987), p. 300, sentence 17, wāklāha "having (f. sg.) eaten it (f. sg.)", ibid. p. 302, sentence 36.
3.2.1.5.

The imperatives for these verb types are: īṣrāb, īṣrābī, īṣrābū, īṣrābīn (BA), and īṣrāb, īṣrābī, īṣrābū, īṣrābīn (AxA) "drink!", ūṭlub, ūṭlubī, ūṭlubū, ūṭlubīn "ask!" (BA and AxA), īhīf, īhīfī, īhīfū, īhīfīn "swear!" (BA and AxA).

3.2.2.1.

Primaee wāw verbs in BA are: wāgā'-yōgā' "hurt", wīṣīl- yōsāl "arrive" (also AxA), wāṣāl - yōsīl "bring into contact" wāzān- yōzin, "weigh", wāsām - yōsim "brand", warād - yörid (also AxA).805

N.B. "give birth" is wallād - ywallid.

Imperatives of primaee wāw verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;be careful!&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;give water!&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>imperatives in BA:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.</td>
<td>ŏ'ū</td>
<td>ō'ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.</td>
<td>ŏ'i</td>
<td>ŏ'in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms without the incorporated wāw were also recorded (BA): byigā'ū "they fall", wigīf - yigaf, and imperative īgaf ṣ- ūgaf ṣ, but also ūgaf ṣ and āgaf ṣ.806

In AxA one imperative ūwī (f. sg.) was recorded. The complete conjugation is therefore presumably: ūwā, ūwī, ūwū, ūwīn.

Participles:

Active and passive participles in BA are like in group I, e.g.: (active) wāgīf "standing", wāsī(y) "aware" (none recorded in AxA), (passive) mawḡūd (also AxA).

3.2.2.2.

yībis, yēbas in BA. Not recorded in AxA.

---

805 Primae wāw verbs in eŠA have a morphologically patterned diphthong iw in the imperfect, e.g.: yiwsal "he arrives", yiwsin "he weighs". Exceptions are yigaf ṣ "he stands" and yiga' ṣ "he falls", cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 90.

806 One informant claimed that āgaf ṣ- ūgaf ṣ are the regular forms.
3.2.2.3.

"eat"* in BA and AxA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. kal</td>
<td>yâkul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. kal</td>
<td>tâkul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. kali</td>
<td>tâkli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. kali</td>
<td>tâklin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. kali</td>
<td>nâkul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* xad "take" has a similar conjugation in BA and AxA, but C₃ is assimilated to t of a t-initial suffix: xatt "I took" etc.

The imperatives are kul', kiilu!, kiilu!, kulin!, "eat! (m.sg., f.sg., m.pl., f.pl.)", and likewise "take!" xud!, xüdi!, xüdu!, xüdin! (BA). Imperatives recorded in AxA are: xüdi, xüdu, küli, from which we may distill a complete conjugation for AxA identical to that of BA.

The act. participles are: wâkil, wâkla, wâklin, wâklat "having eaten", and wâxid, etc. "having taken" (BA and AxA), and "food" is wâkil in BA (not recorded in AxA).

3.2.2.4.1.

"sleep" in BA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. nâm</td>
<td>ynâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. nâmatal</td>
<td>tnâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. nimt</td>
<td>tnâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. nimtil</td>
<td>tnâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. nimt</td>
<td>nnâm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Other medi. inf. verbs are (BA): ǧām - gunt - ygūm "get up" (also AxA), ǧāl - gūlt - ygūl "say"* (also AxA), șām - șunt - yṣūm "fast", ṭāh - ruḥt - yṛūh "go (away)" (also AxA), ᵗāḥ - ṭḥt - yṭḥ "fall", bāc - bi't - ybī "sell", sāb - sibt - yṣib "leave".

Additional forms recorded in AxA include: nām - ynām "sleep", šāl - yṣīl "carry".

* The 3rd p. f. sg. perf. gâlat is often shortened to gât or gar in allegro style.

N.B. Remarks made for group I are valid for BA and AxA as well: biṣil ~ biyṣil, and biygūl ~ bigūl, but never •bšīl or •bgūl.

3.2.2.4.2.

Imperatives of mediae infirmae with short base vowels were not recorded in BA.

Imperatives used with the verb ġāb, yḡīb "bring" are (BA): hāt (m. sg.), hāti (f. sg.), hātu (m. pl.), hātin (f. pl.) (not recorded in AxA).

When offering something in BA forms hāk, hāki, hākum, hākin, with pers. pronominal suffixes are used, as opposed to the verbal suffixes in AA (the clue is the 3rd pers. m. pl.) (cf. remark in I, 3.2.2.4.2.) (not recorded in AxA).

3.2.2.4.3.

Like in group I, BA and AxA have ʿayiz, ʿayza, ʿayzin, ʿayzāt. The only passive participle recorded in BA is (excusez le mot) manyūk, lit. "fucked", a term of abuse for passive homosexuals or other ill-liked male individuals (none recorded in AxA).

3.2.2.5.1.

"forget"*1) in BA: "walk"*2) in BA and AxA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nisi(y)</td>
<td>nisyu</td>
<td>máša</td>
<td>mášu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>nisyīt</td>
<td>nisyīn</td>
<td>mášat</td>
<td>mášan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>nsīt</td>
<td>nsītu</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>mašētu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>nsīti</td>
<td>nsītin</td>
<td>mašēti</td>
<td>mašētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>nsīt</td>
<td>nsīna</td>
<td>mašēi</td>
<td>mašēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A similar perf. conjugation for: ǧi  "boil (trans.)", ǧi "become expensive", līgī "find".

The i in open unstressed syllables is not dropped in AxA, where forms like ma līgīs "he did not find", and līgīhūm "he found them" were recorded. Other than that, the AxA conjugation is the same.

A similar perf. conjugation for: gārā "be in school (i.e. receive an education)", čārī "give", sāgī "water", gārā "run", gālā "boil (intr.)", rama "throw", ʿawa "fall ill", bāgā "become".

N.B. Short high vowels in unstressed syllables are dropped in BA, cf. smin  "I heard", and are therefore to be considered underlying līl in BA as well (cf. the rule described for nominals in I, 3.1.5.). In AxA these are to be considered underlying lāl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfect SG</th>
<th>Imperfect PL</th>
<th>Imperfect SG</th>
<th>Imperfect PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yīnsa</td>
<td>yīnsu</td>
<td>yīmīši</td>
<td>yīmīšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tinīsa</td>
<td>tinīsin</td>
<td>tīmīši</td>
<td>tīmīšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tīnsa</td>
<td>tīnsu</td>
<td>tīmīši</td>
<td>tīmīšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tinīsi</td>
<td>tinīsin</td>
<td>tīmīši</td>
<td>tīmīšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ánnsa</td>
<td>nīnsa</td>
<td>āmīši</td>
<td>nīmīši</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar imperf. conjugation for (BA): yīgīrā "go to school", yugbā "become" (after metathesis of b and g, but bāgā "he became"). yīlīgā (in BA and AxA, though more regularly yīlāgī in BA).

A similar imperf. conjugation for (BA): yīğīrī "run", yīsīgī "give water", yīğīzi "raid", yīwī "fall ill".

Notice that *y is dropped in forms like yīmīšu, yīmīšīn etc. (in contrast with III, 3.2.3.3.1.)

Apocopated (m. sg.) imperatives, like in group I, were not recorded in BA or AxA. Instead we have: tīmīšīl (m. sg.), and tīmīšīl (f. sg.), tīmīšu! (m. pl.), tīmīšīn! (f. pl.).
Instances of the adhortative *xalli* + suffix in *BA* are: *xallik haris* "be vigilant", *xalliki ‘indhum* "stay with them". In *AxA*: *xallihin yāklin*, but also *xallhin yāklin* (!) "let them (f.) eat".

No instances of 2nd pl. suffixes were recorded, so the conclusion of an adhortative particle would be premature here for *BA*. The last *AxA* example must originally have been an apocopated imperative, but regarding its grammaticalization as a particle, no conclusions can be drawn here.

3.2.2.5.4.

Participles like in group 1, e.g. active participles (*BA*) are: *bāni(y), bānyin* "having built (m. sg., m. pl.)", and *šāfi(y), šāfyā* "clear, pure (m. sg., f. sg.)." Examples in *AxA*: *mālya* "filling (f. sg.)", *māši(y)" going", *dāwyā* "returning in the afternoon (f. sg.)".

Passive participles (*BA*): *mabni(y), mabniyya* "built (m., f.)", and (in a poetic passage) *madšīyyāt* "invited (f. pl.)" (none recorded in *AxA*).

3.2.2.5.5.

No verbal nouns formed with the pattern *miC1C2a* were recorded in *BA* or *AxA*. Verbal nouns that were recorded in *BA* are: *šawy* "grilling", *mašy* "going, walking" (none recorded in *AxA*).

3.2.2.6.1.

"come" in *BA* and *AxA*:

<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.m.</td>
<td>īği*1</td>
<td>īğu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>īgät</td>
<td>īğin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ĝeti</td>
<td>ĝētu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ĝēti</td>
<td>ĝētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. c.</td>
<td>ĝēti*2</td>
<td>ĝēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) With the preceding pronominal this proclitic *i* is not dropped in *BA* (no such instances recorded in *AxA*), but forms a diphthongal glide with the preceding *a*: *hummā-yği, hinnā-yğin* "they came (m., f.)".

808 Except for the f. pl. forms, these paradigms are also found in *eŠA*, cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 91.
Suffixed instances were recorded without the proclitic ꞉- in BA, e.g.: in ḡāk "if he comes to you", and an optative ḡāki ṯalag "may a bullet hit you (f. sg.)!", but comparable forms recorded in AxA do show the proclitic: ḡāha "he came to her", and ḡāh "it (m. sg.) came to him".

*2) Much less regularly, forms with ḍ also have proclitic ꞉ in BA: ṯēṯ, etc., which may be indicative of a process of paradigmatic leveling in progress. In AxA such forms were not recorded.

*3) When suffixed, the long ꞉ disappears and the final -i (or actually -iy) is lengthened (cf. I, 2.1.2.3.), e.g. in BA: yḡīha "he comes to her", yḡīk "he comes to you". The same holds for yḡu, which becomes yḡūk "they come to you". Similarly in AxA: ma yḡīḥāṣ ṭaṭar "no rain comes to it (f. sg)".

Where the b- imperfect occurs, forms like ḍīği and ḍīḡu may be heard (cf. remarks in I, 4.3.).

3.2.2.6.2.

The imperatives are taʿāl, taʿāli, taʿālu, taʿālin. The l in m. sg. taʿāl is often dropped, and substituted by a glottal catch → taʿā(‘) (a rare example of glottalization in pause) (BA and AxA).

3.2.2.6.3.

Like in group I: ḡāy, ḡāya, ḡāyīn, ḡāyāt (BA and AxA).

3.2.2.7.1.

"pull tight" in BA and AxA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect *1)</th>
<th>imperfect*2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>šadd</td>
<td>šāddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>šāddat</td>
<td>šāddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>šāddēt</td>
<td>šāddēnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>šāddēti</td>
<td>šāddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>šāddēti</td>
<td>šāddēnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) ḍ in this conjugation is never diphthongal, cf. III, 1.2.4.1.

*2) For the phonetic quality of the high vowel in the imperfect, cf. I, 1.2.3.2.

N.B. Raising of a, as was observed in BaA (cf. I, 3.2.2.7.1.) and in group II (cf. II, 3.2.2.7.1.), does not take place in BA or AxA: raddēt, šaddēt, ḥaffēt.
3.2.2.7.2. Like in group I.

3.2.2.7.3. Active and passive participles in BA and AxA are like in group I, but the gahawah-rule does not apply in passive participles.

3.2.3.1.1. In BA measure n-1 is the basic passive to measure 1. The difference with group I is the absence of the an- prefix in the perfect, and stress, with the absence of raising of the a in the imperfect: (i)nḥāṣad, yinḥāṣid "be harvested", (i)nwaḍad, yinwaḍid "be found", (i)nkātal, yinkātil "be beaten/be killed". No instances of n-1 were recorded in AxA.

3.2.3.1.2. Examples in BA: (i)nḥàtt, yinḥàtt "be placed", (i)nxaḍḍ, yinxāḍḍ "be churned", (i)nḡārṛ, yingḡārṛ "be deceived, be misled".

3.2.3.1.3. An example in BA: (i)nḥā′, yinḥā′ "be sold".

3.2.3.1.4. No examples were recorded in BA or AxA.

3.2.3.2. When C₁ is phonetically too close to the generally preferred passive marker n-, the passive marker t- is used in BA: (i)trāma, yitrāmi "be thrown", (i)tnāsa, yitnāsi "be forgotten", itnāk, yitnāk "be fucked" (no instances were recorded in AxA).

3.2.3.3.1. Examples in BA are: (i)štāgal, yištāgil "work", (i)štāra, yištari(y) "buy", (i)ṭtāţa, yiṭṭaţīg "agree".

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808 The same yinC₁C₂C₃ imperfect pattern is current in eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), map 30 (p. 329), WOIDICH (1979), p. 90, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 248, 252.

810 Measure 1-r has the same patterns in eŠA, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), map 30 (p. 329), and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 244, 245.
N.B. The base vowel *i* is not dropped in the imperf. pl. forms of the tertiae infirmae, but is maintained as *y*: *yistáryu* "they buy", *yibtádyu* "they begin" (cf. *nisyu* "they forgot"). When object suffixes are added, however, the final -iy → i, as in *yistaríh* "he buys it (m.)" (no examples in *AxA*).

In derived measures 2 and 3 *y* is regularly dropped, e.g.: *ysawwu* "they do", *iydawu dáwa* "they administer medicine" (*BA* and *AxA*), but one would expect similar treatment of forms of measure *n*-1. Unfortunately, no such examples of measure *n*-1 are available.

### 3.2.3.3.2.

Examples in *BA*: *(i)štád*, *yistád* "hunt", *(i)htáğ*, *yihtáğ* "need" (none were recorded in *AxA*).

### 3.2.3.3.3.

Examples in *BA*: *(i)rtadd*, *yirtadd* "be returned", *(i)ltáb*, *yiltáb* "be put in place (of a tent)". An example in *AxA*: *(i)htámm*, *yihtámm* (b) "take an interest (in)".

### 3.2.3.3.4.

Examples in *BA*: *mittáfib* "having agreed", *mištákfa* "inflated", *mihtáll* "having occupied", *mírtáh* "at ease". Examples in *AxA*: *muhtáram* "respected", *mihtága* "in need (f. sg.)", but also *mixtílfín* "differing (m. pl.)".

### 3.2.3.4.1.

Unlike the morphologically alternating *a* and *i* in group I, examples in *BA* and *AxA* show morphologically fixed *a* (i.e. like in measure t-2, cf. III, 3.2.3.5.)811: *(i)stáfham*, *yistáfham* "inquire", *(i)stámal*, *yistámal* "use", *(i)stákbar*, *yistákbar* "select for largest size" (also *AxA*).

### 3.2.3.4.2.

One example recorded in *BA* was in a gloss: *ahl isšör* was explained as *innás illi bistášáru* "the people who consult", which shows that the mediae infirmae have *á* in the imperfect. Another example occurred in a poetic passage: *(i)staťât* "you could", where the *á* in the perfect *(i)statá†* is shortened with a consonant-initial verbal ending following (none were recorded in *AxA*).

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811 The same morphological patterns are found in *eŠA*, cf. WOIDICH (1979), pp. 89-90, and BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), maps 254-9.
3.2.3.4.3

No examples were recorded in BA or AxA.

3.2.3.4.4.

No examples were recorded in BA or AxA.

3.2.3.4.5.

Like in group I, examples of (active) participles in BA show i e.g.: mistafhim "having inquired", mista’idd "having prepared oneself, ready", and in AxA as well: mistahya "shy, bashful".

3.2.3.5.

BA and AxA have a morphological vowel distribution in measures 2 and t-2 like in group I. Unlike in group I, the vowel of the ta- prefix of measure t-2 has been dropped in all cases, e.g.: kâllam, ykâllim "speak", and (i)tkâllam, yitkâllam "talk".

3.2.3.5.1.

The situation in BA and AxA is like in group I.
Examples of the imperfect (BA): bikâllmu "they speak", bihâttbin "they (f.) collect firewood", tbarrig "they (f. sg.) open wide (of eyes)". Examples in AxA: yhawwdu "they change direction", yhammlin "they (f.) carry", yğawwizha "he marries her".
Examples of the perfect (BA): wallâdat "she gave birth", walla’s "he lit", and in AxA: tálla’at "they (f. sg.) brought out", râwwahat "she went home".

Examples showing i-elision in sandhi: biğahhz ib ītarītu "he prepares in his (own) manner" (BA), ywall’ innâr "he lights the fire" (AxA). (for implications of the first example, cf. III, 2.4.3.).

3.2.3.5.2.

Examples in BA: Allâh iymassîku b ilxêr "may God grant you a good evening", yhanîki "may He grant you good health", bîngattih "we cover it". An example in AxA: ygaddîhuma "he gives them lunch".

3.2.3.5.3.

In BA and AxA: wakkal, ywakkil "feed".
B. III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

3.2.3.5.4.

Examples of t-2 imperfects in BA: bitrabba "it (m. sg.) is trained", ibyttabba "it (m. sg.) is trained", bissawwa "it (m. sg.) is done", yitlagghaḥ "it (m. sg.) is pollinated", biṣṣayyadūh "they hunt it (m. sg.)". In AxA: bitifaggad "she keeps check", tit'ašša "she has dinner".

Examples of t-2 perfects in BA: tḡawwazt "you were married", ṭḥammar "it (m. sg.) was roasted". In AxA: ma t'allamūs "they were not educated", tḡawwaz "he was married".812

3.2.3.5.5.

In BA and AxA the pattern for the verbal noun of measure 2 is taC1C2iC3, e.g. (BA): taḥṭīb "collecting firewood", tangīt "sowing seeds by throwing them, a few seeds at a time, through the būg of the plough", taḥmīs "roasting (of coffee beans)", and an example in AxA: ta'lim "education".

C3-y verbs have a verbal noun pattern taC1C2iyya, e.g. tarbiyyt iğgamal "training of camels" (BA, none recorded in AxA).

No examples of the verbal noun for measure t-2 were recorded.

3.2.3.5.6.

Examples of measure 2 active participles in BA: mtalliʾ "having brought up", mzaxxix "foul smelling", mkawwiʾ "lying curled up to sleep", mtayyis "stolid". In AxA: mḡawwīz "having married", mrāwwiḥ "going home".

Examples of measure 2 passive participles in BA: mxayyat "embroidered", mdarrāba "trained (f. sg.)". In AxA: mlāttama "veiled".

Examples of measure t-2 active participles in BA: mitḡawwīz "married", mit'allga "having been hung up (f. sg.)", mitwallʿa "lit (f. sg.)". In AxA: mitḡaddyīn "having lunch (m. pl.)".

3.2.3.6.

Like group I, BA and AxA have morphological vowel alternation in measure 3, and morphologically fixed a in t-3. Like in measure t-2, the vowel of the tu- prefix of measure t-3 has been dropped in all cases (cf. III, 3.2.3.5.).

812 The same patterns itC1aC2C3 are found in eŠA, cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 89, BEHNSTEDT/AWOIDICH (1985b), maps 237-239.
3.2.3.6.1.

Examples in BA: säfar, ysäfīr "travel", (i)tkâwan, ytkâwan "fight", ithâsah, yithâsah "be held accountable". In AxA: xâlaf, yxâlif "oppose", (i)tqâda, yitqâda "take each other to court", (i)tqâkal, yitqâkal "resemble each other".

N.B. The special semantic function reported for measure t-3 in AA (cf. I, 3.2.3.6.1.) was not noticed in either BA or AxA.

3.2.3.6.2.

Examples in BA of measure 3 act. participles: (a loan) mwâdib "having put in order", and lexicalized mṭârib "warrior". In AxA: mrâfig "accompanying", mtâgi(y) "having covered (as glossed to me, said of wind covering tracks)".

Examples in BA of measure t-3 act. participles: mitgāwi "strong", mitsângîn "quarreling (m. pl.) with each other", and while explaining a poetic passage the CA loan mutawâdi' "behaving modesty and humbly". No examples were recorded in AxA.

3.2.3.6.3.

Verbal nouns of measures 3 and t-3 were not recorded in BA or AxA.

3.2.3.7.

Measure 4 is not productive in BA\textsuperscript{813}, but was heard in poetry (BA): wi lawla ʿatāma min ḥadâhum şabiyya, la kân yômha ašbaʿũna fi Ibalad ḡalabât "and if not from among them a girl had come to us, then that day they would have satiated us with idle prattle".

As a rule, however, forms that may originally have been measure 4 have been incorporated into measure 1 and have a $C_1C_2aC_3$, yi$C_1C_2C_3$ vowel distribution (cf. I, 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2.) (BA): ʿâla, yiʿili "give", waśal, yöšil "bring into contact" (as opposed to wisišil, yöšal "arrive"), and the example yišlig ʿamal ʿala nāga "he lets a camel cover a she-camel".

For AxA the situation is less clear; examples recorded only show the imperfect. These include: lammanna byiġi maṭar byiṭliʿ ʿisib "when the rain comes, it brings forth green grass", and atligī fi ssahra maʿa ḡanāmī "I let her go into the desert with my goats and sheep."

\textsuperscript{813} Nor is it reported to be in eŠA.
A perfect of the pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$ was never heard in either of the two dialects.

### 3.2.3.8. "become red" in BA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>hmarr</td>
<td>yihmârr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>hmârru</td>
<td>yihmârru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>hmrât</td>
<td>tihmârr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>hmrâtî</td>
<td>tihmârrî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>hmrâtît</td>
<td>tihmârrît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>hmrâtîti</td>
<td>tihmârrîti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.c.</td>
<td>hmrâtîtê</td>
<td>ahmârrê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>nilumârrê</td>
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Not recorded in $AxÁ$.

### 3.2.3.9. Examples of quadriliteral verbs in BA:

- $zâgrat$, $yzâörü$ "ululate in joy" (also $AxÁ$), $laxbat$, $ylaxbü$ "mix".

The $C_1C_2C_1C_2$ and $yC_1C_2C_1C_2$ verb-type does not appear to be current in BA and $AxÁ$.\(^{814}\)

An example of a $t$- quadriliteral verb in BA: $(i)t跨国, $yit跨国"roll and bounce".

No participles of quadriliterals were recorded in BA or $AxÁ$.

### 4. Remarks on syntax.

#### 4.1.

Some instances of $tanwin$ were recorded in poetic passages, e.g. (underlined) (BA):

- $baladin baha ššîhhâi dâyir iy'ayyît$, 'alašân kisra yiği fi l'harâî "a land in which the beggar goes around crying, for a crumb of bread he goes through the alleys";
- $ihris li ḥâlak fi 'ayyu makânîn kunî fihu "be on your guard, in whatever place you may be".

\(^{814}\) Nor is it reported to be in $eSA$. 
Loans from CA such as *masalan* "for instance", *tagriban* "approximately", *gašbin* "in defiance of", etc. occur in BA and AxA as well.

4.2.

The negation of verbal forms in BA and AxA is regularly done with bipartite *ma* . . . ُسن, e.g. in BA: *ma byilsigš* "it does not stick". Verbal negation with a 3rd p. m. obj. suffix: *ma šuʃiūš* "you (m. sg.) did not see him", and *ma šuʃiūš* (ma šuʃiūš #) "you (m. pl.) did not see him", *ma y’irʃūš* (ma y’irʃūš #), "they don’t know it". Examples in AxA: *ma cjenāš* "we have not come", *ma ḥafaʃātīš* ‘a ssirr "she did not keep the secret", *ma ligiš* "he did not find".

At times, when the second element follows a consonant, one may hear -ši as the second element: *ani ma baltaʃīši waray* "I don’t look back (over my shoulder)". And in AxA: *ma kānsi fih bārūdi* "there was no rifle".

The negation of nominals (BA): *ma biddiş* "I do not want", *manīš* "not I". In one instance the negation enveloped the whole nominal predicate: *mahū-smūš* "it is not called ..." (cf. CaA *ma-smūš*).

Sometimes *ma* is dropped: *biddiş arūh* "I don’t want to go" (BA), and *iblād, iyyām bīgīha maṭar, w iblād bīgīḥās* "land, to which sometimes the rain comes, and land to which it doesn’t come" (AxA).

Also, only *mā* may be used for negation, and the *a* is then longer: *mā* . . .

This was especially noticed in cases where the negation was intended to have more emphasis. Examples in BA: *izzāy arūh iw mā ‘arūh?* "how can I go and not go? (rhetorically)", *mā kammālīn golithin* "they hadn’t even finished their talking, (when I already...)", and *ḥadd Allāh ʿamnī mā bi’rīf ilwakl ilhiluw* "by God, my mother has no knowledge about tasty food". Examples in AxA: *xalli bālak ḫa*, *hū mā dabah algazālī. dabah ʾgidīy* "Take good notice! He did not slaughter the gazelle. He slaughtered a billy-goat". *IRRuzz mā yāklu-līa lmālīk* "Only the king eats rice".

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815 Also in eŠA, cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 93, where it is also remarked that sometimes *miš + verb form* is found (like the example *miš namu* in the preceding fn), where in CaA one would expect *ma + verb form + š* (i.e.: *ma namūš*).
4.3.

Like in group I, bi- and bu- occur alongside (i)byi- and (i)byu- (in more careful speech) in BA and AXA as well, but ba- for 3rd p. m. sg. will not be heard in BA or AXA (no doubt related to the absence of vowel harmony of the prefix vowel in a-type imperfects (cf. Ill, 3.2.1.2.), e.g.: biktib "he writes", bitḥārib "he fights", biṣūm "he fasts", būguṣṭu "he aims at it (m. sg.)".

With the verb "come" forms like biği "he comes", biğu "they come" ~ byiği, byığu, etc. may be heard in BA and AXA.

Instead of a development along the lines proposed in I, 4.3. (i.e. the generalization of bi- and bu- prefixes), these former forms may be directly related to older forms *biygi'y, *biygiiw etc. (like those heard in RA, SA and AA, cf. I, 3.2.6.1.), which then became biği and biğu when stress shifted as described in I, 3.1.1.2. (and iy → i, cf. I, 2.1.2.3.). Which of these two is the correct historical interpretation has to remain undecided in this case.

The development described in I, 4.3. has in BA led to homophones in primae wāw verbs, bōsal "I arrive / he arrives", bōzin "I weigh / he weighs", although in more careful speech the opposition is maintained: (1st. c. sg.) bōsal, bōzin and (3rd m. sg.) (i)byōsal, (i)byōzin. (Not noticed in AXA).

4.4.

In BA the future marker is ha-, e.g.: hayiği "he will come", hatīthāsab "you will be held accountable", and ṭab'an hatīlhagna gōm itrağgi' ilbint minna "of course, an enemy tribe will come after us to get the girl back from us". ṭaḥ was also recorded in one instance: ṭaḥ yīnfa'ak "it will serve you". (Not recorded in AXA).

In addition, futurity may be expressed with suffixed bidd (cf. III, 4.11.).

4.5.

fiḥ "there is/are", functions as a prepositional predicate of a nominal sentence in BA and AXA. The negation is ma fiḥ. The alternative māš, as heard in group I, was not recorded in BA or AXA.

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816 The b- imperfect is current in eŠA as well, cf. texis in ABUL FADL (1961), passim, and WOIDICH (1979), p. 89. For the 1st p. c. sg. ba- occurs alongside b-, as in ba'arkab ~ barkab (this was not noticed in BA or AXA).

817 In eŠA the future particle is ha- as well, cf. BEHNSTEDT/ WOIDICH (1985b), maps 224-225. For the villages of il'Awâmra, Mit Riđên, and idDaydamôn the particle lah- (presumably < ṭaḥ-) is reported.
4.6.1.1.1.

Independent yōm was not recorded in the meaning of "when" in BA. In AxA there is the example yōm barak iygill ilkabiš, gām iw ga‘ad "when he knelt down to carry the ram, he stood up, and (immediately) sat down". The conjunction lamma is more current in both dialects.818

4.6.1.1.2.1.

Examples from BA (yōmin was not recorded in AxA): iw yōmin tūhusdu bitthāllilu ti‘mal ikwām "and when you harvest it you winnow it and make piles", bēi iśṣā‘ar yōmin ibyībnū. ibyi‘mālu ‘āleḥ ḥoṣ imn išṣāgar "when they build the tent, they make a yard with it from bushes".

4.6.1.1.2.2.

Suffixed yōmin was not recorded in BA or AxA. Instead, lamman may be suffixed (cf. III, 4.6.1.2.).

4.6.1.1.2.3.

In BA and AxA min yōm was not recorded.

4.6.1.2.

(Combinations with) lamma, is used much more often than (combinations with) yōm for "when" in BA and AxA.

4.6.1.2.1.

Examples in BA: lamma ṣābāhu Maṣīr gāllu . . . "when they raided Cairo (in the morning), he said to him...", lamma ḡabb illēl, nizlū ‘an xēlhum, iw rabbatūhin "when the night fell, they got off their horses and tied them". (No instances were recorded in AxA).

4.6.1.2.2.

Examples in BA: ‘ammu ismu lMōt lAḥmar fa lammannu iğa . . . "his uncle's name was Red Death, so when he came...", lammannahum iğa ‘ala Maṣīr "when they came to Egypt".

Examples in AxA: lammannu māt, albiṣṭ ḡalat lāhilhe "when he died, the girl went (back) to her family", lammannahin xaššin, ġanam, il‘ibīd iġat ēḥ?

818 In the eŠA texts in ABUL FADL (1961) lōm or yōm does not appear as a conjunction, but lamma occurs instead, e.g. on p. 103, l. 2, p. 105, l. 10.
tâlla'at ilğanam "when they (f.) went in, the small cattle, the slaves came and what? They chased the small cattle out".

Unsuffixed lamman for "when" was not recorded in BA or AxA.

4.6.1.2.3.

An example in BA: iw ruḥna 'ūla lībitīdā'i w tāni-būtīdā'i lamma ēh? 'addēna lībitīdā'iyyih "and we went to the first class, and the second class of the primary school, until what? (until) We had gone through primary school."

In AxA both lamma and lamman were recorded for "until", e.g.: iw şāru yisgūh xamir lamman muḫḫu ḡāb "and they were giving him wine to drink until he lost his wits", allī yiqūṭ 'aṣaḥra, min gitān ṣūgūlṭu, w allī yiqūṭ xamsīh, w allī yiqūṭ w allī yiqūṭ lamma . . . fih il-ṭ disarm bitir "(there is someone) who brings ten of his flocks, and another brings five, and another brings, and another brings until ... there are (the) twenty camels".

4.6.1.3.

lōm and blōm were not recorded in BA or AxA.

4.6.2.2.

An example in BA: ḥattān 'asarat 'alēh iḥsūn bint i'Bāda "until ḡsūn bint Bāda met him". (ḥattān was not recorded in AxA).

Suffixed ḥattān was not recorded in BA or AxA.

4.7.1.

Examples in BA: "ēh illī ḡābkī ya maṣḏūха?" gām gult léha : "il'antz wallādat "What has brought you here, you shameful girl?" Then I said to her: "the goat has given birth", gām ani ḏaḥṭī 'a lmēfā bāqa bint šamlūla "I then baked bread in the mēfā, like a clever girl", innaharda shīna mn innōm, fa gām ēh? aṃmī taradānī 'a ssarḥa "we woke up today, and then what? My mother forced me to graze the goats and sheep."

One example in AxA, which is inconclusive since the following verb is 3rd p. sg.: iw gām ḏabāṭ lēh allāḥam "So he then slaughtered the meat for himself".819

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819 Unconjugated gām occurs regularly in eŠA as well, cf. ABUL FADL (1961), e.g., p. 132, ll. 2 and 4, but instances of conjugated gām may be found too, as in ibid. p. 90, l. 20, and p. 91, l. 10.
4.7.2.

In BA râh is used in a similar sense as gâmî, although in the instances in which it was encountered conjugation occurred more regularly than in the case of gâmî, e.g.: râhat širbit mi ssâfyâ "she then drank from the clear (water)", râh dah laṭâšu "this one then struck him", but also unconjugated as in râh nabašîn fi ssâkan "they (f.) then scratched the sand (with their paws)" (if this last example was not misheard for râhin nabašîn).

Instances recorded in AxA still show the literal sense of "go": xad alğazâl, iw râh waddâḫa ʿind gânumu "he took the gazelle, and went and brought it to his small cattle", w ʿabûh râh gâl lêh "and his father went and said to him".

4.7.3.1.1.

Unsuffixed inkân was not heard in BA or AxA.

4.7.3.1.2.

Examples in BA: ʿamalak hayinsaʿak, inkânu kwayyis râh yinsaʿak "your actions will be of use to you. If they (m. sg.) are good, they will be of use to you", and iw lannu biśāwar lay b ʿidu liʾsmâl, iw biʾmal lay kidaḥó, bigâl : ʿkannak ʿayz itmût, ḥaddi giddāmī ʿašân ani ma baḥaftîši warāy?" "and there he signals to me with his left hand, and he does like this to me, he says: 'if you want to die, go ride in front of me, because I never look back over my shoulder'". (inkân, independent or suffixed, was not recorded in AxA).

The doubling of n in these cases is a clear indication of the grammaticalization of kân.

4.7.3.1.3.

Examples in BA: waḥlah, w ilkân ilbīnt ʿayza lwalad, biyšûfu huṃ biddhum mahîr gaddēh "By God, and if the girl wants the boy, they see how much dowry they want." ilkân ḥadd ʿindu gawad\(^{820}\), iw hû gâd ʿalēh gabil kida, yigba yirtaḍ ilgawad lēh fî ṣaraḥ "if somebody has an animal for slaughter, and he (i.e. the other person) brought an animal for slaughter to him before that, then the animal for slaughter is returned to him with the wedding feast".

An example in AxA: ilkân ʿaxûk, ʿaxûk, w ilkân ʿaxûne, ʿaxûne "if he is your brother, he is your brother. And if he is our brother, he is our brother".

\(^{820}\) gawad: an animal which is led to the ṣaraḥ as a gift to be slaughtered, cf. BAILEY (1974b). fn 40.
4.7.3.1.4.
Examples in BA: *iza kān ilmatar badri awwal issana* "if the rain is early in the beginning of the year", *lākin izkān rağil bigūl* ... "but if it is a man, he says ..." (*iza* or *iz* was not recorded in *AxA*).

4.7.3.1.5.
Independent *kān* as a conditional particle was not recorded in *BA* or *AxA*.

4.7.3.1.6.
An example in *BA* (none in *AxA*): *iw yidbāhu limhilliyah, kān rās walla tmēn* "and the hosts slaughter, be it one or two heads (of small cattle)".

4.7.3.2.
No examples of conditional sentences without a conditional particle were recorded in *BA* or *AxA*.

Instead, *law* is often used in *BA* and *AxA*, and it is not reserved for the irrealis, e.g. *law iğa maṭar yugha kwayyis xālis* "if the rain came, that would be very good*.

4.8.1.
My *BA* and *AxA* material showed no instances of the presentative *ar'(i) or *ir'(i).*

4.8.2.
*hay* or *hayy* was not recorded either in *BA* or *AxA*.

4.8.3.
The particle denoting a sudden turn in a narration in *BA* and *AxA* is *(w)lan*, where in group I we have *(w)lin*. Examples in *BA*: *iw lannu bišāwir lay b ḫidu lişmāl* "and lo, he (suddenly) beckons me with his left hand", *iw lannu bigūl* "and (suddenly) he says", *iw lanha bitgūl* "and she (suddenly) says", and unsuffixed as in *lan axtu bitgūl* "suddenly his sister says".

Examples in *AxA*: *iw lannu birīg ixwānu-lli hun min aḥūh* "and there he visits his brothers who are his father's (sons)", *wallah iw yiğī mrāwviḥ iw lan ma'ū... šilwīt bi'rān, ib ruzzhin, wallāh iw hāda-lli sār* "By God, and he came on his way home, and there he had with him... a troupe of camels, with their rice (i.e. loaded on their backs), by God, and that is what happened".

This *lan* presumably developed from intensifying particles *la + *'inn.*
Both *līn ~ *la'inn (*li + *‘inn) are used for "because" in BA, as in *līnū zamān *ma kānīš fī byūt "because in the old days there were no houses".

In AxA *li’inn and *la’inn were also recorded, e.g.: *la’inn ‘indhum zākā’ "because they have intelligence", and *li’innu *law ‘irīf nūṣṣ il’īlm *ka’inn gadd illsī gārāh kullu "because they (m. sg.) if they know half of (all) knowledge, it is as if he is as (learned) as someone who has studied it all".

More regular however, is ‘ašān, which may be suffixed (with doubling of the n when vowel-initial suffixes follow), e.g.: ‘addi giddāmī ‘ašān ání ma baltafitšī warāy! "go ride in front of me, because I don’t look back" (BA), ‘ašānu biḥibb ilbīnt "because he loves the girl" (AxA).

4.8.4.

The particle ḡlā + was not recorded in BA or AxA.

4.9.

Examples in BA of ḡēr ~ ḡār (from *gayr) + imperfect: ḡēr addīkī "I shall most certainly give you (f.) ...", and ḡār ṭgūmī ṭīḥīy ṭgīfēnu "you must go and bake two loaves". Examples in AxA: ḡēr ʾaxd ʾilbīnt. "ya’ni... ib hawāk, ḡw ḡāṣbīn ʾannak, wāxīdha "I shall take the girl, with your permission, or in defiance of you, I shall take her".

Notice that an unexpected reflex of *ay is ā in ḡār (both BA and AxA), which occurs with the expected reflex ē in ḡēr (cf. I, 1.2.4.1.).

4.10.

An example in BA: ḡnīl, la-ḥukk ḡarnī ḡlāklak! "Come down, I will (certainly) rub my horn and eat you!" (no example recorded in AxA).

4.11.

In BA and AxA, "want" or "need" is expressed by suffixed bidd, e.g. (BA): biyṣāfī huṃ biddāhum māḥīr gaddēh "they see how much dowry they want", bidd-agra ʾání, min awwal issānah l ʾāxīrha "I want to study, from the beginning of the year until its (f. sg.) end". An example in AxA: biddna nīṣrāb "we want to drink".

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821 In these stories the gūlāḥ often first rubs her horn before she eats her victims.
822 In ešA bidd is current as well, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 386.
An example of **bidd** with an added sense of futurity: *bidd-*akallmak
innahārda 'an... "I shall tell you today about..." (BA), and "'aṭā'āl ta'āl ya 'ībn ilkalb! intih... tāx[x algazāl, w itgūl : 'bidd-axalltīha ʾisr ēkwayysīh, ʾašlīgha fi šṣāhra ṭaʿa ḡanāmī. w īnta fi lyūm illī xaithā, tidbahha, īw tišwīha la wīliytak?" gāl la īmalik : 'mā ʾsār.' "'Come here! Come here, you son of a dog! You... took the gazelle and said: 'I shall make sure it will be well, I'll set it loose in the desert with my small cattle.' And on the day you received it, you slaughtered it, and roasted it for your wife?' He said to the king: 'That is not what happened.'" (AxA).

An instance of **bidd** expressing purpose ("in order to") is not available for BA, but in AxA we have: w āna ʾlmawḏūʿ ʾ̣aḍa kullū ya ḡālaʿt ālmālik, ʾāmalū bidd-ʾasbīt ḡagīğīh "And I, Sire, I did all this in order to establish the truth".

N.B. Examples where **bidd** expresses necessity from the perspective of the speaker: īw ṭī ʾīğmāl biddak ʾitrūḥ maʾāḥīn "there are camels you will have to go with" (BA), and biddna ssāʾ nīmshī "we still have to go (further)" (AxA).

4.12.

Examples in BA: ya ʿYūṣīf, inṭa ʿād itgīblīna ᵇ? itgīblīna ʾēs mi ʾlmīdīna "ʿYūṣīf, you get us what then? You get us bread from the town", ʾāṣṣ laṭay kidahuwwa, īw ḥū ʾād issāʾ ma ʾnādālšī "he looked at me like this, while he had not sat up straight yet".

Examples in AxA: biygūl ʾād huwwa ᵇ? "so he says what?", and ʾgādhdāhumn ʾād "so he gave them lunch".

4.13.

In BA and AxA only metathesized ʾyugba (~ less often ʾyigba) was recorded, e.g.: īw ʾīğu ʾgārb ʾilhaʿām, īw bayyāṭu. ʾyugba ʾilbāʿīḥ ʾfi ʾlmādīn, w ʾillāla fi šṣāhra - ṣaʿlītū ʾa nnābī? - ʾyugba ʾlwaṭd nāmū, w ʿAbū ʾZēd ʾsāḥī "and they came to the west (or north?) of the pyramids, and spent the night. So the preceding day (they were) in town, and the (following) evening in the desert -have you (pl.) blessed the Prophet? - So the boys slept, while ʿAbū ʾZēd stayed awake." (BA).

īw ṭāḥat ʾbāṭīnha ʾnāzla ʾa ssēf, ṣaʿlīt issēf ʾyīṭlāʾ min ᵇāḥīrha, īw ʾnāmat ʾgāmbhūm. ʾyugba ʾlFāṭihah ʾla ʾrwāḥhūmn ʾgāmiʿān w ʾanwaṭt ēlīmūslimīn "and with her belly she went down on the sword, and let the sword come out her back, and fell down beside them. So the Fāṭihah (was read) for all their souls, and the dead muslims." (BA).
An example in AxA: yugha-hna ssâ' ma gênâš 'arab 'ârbah "so we have not yet reached the 'arab 'árba".


The imperative of narrative style does not seem to be as frequently used as in the dialects of group I, and those further to the east and southeast\(^\text{823}\). Nonetheless, one example in BA is: iw hâtu l'iyb l'w garrühum iw ḥaffâzühum alêfbê "and they brought the children and let them study and taught them the (Arabic) alphabet".

The speaker of this text later spontaneously (i.e. he was not guided by a question) corrected ḥaffâzühum to ḥaffâdühum. The z in the former indicates that a K-form was used, of which the morphology (the a in the second measure imperfect in emphatic environment conforms to the CaA system) was maintained.

In AxA no instances were recorded.

4.14.2.

Examples in BA: zamân kân hiyya btilbas ittôb ilbadawi limxayyat "in the old days she used to wear the embroidered bedouin dress", kân Isrâ’il mihtalla Sînâ "Israel was occupying Sinai". In a poetic passage: wi lawla 'atatna min ḥâdâhuhm isbiyya, la kân yômha 'ašba'ûna fi lbalad ǧâlâbâr "and if not from among them a girl had come to us, then that day they would have satiated us with idle prattle".

An example (two instances) in AxA: iw 'arab 'ârbah huynû màš 'ârfin hî ba’idîh wâlla grayybih, ibyîsma’u bêha sami’. iw kân iy'èh? yârkabu ǧmâlhum, w iyryûhu fêñ? ‘ala 'arab 'ârbah. ba'ad ṭalaṭ t-îyyûm, iw kân yordu lêhuñ ʿala bîr, gâl lêh... "and (of) the 'arab 'ârba they did not know whether they were (living) far away or near. They would (only) hear of them. And then they what? They mounted their camels, and went where? To the 'arab 'ârba. After three days, while they were getting themselves water from a well, he said to him..."

Two examples in AxA show that unconjugated kân may also be used for the irrealis: yâ rêt law ana kân badriy kida kân iddîtlak aîmit bi’ir "If only I had known this, I would have given you the hundred camels", and law ani a’rif

B. III. A description of Biyyādiy Arabic, with notes on Axrasiy Arabic.

isimkiy, kān gult lēkiy 'šukran' "If I knew your (f. sg.) name, I would have said 'thank you'."

4.14.3.

In BA the ethical dative is frequently used to "present the story" to the listeners, e.g. (instances underlined): (introducing a story) - šallī 'a nnābi - kān lēku fih bint iw wala'd "Bless the Prophet! - There were (lit. for you (m. pl.)) a boy and a girl", ilgūl dih ġara... iyģib librâ... iw maša lēku ġh? yiğri yğibha "this gūl ran... to get this thing... and went (lit. for you) what? He ran to get her", īgə lēku mīn? īgə lêhin gūl, iyxabbiț lêhin ġa'mab "who came (lit. to you (m. pl.))?... the gūl came to them (f.), and knocked on the door for them", iw ġam lēk kalha "and he then (lit. got up for you) and ate her".

These examples also corroborate Stewart's remark (cf. fn to I, 4.14.3.) that the ethical dative often appears in combination with the verb "come". In AxA no instances were recorded.

4.15.

An example recorded in BA: kān zamān īґrār824, īґrār fuxxār... (w ilmāyah) fi līɡrār. fi ḍahr īɡgāmal, ṣīḥīṭu 'ala īɡgāmal sīta w taman ġarrāt iw 'ašar ġarrāt. "In the old days (we had) jugs, earthenware jugs... (and the water was) in jugs. On the back of the camel. They used to put six, eight, ten jugs on the camel". (No such instances were recorded in AxA).

4.16.

Examples in BA: ya'ni išši'ir w ilgamiṭ zayy ba'ādhin "that is, barley and wheat are alike", Rağab iw Ša'bān iw Ramaḏān, dōlah kulliythin mawāsim "Rağab, Ša'bān, and Ramadān, all of these are seasons".

In AxA: xusši... ib bahamki b ġanamki, xušši fi lkařin xallihin yāklin "Enter... with your (large) cattle, with your small cattle, go into the garden and let them eat" and a larger number in: iflān ġāb alğazāł, iw ġāb almīt bi'ir, iw wiyyāhin ġidīy "so-and-so brought the gazelle, and brought the hundred camels, and with them a billy-goat".

824 ġarrā, ġrār "jug for transporting water", also reported for eŠA, cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 443, and WOIDICH (1979), p. 97.
5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

The type of pitch/stress, as impressionistically described for group I, was not observed in BA or AxA.
IV. A description of Dwègriy Arabic.

On the peninsula of azZugbâh, and along the southern shore of the Bardawîl Lagoon in North Sinai, the bedouin tribe of the Dawâghrah (sg. Dwègriy, their dialect will be referred to as DA) have settled. Together with their neighbours to the south west, the Biyyâdiyyah, and their neighbours to the east, the Sawârkah, they make a living as fishermen on the lagoon. The young girls and women supply their income raising small cattle and growing the traditional crops, such as watermelons and dates. Their full settling must be of a rather recent date, as there are still elderly people who remember their seasonal trek to Palestine and Egypt in search of pasture for their small cattle, and to work as farmhands during harvest time. Many of their houses, especially off the main road, still have a semi-permanent character and are built of reed mats and palm leaves, although more and more concrete construction is taking place, especially near the main road.

Being of the despised Htêm offspring, they must have lived a relatively isolated existence. Although they are direct neighbours to the Biyyâdiyyah, in this socially isolated position they preserved many remarkable characteristics of their dialect which are strongly reminiscent of the dialect spoken by the Mtër north of Hufûf (Hofuf) in Saoudi Arabia, and the southern Nağdiy dialect spoken near Nağrân.

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825 SUQAYR (1916), p. 189, traces the name Bardawîl back to Baldwin I, the crusader king who died in northern Sinai A.D. 1118 on his way back to Jerusalem. BAILEY (1984), pp. 49-50, reports the story locally told by the bedouins about Bardawîl and his magic helmet.

826 ABU ZAYD (1991), p. 291 relates a popular story which traces their name back to an unknown common ancestor, who, after a long period of hunger on the Arabian peninsula, arrived with his young son in a mag‘ad of men in northern Sinai. The young boy then boldly attacked the food served in the mag‘ad, without waiting for an invitation, or asking for permission to do so. People later, when speaking to the father, referred to the boy as "your son Dâgir, i.e. "he who attacks (the food)").

827 In total, some 3,000 boats go fishing daily on the lagoon, except during the off-season in winter (sometimes 4 months), each with a crew of 2 to 3 men.

828 I have noticed, however, that Dawâghrah who live in Bir al‘Abd tend to adapt their speech to the group III-type. I have not observed the reverse.

829 Cf. PROCHAZKA (1988)
B. IV. A description of Dwëgriy Arabic.

Other than a few references reporting their pariah status, little is known about their history\textsuperscript{830}, and only ATTAYYIB (1993), pp. 742-750, discusses them in some detail.

Today they are estimated to number about 5,000 souls in northern Sinai, living mainly in and around the villages of (from east to west) atTlul (19 km east of Bir al'Abd), 5 km further to the west Misfig (350), 7 km further west Salmânah (2,216), 3 km further west asSâdâ (1,110), Mabrâkah (3 km east of Bir al'Abd), Bir al'Abd (4,490), Nağâh (1,783) (4 km west of Bir al'Abd), alKifâh (3 km east of atTa'âwun), and atTa'âwun (7 km northwest of Nağlîh), and Öbärah (2 km north of Râb'ah)\textsuperscript{831}, all in the district of Bir al'Abd.

This chapter contains a number of references to PROCHAZKA (1988), and several publications by INGHAM in order to substantiate a claim that Dwëgriy is of central or southern Nağdiy origin.\textsuperscript{832} For ease of reference, the transcription for the names of towns, villages, tribes and regions has in most cases been copied from these sources.

1. Phonology

1.1.1.

The inventory of consonantal phonemes is identical to that of group I.

\textsuperscript{830} It may be that the Dawâgrah have a history like the 'Ağmân (cf. INGHAM (1982), p. 78 (map 5) for population movement on the Arabian Peninsula since the 17th century), or the Raṣâyudh, of whom INGHAM (1986), p. 271, writes: "[...] a tribe which 'Arab tradition allies to the Hutaim of North-Western Arabia. At some time this tribe broke up, and many of them moved east to become clients of the Mutair." Perhaps it was there that their dialect was influenced by other dialects spoken near the Gulf coast, and where it acquired certain central Nağdiy features, before the speakers migrated (directly?) to Sinai. In any case, it is striking that Ingham mentions the same tribes that are associated with the Dawâgrah in other sources, and we shall see that a number of remarkable characteristics of DA are found in the dialects of these tribes as well.

\textsuperscript{831} EUROCONSULT (1992), table E.8 quotes the numbers of inhabitants listed in brackets for these villages in 1989 based on Garpad/Atkins field survey estimates. These figures include all inhabitants, e.g. the majority of Bir al'Abd are Biyâdiyyah and Egyptian immigrants. The estimate of 5,000 is from one of my Biyâdiy informants. Cf. also ATTAYYIB (1993), p. 745, for the villages which they inhabit.

Several of the Dawâgrah spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai in Egypt proper, mainly in the Bihêrah governorate (personal information from sources in the field).

\textsuperscript{832} The conclusion I drew for DA in a lecture for the third conference of 'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe' (AIDA) held in Malta in 1998 is that it is originally of the southern Nağdiy-type. The reader is referred here to a summary of this lecture, which is to appear in the proceedings of this conference, and to a lengthier article on this topic to appear in a special issue of Oriente Moderno in 1999 (?).
1.1.2.

Reflexes of *ṭ, *d, are interdentals ẓ and ẓ respectively: ẓalāṭah "three", ṭāniy "second", yikḍib "he takes", yāḫud "he takes".

The reflex for *ḍ and *d is merged d, e.g. xaḍrā "green (f. sg.), yāḍall "he stays", and yuqārub "he hits".

In DA "this (m. sg.)" is ḥādiy (cf. IV, 3.1.13.1).

In K-forms: masalan "for instance", talāṭah "three", wala maxza (CA *muʾāxaḍa) "no offense intended", laḥzah "moment", mahāṭṭat Balūzah "Balūzah station", ʿard "land".

1.1.3.

DA has an unaffricated voiced reflex of *q, like in group I, e.g.: rgūḥah "neck".

In a loan from MSA q was a reflex for *q, e.g.: qīṭār izzuwāg "the marriage train", and in an imitation of CaA a speaker had ḍ for *q: ḍāḍid "sitting".

N.B. Unaffricated g as a reflex for *q, and also unaffricated k for *k are not exceptional in northern Sinai, but this fact is of added relevance in the case of DA: we know that in central and northern Naḏdiy dialects one would expect affricated reflexes such as ŋ (I.P.A. [dz]) or q (I.P.A. [g]) for *q, and ẓ (I.P.A. [ts]) or ḍ (I.P.A. [tʃ]) for *k, whereas in southern Naḏdiy we may expect g and k. The question is then whether DA is originally a southern Naḏdiy dialect, or whether it is possible that it is of a central or northern Naḏdiy-type? If the latter is the case, why then does *g not have an affricated reflex in DA? One possibility might be that the DawĀgrah moved away from central or northern Naḏdiy territory before the reflex of *q became affricated. Another possibility is that they have always been plagued by their pariah status, so that, although they may have lived in central or northern Naḏdiy territory, their dialect could remain relatively free from 'foreign' influences because of their social isolation.

833 Cf. INGHAM (1982), p. 95 on the dialect of the ‘Ağmān, who now live near Hufūf in Saoudi Arabia (cf. ibid, map on p. 6).
834 A dialect feature should always be considered in relation to other features of the same dialect, of course, and more indications of DA orginally being of the southern Naḏdiy-type will follow in this chapter.
1.1.4.

The DA reflex for *\(\text{g}^*\) is \(\text{g}\). The allophone \(\text{z}\) was not recorded.

1.1.5.

A few instances of glottalized \(\dot{t}\) preceding a vowel were recorded, as in \(\text{batt}ix\) "watermelons", but this occurred less regularly than in group I.

1.1.6.

In DA: sa'al, yas'al; ir'(iy); râs; yâkul; 'âylah; tâyir; mîfah ~ mëfah; wâkkal, ywâkkil; rûs (~ elicited ryûs), and both mëdanah and môdanah (!) were elicited.

Like in group I, ' is of a phonotactic nature, e.g.: # 'idah f-tdyah "his hand in my hand", # 'ahal "family", but l ahâlha "to her family".

In DA glottalization in pause is not as regular as in group I; more often non-raised reflexes of final *-â(') have remained long, zargâ "blue (f. sg.)", samrâ "black (f. sg.)" (for more examples cf. IV, 2.1.2.1.), but ânâ ~ âni "I", wîddna "we want", and in verbs: mäsa "he went", räma "he threw", gära "he went to school/studied".

1.1.7.

Much like in group I, e.g.: gäf "he said", drâ(h) "sorghum", rûkhâh # "knee", rka'h "knees", trâb "dust", grâb "crow", kîar "many", ilibhârât šuglāïha "its (f. sg.) spices", ruqfân "loaves of bread", farzah "chicken", frâx "chickens", but drâh "arm", mîhrâf "plough", and velarization stopped by palatals in xâlyih "empty (f. sg.)" (but xâlyih "my uncle"!), ñayyâd [sa' y:û:d] "fisherman", glayyih "little", grayyiib "near", ñayyih # "water", râgil [rûqûl] (and I have also heard [rûqûl]) "man". And no velarization in tôb "garment".

1.1.8.

wallâ "or" and wallâh "by God" often sound the same to me. Perhaps a better pair to isolate l and l would be xâlyih "empty" - xâlyih "my uncle", or another conceivable pair galbah ['golbch] "his heart" - galibah ['galbch] "stir it!", but such pairs could just as well be used to isolate x and x and g and g as phonemes, or, for that matter, á and à.
In order not to get tangled up in a discussion on the phonemic status of \( l \) and \( r \), I have chosen to leave the phonemic status of \( l \) and \( r \) undecided, and simply indicate \( l \) and \( r \) where these were realized.

Examples in DA: \( \text{går} \) "neighbour", \( \text{nhâr} \) "day", \( \text{nâr} \) "fire", \( \text{mwâr} \) "stitches (said while making mazes in a fish net)”, \( \text{nfâr} \) "persons", \( \text{fuxxâr} \) "earthenware, and also \( \text{râ'iy} \) "master", but no velarization in \( \text{târif} \) "knowing", \( \text{sâriy} \) "buying", \( \text{sârib} \) "lip", \( \text{sârâh} \) "grazing (f. sg.) the small cattle", \( \text{mbâriy} \) "name for a newborn camel (lit. "following" (its mother))".

1.1.9.
Not recorded in DA.

1.1.10.
Like in group I.

1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1.
The inventory of vowel phonemes for DA contains five long vowels and three short vowels:

Long vowels: \( i \quad u \quad ê \quad ö \)

Short vowels: \( ä \quad å \quad a \)

1.2.2.1.
Phonemic overlapping of \( i \) and \( ê \), and also of \( ä \) and \( ö \) in neutral environments occurs only to a limited extent. Normally, \( \text{zên} \) "good", \( \text{kêf} \) "how", \( \text{sêf} \) "sword" will have \( [e:] \), \( \text{tâyzên} \) will have \( [i:] \), and \( \text{tânin} \) "bad (m. pl.)" will be clearly \( [fe'ni:n] \).

A case where there is some overlap of \( ê \) and \( i \) is \( \text{mêfâ} \) "underground cylindrical clay oven"; one may hear \( [\text{mi:fu}] \) as well as \( [\text{me:fu}] \).

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835 This is not to say the topic is irrelevant as such. Cf. also remarks in fn 192 to 1, 1.1.8.
836 Cf. \( \text{mêfâ} \) in LANDBERG (1920), vol. I, p. 81 (root ‘-f-y)". 
A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

1.2.2.2. 

"speech" will be clearly distinguishable from "say!", as is [u:] in "shove aside" from [o:] in "above".

In some cases phonetic overlap of ə and ü does occur. A raised ə (slightly lower than [u:]) was recorded in "round".

preceded by velarized consonants may be considerably lowered: "its length", although a higher [u:] is heard in "straight away", "knife", a close [o:] in "wool", but a noticeably higher [u:] in "they cook" and "my brother".

This feature of phonetic overlap, however, was used in poetry where ûm and ûm are rhymed with ûm:

I have a woman in my heart who dwells there forever
And kisses us so that we awake from the depths of sleep
And running (away) will not alter fate"

Although the subject of the verb is likely to be , I hear instead of , which may have to do with the custom of not referring too directly to female subjects in poetry to respect their reputation. However, specific mention is made of the lady in question in the first line (i.e. ), which is contradictory.

CA û may have an ow ~ aw realization (as a result of a very prominent "on-glide") when following a back spirant: [ma: }own] "pot", as well as ı when preceded by emphatics, such as in "having (m. pl.) placed", which sounds more like [hättayn [hoa:tein]], [tein] instead of [tina] "clay", [sei ni:hl] instead of "large round tray" (~ saniyyah, which may also be heard in CaA, is to be interpreted as a back formation of the pl. sawāniy (M. Woidich, personal communication)).

Interestingly, WEHR gives a pronunciation sayniyya for Lebanese.

1.2.2.3.

Allophones of \( \ddot{a} \) are like in group I. DA has an open [a:] in ‘\( \ddot{a} \)rif.’

1.2.2.4.

Examples of the shortening of unstressed long vowels in DA are: sig\( \ddot{a}n \) "shins", sil\( \ddot{a}n \) "boats", fana\( \ddot{g}îl \) "cups". Such shortening is mainly a feature of allegro speech.

1.2.3.1.

Minimal pairs for short vowel phonemes in DA are:

- fitt! "make fattah!" - futt "I passed" - futt "he made fattah"
- Xid\( \ddot{r} \) "male given name" - xu\( \ddot{r} \)dr "green (pl.)"
- h\( \ddot{\i} \)bb! "kiss!, love!" - h\( \ddot{\i} \)bb "love"
- \( \ddot{s} \)idd "pull tight!" - \( \ddot{s} \)add "he pulled tight"

1.2.3.2.

In DA: ‘\( \ddot{m} \)y, but xurs, \( \ddot{t} \)urm, sum\( \ddot{r} \), \( \ddot{h} \)um\( \ddot{r} \).

Like in group I, the quality of the high vowel in mediae geminatae verbs in DA is largely phonetically conditioned. Examples for \( u \) with primary emphatics are: y\( \ddot{u} \)hutt "place", y\( \ddot{u} \)futt "jump", y\( \ddot{u} \)tubb "drop by (on a visit)”, y\( \ddot{u} \)subb "pour", y\( \ddot{u} \)xudd "churn".

Examples of \( u \) with (potential) secondary emphatics:
y\( \ddot{u} \)ru\( \ddot{\i} \)shs "spray", y\( \ddot{u} \)xu\( \ddot{\i} \)shs "enter", y\( \ddot{u} \)g\( \ddot{\i} \)rr "drag", y\( \ddot{u} \)ru\( \ddot{d} \) "answer, return", y\( \ddot{u} \)kutt "pour", y\( \ddot{u} \)dugg "pound".

Examples of \( i \) in neutral environments:
yil\( \ddot{\i} \)mm "gather", yig\( \ddot{\i} \)tt "make fattah", yil\( \ddot{\i} \)ff "go around", yim\( \ddot{i} \)dd "extend", yim\( \ddot{i} \)zz "run through (of a thread through a fish net)”, yis\( \ddot{\i} \)dd "pull", yih\( \ddot{\i} \)zz "shake", yih\( \ddot{\i} \)bb "love, kiss", yig\( \ddot{\i} \)ll "carry”.

1.2.3.3.

Like in AxAXA (cf. III, 1.2.3.3.), yig\( \ddot{\i} \)ll (the last example in the preceding paragraph 1.2.3.2.) is (originally) a measure 4 verb, and its high vowel \( i \) is therefore morphologically conditioned.
For morphological conditioning of the high vowel in other derived measures in DA cf. IV, 3.2.

In DA: yiğubb "pour", and zarğa "blue (f. sg.)".

1.2.3.4.1.
Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.2.
Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.1.
Like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.2.

Raising of \( a \) in open syllable preceding stressed \( ā \) is optional in DA, but occurs regularly, e.g.: libāniy "camel suckling", misāfah "distance", zīmān "(in) the old days (adverbially)", zuwāği "marriage", šuwārih "lips", kumān "also", rūsās "lead", but also rasāsah "plumb (on a net)".

Raising of \( a \) in neutral environment preceding stressed \( ī \) is of a phonetic nature (and thus optional): digīg ~ dagīg "flour", riḥil "moving away", gibilah ~ gabilah "tribe", kīṭr (~ once kaṭir) "many, much", rīṣīg ~ raṣīg "friend", basīṭ "little (of quantity)", šāṭīr ~ šīṭīr "barley", but only kībīr "large", dinīs "Gilt-head seabream (sparus aurata)".

In non-neutral environments (for more detail, cf. IV, 3.1.1.1.1.) such raising often remains absent: ḥādīd "iron", ḡabīṭah "camel's saddle", ḥālīb "milk", ʿabīṭ "stupid", ʿaḡīn "dough", ḥaẓīn "sad, mourning", ṭābīx "cooked food".

The short vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, although two exceptions were recorded: bīḍ "far" and ṣāfīf "loaf of (flat round) bread".

1.2.3.4.3.3.

Examples of the raised feminine suffix in neutral environments in DA: ţānīyih "next, second", wiliyyih "woman", timīlih "shallow well", śwayyih "bit, little", xamsīh "five", ḥāgīh "thing", ḍhayrih "lake", xamsīh "five", all of which may be heard in sentence-medial positions as well.
Preceding $M$ and $g$ (or rather $g$) will inhibit such raising: $rqgsah$ "dance", $xusah$ "knife", $lent adduxlah$ "the wedding night", $srarlah$ "frankness", $gufflah$ "basket", $awlah$ "room", $marbuthah$ "tied (f.)", $magsfulah$ "closed (f.)", $farrsah$ "chick", $farqah$ "empty", $Dawegr rah$ "name of the tribe of DA speakers", $wrugah$ "leaf", $malagah$ "spoon", $nagah$ "she-camel".

$waaw$ does not allow raising either, e.g.: $ilwah$ "height", $ghawah$ "coffee", $hilwah$ "beautiful", $ginnewah$ "song", $nawwah$ "storm", $aqwah$ "pressed dates" (all but the last one recorded in pause).

Preceding $'$ and $h$ will also inhibit such raising: $sagqah$ "cold", $sbahah$ "swimming", $sanah$ "skilled work", $gimah$ "Friday", $murgelah$ "swing", $sabqah$ "seven", $tisqah$ "nine".

When (*) a precedes in open syllable, raising will more often than not remain absent: $xsibah$ "piece of wood", $gilah$ "hurry", $xrisah$ "bead", $smakah$ "fish", $sbakah$ "net", and also $makanah$ "motor", $mahlahah$ "milking bowl", $madrasah$ "school", $sanah$ "year".

1.2.3.5.

Examples in DA: $kiqily$ and $kidihe$ "like this".

1.2.4.1.

The situation is like in group I.

Examples for monophthongized *ay: $bet$ "tent", $let$ "night", $zet zetun" olive oil", $fingalen$ "two cups", $merakah$ "cushion supporting the leg of a camel rider".

Examples for *aw: $yom$ "day", $fog" above", $mog" waves", $dor" turn, round (of coffee pouring)"$, $korm$ "pile", $mosim" season", $gom" enemy tribe", $sodi" black, bad (f. sg.)"$.

"Systemzwang" preserved the diphthongs in $mawgud$ "present", and also $awlau$ "having the first right to claim". In these forms the morphological structure would no longer be transparent after monophthongization.

The word for "garment" is $totb$, and like in group I, a-type imperfects of primae waw measure 1 verbs tend to have diphthongs, as in $yawsal" we arrive" (though
~ yōṣal), but the i'-type imperfects more regularly show monophthongs, as in yōzin "he weighs".

1.2.4.2.

The same minimal pairs used in group I may be used to isolate the five long vowels as phonemes in DA.

N.B. Only when preceded by emphatics: ḍrūbaw "they hit", šāraw "they became", but partial assimilation may take place, as in gāłow "they said", gāmōw "they got up". When in neutral environments: kūbūw "they wrote", mūkūw "they took", nūmuw "they slept", māšūw "they went".

1.2.4.3.

Like in group I.

1.2.4.4.1.

Like in group I, the older final *-ā(’) has an -iy reflex in neutral environments, e.g.: hniy "here", štiy "winter", miy "water", šalāt išiy "evening prayer", sōdiy "black, bad (f. sg.)", ḥawlīy "cross-eyed (f. sg.)", šriy "buying", ġniy "song", ršiy "well rope", kiḍiy "thus", and also the m. sg. demonstrative hādīy, and in the verb form ġtiy "he came". Unlike the situation in group I, however, a preceding a in open syllable does not prevent such raising, e.g. ġadiy "lunch" (cf. IV, 1.2.4.4.3.2.).

The pronominal 3rd p. f. sg. suffix -ha, and the 1st. p. c. pl. suffix -na are not raised, and in ani (~ ana) "I" stress is on the first syllable.839 When the article precedes, it does not receive stress as regularly in group I, but may remain where it is, e.g.: fī šštiy "in winter" (for more examples, cf. IV, 2.1.2.1.).

1.2.4.4.3.2.

Unlike the situation in group I (except BaA), a preceding in open syllable does not prevent raising, e.g.: ġadiy "lunch" and ašiy "dinner", but also aĺbada "the beginning" and ássama "the sky" were recorded.

839 In Rafah I did hear anīy, although I do not know whether the speaker spoke the dialect of the town, or whether he was a bedouin.
1.2.4.4.4.

The phonetic factors that prevent raising in group I apply in DA, but emphatics are not entirely stable in this respect. With preceding $X$ only examples with $h$ were recorded, e.g.: samrā, zargā "blue (f. sg.)", gamrā "moonlight", hamrā "red (f. sg.)", ūmrā "without front teeth (f. sg.)", xaḍrā "white (f. sg.)", ǧiḥā "morning", riḥā "hand-mill", but also xarsiy (root *x-r-s), ǧtiy "blanket", bēḍiy "white (f. sg.)".

Some of the examples listed for group I are in DA: wāra, gāra, rāma.

N.B. In DA "he came" is ǧiy. A tertiae infirmae verb is ánṣa "I forget", nansa "we forget".

1.2.4.4.5.

The conclusion for group I except BaA also holds for DA.

1.2.4.4.6.

In DA raised or non-raised reflexes of *-ā(') have often remained long, even in pause, and are not accompanied by the glottal catch often heard in group I.

1.2.4.4.7.

Other exceptions to raising of final *-ā(') in DA are, like in group I: verb forms yánsa, yálga, yiṭgádda, (i)stánna, sáwwa, and nominals mī'za "goats", ʿāṭwa "truce", māšta "winter residence", máʿna "meaning", dīnāya "world", mēfa "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground", mā, lāʾ ~ laʾ ~ la, but hāḍīy "this (m. sg. demonstrative)".

1.2.4.4.9.

Suffixed final *-ā(') is like in group I, e.g.: gafāyah "the nape of my neck", gadaḥ "his lunch", hawāha "her love", māyāh "my water", waṛāyah "behind me", and verb forms gāha "it (m. sg.) came to it (f. sg.)", nistannāha "we wait for her".

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840 Reflexes of final *-ā(') have often remained long and stressed in DA, even in words with more than one syllable, cf. also IV, 2.1.2.1. INGHAM (1986), p. 280, characterizes such retained length as a typically southern Nağdiy feature.
B. IV. A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

1.2.4.5.1.

Preceding emphatics have a strong effect on the realizations of ī which may lead to diphthongal on-glides. Instances recorded in DA include hâṭṭayn "having placed (m. pl.)", faṭayr "unleavened bread", tayna "clay", šayniyyah "large round copper tray", tōsâlayn "you (f. sg.) arrive" (in these instances the long vowel ī is realized as I.P.A. [iː]).

When ā is preceded by emphatics, it may be considerably lowered, e.g.:
tōlah "its (m. sg.) length".

1.2.4.5.2.

Like in group I. An additional example in DA is murĝēhah [mur'æːχəhah] "swing".

1.2.4.5.3.

Like in group I.

1.2.4.6.

Diphthongs in DA are: ay, aw, and iy, uw.

1.2.4.6.1.1.

Like in group I.

1.2.4.6.1.2.1.

Examples of X + *ay are: ʿays "bread", dhayriy "fishing net carried on the shoulders", xayf "thread", ġaym "clouds", bhayrah "lake", aywah "yes".

Examples of X + *aw are: haws "courtyard", xawf "fear", hown ~ hawn "mortar", 'Awdah "male given name", awdah "room".

1.2.4.6.1.2.2.

Examples of M + *ay: nfarayn "two persons", šayd "hunting", krayk "shovel" (jokingly: "spoon"), tâyr "birds", ġayf "guest", ġallayt "I stayed" (in all these instances the diphthong is I.P.A. [iː]).

Only one example of M + *aw was recorded: šáwma'ah "silo", but also šód "fishing" (!), hâdoʃ "these "m. pl. demonstrative". 
The influence of \( i \) on the following *ay is unambiguous in DA: \( a'tayt "I gave", ha'tayt "I placed", z\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)l\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)tayn "two young goats" (in all these instances the diphthong is I.P.A. \([\text{ei}]\)).

Like in RA, SA and BaA, *ay is only dipthongal when preceded by \( r \): k\( \ddot{\text{r}} \)ayk "shovel", n\( \ddot{\text{z}} \)furayn "two persons", \( \ddot{s} \)hurayn "two months" (in all these instances the diphthong is I.P.A. \([\text{ei}]\)). The dipthong *ay is monophthongal \( \ddot{e} \) when preceded by \( r \): m\( \ddot{i} \)r\( \ddot{e} \)n "two metres", m\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{k} \)b\( \ddot{e} \)n "two large boats", \( \ddot{s} \)r\( \ddot{e} \)tha "I bought it (f. sg.)", \( \ddot{g} \)m\( \ddot{r} \)\( \ddot{e} \)n "two armfuls".

No instances of \( r \) or \( \ddot{r} \) preceding *aw were recorded in DA.

1.2.4.6.1.2.3.

Examples of complementary lengthening of the reduced diphthong *ay in DA are: \( a: \ddot{s} "bread", a:n "eye", x\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)h "thread", ta\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{\text{s}} \)\( \ddot{\text{a}} \)\( \ddot{\text{a}} \):na "we had dinner", and \( g\ddot{a}:r "only". In these cases \( a: \) tends to be a little under I.P.A. \([\text{e}:]\).

1.2.4.6.2.1.

Examples of reflexes of final *-\( \ddot{u} \) in DA are: in\( \ddot{u} \)bs\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{t} \)u\( \ddot{w} \) (u of the second syllable is anaptyctic) "they rejoiced", til\( \ddot{f} \)\( \ddot{u} \)w "they got tired", x\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{d} \)\( \ddot{u} \)w "take! (m. pl.)".

An example of a diphthongal reflex of final *-\( \ddot{r} \) in DA is: \( \ddot{s} \)\( \ddot{f} \)\( \ddot{y} "sticks".

For examples of *-iy as reflexes of final *-\( \ddot{a} \)(') in DA, cf. IV, 1.2.4.4.1.

Diphthongs resulting from anaptyxis: d\( \ddot{a} \)lu\( \ddot{u} \)w # "pail", c\( \ddot{i} \)lu\( \ddot{u} \)w # "height (also desert)", m\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{s} \)\( \ddot{i} \)y # "walking", \( \ddot{\text{g}} \)\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)\( \ddot{d} \)\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)y # "kid goat", \( \ddot{c} \)\( \ddot{m} \)\( \ddot{i} \)y # "blind (m. pl.)", \# i\( \ddot{r} \)\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{r} \)\( \ddot{w} \)\( \ddot{w} \)\( \ddot{w} \)h # "he goes home", \# \( \ddot{i} \)\( \ddot{y} \)\( \ddot{d} \)\( \ddot{\text{f}} \)\( \ddot{\text{i}} \)\( \ddot{r} \) # "he digs", \# i\( \ddot{w} \)r\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{\text{g}} \)\( \ddot{a} \)h # "leaf", \# i\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{l} \)\( \ddot{t} \)\( \ddot{d} \)\( \ddot{i} \)h # "his son".

An example of word-medial diphthong resulting from anaptyxis is: g\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{r} \)\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{w} \)\( \ddot{w} \)\( \ddot{t} \)h "his (large wooden) tray (for serving food to many guests on festive occasions)".\(^{841}\)

\(^{841}\) In LANDBERG (1942), vol. III, p. 2489, qarwah is listed as "grand plat, plateau en bois" with a reference to Socin, Diwan, p. 302, where qarwah is described as "a large dish which can contain enough food for ten persons".
B. IV. A description of Dwêgriy Arabic.

1.2.4.6.2.2.

In DA the imperfects of the primæ wâw verbs were almost exclusively recorded with ō (~ aw in a-type imperfects) nøzin "we weigh", yögid "he lights", yörid "he gets water". In the measure 4 verb (awgad, yögid) this may be due to the phonetic overlap mentioned in IV, 1.2.2.2., but different speakers were quite consistent in realizing ō in several measure 1 verbs, so that one is led to believe that ō is a reflex of *aw in these cases.

1.2.4.7.

Examples of lengthened long vowels are: ‘ā:dirah "ṣādir bush", ‘a lyimî:n "to the right", b arrâ:ḥah "slowly".

Lengthening of the first element of the diphthong ay (lengthening of aw was not recorded) is quite regular in DA: ‘a:yn "maze (of a net)", ‘a:yš "bread", xa:y’t "thread", kра:yk "shovel", ‘a:yb "shameful", ša:yf "summer", ḍa:yf "guest".⁸⁴² The lengthened first element a: tends to be a slightly lowered I.P.A. [ε:].

2. Stress and phonotactics

2.1.1.

In DA the stress rule follows the final geminate reduction rule*, the elision rule, and the gahawah-rule (executed in that order), but it precedes the resyllabication rule, the T-vowel elision rule, and the anaptyxis rule (executed in that order). Stress is of the máktaba-type.

* The rule of reduction of final geminates can be summarized as follows:

\[
C_bC_b \rightarrow C_b / νC_aν\_\_\_\_.
\]

. = (here) word boundary

⁸⁴² Lengthening of diphthongs was noticed in the dialect of the Rwalah, cf. PROCHÁZKA (1988), p. 18, where such lengthening is indicated as āy and āw. The dialect of the Rwalah is classified in INGHAM (1995), p. 121, as "of the Central Najdi type of the other ‘Aniza sections and of the Mu’tair, Central Ḥarb, ‘Awāżim, ‘Utaibah, and Dawāsir, with however certain characteristics of the generally Northern block shared with the North Najdi type of the Shammar, and the mixed North/Central type of the Ḥafir..."
1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (but see the contrast with # for the anaptyxis rule below in IV, 2.3.)

2) The domain of stress is formed by the last three syllables, including the article al-, the verbal an- prefix, the syllable preceding the t-infex (of the 1-t measure), and the suffixes, if these are part of the last three syllables.

3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels which are part of, or precede a heavy sequence are stressed.

4) The following types of "heavy" sequences occur: vCC(C), vC(C) (including v(h)).

5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (cf. examples in IV, 2.1.1.1.).

6) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left.

N.B. The 2nd p. m. suffix is a special case. In terms of stress it is underlying -vkl, i.e. suffixation of (surface) -k does not create a heavy syllable, e.g.: gāmalk "your camel", salāmatk "your well-being". In terms of syllabication, however, this pronominal suffix is -k (for further detail, cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1., 2.3.3.3.3., and 3.1.12.2.1.).

2.1.1.1.

Examples of stress in words with a heavy sequence in the last three syllables: hāwsalak "gizzard", mādrasah "school", mērakah "cushion supporting the leg of a camel rider", hātāh "having placed (f. sg.), hāṭṭîn "having placed (m. pl.)", ynašfūh "they dry it (m. sg.)", xaḍrā "green (f. sg.)", gādîy "lunch", āssimak "the fish", ālbiḥar "the sea", ālbiḥil "the camels", āngalab "it (m. sg.) overturned", āttifag "he agreed", t'arīfn "you (f. pl.) know", t'arāgn "you (f. pl.) perspire".

2.1.1.2.1.

Stress in CaCaC and CiCiC is regularly on the first syllable in DA: CāCaC and CiCiC.

A sequence CaCaCv in DA is resyllabicized to become CCICv (for further detail cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.). Before this resyllabication rule is executed, the vowel is raised, and stress is placed.
2.1.1.2.1.1.

Examples of stress in CaCaC and CiCiC in DA: ákal "he ate", dárab "he hit", ǧámal "camel", báḥar "sea", širib "he drank", sínīç "he heard".

Examples of *CaCaCv in DA: (*xasabah —> xšibah "piece of wood", (*gahawah —> ghwah "coffee", (*maqār ib —> mgārib "sunset", (*waladah —> wlidih "his son", and verb forms (*tāarif —> tārif "you know".

Some K-forms and CA loans are excepted from this stress rule (as well as from the resyllabication rule): ʿāṣarah "ten", bārakah "blessing", mutqālah "mixed (f. sg.)", mákanah "motor, machine", másalan "for instance", and áhlan wa sáhlan! "welcome!".

2.1.1.2.1.2.

Although CáCaC is regular in DA, a few instances of CaCáC were recorded: ǧimāl "camel", sḥāf "month", gidāh "wooden bowl", gitāh "he cut".

2.1.1.2.1.3.

Examples of stress in *CaCaCaCv(C) in DA: (*ragabatīh —> rğbüth "his neck", (*ṣağaratīk —> šgārtik "your (f. sg.) tree", (*naxalātāh —> nxāltah "his date palm", and verb forms (*darabatāh —> ḍrubtah "she hit him", (*akalātāh —> akāltah "she ate it (m. sg.)".

It is clear from these examples that the resyllabication rule (described in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.) precedes the T-vowel elision rule, which is described in IV, 3.1.10. If it were the other way around the expected forms would have been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>suffixation</th>
<th>T-vowel elision</th>
<th>stress</th>
<th>resyllabication</th>
<th>surface form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*naxalāh + ah</td>
<td>*naxalātah</td>
<td>*naxalātah + ah</td>
<td>*naxalātah</td>
<td>*naxalātah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms like snitah "his year" and mrūtah "his wife", of which the unsuffixed base forms marah and sanah are not resyllabicized, also show that the resyllabication rule precedes this a (+i) -elision rule. The form nxāltah "his datepalm" shows that the gahawah-rule precedes the resyllabication rule. The forms nxāltah, rğbüth "his neck" and also sniktah "his fish (n.u.)" show that the resyllabication rule affects the first CaCaCV sequence from the left.
The point here is that resyllabication cannot take place since there would be no eligible sequence if T-vowel elision precedes. Instead, the logical rule order is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>suffixation</th>
<th>stress</th>
<th>resyllab.</th>
<th>T-vowel elision</th>
<th>surface form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*naxalâtah + ah</td>
<td>*naxalâtah</td>
<td>*naxalâtah</td>
<td>*nxâltah</td>
<td>*nxâltah</td>
<td>nxâltah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a similar claim with regard to the elision of high vowels in verbs, cf. IV, 3.2.1.2.

An example which does not fit this rule order is the elicited mahfâdtik "your (f. sg.) wallet", which, apart from the fact that the gahawah-syndrome is not active, is not *mahfîdâtîk. I suppose this was too much of a loan, and should not have been asked in the first place.

2.1.1.2.1.4.

Examples of stress in CiCiC in DA are: tilif "get tired", zi'il "become angry", kîtîr "increase", wîyîl "arrive", 'îrif "know".

2.1.1.2.1.6.

A $C_aC_baC_cV$ sequence is not tolerated in DA; this sequence is resyllabicized to become $C_sC_bC_cV$ (either $C_sC_bIC_cV$ or $C_sC_baC_cV$), i.e. the vowel of the first syllable is dropped, and the vowel of the second syllable is raised $\rightarrow l$, provided $C_b$ is not $X$, and/or $C_c$ is not $L$\textsuperscript{843}, thus:

a) $C_sC_baC_cV \rightarrow C_sC_bIC_cV$

b) $C_sM_baC_cV \rightarrow C_sM_baC_cV$

c) $C_sX_baC_cV \rightarrow C_sX_baC_cV$

d) $C_sC_baL_cV \rightarrow C_sC_baL_cV$

* rules a) and b) can be summarized as $CaKaCV \rightarrow CKICV$.

$X$ = back spirant $\z$, $g$, $x$, $h$, or $h$

$L$ = liquid $l$ or $r$

$M$ = emphatic consonant (primary or secondary)

\textsuperscript{843} Cf. JOHNSTONE (1967) for similar resyllabication- and raising-rules in the (Nağıî) dialect of Anaïza
$C_b$ = consonant other than $X$ or $M$  \\
$K$  = consonant other than $X$  \\
$V$  = short or long vowel  \\
$v$  = short vowel $a$, $i$, or $u$  \\
$l$  = high vowel $u$ in velarized environment, $i$ in neutral environment

Examples:

rule a)  
*samakah  $\rightarrow$  smikah  "a fish"

rule b)  
*haṭabah  $\rightarrow$  ḥūbah  "piece of firewood"*1)

rule c)  
*gahawah  $\rightarrow$  ghawah  "coffee"

rule c)  
*yaʿarif  $\rightarrow$  yʿarif  "he knows"*2)

rule d)  
*gaṣalah  $\rightarrow$  gṣalah  "twig (given to the groom in betrothals)"*3)

rule d)  
*ṣaṣarah  $\rightarrow$  šṣarah  "tree"  *4)

*1) Other examples: wrūga "leaf", rgūba "neck", mruia "his wife", ḍūha "she hit", šrūdat "she fled", iṣfūgat "she agreed".

*2) Other examples: nhāfira "we dig", tʿārag "she perspires".

*3) Other examples: nxālah "palm tree", bgālah "she-mule", bṣālah "onion", dxāla "she entered", but also akīla "she ate" (cf. IV, 3.2.2.3.).

*4) Other examples: hḡāra "stone", ṣāra "ten", bgāra "cow", kbārat "she grew", but also nfrayn "two persons". In this last example, however, stress on the last syllable may be the decisive factor allowing the raising of $a$ (cf. IV, 3.1.1.5., and 3.1.1.6.).

Notice that since forms like ʾiṣtuḡulat "she worked", axiḍat "she took" were also recorded (so that axiḍat "she took it" contrasts with axaṭat "I took it"), the provision for the non-raising of $a$ following $X$ (as in c.) only holds for $a$ created by the gahawah-syndrome. For this reason non-raising in dxāla "she entered" is conditioned by rule d.), rather than rule c.). The example tʿārag "she perspires" (here listed as conditioned by rule c.) could probably just as well have been conditioned by rule d.).

The resulting initial consonant cluster is normally resolved when it is preceded by a consonant or pause: # ighawah, # ismikah, # ihūbah, # inʿaḡah.

Initial hamzah (‘) prevents vowel elision from the first syllable in *aCaCV: (’)axādar "green", (’)ahāmar "red", and the verb forms (’)agāis "I
submerge", (')a‘árif "I know", where the initial a is not dropped (cf. 'a‘árif); one might have expected forms such as •xaqar, •hámar, •gáthi, •árif.

Similarly we have akilat, axídat "she ate" and "she took", but exceptions to this rule were also recorded, e.g.: íthlih "his family", ikilat "she ate", and utíràh "his tracks". These last three examples are particularly interesting, since they suggest that raising of the vowel in the first syllable is optional (because of the preceding *?), and that such raising precedes its elision, which does not take place here because of preceding *'.

This rule applies to all CaCaCV sequences, also across morpheme boundaries, though not across word boundaries. The rule is however, only applied once, and only to the first CaCaCV sequence from the left, as is illustrated by the examples y‘aragün (< *ya‘aragün) "they perspire", t‘aragín (< *ta‘aragín) "you (f. sg.) perspire".

As was already pointed out in IV, 2.1.1., the 2nd. p. m. sg. pronominal suffix is underlying -ľvk (but surface form -k) for the stress rule, but in terms of syllabication this pronominal suffix is -k (and also underlying -ľkl); -vk would yield sequences eligible for resyllabication, and one would expect forms more or less like •gmdlk "your camel", •mrút(k)k "your wife", •nít(ş)k "your year", which are not proper DA. Instead, the DA forms are: gdmalk, mdratk, and sántak respectively (cf. also IV, 2.3.3.3.3.).

N.B. For implications of the form akíltah "she ate it", cf. remarks in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.3.

2.1.1.2.2.1.

Examples of álCaCaC in DA: álqímal "the camel", álqanim "the small cattle", ássimak "the fish (coll.)", álbaţár "the sea". But also Koine influences in alflaráh "the wedding feast", ilmásal "the example", almáhár "the dowry (paid by the groom's family to the bride's family)".

Examples of verbal measure n-1 in DA (perfect): ánbišay "he rejoiced", ánqaláb "it (m. sg.) overturned", ánqitaš "t (m. sg.) was cut", ánqabab "it (m. sg.) was baked". Examples of the imperfect of n-1: tünwikil "it (f. sg.) is eaten", tündibiš "it (f. sg.) is slaughtered", tünisisim "it (f. sg.) is allotted".

Examples of measure 1-t (perfect): áttifq "he agreed", áštaqaš "he worked", áštara "he bought". Imperfect examples of measure 1-t: yístiqil "he works", yístiriš "he buys", yíntihiy "it (m. sg.) ends". 
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Notice that mediae geminatae after geminate reduction (cf. IV, 2.1.1.) are also included here: ãlba:nn "the coffeebeans", á-dd-ëšàff "on the beach" and verb forms tânkabb "it (f. sg.) is poured", ãndabb "it (m. sg.) was filled (with water)", and also measure asta-1 verbs ádstama:ff "he continued", and ásta:dd "he prepared himself".

In DA too the unstressed high vowel i of the second syllable in the perfect and imperfect of measures n-i and 1-i is underlying lal.

2.1.1.2.2.2.

In DA the verbal preformative, or the article preceding a sequence CaCaCV cannot be stressed, which is covered by rule 2) in IV, 2.1.1. The following CaCaCV sequence is then resyllabicized in conformity with IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6., e.g.: (*albasalah →) alibsálah "the onion", (*aššágarah →) aššágarah "the tree", (*algahawah →) aligháwah, (*assamakah →) issmikah "the fish (n.u.)", (*arragabah →) arrgúbah "the neck", and verb forms (*angalabat →) ingbúbat "it (f. sg.) overturned", (*anbasat →) inubsúbat "she rejoiced", (*attaqfagat →) ittuqfát "she agreed", (*darabat →) ḏrubá:th "she hit him" (for implications of this last example cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.3.).

Notice also that the vowel of the prefix or preceding the infixed i is usually raised when it is not stressed, like the vowel of the article in issmikah, and iššágarah. The example inubsúbat (where u of the second syllable is anaptyctic) illustrates that the raised prefix vowel is not anaptyctic, since the form is not *nubsúbat.

2.1.2.1.

In DA reflexes of final *-ä(‘) have generally remained long, and are therefore stressed, even if other heavy sequences precede, e.g.: zargá "blue (f. sg.)", sa:nra "black (f. sg.)", tar:ná "having no front teeth (f. sg.)", xa:nra "green (f. sg.)", āwpá "truce", sa:nra "desert".

The same is true for the raised reflexes of final *-ä(‘), e.g.: ašštíy "the winter", arrsíy "the well rope", aimíy "the water", algádiy "the lunch", al:asíy "the dinner".

But also stressed articles preceding such forms (notably where raising of the final *-ä(‘) is absent) were recorded f-álxála "in the desert" háttara "this wet sand from rain", ássama "the sky", álbdaba "the start", áláxála "the empty space, desert".
2.1.2.2.

In DA reflexes of final *-iy are not stressed, e.g. ǧāniy "rich", țiriy "dry", nābiy "Prophet", and also ǧāgiy "reciter of the Koran".

2.1.2.3.

Both annābiy and ánnibiy ~ ánnabiy were recorded. No suffixed C3 = y nominals were recorded in DA, but in verb forms the morphophonemic rule described in I, 2.1.2.3. holds good, e.g.: yi'giy "he comes", but ygil "he comes to you", and nsāmmiyy "we call", but nsammīha "we call it (f. sg.)".

Like in group I, unsuffixed nisbah endings are not stressed: Dwēgriy "member of the Dawāgraḥ", but Dwēgriyyah "female member of the Dawāgraḥ".

Also like in group I, reflexes of *-f (or *-i«) are unstressed: mâsiy "walking", ra'iy "master", tāniy "second". But they may be stressed when suffixed: gāwīha "being in love with her".

2.1.2.4.

Like in group I: naxāłha "her datepalms", ba'ādhum "each other", etc. Unlike the situation in group I, gahawah-vowels are stable, and will trigger the resyllabication rule (cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.) if a CaCaCV sequence results from the gahawah-rule (cf. I, 2.2.1.1.) , e.g. nxāltah "his datepalm".

2.1.2.5.

Like in group I, high vowels are not elided in a sequence (V)CaCaICa3V, e.g.: nğāddidah "we renew it", mhāllilah "cheering (f. sg.)".

2.1.3.1.

Instances with an enclitically prefixed min were not recorded in DA. Instead, min tāhat is regular.

Like in group I, negated pers. pronominals form one stress unit in DA, e.g.: mâhin (~ māhinna) "not they (f.)", mâhuw ~ múhuw (~ māhuwa).

2.1.3.2.1.

Enclitic suffixing of the preposition l + suffix is common in DA, e.g.: agrāb-ilna "closer to us", msawwi-lya "having made for me", agūl-lk "I say to you", 'āšig-lish "being in love (to have as a wife) for himself", waṣṣif-ilyah
B. IV. A description of Dwêgriy Arabic.

"describe for me", yāxūḍ-ilha "he takes for her", tašrâb-ilk "you drink (for yourself)".

N.B. The high vowel i preceding the l in such forms as agrāb-ilna, wassif-ilyah, yāxūḍ-ilha, tašrâb-ilk is anaptyctic, which accounts for stress in these forms being where it is (cf. also remark to IV, 2.1.3.2.2.)

2.1.3.2.2.

Enclitic suffixing of the preposition b + suffix is quite commonly heard in DA, e.g.: nākūl-baha "we eat with it (f. sg.)", ngasgīs-ibha "we cut with it (f. sg.)", nitwâl-baha "we take with it (f. sg.)", ndalli-bah "we lower with it", arkūb-bah "I ride with it".

N.B. The high vowel i preceding b in the form ngasgīs-ibha is anaptyctic, which accounts for stress in this form being where it is (cf. also remark to IV, 2.1.3.2.1.).

2.2. Phonotactics.

2.2.1.1.

The gahawah- (or rather ghawāh in DA) syndrome is fully active in DA. If, as a result of such gahawah-vowel insertion, a CaCaCV sequence is created, this sequence is resyllabicized in conformity with the rule described in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.

Some examples of stressed gahawah-vowels in non-resyllabicized forms: naxdīha "her datepalms", ahālha "her family", ahūmar "red", agātīs "I dive".

Examples in which gahawah-vowels are of decisive importance for stress assignment to vowels other than the gahawah-vowel itself: ālbaḥar "the sea", ānnaxāl "the datepalms", āššahar "the month".

Examples in resyllabicized forms: ghāwah "coffee", ṣgālah "she-mule", lḥāmah "piece of meat", and verb forms yḥafr "he digs", txābīt "it (f. sg.) collides".

2.2.1.2.

*maXC₃aC₃(ah) or *maXC₂iC₃(ah) in DA: mṭānād "dividing curtain in a tent", mgārib "sunset", but mālagā "spoon", máḥlābah "milking vessel", máḥṣādāh "wallet" (the first and the last of these last three examples may very well be loans).
m'agünah (but ~ ma'ğünah) "kneaded", but maxṭūbin "engaged (too be married) (m. pl.)", ma'rarf "known", Maḩmūd "male given name".

2.2.1.3.

Like in group I, the gahawah-syndrome is not active in the derived measures in DA, e.g.: (measure 4) a'ta, yi'tiy "give", (asta-1) asta'na, yista'niy "concern oneself", (quadrilliters) laxbat, ylaxbit "mix", zağrat, yzağritiš "ululate" (forms like zagaratat "she ululated" may be heard, but are better interpreted as the result of the bukara-syndrome, cf. IV, 2.2.2.1.).

Geminates are treated like in group I, e.g.: taxx "he shot".

In DA the T-vowel elision rule applies after the gahawah-rule, as is clear from the example nxáltah "his datepalm" (cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.3.).

2.2.2.1.

Examples of the influence of r/r in DA ("simple" bukara-vowels underlined): nagra "we recite", zağratn "they (f.) ululated", bakarag "coffee pot", ügiriy "she runs", azągirıš "I ululate", tuṣurud "she flees".

* Forms like zagaratat and zagaratn cannot be the result of the gahawah-syndrome, for if they were, resyllabication in conformity with the rule in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6. would have to take place, resulting in forms like •zgaratat, and •zgaratn, which is clearly not the case.

Remarks made for group I are valid for DA as well, e.g.: tuṣurud itrawwih "she flees to go home".

Examples of vowels resulting from the "expanded" bukara-syndrome (underlined): alfagir assā'ah sittah "at daybreak at six o'clock", al'asir alliy . . . "the afternoon which...".

Examples in pause: ġamur # "live embers", Maṣir # "Egypt", niğir # "copper mortar".

i-type imperfects of verbs with C₁ = X and C₃ = R in DA: yḥāfir "dig" (recorded in over 10 instances, while *yihfir was not recorded), y'ágin "knead", yḥāsil "happen". But only yiqzil was recorded, not *yğdżil.
IV. A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

i-type imperfects of verbs with $C_1 = X$ and $C_2 = r$: yhāriğ "speak", yʕárif "know" (ma-ʕrājš "I don't know" was recorded once in a sentence following an imitation of Egyptian (i.e. more or less CaA dialect).

Other i-imperfect types with $C_1 = X$ recorded in DA are: yxâbiz (~ once nxvbxu) "bake", yxâbiti "hit", yhârit (~ once yuhrut) "plough", yxâjit (~ several instances of yuxjub).

These examples lead to the conclusion that in DA we have a variation of the measure 1 i-type imperfects of $C_1 = X$ verbs similar to the variation in group I, although the resyllabicized gahawah-forms occur more regularly.

Examples of high vowels preserved in sandhi through the influence of r/r are: ygôtir ilna "he goes to us", itfakkir iMhammad "you look at Mhammad", kibir almâq "the waves (coll. noun) became higher".

2.2.2.2.

A few instances illustrating the influence of l were recorded in DA: tigili "she gets away", habil iljâllin "the rope of the cork", mîjîl ârrahâ "like the handmill", tâwil ałgâzîl itlimmah "you take the net and collect it".

2.2.2.2.1.

Forms in DA are: âlbîl, and both ârrâgil and elicited ârîqîl ~ ârîqîl were recorded.

2.2.2.3.

A delay in the articulation of n following a consonant is relatively regular in DA (compared to group I). Examples are (preserved vowels underlined): tʕâginah "she kneads it (m. sg.)", nöizinah "we weigh it", and also (inserted vowels underlined) yʕâfina "he sees us", wîdîna "we want", nîgîna "our she-camels", bîdîna "our land". In these last four examples the underlined i has a phonetic value around [ə].

Examples of intrusive vowels in sandhi (underlined): assâmin all-îhya. . . "the ghee which ...", angâtaʃîn iliḥbâl "the ropes were cut", and an example of a preserved vowel in sandhi (underlined): tʕâgin alwîliyyah "the woman kneads".844

844 Delay in the articulation of r, l and n is mainly a central Nağdiy feature (where other liquids are also affected), cf. INGHAM (1982), pp. 65-62.
2.2.3. Only one instance of a delay in the articulation of ' was recorded in DA: *kīlūw w nuṣṣa 'iwāmah* "one and a half kilometre of swimming".

2.3. Anaptyxis.

Rules formulated for group I hold for DA as well.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis is like in group I.

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi is basically like in group I.

2.3.2.2. For exceptions to the anaptyxis rule for clusters C\text{C} \#, cf. IV, 2.3.3.3.3.

2.3.2.4. Like in group I, resyllabication of CVCCIC\text{C}V is compulsory in DA, while resyllabication of the sequence CVCCIC \text{V}C in sandhi is optional.

2.3.3.1. Unresolved clusters mentioned for group I are generally tolerated in DA as well (for special cases in DA, cf. IV, 2.3.3.3.3.).

2.3.3.3.1. Like in group I.

2.3.3.3.2. In DA forms without anaptyctics are by far in the majority: *‘inda* (where *d* has a nasal release), *‘indhuw, ‘inda, ‘indk, ‘indyah*. The form *‘indina* which was recorded in a limited number of instances may be accounted for by IV, 2.2.2.3., although one instance of *‘indukuw* was also heard.

In sandhi the situation is like in group I.

2.3.3.3.3. There is a notable additional exception in DA for the 2nd. p. m. sg. pronominal suffix -\text{k}. Examples are:
### a) Three-consonant clusters resolved word-medially:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Forms</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>rabbna yikrimk w</em></td>
<td><em>rabbna yikrimk w</em></td>
<td>CoC C</td>
<td>&quot;our Lord has mercy on you and&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mogk ‘alayya ‘aliy</em></td>
<td><em>mogk ‘alayya ‘aliy</em></td>
<td>CoC C</td>
<td>&quot;your waves are too high for me&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### b) Four-consonant clusters resolved word-medially:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Forms</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uxtk Silmiyyah</em></td>
<td><em>uxtk Silmiyyah</em></td>
<td>CoCC C</td>
<td>&quot;your sister Silmiyyah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rizgk ‘a. . .</em></td>
<td><em>rizgk ‘a. . .</em></td>
<td>CoCC C</td>
<td>&quot;your livelihood&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ismk Ri‘da</em></td>
<td><em>ismk Ri‘da</em></td>
<td>CoCC C</td>
<td>&quot;your name is Ri‘da&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uxtk #</em></td>
<td><em>uxtk #</em></td>
<td>CoCC #</td>
<td>&quot;your sister&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>umrk #</em></td>
<td><em>umrk #</em></td>
<td>CoCC #</td>
<td>&quot;your age&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sufik mashi*</td>
<td>* sufik mashi*</td>
<td>CoCC C</td>
<td>&quot;I saw you walk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>widdk titkawan</em></td>
<td><em>widdk titkawan</em></td>
<td>(CC)CoC C</td>
<td>&quot;you want to fight&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### c) Four-consonant clusters (after geminate reduction where applicable) resolved word-initially:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Forms</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>widdk tnâm</em></td>
<td><em>widdk tnâm</em></td>
<td>(CC)CC aCC</td>
<td>&quot;you should sleep&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>widdk hsâb</em></td>
<td><em>widdk hsâb</em></td>
<td>(CC)CC aCC</td>
<td>&quot;you want the bill&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gâtk smikah</em></td>
<td><em>gâtk smikah</em></td>
<td>CC aCC</td>
<td>&quot;a fish came to you&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### d) Three-consonant clusters (after geminate reduction where applicable) left unresolved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Forms</th>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi’tink ‘atwâ</td>
<td>CC C</td>
<td>&quot;granting (m. pl.) you a truce&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘inwânk w a. . .</td>
<td>CC C</td>
<td>&quot;your address and I ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rifîgk wên?</td>
<td>CC C</td>
<td>&quot;where is your partner?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mink ‘ala. . .</td>
<td>CC C</td>
<td>&quot;from you on...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gämalk #</td>
<td>CC #</td>
<td>&quot;your camel&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salâmâmatk #</td>
<td>CC #</td>
<td>&quot;your well-being&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ammk Sâlim</td>
<td>(CC)CC C</td>
<td>&quot;your uncle Sâlim&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. A description of Dwēgrīy Arabic.

e) Four-consonant clusters unresolved:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gildk yahmārr} & \quad \text{CCC C} & \quad \text{"your skin turns red"} \\
\text{bintk #} & \quad \text{CCC #} & \quad \text{"your daughter"}
\end{align*}
\]

It is clear that clusters of three consonants are acceptable if the sonoric values (cf. I, 2.3.3.2.) of the consonants forming the CCC cluster allow this (examples in d)).

In case of a four-consonant cluster, rather than inserting the anaptyctic in the four-consonant cluster CCKC preceding the last two consonants, the cluster is eliminated by inserting the anaptytic before the last three consonants, after which the remaining three-consonant cluster is kept intact (examples in b)). The communicative advantage of this is that šūftik "I saw you (m. sg.)" will not be homophonous with šuftik "I saw you (f. sg.)", and īlk # "to you (m. sg.)" will not be homophonous with īlik # "to you (f. sg.)".

Only if the sonoric values of the consonants in a three-consonant cluster do not tolerate a CCC cluster, the anaptyctic is inserted preceding the last two consonants (examples in a)), notice that in the second example here suffixation of the 2nd p. f. sg. pron. suffix would yield yikirmik "He has mercy on you (f. sg.)" instead of yikrimik).

If the sonoric value of the four consonants involved in the four-consonant cluster will allow it, the cluster may remain intact, and gildk yahmārr "your (f. sg.) skin turns red" (with partial dissonorization of d in regressive assimilation to k) will thus not be homophonous with gildik yahmārr "your (f. sg.) skin turns red" (examples in e)).

If anaptyxis in a four-consonant cluster can be word-initial (i.e. if the last two consonants of the cluster are the first two consonants of the base form), this will be the case (examples in c)). The advantage here is that, since the anaptyctic will not precede -k, widdik tinām, widdik ihṣāb and gātik ismīkah (all suffixed with the 2nd. p. f. sg. pron. suffix -ik) will not be homophonous with the examples in c).

N.B. The cluster in wark # "thigh" is not resolved, but in *warkk # "your thigh" it is resolved: wārikk #.

For the status of -k in terms of stress, cf. IV, 2.1.1., and in terms of syllabication, cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.
B. IV. A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

For the f.pl. verbal ending -n, cf. IV, 3.2.1.1., and 3.2.2.2., both remark *5).

2.3.4.1.

The phonetic quality of anapyctics in DA is as described for group I.

2.3.4.1.1.

Like in group I.

2.3.4.1.2.

Like in group I.

2.3.4.1.3.

T in construction becomes -at in DA (cf. IV, 3.1.10.). The T-vowel a is dropped in open syllables. When a cluster CCC eligible for anaptyxis is the result of this elision, an anaptyctic T is inserted to eliminate the cluster.

Examples with u: rūkubṭik "your (f. sg.) knee", alḥawsalah šūḡulṭah "its (m. sg.) gizzard", būkustah "his box", gāruwtah "his (large wooden) tray (for serving food to many guests on festive occasions)"845. One example with i is: niʿīmt Allāh "the grace of God".

2.3.4.2.1.

Like in group I, word-initial clusters are resolved with i in DA. The proclitic vowels of measure 1 imperatives are identical to the base vowel, e.g.: utbux "cook!", imsik "take, grab!".

2.3.4.2.2.

Like in group I.

2.3.5.

Stressed original anapyctics in the reflexes of forms such as *gīṯā "cover, blanket", *ruḵab "knees", *ināb "grapes" were not recorded in DA.

Reflexes of forms such as *ināb and *ruḵab often have a doubled C3 in DA846, e.g.: bkass "boxes", fragg "nets (for fishing)", ġwarr "pits", ngarr "holes", ḫnaḡgī "mazes in a net", and also suffixed ḫuḏbik "your (f. sg.) knees".

845 Cf. fn 841 to IV, 1.2.4.6.2.1.
846 Such doubling is also reported for Upper Egyptian dialects, roughly between Asyūt and Idu (Upper Egyptian 1, 2, and 3) cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985b), map 354.
When the article precedes, such doubling is absent, e.g.: álibkas "the boxes", árrkab "the knees".

N.B. In DA the suffixed prepositions $l$ and $b$, when they are not enclitically suffixed, normally have a stressed initial $l$-, e.g. íbah "with him", íbha "with her", and ílk "to you (m. sg.)", fílk "to you (f. sg.)", etc. (cf. IV, 3.1.16.).

Another example of stressed original anaptyctics in DA is the word-initial $l$- in the 3rd p. sg. personal pronominals: íhwa "he" and ñhya "she" (cf. IV, 3.1.12.). These must have developed from context- or negated forms from *huwa and hiya (cf. identical forms in CA). Thus, for instance, *wi huwa / *wa huwa → wi-hwa / wa-hwa "and he", or màhwa "not he", after which a new independent form íhwa was morphologically restructured.847

2.4. Elision of short vowels.

Unlike group I, DA is "non-différentiel"; $i$, $u$, and $a$ are all dropped in open unstressed syllables, although there are a number of differences in positions in which $l$ and $a$ may be dropped.

The rule for high vowel elision described in I, 2.4. holds for DA as well. An additional rule for $a$-elision in DA is:

\[
a \rightarrow \emptyset / \ldots C_a \_C_b a C_c V
\]

For $T$:

\[
a \rightarrow \emptyset / \ldots (C_a) C_b \_I V
\]

The last rule covers $T$, but the vowel of the 3rd p. f. sg verbal ending -at is dropped in comparable positions. Thus we have sáftah, "she saw him" and sáltah "she removed it (m. sg.)", contrasting with the non-elision of $a$ in mwâfagah "consent", mnásabah "occasion", and msâ‘adah "support".

2.4.1.

Morphophonemic elision of $l$ in open syllables preceded by one or two consonants, takes place like in group I.

---

847 INCHAM (1976), p. 70 lists identical forms for 3rd p. sg. m. and f. for the Shafi‘i al‘Arab and southern Khūzisân.
2.4.2.
Sandhi elision of \( I \) in open syllables preceded by one or two consonants, takes place like in group I.

2.4.3.
An example of cyclic \( I \)-elision in DA: \( yg\text{\text{"a}}sil + hd\text{\text{"u}}mah \rightarrow \ast yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \) 
\( \text{hd\text{\text{"u}}mah} \rightarrow yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \text{\text{"i}}hd\text{\text{"u}}mah \rightarrow yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \text{\text{"i}}hd\text{\text{"u}}mah \) "he washes his clothes".

In this example the cluster \( lhd \) is first resolved through anaptyxis, after which the high vowel of \( yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \) is dropped.

Notice that it is almost impossible here to decide (due to possible geminate reduction, cf. I, 3.2.3.5.1.) whether the base form is measure 1 \( yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \) "wash", or measure 2 \( yg\text{\text{"a}}sil \) "wash thoroughly".\(^848\) For the claim of cyclicity of the \( I \)-elision rule in sandhi it is irrelevant, since either form proves the point.

2.4.4.
Like in group I, e.g. \( n\text{\text{"a}}ddidah \) "we renew it", \( mh\text{\text{"a}}llilah \) "cheering (f. sg.)".

2.5. Assimilation.

Assimilations similar to those in group I occur, but in DA quite a number of instances of optional assimilation of \( l \) of the article to \( g \) were also recorded, e.g. \( agg\text{\text{"a}}mur \) "the live embers", \( i\text{\text{"a}}gr\text{\text{"a}}n \) "the neighbours". No instances of this \( l \) assimilating to \( k \) were heard.

The progressive total assimilation of \( h \) of the pronominal suffixes \(-ha\) and \(-hu\text{\text{"a}}h\text{\text{"u}}w\) to preceding voiceless consonants was recorded, as in \( 'arissa \) "her groom", but this assimilation was found to be much less current in DA than in group I.

3. Morphology.

3.1.1.1.1.
As was pointed out in IV, 1.2.3.4.3.2., raising of \( a \) in (the first syllable of) \( C\text{\text{"a}}C\text{\text{"a}}C\text{\text{"a}}tC\text{\text{"a}}C'(ah) \) is of a phonetic nature, and optional. Factors usually inhibiting such raising are preceding \( X \), preceding \( ' \), and (to a lesser extent) following \( l \).

\(^848\) KENNERT (1925), pp. 23-4, would probably have contended that it should be measure 1 here.
Examples are (raised a in neutral environments): rifig "partner", rifi' "fine" yimîn "right", fîrtsah "prey animal", sibîl "water offered to passers-by (free of charge)", kîbir "large, old", kîtîr "many, much", bîdi' "improvised rhymes", rizi' "composed rhymes/clapping hands", ﯌awîl "long", digîg "flour", wîgîd "fucl", ãîmît "all", fitîtah "crumbled bread", ðînîs "Gilt-head seabream (sparus aurata)"; but also gadîm "old", râbî' "spring", tagîl "heavy, difficult", bâsi' "simple", ġarid "palmfronds", and râfîg, kātîr, dagîg.

Examples of non-raising of a following X: xafîf "light", xabîz "cooked food", ḡazîn "mourning, sad", ḥarîm "women", ḥaadîd "iron", ḥâbîb "dear", ṣarîs "groom", ṣaḡîn(ah) "dough", ġarîg "deep", ḡabiṭah "camel saddle", but also gîrîg "immersed".

An example of non-raising of a following *': asîl "thoroughbred".

Examples of non-raising of a preceding l: zâliṭah "young goat", salij "skin (flayed)") salîg "boiled food", galîl "little, few", waļîf "loved one", but also šîlîtah "sack", gîlîl "little, few".

Examples of non-raising of a with several inhibiting factors involved: ḡalîb "milk", galîd "thick".

Like in group I, the raised a in this position is still underlying lâl, since it is not dropped. There are, however, a few exceptions: b'id "far", ṭîrîf "loaf of (flat round) bread" (both recorded several times), and bryîzah "dime".

3.1.1.2.

Raising of a in *CaCiy (C₂ = y) is not regular in DA, e.g.: ġâniy "rich", ġîrîy ~ ġârîy "wet, moist", ‘Alîy "male given name", and usually ânnâbiy and also ânnâbîy (less often ânnîbîy, but only when the preceding article is stressed; •ânnîbîy was not recorded). Also fâgiy "reciter of the Koran" was elicited.

Raising is regular in wîliyyah "woman", but xâfiyyah "(the responsibility for) wrongdoing".

N.B. The DA form for "he comes" is yîgiy.

3.1.1.2.

No instances of raising of *a in nominal *CaCiC (unless perhaps ṭuğîl "man", cf. IV, 2.2.2.2.1.) were recorded in DA, but cf. IV, 3.2.2.3. for optional raising in primae hamzah verbs.
3.1.1.3.

The a of the first syllable in CaCCIC(ah) is not raised in DA. Examples are balzim "petrol", fallîn "cork", mandil "handkerchief", barsîm "clover", barmîl "barrel", zanbîlîh "ginger", gandîl "jellyfish", kabîlîh "matches", bâtiţ "watermelons", but rizzi (though ~ razzi) "composed rhyme accompanied by clapping of hands", and (')ibrîg "jug".

3.1.1.4.

Raising of a in CaCCãC(ah) occurs in DA but is optional.

3.1.1.4.1.

Examples of raising in *C1aC2C2̄aC3: niḑârah "glasses", kiššâf "search light (used for night fishing)", wissâmah "tattooers", and buğrâd "teapot".

Examples of the absence of raising: rağgâl "man", sabbâh "good swimmer", kassârah "bad looking", bawwâsah "type of net", wâhid buğrâniy "an outsider", fallâh "farmer", sayyâd "fisherman", xazzânât "tanks (for storage of water)", bațtânîyah "blanket", 'ammâl "busy", sakkâtah "pacifier (for a baby)".

3.1.1.4.2.

An example of raising in C1aC2C3ân: ti’bân "tired".

No raising in the examples: wağ'ân "in pain", 'arîyân "naked", 'âfšân "thirsty", gaţbân "wretched", malyân "full".

3.1.1.5.

Like in group I, raising of a in CaCãC may occur. Such raising is phonetically conditioned, and optional.

Examples: tîmânyah "eight", Mizâr "place name", riḥâ "hand-mill", šîbâb "boys", gizâyiz "bottles", mišârîf "expenses", gihâwîy "coffeehouses", and raising to u in the examples 'uwâmah "swimming", šiwârib "lips", but also the absence of raising in kabâbiy "glasses", takâsiy "cars"849, ūmânyah, šabâb, šawârib.

The same factors mentioned in I, 3.1.1.5. will inhibit raising in DA, e.g. (with following l): talâţah "three", salâmah "well-being", kâlâm "speech".

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849 My DA informants said that taks or taksiy is the common word for "car", not only "taxi". This is no doubt due to the fact that most cars owned by bedouins in Sinai are used as taxis. Cf. also BEHNSTEDT/VOIDICH (1994), p. 50, for Egyptian dialects in which taks can be used as a more general term for "car".

Examples with preceding $X$ or $*$: 'āsāh "stick", ḥalāl "small cattle (goats and sheep)", ǧanāwiy "songs", ǧazāl "gazelle", hawāyah "my love", xarāb "destruction", and aḡāzah "holiday", ašābi "fingers", aḏāfir "nails", aḡāwid "good men", anāṭiy "females".

The $b$-imperfect is not regular in DA. Forms that are 1st p. c. sg. are covered by the provision made for preceding $*$, e.g.: anām "I sleep", aʿāwid "I return".

N.B. Instances of raising of $a$ in ‘alē + suffix were not recorded in DA.

3.1.1.6.

The same raising of $a$ in open syllable preceding stressed $a$ that occurs in group I, occurs in DA as well. The difference is that the syllable following the open syllable with $a$ has to be closed in order to receive stress (cf. stress rules in IV, 2.1.1.).

Examples: simakna "our fish", difaʿna "we paid", kītabt "I wrote", kītalna "we killed". In instances where a group I type of stress (rule 6 a.) in I, 2.1.1.) was heard, such raising occurred as well, e.g.: ǧīmal "camels", ʾīhār "month". Only one instance of raising to $u$ was recorded in DA: ʿālwulad "the boy".

Absence of raising (due to following $l$, preceding $X$, preceding $*$, or a combination of these factors) in: walaḍyah "my son", walaḍhuw "their (m. pl.) son", ʿalāyyah "on me", axāḍar "green", ṣāḥār "red", ṣāḥāha "her family, ḥaṭābna "our firewood", ḡanāmha "her small cattle", and verb forms xalagha "He created it (f. sg.)", xabazna "we baked".

3.1.1.7.

The rule described for group I also holds for DA.

N.B. Like in group I, stress in the syllable following the $a$ to be raised does not have to be primary, e.g.: nibābīt "sticks", misākīn "poor (pl.)", fiṁāgīl "cups", ʾāssimak "the fish (coll.)", ʾālḡībal "the desert", ʾālwulad "the son", ʾālbiḥār "the sea", and verb forms ʾānīṭaṭ "it was cut", ʾāstuwa "it became ripe/cooked".

Because of the active resyllabication rule, and stress in CaCaC normally being on the first syllable, instances of such raising occur much less than in group I.
B. IV. A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

3.1.1.8.

A regular reflex for $C_1C_2C_3$, but also of a number of $C_1C_2C_3$ nouns, is $C_1C_2C_3$: habūb ātayāb "the blowing of the north wind", āgūz "old woman", ārūs "groom", ārūsah "bride", hamūlah "clan", xarūf "lamb", although raising of $a$ was heard in xurūf, guʿūd "young male camel", and ġumūs "food dip" (but also gârūd, ġamūs, cf. below).

No raising occurs when * preceding: ābūyah "my father", āxūyah "my brother", and imperfect verb forms ašūf "I see", ağūm "I get up", etc.

Some of the *CaCüC nouns, however, have crossed over to the CâCüC nouns (examples below).851

N.B. Examples of CâCüC(ah) in DA are: gärūş "Seabass (Dicentrarchus labrax)", tābir "row", mātūr "engine", bābir "engine", māʿūn "receptacle", šābūnah "piece of soap", Bālūdah "Pelusium (place name)", ġāmūsah "buffalo", ʿalūl "cutting or spig from a datepalm"852, bārūdah "rifle", māsūrah "pipeline (for water)", but also faṭūr "breakfast", gāʿūd "young male camel", and ġāmūs "food dip". Phonetic shortening of ā in the reflexes of *CâCüC is not as regular as in group I.

In DA the reflexes of *zaytūn "olives" and *laymūn "lemons" are regular zētūn and lēmūn respectively.

Like in group I, the gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding stressed ū is not raised, e.g.: mʿaġūn "kneaded", mġasūl "washed".

Verb forms are: taḍḥakūn "you (m. pl.) laugh", yasmaʿūn "they hear".

The conclusion for DA is that raising in CaCüC is optional (but not regular), and is not necessarily inhibited by a preceding X.

3.1.1.9.

Forms recorded in DA are: kibīr "he grew", kibrat "she grew", kibrīn "they (f. pl.) grew", kītir "it (m. sg.) became many", kītrat "it (f. sg.) became many", but also kaṭrīt "it (f. sg.) increased". No u-type perfects were recorded in DA.

3.1.1.10.

851 Cf. also fn 779 to III. 3.1.1.8. on whether perhaps the a is underyingly long in such forms.

852 The logical meaning as gathered from the context. I could not, however, find it in any of the dictionaries at my disposal.
The first rule given in I, 3.1.1.10. for group I is valid in DA as well, but in DA it is optional and phonetically conditioned.

The second rule given in I, 3.1.1.10. is valid for DA, and we can specify that it is optional.

N.B. In DA the plural of āsad "lion" is usūd; the plural of āfam "mouth" was not recorded.

3.1.2.
Reflexes in DA include: badw, ġidy, tāḥat, fāḥam, sāḥan, karš, ġāḥaš, kalb, wağh (~ once wiğh), wiḥdah, niḥyah (~ loan naihyah), ġimr, sāʿab, şadr, akl, and also ġadd "grandfather".

3.1.3.
Reflexes of *CaCiC in DA include: kalmah ~ kilmah, kaif, wark.

3.1.4.
Reflexes in DA are: bann, ruzz, kull, kimm, urm, uxt, and ʿiddah, ġimʿah, sinnah, muddah, hinna, zibdah, giṣṣah "story", xuṣlah, sirr "navel", burmah, guffah, turʿah.

3.1.5.
The rule described for group I holds for DA as well.

Exceptions recorded in DA: mulūḥah "salinity", ʿizzūm "necessity", hubūṭ aššams "the setting of the sun", niẓām "system", qiṣār "train", zirāʿna "our cultivation", muḥāfīz "governor", muwāfagah "permission". These forms are best interpreted as loans from MSA.

Like in group I, forms like ġirāṭ "carat", ġiʿān "hungry", (ʿ)iğār "payment of wages", sigān "shins", and bibān "doors" have a shortened ī in the first syllable (cf. I, 1.2.2.4.).

In the examples zirāʿna and mulūḥah mentioned above, the r and l may have played a role in the preservation of the short high vowels.

3.1.6.
B. IV. A description of Dwêqriy Arabic.

Diminutives were more regularly recorded in DA than in group I, e.g.: bakråg ìgìwëhil "a small coffeepot", drayhmât "money", ìnnawëwah "song", dibdëbah "small fishing net", ñhayriy "small fishing net", sfayr aśšams "evening glow (lit. the little yellow of the sun)", ñlìwëyim "young boy", hìnaynah "compassionate, merciful (said of soft, easily tilled soil)", hrÌyim "womenfolk", gunnëtah "arse", zuqÌrëtah "shrill cry uttered in joy (by ululating women)", bdëwiy "bedouin", rÌgëlih "tent pole", ñzÌgàn "dark coloured camel", ñhayr "back", grë'ah "uncultivated (lit. baid) land", wëlnëyah "my little children", gþy'ah "little piece", gràysät "little rounds (of dough)".

In DA one may often hear non-diminutive adjectives, where in other dialects their lexicalized diminutive counterparts are regular. Among such examples recorded are: saqÌr "small, young", rifl' "fine, thin", galll "little, few", girib "near", and both ñharÌm and ñhrayyim are current for "womenfolk".

3.1.7.

Like in group I, the morphological pattern for colours and physical defects is aC1aC2aC3, and where C2 = X the pattern has become aC1aC2aC3, e.g.: abyad "white", aÌhàmar "red", a'áma "left-handed", axìras "mute", aÌhàwal "cross-eyed".

The f. sg. and pl. forms are: bëdâ, bid; harnra, humr; 'amyi'y, 'imy; xarsìy; xurs; ñawliy, ñul.

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853 ñwëhil, lit. "little ignorant" is also used to refer to a child. A coffeepot is perhaps by definition ignorant, but the point is that it is small, like a child (an example of semantic extension "child" > "small"). Similarly, while explaining which words are used for "nose", one informant said: îlÌxaśim îkìbìr, înnurxah ñwëhilh "the xaśim is the big one, the nurxah is small".

854 A dabbah is a stationary three-layer trammel net (trammel nets are used by nearly 90% of the fishermen on the Bardawîl Lagoon). It is used for catching sea bream (Sparus auratus) and mullets (Mugil species), cf. EUROCONSULT (1992), appendix D, pp. 3-4. A dibdëbah (with reduplicated C1 in the diminutive pattern) is a smaller version. The nets are probably so called because the fishermen hit the water in order to chase the fish into these stationary nets, cf. HINDS/BADAWI (1986), root d-b-b, p. 274: dabb, yìdibb "bang, thump, hit".

855 So called because it can be carried on the back. Fishing with a ñhayriy is done from the shore, by two or three men.
3.1.8.

The elative patterns are as in group I, e.g.: akṭar, ḍagall (cf. final geminate reduction rule in IV, 2.1.1.), áwla (notice that it is not *awlā).

3.1.9.1.

The article in DA is al-, and the relative pronoun is alliy. Often, however, notably (but not exclusively) when the following syllables contain high vowels, and when unstressed, il- may be heard as well. The rel. pron. was also recorded as illiy.

Like in group I, when the preposition fī precedes the article, the vowel of the preposition is dropped.

3.9.1.2.

The DA counterparts for examples mentioned for group I are: ummī, ihna (~ a few instances of ahna), uxt. Plurals recorded in DA: usūd "lions", iabar "needles".

3.1.10.

In DA the feminine suffix in genitive construction becomes -at, irrespective of preceding vowels (except ā) or consonants. The vowel of the resulting -at sequence is then treated like a high vowel, and may be dropped. The rule may be summarized as follows:

\[ T \rightarrow \text{at \ } \ldots V(C)C__ + \text{gen.} \]

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

3.1.10.1.

Examples with aC preceding -at: sānatk "your year", máratk "your wife", nxalātyah "my datepalm", and an example in sandhi: sānat ṭimānyah w arba'in "(in) the year forty eight".

The a preceded by aC is dropped in eligible positions (morphophonemically): rḥāmtah "his food (offered out of mercy as a gift to the needy)", and also in sandhi: sānt ṭimānyah w arba'in "(in) the year forty eight" (with assimilation of t to f).

856 "+ gen." is meant to include suffixation of the dual ending -ēn.
Examples with sequences other than aC preceding: sibhatk "your prayer beads", šuglātyah "mine (f. sg.)", nāgātyah "my she-camel", girbātyah "my watersack".

Examples of high vowels > a (after resyllabication) preceding in open syllables: smikat Mūsa "a common sole (solea solea)", smiktën "two fishes", xatiyyatha min irgübi aḥūha l irgübatk "(the responsibility for) her offense(s) is (transferred) from the neck of her father to your neck", and the formula uttered by the father of the prospective bride to her suitor (if he agrees to let him marry his daughter): xatiyyatha min irgübatyah fi irgübatk "(the responsibility for) her offense(s) is (transferred) from my neck to your neck".

In sandhi: lēlat adduxlah "the wedding night", kabsat digig "a (large) spoonful of flour", ǧišsat ǧizatyah "the story of my marriage", gūfṭat bāham "a basket for small cattle (young goats and sheep are kept overnight in a basket turned upside down)", ǧwayyat ḥarim "a few women".

The a of -at is raised in conformity with IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6., when it is in the second syllable of a CaCatV sequence, e.g.: snitiḥ "his year", mrūtah "his wife".

The a of this -at may be elided in eligible positions in sandhi, while the morphophonemic elision of a in comparable positions is obligatory, e.g. (morphophonemic elision of a): gūdurtah "his capacity", gabiltah "his tribe", ḥabbātah "being in love (f. sg.) with him", kubbdytah "his cup".

The elision of a in -at follows the resyllabication rule (described in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.), cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.3.

3.1.10.3.

In DA, T preceded by a gahawah-vowel is not treated differently from T preceded by a historical a.

3.1.10.4.

Like in group I, T preceded by a yields -āh, e.g.: šāh "ewe", šalāḥ "prayer", časāh "stick".
The rule given in 1, 3.1.10.4. for group I is true for DA as well; when such forms are suffixed, T will be -t, e.g.: siwâtha "her actions", šâtên "two ewes", šalât al'âsr "afternoon prayer".

3.1.10.5.

In DA, both a of -at, and a of the 3rd p. sg. verbal ending are dropped in open syllables, e.g.: šâfiah "she saw him", šâltah "she removed it (m. sg.)", nâgièn "two she-camels", nâgtah "his she-camel", sâ'tèn "two hours".

3.1.11.

The analytical genitive is constructed in DA with the marker šuğl, šuğlah, šuğlin, šuğlät. In a few instances K-forms\textsuperscript{857} btâ' and btâ'ah were recorded, though not the plural btü'. Examples: ilbêt hâdíy šuğulya "this house is mine", il'arabiyyah hâdí šuğlätäya "this car is mine", kull libhârät šuğlätä "all its (f. sg.) spices".

Apart from btâ', two instances of tâ'i were recorded, but in both instances it was used in the meaning of "about, approximately".

Also, two instances with taba' were recorded, but in both cases clearly in the meaning of "in accordance with".

3.1.12.1.

Personal pronominals in DA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>3. m.</th>
<th>ıhwa ~ ıhyâa\textsuperscript{*1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ıhyâ\textsuperscript{*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. m.</td>
<td>int(a)</td>
<td>mánt(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>intiy</td>
<td>mántiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. c.</td>
<td>ání</td>
<td>máni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*4) negated}

\textsuperscript{857} Palva's definition of the terms K-form (koineizing form), B-form (bedouinizing form), and L-form (classicizing, or literary form) is adopted here. Cf. PALVA (1976), pp. 7 and 46-9. The center of linguistic leveling in northwestern Sinai is the Egyptian capital, due to influences of education (most teachers are Egyptians who speak the Cairene dialect (CaA)), and the settling of Egyptians in this area. Also, in DA, influences from the neighbouring dialect of the Biyya'diyah can be detected. CaA seems to exert much less influence on dialects spoken in northeastern Sinai.
B. IV. A description of Dwâ’riy Arabic.

PL.

3. m. huûma*2) mähin(na)
    f. hinna*2) mähum(ma)

2. m. intuw mântuw
    f. intin mânîn

1. c. ihna*3) mânî

*1) For the stressed original anaptyctics in these forms, cf. IV, 2.3.5.
*2) Shorter forms hin and hum are not current in DA; only hin was recorded once in hin kullhin "all of them (f.)".
*3) Only a few instances of ahna were recorded.
*4) Forms like in AA, in which the long vowel of ma is dropped against the following short vowel, were not heard in DA.

Double forms like ana mâni may be used for extra emphasis: ana mâni šâriy "I am not buying", ihwa mîhû gârha "he is not her neighbour". The shortened forms mû and mâ were not recorded in DA.

3.1.12.2.

Pronominal suffixes in DA are:

SG. PL.

3.m. M-ah, C-îh, ̄-h*1) -hum ~ -huw*2)
    3.f. -ha*2) -hin*2)
    2.m. -k*3) -kuw
    2.f. C-ik, Ñkiy
    1.c. -ya(h) ~ -yi(h) (poss.) -na
       -nya(h) ~ -nyi(h) (obj.)*4)

*1) M is a (secondary) emphatic.
*2) Unlike in group I, the initial h of these suffixes is hardly ever assimilated to preceding voiceless consonants (only 2 instances were recorded, of which one was the K-form btâ’ttuw "theirs"). But like in group I, when ‘ precedes, the resulting ‘h sequence usually mutually assimilates to hh, e.g.: mîhîn "with them (f.)".

The form -huw is just as regular in DA as -hum, and not only in pause. It must have developed as the logical allomorph completing the symmetry in pl.
B. IV. A description of Dwēgriy Arabic.

suffixes -kuw / -kin, -huw / -hin (i.e. a case of paradigmatic leveling, cf. also remarks on -huw in BaA and TA in I, 3.1.12.2.2.).

*3) In terms of stress, -k is treated as a vowel-initial suffix: CâCaCk. In terms of resyllabication, however, -k is treated as consonant-initial: ḡâmalk "your camel", wâghîkh "your face" (for further observations on this special case, cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6., 2.3.3.3.3.).

*4) The y of the -ya(h) suffix is often realized with some delay, so that a short i vowel precedes: arguṭâtiya "my neck". When -nya(h) is preceded by C, the cluster is resolved by inserting an anaptyctic i after this C: kallamâtînyâ "she spoke to me", ʾiṣgâtînyâ "she loved me".

An alternative for -nyah is -înyah, as in aṭaytinyah "you gave me", waddînyah "send me!", and also widdînyah (~ widdyah) "I want". It seems that when CC precedes, -nyah is preferred, but the material is too limited to draw any definitive conclusion.

Both -k and 1st. p. sg. -ya(h) are presumably originally allomorphs only occurring after v. These allomorphs were then generalized, and can now occur in all positions. After this generalization of the poss. suffixes had taken place, the 1st. p. c. sg. object suffix was affected as well, and *-nî could become -nya(h), whereby the symmetry of the obj. and poss. suffixes was reinstalled.

Often an h-like off-glide is noticeable after -ya and -nya, which is what has been generalized in the transcription. Both -yah and -yih occur in sentence-medial, as well as sentence-final positions. I have not discovered a pattern here.

3.1.13.1.

near deixis          far deixis
     SG             PL                       SG             PL
m. hádiy*1)  háḍôt(-lah)~ háḍōlāw*2)   háḍâk          háḍōlāk
f. hádiy      háḍōl[ayn]*3)           háḍîk(ah)*4)  ,

858 The pronominal suffix -k, which for the stress rule does not create a cluster with the preceding consonant, as in nágât, cf. PROCHAZKA (1988), p. 199, and gâddât (cf. ibid., p. 202) is reported for Rufaidah and Abba of the non-Nâgdiy group (i). A similar vowelless -k, but attracting stress (?), is reported to be a feature found in alHîsa, and the central Nâg (ʿAnîza, Daʿîr, Ḥarb, Muṭayr, ʿUṭayba, ʿAğmān and Qâṣim, and in Riyadh, and Sudayr), and this pronominal suffix has spread north to the Syrian desert as a prestige marking feature of the ʿAnîza, cf. INGHAM (1982), pp. 31 and 96.

859 For similar forms in Hufuf (abbreviated (Ho)), cf. PROCHAZKA (1988), pp. 127-9.
B. IV. A description of Dwēgiy Arabi.

hâda and hâda were recorded as well, but hâdiy, not only in pause, is the proper DA form (cf. IV, 1.2.4.4.1. for the final stressed -îy).

hâdolla:w is stressed on the ultimate syllable, and in two cases hâdollêw was recorded.

The masc. and f. pl. forms show the final (respectively) -w and -n found in perf. conjugations of verbs, and these are also present in the pronominal suffixes.

The extension -ah was only recorded with the f. sg., for which it appears to be reserved in far deixis.

N.B. Also in DA, the / is doubled when it is non-final.

3.1.13.2.

Apart from its regular occurrence in halhîn "now", "specifying" ha- was recorded in the following two examples: nimšiyl iflân walla tâniy ‘indah mraxxaş. îngûl: ’tatâl fîh halîhsayniy, akal ‘îndya ţalat fârxât' "we go to so-and-so or another who has a license (for a rifle). We say: 'Come, there is this fox who ate three chickens from my house'. The other example is fi liblâd fih hâttara "in the land where there is this moisture".

The examples both illustrate the usage of hal- in referring to objects or persons present in the speaker’s mind, but not physically present at the moment of utterance.

3.1.14.

Interrogatives in DA are: 1) man?, 2) êh?, 3) lêh?, 4) wagtêh? ~ mîta?, 5) wên?, 6.) yât? (only elicited), 7) kêf?, 8) gaddêh?, 9) kam?.

‘alâm + suffix was recorded only once in DA: ‘alâmha "what about her?".

3.1.15.1.

Adverbs in DA: 1) hnuh (~ once hnâk), 2) gâd (gây was not recorded), 3) hniy (~ once hniyyât. fi hâda or fi hâdiy was not recorded for "here"), 4) kidîy ~

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860 If this is "one of the most important peculiarities of North West Arabian" (cf. fn 461 to I, 3.1.13.1.), and it is unique for this group, then DA must have adopted this feature from one of the Palestinian or Sinaitic dialects, since DA is clearly not a NWA dialect. Cf. conclusions in this study.

861 The speaker presumably wanted to say something like ‘indah bârûdah, but changed his mind half way through the sentence and said mraxxaş "licensed (i.e. to own a rifle)".
kiḍiy (~ twice ki:dihé, while physically demonstrating how one should mend a net), and also shortened kih, 5) (h)alḥin (~ once halḥiniy, and K-forms dalwagt(iy) ~ dilwagt(iy)), 6) assā' "still", and assā' mā "not yet", 7) minnah, 8) ‘iguṣha was recorded once for "after that", 9) K-form ba'(a)dên.

3.1.15.2.1.

In two examples (both referring to undesirable possibilities) recorded in DA ḥāf(in) is probably better translated with "lest" (cf. the usage of min xawf in IV, 3.1.15.5.) than with "perhaps": miḥḥuw ‘a:yṣ lugmit ‘a:yṣ, šāylṭna leḥ? il’ayyil ḥāf iyṣayyih walla ḥāghih yāxūd-lah lugmah "they have bread with them, a bite of bread. Why do they bring it? Lest the child cries or something he takes (along with him) a bite for him". The other example is: "ya sām‘ issṣot nādiy ‘a ššibāb nādiy", ḥāf in aššībah nāymin fit bayūthw iw sāḥiyin māhum sām‘in issāmir862 "Oh you who hear the sound call the boys! Call! Lest the boys are asleep in their tents and have forgotten and do not hear the sāmir".

3.1.15.2.2.

küd was recorded once for "maybe, perhaps".

3.1.15.3.

Recorded once in DA: sā‘ab balḥayl "very difficult".

3.1.15.4.

biṣwēs was not recorded in DA.

3.1.15.5.

Example in DA: (speaker A) yimsik gib ilfallīn [...], w iyakkis ‘a rrṣāṣ tāḥat... ib iriğlēh... (speaker B) min xawf issmikah... ma úgili’ min tīḥat. "(speaker A) he takes the cork rope (in his hands) and stands on the lead (rope) underneath, with his feet (speaker B) Lest the fish gets away along the bottom."863 iw yōminniḥ gāẁiḥa... iyxalšīy... ya’niḥ mxaffīy nafsīḥ... ya’niḥ

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862 For sāmir, cf. fn 291 to I, 2.2.1.3.
863 The fishing technique described here is called ḡarfaḥ: two boats go out on the lagoon and throw out their nets which have been tied together, they pull their nets towards the coast, using their nets as a rake or shovel (hence ḡarfaḥ "a raking motion"), where two groups of men pull in the nets, while others do tarkis. This technique is used when the two ships have reached the beach. The mrakkis stands in the water keeping the lower rope with the lead down with his feet, while lifting the rope with the cork (called gib ilfallīn), at the
min xawfāḥad yungud yistangid "and when he is in love with her... he will make sure... that is, he will be disguised... that is, lest anyone would examine (him) and recognize (him)".

For comparable use of xâfiin) as "lest" in DA, cf. IV, 3.1.15.2.1.

3.1.16.

The paradigm of ‘ala + suffix in DA is like that given for BaA of group I, except that the 3rd p. m. pl. may also be ‘alēhw, and the 1st p. c. sg. is ‘alayya(h) in DA. Both ‘a and ‘ala occur as independent forms.

hawālēn has a paradigm like ‘ala+ (hawalēh, etc.), except for the 1st p. c. sg., which is hawālāya(h). Other suffixed prepositions in DA are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
& l+ & mi’+ & fi+ & fóg+ & min+ & wařa+ \\
SG & & & & & & \\
3.m. & ilah & mī’ah & fih & fōgha & minnah & wařāḥ \\
3.f. & ilha & mihha & fiha & fōght & minha & wařāḥa \\
2.m. & ilk & mī’k & fik & fōgk & mink & wařāk \\
2.f. & ilik & mī’ik & fikiy & fōgik & minnik & wařākiy \\
1.c. & ilya(h) & mī’ya(h) & fiyya(h) & fōgya(h) & minya(h) & wařāya(h) \\
PL & & & & & & \\
3.m.*2) & ilhum /-w & mūḥum /-w & fīhum /-w & fōghum /-w & minhum /-w & wařāhum /-w \\
3.f. & ilhin & mūḥin*3) & fihin & fōghin & minhin & wařāhin \\
2.m. & ilkuw & mī’ku & fikuw & fōgkuw & minkuw & wařākuw \\
2.f. & ilkin & mī’kin & fikin & fōgkin & minkin & wařākin \\
1.c. & ilna & mī’na & fina & fōgna & minna & wařāna \\
\end{array}
\]

*1) A similar paradigm for the preposition b. When followed by a prep. suffix, l and b are often enclitically suffixed: eg. tydya ḥādiy msawwi-ly-ākāldība "this hand of mine was made for me to eat with (it)" (while explaining why he does not use a spoon), alxösah, ingasgīs-ibha Igazīl "the knife, we cut the net with it", yāxuḍ-ilha "he takes for her" (cf. IV, 2.1.3.2.1., and 2.1.3.2.2.).

This last example must reflect an older original form, where stress was lḥā, lnā etc. Stress then later shifted to the anaptyctic that often precedes in context: lḥā > ilha. This interpretation is supported by the form ilk "to you". The vowelless -k must have been -vk before a became established as i throughout the paradigm and stress shifted; an ancestral form *lk is quite

same time the two groups of men pull in the net on the beach. As an extra precaution they may throw out a floating net to keep the būriy from jumping over the net.
unlikely; *lvk (i.e. lak, lik, or luk) is much more probable. This implies that the vowel could only disappear after the stress shift. In enclitically suffixed prepositions we may hear (older?) -lak, as in agûl-lak "I say to you", yğî-lak "he comes to you", but also taşrâb-ilk "you drink (for yourself)", agûl-lk, and yğî-lk. Because of the high possibility that -lak is a K-form from one of the surrounding dialects (or CaA), the conclusion of -ak being an older allomorph would be premature.

The independent suffixes are la ~ l, and b. A few instances of lê+ and bè+ were recorded, but these are far outnumbered by the forms listed in the paradigm above.

*2) These 3rd p. m. pl. forms all have -hum ~ -huw variation, which is indicated by -hum / -w.

*3) The assimilation 'h → hh is regular, but optional; also mi'ha, mi'hin etc. occur. Both ma' and mi' were recorded as independent forms.

*4) Forms with i were also recorded, e.g.: fôgîh "above him".

*5) The i of the independent form min is often dropped in sandhi, as in 'âyz axātbik imn aḥûkiy "I want to ask your father for your hand".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ind+</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>'indah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>'indha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>'indk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>'indik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>'indya(h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For "after" 'ugb was recorded once, but bi'd (~ ba'ad) is current. In DA 'an is current.

3.1.17.1.
1. wâhid (m.)/ wiḥdah (f.), 2. ṯnên (m.)/ ṯintên (f.)864, 3. ṭalâṭah {ṭalāṭ}, 4. árba‘ah {arba‘}, 5. xamsah {xams}, 6. sittah {sitti}, 7. sab‘ah {sab‘}, 8. ūmânyah {not recorded}, 9. tis‘ah {tis‘}, 10. šârah (~ often K-form 'āṣar) {'dīṣar}.

864 Cf. fn 501 to 1, 3.1.17.1.
Like in group I: adayya tîtên "my two hands", yâxâd-îlha gîllâbiyyah walla tîtên "he takes one or two gîllâbiyyah's for her", miğawwiz tîtên "married to two (women)".

Time
assâ'ah tîs'ah, assâ'ah sittah.

Measures:
talâtah kîluw, xamsah kîluw, 'aşârah kîluw, mitrên, sittah mîr, 'aşârah mîr

Plurals with proclitic t-:
talat t-iyyâm, xams t-infâr (~ once arba' infâr), arba' t-uşhur, xams t-âlîf.

Monetary units:
înên iğneh "two pounds", xams iğnehât "five pounds", talat iğnehât "three pounds", but also talâtah ğnêh.865

Months of the Christian calendar:
f-aşshahar tîs'ah, tîs'ah la gâyt 'aşârah bass "In September. Only September until October".

3.1.17.2.
Forms recorded in DA are: awwall(âniy) (~ twice awwil), tânîy, tâlit, râbi', xâmis, "sixth" was not recorded, sâbi', tânîn, tâsi', "tenth" was not recorded.

3.1.17.3.
Numerals from 11-19 ending in -âsar and -âşîr were recorded both as dependent and independent forms in spontaneous texts. Independent forms ending in -âşiš were elicited.

Tens: 'îsirin, talâţin, arba'în, xamsîn, sittin, tamânîn, tîs'în.

865 The difference in usage is illustrated in a reported conversation between an Egyptian gahwâgiy, who asks his Dwëgriy customer to settle his bill: gâf: "talâţah ğnêh iw nuss. " gulf: " talât iğnehât iw nuss, tab ma txullîyay nuss iğneh arkâb-bah. " He said: Three and a half pounds." I said: "Three and a half pounds. Okay, let me keep half a pound to ride with."
Recorded hundreds: miyyah (mīyt + vowel-initial sg. nominal), mīytên, xumusmiyyah, and also miyyit 'alf "a hundred thousand".

Recorded thousands: alf, alfên, ālāf, arba' ālāf, xamis ālāf.

3.1.18.

Examples in DA: markabayn "two boats", zīlitayn "two young goats", nāgtên "two she-camels", bētuayn "two eggs", nxaîtên "two datepalms", smītkên "two fishes", and examples where suffixation of -ēn/-ayn triggers resyllabication: nfūrayn "two persons", šhūrayn "two months", sītent "two years". This last form was recorded instead of the expected *snitên, which may be due to a delay in the articulation of n (cf. IV, 2.2.2.3.), combined with the fact that n "discharges itself", for want of a better term, in the plosive t (cf. the absence of an anaptyctic in e.g. bintna "our daughter", cf. I, 2.3.3.1.). Diphthongal ay preceded by emphatics tends to be I.P.A. [ei].

Other duals with poss. suffixes recorded in DA: (sg. īd) adēn "hands", adēha "her hands", adayyah "my hands", adēna "our hands", but also ūdēhum "their (m.) hands", and īdēna "our hands"; (sg. īdīn) īdīnên "two ears", īdīnayya "my two ears"; riţlēn "legs", riţlēha "her legs".

3.2. Verbal morphology.

3.2.1.1.

The perfect of measure 1 has the following two basic vowel types in DA: $C_1iC_2iC_3$, as the reflex of both CA *$C_1aC_2uC_3$ and *$C_1aC_2uC_3$, and $C_1aC_2aC_3$, as the reflex of CA *$C_1aC_2aC_3$. These yield the following conjugations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perf. &quot;drink&quot;*1)</th>
<th>perf. &quot;hit&quot;*2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. šīrib</td>
<td>šīrbusw*4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. šīrobat*4)</td>
<td>šīribn*5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. šīribt</td>
<td>šīribtuv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. šīribtiy</td>
<td>šīribtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. šīribi</td>
<td>šīribna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A similar conjugation for: rikib "mount", nizil "descend", zi'īl "become angry", 'irif "know", fihim "understand", simi' "hear", tīśib "get tired", kibir "grow, increase", kiṭīr "become many"866, ilīy "become high". The high vowel i of the first syllable is not elided, not even in sandhi.

During direct elicitation, some reflexes of *CaC1C perfects had resyllabicized shapes co-occurring with the more regular shapes listed in the conjugation here, e.g. limsuw "they touched" was said to be acceptable, as is lmīsuw, just as limsat and lmīsat "she touched", while the 3rd p. f. pl. forms were said to be both lamāsn and limīsn. These informants added, however, that they felt more comfortable with the i-type reflexes of the perfect (my paraphrase, of course). Similar remarks were made for the forms fihmuw and fiḥmat and fiḥim, simīuw and smi'uw. Since only one C1aC2aC3 reflex for *C1aC2iC3 was recorded in spontaneous speech (cf. IV, 3.2.1.3.), and none for *C1aC2iC, I have chosen to ignore it, although I found it relevant enough to be mentioned in this remark.867

When in a neutral environment, the vowel in the unstressed initial syllables may be raised: kitābt, kitāhti, kitābt, kitābn, kitābtu, kitābtin, kitābna (cf. IV, 3.1.1.6., and the rule in I, 3.2.1.1.). A similar conjugation for šarad "flee", katal "kill", masak "take".

The ending -uw will sound like -ow here due to the preceding velarized b (cf. I, 1.2.3.4.2.). Endings in neutral environments have the higher -uw realizations.

The underlying a does not "reappear", and the verbal ending is -at for i-type perfects (contrast -it in group I) as well as for a-type perfects.

Although one may often hear a vowel in (e.g.) dārābin (cf. also IV, 2.2.2.3.), the vowelless ending -n does not complete a sequence CaCaCV, which would then have been a sequence eligible for resyllabication, leading to a form *dīrābin (cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.). Furthermore, the cluster C3n draws stress onto the preceding vowel. The vowel is, therefore, to be considered an anaptyctic868.

866 In one instance katrat il'asr "it has increased (i.e. the heat of the sun) in the afternoon"
867 Variation between i-type and a-type conjugations for original i-type perfects is reported for Rwaiρi, alQasim, Ḥayil, Bishāf, and also Riyadh. In Ḥufūf the i-type perfect has been completely replaced by the a-type, all of group (ii) (i.e. the Nağdiy dialects), cf. PROCHAZKA (1988), pp. 30-1.
868 Ibid, pp. 25-6, lists such forms among for Rwaiρi (i.e. the dialect of the Rwala) and also, although occurring less regularly, for Ḥayil.
Similarly: *kitābn* "they (f.) wrote", not *kitībin* (this must be of considerable antiquity, compare this to the CA consonant-initial ending *-na*). 869

3.2.1.2.

*DA*, as the only dialect in Sinai known so far, has 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. -ün and 2nd. p. f. sg. -in imperfect endings. And the vowelless -n for the 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl. is also unique for Sinai. The imperfect types *yaC₁C₂aC₃*, *yuC₁C₂uC₃* and *yiC₁C₂iC₃* yield the following conjugations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperf.</th>
<th>&quot;drink&quot;*1)</th>
<th>&quot;hit&quot;*2)</th>
<th>&quot;take&quot;*3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td><em>yāšraḥ</em></td>
<td><em>yāšraḥün</em></td>
<td><em>yūḍruḥ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td><em>tāšraḥ</em></td>
<td><em>tāšraḥün</em></td>
<td><em>tūḍruḥ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td><em>tāšraḥ</em></td>
<td><em>tāšraḥün</em></td>
<td><em>tūḍruḥ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td><em>tašrābin</em></td>
<td><em>tašrābin</em></td>
<td><em>tūḍruḥin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td><em>dāšraḥ</em></td>
<td><em>nāšraḥ</em></td>
<td><em>dāḍruḥ</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) A similar conjugation for e.g. *yaslaḥ* "slaughter", *yasʿal* "ask".
*2) A similar conjugation for e.g. *yugʿud* "sit", *yuṣrud* "flee".
*3) A similar conjugation for e.g. *yilbid* "hide", *yiktib* "write".
*4) Under the influence of the preceding velarized consonant, the long vowels may sound quite diphthongal in these forms, cf. IV, 1.2.2.2. This is less so in the case of *u*-type imperfects.
*5) Often enough one may hear forms like *yašrābin*, but the indication here for the ending being vowelless -n, rather than vowel-initial -in (or -an), is stress (cf. also remark *5*) in IV, 3.2.1.1.), and the absence of l-elision between *C₂* and *C₃* in the *i*- and *u*- type imperfects (the rule for morphophonemic l-elision given in I, 2.4.1. is applicable in *DA* as well).

Measure 1 verbs where *C₁ = X* have the following imperfect conjugation:

---

869 The perfect 3rd and 2nd f. pl. imperfect and 3rd p. f. pl. ending -n is reported for Rwayli of group (ii) (i.e. the *Nağdiy* dialects) in PROCHAZKA (1988), p. 25, and in some instances in alḤayil of group (ii) (ibid., p. 25). Cf. also remarks by WALLIN (1858), p. 675.
Imperfect "know"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>y'árif</td>
<td>y'árfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>t'árif</td>
<td>y'árfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>t'árif</td>
<td>t'árfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>t'arfin</td>
<td>t'arfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>a'árif</td>
<td>n'árif</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that we include the high vowel separating C₂ and C₃ in the base form here; it may be stressed, as in the 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl., and it completes the CaCaCV sequence eligible for resyllabication in all forms (except 1st p. c. sg.) (cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.). The 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. and the 2nd p. f. sg. forms also show that resyllabication precedes the morphophonemic elision of the high vowel, for if this were not so we would have to expect forms like *ta'arfin, *ta'arfûn, and *ya'arfûn.

The high vowel may be dropped in sandhi, but only optionally so, as is illustrated in the examples: it'árif issawwiy mittilyah? "can you do (this) like me?", but i is elided in mā-'arf akūl-bha "I cannot eat with it (f. sg.)".

For a similar claim concerning rule ordering, cf. remarks in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.3. on the elision of the T-vowel a.

A few examples of the absence of gahawah-vowels in C₁=X verbs were also recorded, e.g.: tixdim "she serves", tiqzil "she spins", yi'ímil "he does", but more regularly (also where C₃=L): yhāfir "dig", yxābiz "bake", yhārí "plough", yhāsib "reckon, calculate", ydāgin "knead", ygdātis "submerge", yhāsīl "happen", yxālis "end (intr.)", ygdāsil "wash", yhāsīd "harvest", yxābit "bump", yhālib "milk".

a-type imperfects of C₁=X verbs are y'drag "sweat", y'ataš "become thirsty". These have a conjugation like y'árif, except for the a separating C₂ and C₃, which is not dropped in open syllables, e.g.: y'aragün "they sweat".

3.2.1.3.

Forms recorded in DA are: kābir, kāfir, but also (once) kbārat "she grew", as an instance of a C₁aC₂aC₃ reflex for *C₁aC₂uC₃ (cf. remark *) in IV, 3.2.1.1.). Perfects or imperfects with u were not recorded in DA.

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870 Cf. also fn 260 to I, 2.1.1.2.1.1.
3.2.1.4.

Participles are like in group I.

N.B. Like in group I, e.g.: hábbtah "being (f. sg.) in love with him", gáwiytah "wanting (f. sg.) him", árifha w árijtah "he knows her and she knows him", máxjatha "having (f. sg.) taken it (f. sg.)", ìhya ìttatha "having (f. sg.) placed it (f. sg.)", lâbistah "wearing (f. sg.) it (m. sg.)".

3.2.1.5.

Imperatives for these verb types in DA are: ãsrâb, ãsrâbiy, ãsrâbuw, âsrâbn "drink!", útlub, útlubiy, útlubuw, útlûbn "ask!", îmsik, îmiskiy, îmiskuw, îmsîkn "take hold!". The f. pl. imperatives co-occur with forms that are more like those heard in group I, i.e. ãsrâbin (although -an in group I), útlubin, and îmiskin, but when suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, the n is not doubled, but the original forms are used, e.g. îmsîknah "take hold (f. pl.) of it (m. sg.)", i'ginnah "knead it!".

The last example is also an instance of an imperative of a C₁ = X verb in DA. Another example is îxîbziy "bake! (f. sg.)".

3.2.2.1.

DA has a number of primae wâw verbs without the incorporated wâw. Recorded instances are tirid "you get water", tîrdin "you (f. sg.) get water", tîgîn "you (f. pl.) stop", tîgîn "you (m. p.) stop", tîlîd "she gives birth", but also wârîd, yôrid "get water".

Other examples in DA of i-type imperfects: wâgâ', yôghi "hurt", wàzan, yôzin "weigh", wàsam, yôsim "brand".

Examples of a-type imperfects: wîsil, yôsal ~ yawsal "arrive", wîrim, yôram "swell", wigif, yôgaf "stop", and wî'iy, yô'a ~ yaw'a "pay attention."

The forms here largely corroborate our earlier findings for group I; a-type imperfects may be heard with or without monophthongization, while the i-types usually have monophthongized forms.

Imperfects of the yâwCaC or yâwCiC type were not recorded in DA.
Imperatives of \( w\)'-\( y \), and \( w\)-\( r\)-\( d \) in DA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;pay attention&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;get water&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>( \text{áw}'\acute{a} \sim \text{'a} )</td>
<td>( \text{órid} \sim \text{'rid} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>( \text{'aw}u\acute{\acute{w}} \sim \text{'\acute{u}w} )</td>
<td>( \text{'ordw} \sim \text{'irdw} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.m.
|        | \( \text{\'aw}'\acute{\acute{y}} \sim \text{\'i\acute{y}} \) | \( \text{\'ordiy} \sim \text{\'irdiy} \) |
|        | \( \text{\'aw}i\acute{n} \sim \text{\'i\acute{n}n}\) | \( \text{\'ordin} \sim \text{\'ir\acute{d}in} \) |

* For doubling of the \(-n\) in tertiae infirmae verbs, cf. IV, 3.2.2.5. For variation of the f. pl. suffix in imperatives, cf. IV, 3.2.1.5.

Other imperatives recorded in DA: \( \text{ígif}, \text{ígfiy}, \text{ígfuv}, \text{ígfin} \), but also \( \text{ógaf}\) and \( \text{ágafuv}\).

The conclusion to draw from all these forms is that the primae \( w\acute{\text{w}} \) verbs are in a process of change. Forms without the incorporated \( w\acute{\text{w}} \) have parallel forms with incorporated \( w\acute{\text{w}} \), and some forms that were \( i\)-type imperfects are crossing over to the \( a\)-type, e.g. \( \text{ýýgif} \sim \text{y\acute{o}gaf} \), and presumably also \( *\text{ýýsîl} \), which now only occurs as \( \text{yaw\acute{s}al} \sim \text{y\acute{o}sal} \).

Participles in DA:

Active participles like in group I, e.g.: \( \text{w\acute{\text{a}}iy} \ "\text{aware}, \text{w\acute{\text{a}}gfah} \ "\text{standing} (f. sg.)"."

Of passive participles only \( \text{mawgu\acute{\text{d}}} \ "\text{present}" was recorded.

3.2.2.2.

No primae \( \text{yâ'} \) verbs were recorded in DA.

3.2.2.3.

Primae hamzah verbs in DA:

"eat"*

<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.m.</td>
<td>( \text{ák\text{a}l} )</td>
<td>( \text{akíl\text{u}w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{i}l}\text{\acute{a}}t})</td>
<td>( \text{aká\text{\acute{n}}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{l}}t})</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{l}}tu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{\text{a}l}}t\text{\acute{i}}} )</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{\text{a}l}}t\text{\acute{\text{i}}n}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{a}l}t} )</td>
<td>( \text{ak\text{\acute{a}l}t\text{\acute{n}}a} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*1) Similar conjugations for axad, yaxud "take".

*2) The first syllable of these (*')aCaCv sequences is not dropped, which is in conformity with IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6. However, forms with raising of a in the first syllable were also recorded, e.g. ixidat, ixiduw, ikilat. Since the same informants said axadn, and axadna, I assume that this raising, although *' precedes, is in conformity with the rule described in I, 3.2.1.1., but is optional in DA. (Cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6. for similar raising in hamzah-initial nominals).

Equally surprising is the raising of a preceding l in the forms akilat, akiluw, which is not in conformity with rules described in IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.

Imperatives in DA are: xud, xudiy, xiduw, xudn.

Active participles are formed with initial m-, like in group I: maka'il, maklah, maklin, maklât. Passive participles were not recorded.

akl was recorded in the meaning of "food" and "eating". The verb "feed" is wakkal, ywakkil.

3.2.2.4.1.

Mediae infirmae in DA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;say&quot;</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. gâl</td>
<td>gâluw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. gâlat*1</td>
<td>guln*2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. gult</td>
<td>gultuw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. gultiy</td>
<td>gultin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. gult</td>
<td>gulna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the short a is dropped, e.g.: šáltah "she took it away" (cf. IV, 3.1.10.5.), and the a may be stressed as in šâfâtinyah "she saw me".

*2) The consonant-initial suffix -n triggers the use of the short base in the perfect, but also in the imperfect (!) (cf. *yaqulna in CA). Similarly in the perfect of nâm, ynam "sleep", the 3rd p. f. pl. is nîna "they slept" (unfortunately, corresponding imperfect forms were not recorded), and in i-type verbs šîln, and yšîln.
When suffixed however, the suffix is -in, which may be stressed as in yśilinyah mī'hin "they (f.) take me with them". The n is doubled with vowel-initial suffixes, as in yśilinnah "they take it (m. sg.) away". The examples also show that in such cases the long imperfect base is used.


N.B. For a remark on kān, ykūn "be", cf. IV, 4.14.2.

3.2.2.4.2.

Imperatives are gūl, gūliy, gūluw and, surprisingly, long verbal bases followed by vowel-initial suffixes for the f. pl.: gūlin "say!". Similarly: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin "go to sleep!", and šīl, šīliy, šīluw, šīlin "take away!". Like in the imperfect (cf. remark *2) in IV, 3.2.2.4.1.), the n is doubled when suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, e.g.: alkalām alliy mī’kin, gūlinnah! "say (f. pl.) what you have to say!", and algirkin alliy mī’kin, šīlinnah! "the jerrycan that you have with you, take it away!". With consonant-initial suffixes the vowel of the -in ending is stressed as well: šīlinha! "take it (f.) away!". The other suffixed forms are more predictable: gūlah!, gūlih!, gūluh! "say it!".

These examples show that long base is used for the imperative, and this holds for a-type imperfects of mediae infirmae as well: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, and nāmin (!) "go to sleep!".

An imperative with a short base šuṭ "see!" was recorded as well, but the long base imperatives occurred more regularly.

Like in group I, imperatives used with the verb gāb, ygīb "bring" are hāṭ, hāṭiy, hāṭuw, hāṭin (hāk was not recorded in DA).

3.2.2.4.3.

Like in group I, active participles are coined on the patterns C₁āyiC₃, C₁āyC₃i₉/ah, C₁āyC₂₃in, C₁āyC₂₃āṭ (passive participles were not recorded).
3.2.2.5.1.

"forget"*1)  "walk"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-type</th>
<th></th>
<th>a-type</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nása<em>2) nása</em>2)</td>
<td>násuw</td>
<td>nása<em>2) nása</em>2)</td>
<td>máša máša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>násat<em>3) násat</em>3)</td>
<td>nasán*4)</td>
<td>násat<em>3) násat</em>3)</td>
<td>mášat mášat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>nisít  nisít</td>
<td>nisítuw</td>
<td>nisít  nisít</td>
<td>mašét<em>5) mašét</em>5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>nisítiy nisítiy</td>
<td>nisítin</td>
<td>nisítiy nisítiy</td>
<td>mašétin mašétin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>nisít  nisít</td>
<td>nisína</td>
<td>nisít  nisít</td>
<td>mašéna mašéna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The variation in the conjugation of a and i in the first syllables can be accounted for by the raising of a → i, as in CaCiC (cf. IV, 1.2.3.4.3.2., and 3.1.1.1.1.). Thus both nisít and nasít are accepted by informants, and so are both nisánn and nasánn.

*2) When suffixed: nasáha "he forgot it (f.)". To be sure, forms like nísiy, nisyít were also recorded, but the same informant who produced these forms produced nisánn as well, which I take to be proof of his insufficiently mastering the koine conjugation which he set out to produce. The conjugation as it is given here was produced by different informants, and on different occasions.

*3) a of the second syllable is really (i.e. also "underlyingly") short, as is illustrated in the suffixed forms nsítah "she forgot it (m. sg.)", and also lğítah "she found it (m. sg.)" (cf. IV, 2.1.1.2.1.6.).

*4) nísín was also recorded, but when suffixed nasánnga "they (f.) forgot it (f.)".

*5) When emphasis spreads garayt "I studied", garaytiy "you (f. sg.) studied", etc. In DA no raising of the a in open syllables preceding ê was recorded (in contrast with the situation in BaA, remark *2) in I, 3.2.2.5.1.).

N.B. Unless the resyllabication rule applies (cf. above, remark *3)), the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped.

The conclusion is that the mediae infirmae i-type perfects have half joined the a-type.
3.2.2.5.2.

"forget"

imperfect

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a-type} & \text{PL} \\
\text{SG} & \text{yansón*1)} & \text{SG} \\
3.\text{m.} & \text{yánṣa} & \text{yimšiyy} \\
3.\text{f.} & \text{tánṣa} & \text{tímšiy} \\
2.\text{m.} & \text{tánṣa} & \text{tímšiy} \\
2.\text{f.} & \text{tansên*1)} & \text{timšin} \\
1.\text{c.} & \text{ánṣa} & \text{ámšiy} \\
\end{array}
\]

"walk"

imperfect

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{i-type} & \text{PL} \\
\text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
3.\text{m.} & \text{yimšiyn*2)} & \text{yimšiyn*2)} \\
3.\text{f.} & \text{tímšiy} & \text{timšún*2)} \\
2.\text{m.} & \text{tímšiy} & \text{timšún} \\
2.\text{f.} & \text{timšin} & \text{timšin*2)} \\
1.\text{c.} & \text{nímsiy} & \text{nímšiy} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1) Diphtongal ending when emphasis spreads, e.g. intiy tagrayn "you (f. sg.) study". Due to certain phonemic overlapping (mentioned in IV, 1.2.2.1. and 1.2.2.2.), it is very difficult to decide on -én and -ón, instead of -in and -ün. Therefore, the question remains whether the base vowel a is actually dropped or not. The forms that appear in this conjugation are how I heard them; to my ears, the phonetic quality of the long vowels in tansën and tansón is palpably lower than the quality of the long vowels in timšin and timšún.

*2) Like in the 3rd p. f. pl. perfect, the final -n is doubled in these imperfect forms as well.871

N.B. Apocopated imperfects were not recorded in DA.

3.2.2.5.3.

Apocopated (m. sg.) imperatives, like in group I, were also recorded, e.g.: yâ walad! imš näd ëh? ʿammoak! "Boy! Go call what? Your aunt!", and another example: imš xall umnḥk itsawwilna ḡadîy! "Go (m. sg.) have your mother prepare lunch for us!" (for a remark on xall, cf. fn 541 to I, 3.2.2.5.3.). The other forms are: imšiy! (f. sg.), imšuw! (m. pl.), imšinn! (f. pl.). The presentative "behold" was recorded as árʿa, and suffixed arʿāh.

3.2.2.5.4.

Active participles like in group I, e.g.: râdiy, râdyah, râdyin, râdyät "consenting". A passive participle: mašwiy "roasted".

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3.2.2.5.5.

Verbal nouns recorded in DA: šawy "roasting", ramy "throwing", ġary "running", ḥaky "story telling", mašy "going on foot". Verbal nouns of the type miC₁C₂a were not recorded in DA. Instead, this pattern was recorded for utensils, e.g. mišwa "poker (for firewood)", mirsa (~ mirsah) "anchor".

3.2.2.6.1.

"come"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>giy*1)</td>
<td>yígy*5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>gāri*2)</td>
<td>tígy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>git</td>
<td>tigiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>giit</td>
<td>tiginn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gína</td>
<td>ágiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The extreme imālah of the presumed older form *gā(‘) is in conformity with 1.2.4.4.1. When suffixed, the older a "reappears", e.g.: giy-sra’il... Isra’il gāna min šimāl "Israel came. Israel came to us from the east".872

*2) Notice the long a, as opposed to the short a in group I.873

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872 In the system of orientation of the bedouins in northern Sinai šarg is geographically south, and accordingly, gibli is west (although the giblah "direction of prayer" is almost due south), garb is north, and simāl is east. The explanation for this may be that many of the tribes in Sinai are originally from areas where the sea is to the west, i.e. the Gulf of ‘Aqaba is west of the Ḥiḡāz and the Mediterranean is west of Gaza. ḡarrab "go west" thus became synonymous with "going into the direction of the sea", and the opposite, šarrag "going east", with "going inland", and in this meaning the words moved with the tribes to northern Sinai, where the Mediterranean is to the north, and where in daily speech the compass was turned 90 degrees clockwise. I am grateful to Fred Leemhuis for this suggestion. In addition, it must be remembered that many bedouins regularly traveled to Palestine to help out during harvest time. If they came from the Ḥiḡāz in the old days, they were mšammilin "going north". Until the creation of the state of Israel many tribes would undertake the same journey (geographically going east) from northern Sinai. If then mšammil had already become synonymous with "going to Palestine", a similar 90 degrees turn of the compass in daily speech could have taken place, which leads to the same conclusion. One of my best informants, ‘Abdallah (mentioned in the preface) called my attention to this system of orientation.

873 The long a base vowel in the perfect of the verb "come" is also reported in Prochazka (1988), pp. 107-8, for Husuf and Nağran of group (ii) (i.e. the Nağdiy dialects) (reported as jāt "she came"), but also for Tanimah and BalQarn of group (i) (i.e. the non-Nağdiy dialects) (but there *ğ has a y reflex, as in reported yāt, cf. ibid. p. 15).
B. IV. A description of Dwêgriy Arabic.

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*3) ḡāwuw was recorded twice, and this form is a case of morphological hypercharacterization.

*4) The form has the short base for the f. pl., therefore the vowel is not a, but i (compare CA *ḏi’na), and doubling of the n like in the tertiae infirmae.

*5) Forms like those recorded in BaA, cf. I, 3.2.2.6.1., remark *2).

*6) The doubling of n is clearly audible, even in pause.

3.2.2.6.2.

The imperatives of the verb "come": taʿā(l), taʿāliy, taʿāluw, taʿālin. Like in group II, the l of the first form may be dropped, but no glottal catch was noticed in the examples available.

3.2.2.6.3.

Like in group I, the active participles are: ġāy, ġāya, ġāyin, ġāyāt.

3.2.2.7.1.

Like in the tertiae infirmae verbs, -n of the f. pl., both in perfect and imperfect, is doubled in med. gem. verbs. The vowel preceding this doubled -nn then is a in the perfect and i in the imperfect, quite possibly in analogy to measures 2 and 3 tert. inf. verbs, e.g. sawwānn, ysawwānn "they (f.) make, they (f.) made", or measure 1 (imperfect i-type) mašānn, yimšānn "they (f.) walk, they (f.) walked)". The complete conjugations are:

"pull tight" in DA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ʿadd</td>
<td>ʿaddàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ʿaddāt</td>
<td>ʿaddān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ʿaddēt</td>
<td>ʿaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ʿaddētiy</td>
<td>ʿaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ʿaddēt*1)</td>
<td>ʿaddēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) When preceded by (secondary) emphatics, ē is diphtongal ay: ḥaṭṭayt "I placed", ḍalʿayt "I stayed".

*2) When stressed, the vowel of the imperfect prefix (except that of 1.c. sg.) harmonizes with the base vowel ῥaḍḍ, yūrūd "answer", ǧarr, yūḡūr "pull, drag", laff, yilīf "go round", lamm, yilimm "gather". Phonological reduction of
final geminates takes place\textsuperscript{874}, and stress is then on the first syllable (cf. IV, 2.2.1.). When vowel-initial suffixes are added, however, the geminate is not reduced, e.g. \textit{tśiddih} "you (m. sg.) pull it", but when consonant-initial suffixes are added, the geminate may be reduced. When forming a new consonant cluster with the initial consonant of the suffix, stress remains predictable: \textit{tśiddha} "you pull it (f.)".

For the phonetic quality of the high vowel, cf. IV, 1.2.3.2.

\textsuperscript{3} There is no question of the vowel preceding the double -\textit{nn} harmonizing with the base vowel, for it is also \textit{yxuṣšinn} "they (f.) enter", not \textit{yxuṣšūnn}.

N.B. No raising of the \textit{a} in forms like \textit{CaCCē+} was recorded in \textit{DA}.

3.2.2.7.2.

Imperatives in \textit{DA} are: \textit{sidd}, \textit{sīdiy}, \textit{sīdduw}, \textit{sīddīn} "pull!"

3.2.2.7.3.

The active participles are like in group I: \textit{ḥāṭṭ}, \textit{ḥāṭṭah}, \textit{ḥāṭṭin}, \textit{ḥāṭṭar}. Passive participles were not recorded in \textit{DA}.

3.2.3.1.1.

Like in group I, e.g.: \textit{ānxabaz}, \textit{yinxibiz} "be baked", \textit{āngiṭā}, \textit{yīngiti} "be cut". No instances of a "reappearing" \textit{a} in \textit{n-1} measures were recorded (since the texts show no closed syllables where this might have occurred), but since measure 1\textsuperscript{t} does show "reappearing" \textit{a} (cf. IV, 3.2.3.3.1.), one would expect these to occur in measure \textit{n-1} as well.

3.2.3.1.2.

In \textit{DA} the word-final geminate is phonologically reduced, after which stress is placed on the vowel of the preformative, e.g.: \textit{ānhāṭṭ}, \textit{yinḥāṭṭ} "be placed", \textit{āndabb}, \textit{yīndabb} "be filled (with water)". Notice that the vowel in the imperfect prefix is not harmonized.

3.2.3.1.3.

Examples in \textit{DA}: \textit{yinsāl} "be carried away", \textit{yinʿān} "be supported (of a construction)". Perfects were not recorded.

\textsuperscript{874} The reduction of final geminates is mainly a group (\textit{ii}) (or \textit{Nağdiy}) feature, although it is reported for Tanūmah, BalQarn and Ğāmid of group (\textit{i}) (non-\textit{Nağdiy} dialects) as well, cf. \textsc{Prochazka} (1988), p. 57.
3.2.3.1.4.

No n-1 participles were recorded in DA.

3.2.3.2.

No t-1 measures were recorded in DA.

3.2.3.3.1.

Like in group I, e.g.: ḏṭṭafag, yittifig "agree", ḏṭaṭaḡal, yiṭṭiḡil "work", and a "reappears" as in yiṭṭaḡlūn "they work".

Tertiae ya' verbs include: ḏṭara, yiṭṭiriy "buy", ḏṭawə, yiṭṭiwiy "ripen". Notice the absence of y in imperfect forms with vowel-initial verbal suffixes: yiṭṭirūn "they buy", and also the doubling of n in 2nd and 3rd p. f. pl. forms: tiṭṭirinn, yiṭṭirinn.

3.2.3.3.2.

An example recorded in DA: ḏixṭār, yiṭṭār "be chosen". It must be stated, however, that I am not a hundred percent sure about the proclitic vowel of the perfect, which might be a.

3.2.3.3.3.

The only example recorded in DA has no geminate reduction, and a in the imperfect: ṭihṭall "they (f. sg.) are occupied". Logically however, one would expect geminate reduction here as well (cf. IV, 2.1.1.), so that forms would have to be *āḥtall, *yiḥtall (cf. measure n-1 forms in IV, 3.2.3.1.2.).

3.2.3.3.4.

mūṭṭifig, and "reappearing" a in mittafgah, mittafgin, mittafgāt "agreeing". Examples of weak root participles are: mihṭāq "needing", miṣṭiwy, miṣṭawyah "ripe, cooked".

3.2.3.4.1.

An example in DA: astangad, yistangid "recognize".

3.2.3.4.2.

No examples were recorded in DA.
3.2.3.4.3.
An example in DA: asta'na, yista'niy "care for (the interests of)".

3.2.3.4.4.
Examples of medial geminate roots are: āstā'add, yīsti'idd "prepare oneself", āstamarr, yīstimirr "continue", where again we have phonological reduction of the geminate (cf. IV, 2.1.1.), and the raising of α in an open unstressed syllable preceding i.

The f. pl. verbal suffix n is again doubled in these tertiac infirmae: āsta'addānn, yīsti'iddīnn "they (f. pl.) prepare themselves".

3.2.3.4.5.
Examples in DA: none of sound roots, (C₃ = y) mīstīhiy, mīstāhyah "shy, bashful", (C₂ = C₃) mīsta'idd (cf. IV, 2.1.1.), mīsta'iddah "prepared" (with possible raising of the a in open syllable).

3.2.3.5.
Like in group I.

3.2.3.5.1.
Elision is like in group I. Examples of measure 2 imperfect: ybarrkūn "they let kneel (of camels)", ywall'ah "he lights it, ywaṣṣīlnīnīyah "they (f. pl.) take me home", awakkīhīwī "I feed them".

Examples of measure 2 perfect: kallamātīnyah "she spoke to me", kāmmalāt "she completed", ērṣafrīthah "I spoke to him".

Examples of an optional l-elision of the high vowel in sandhi: ṣgāṭṣ al'āğīn "you cut the dough", anāḍḏīf ēssīmāk "I clean the fish".

3.2.3.5.2.
Examples in DA: nwaddīhin "we send them (f. pl.)", nsāmmīha "we call it (f. sg.)", nsawwīh "we make it (m. sg.)".

N.B. Like in measure 1, the f. pl. verbal ending n is doubled in these tertiae infirmae, e.g.: (imperfect) yswawwīn "they (f.) make", ygannīn "they (f.) sing", and (perfect) sawwānīn "they (f.) made".
3.2.3.5.3.
Like in group I: wakkal, ywakkil.

3.2.3.5.4.
Examples of imperfect t-2 are: yiitkawwan "be made up, composed", yiitgawwaz "get married", yiitwakkal (ala) "put one's trust (in)", yiitqatta "be covered", yiitxarraf "talk, chat", yiilabbab "eat libbah", yiitgadda "have lunch".

Examples of perfect t-2 are: ta'axxar "be delayed", tagatta "be torn, cut", ta'ayyaš "eke out a living", tasawwa" decompose"875. The a of the prefix may be raised, as in titawwar "develop". But forms with a (i)t- prefix were also recorded: itkallam "speak", itgaddad "be renewed", itgawwaz "be married", itgaatta "be torn/cut".

Perfect forms with the ta- prefix are about as numerous as the forms with the (i)t- prefix, but imperfect forms with a ta- prefix were not recorded.

DA can therefore be concluded to be a step further than group I with its development from (ya)taC₁aC₂C₂aC₃ to (y)itC₁aC₂C₂aC₃ forms. And in DA we see what was already noticed in group I: the imperfect leads the way in this development (cf. I, 3.2.3.5.4.).

3.2.3.5.5.
Only two examples of t-2 verbal nouns were recorded in DA: (nominalized) tafarrugât "differences", and tağammus "gathering together", and both may be loans from CA or MSA. No instances of the tC₁iC₂C₂iC₃ pattern mentioned by Stewart (cf. I, 3.2.3.5.5.) were encountered in DA.

The verbal noun for measure 2 has a tC₁C₂C₂iC₃ pattern, e.g.: tamwir "darning a fish net", (nominalized) tarsih "official permission", tashbiḥ "(repeated) stamping with the feet", taxnim "guessing", tagiti "checking and repairing", tagiti "(repeated) cutting, tearing".

Besides tirbät alğimal "training camels", which was elicited as a correct form, no tertiae infirma measure 2 verbal nouns were recorded.

875 Cf. LANE (1872), part 4, p. 1743, where it is listed in the meaning of "become dried up and much split (of wood)". In its recorded context it is best translated with "decompose" (said of the corpse of a drowned person).
3.2.3.5.6.

Like in group I.

3.2.3.6.

Like in group I. Remarks made in IV, 3.2.3.5.4. concerning the variation between $ta$- and $(i)i$-prefixes in measure $t$-2 are true for measure $t$-3 as well.

3.2.3.6.3.

Verbal nouns formed with the pattern $tC_1\hat{e}C_2iC_3$ for measures 3 and $t$-3 were not recorded in DA. Instead, verbal nouns have the pattern $mC_1\hat{a}C_2aC_3ah$, i.e. with an $a$ following $C_2$ (in contrast with $CaA$, where we have $mIC_1aC_2C_3a$): $mwafagah$ "consent", (nominalized) $mnasabah$ "occasion", $msa‘adah$ "support", and a MSA loan $munasafah$ "by equal shares (adverbially)".

3.2.3.7.1.


3.2.3.7.2.

Examples in DA: $rad$, $yrld$ "want", and $gäd$, $ygld$ (also $yögd$) "light, ignite (something)". The verb $dar$, $ydir$ "move around (something)" can be concluded to have joined measure 1, since its act. participle is $dāyir$.

3.2.3.7.3.

In DA: $a‘ta$, $yiṭiy$ "give". Recorded imperfects are: $yigliy$ "boil (something)", $yisgiy$ "give water".

3.2.3.7.4.

Measure 4 primae $wāw$ verbs were not recorded in DA.

3.2.3.7.5.

In DA: ‘all, y‘ill (act. participle $m‘ill$) "fall ill", hamm, yhimm "be important to", habb, yhibb "wake up (someone)".

The verb $habb$, $yhibb$ "love" should be concluded to be a measure 1 verb, since its active participles are formed with the $C_1\hat{a}C_2C_3$ pattern: $ḥabb$, $ḥabbah$ etc.
3.2.3.7.6.

Like in group I, the imperatives have an i- prefixed to the sound root, e.g. itlig "set loose!", išbi' i'yâlk "let your children eat their fill!". Imperatives of weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.7.7.

Examples in DA: mitlig, mrîd, mi'tiy. No examples of passive participles were recorded in DA.

3.2.3.8.

An exception to the geminate reduction rule is made for measure 9; stress is like in group I, e.g. ihmârr, yihmârr "turn red". Like f. pl. n in measure 1 medial geminates (cf. IV, 3.2.2.7.1.), the n of the f. pl. is doubled in measure 9 as well.

No participles of measure 9 were recorded.

3.2.3.9.

Like in group I, e.g.: zağraţ, yzağriţ "ululate", laxbaţ, ylaxbitiţ "mix" (the gahawah- syndrome is not active here, cf. IV, 2.2.1.3.), rafrâf, yrafrîf "flutter (in the wind)".

Examples of verbs of the CiawC2aC3, yC1awC2iC3 type: gôtâr, ygôtîr "go", hòba, yhôbiy "crawl".

An example of a quadrilateral with a (i):- prefix: nitma'dmaqî "we rinse".

An active participle: mzağirtâh "ululating (f. sg.)". No examples of ta- or (i):t-quadriliterals were recorded.

4. Remarks on syntax.

4.1.

Like in the other dialect groups, nunation is a feature found in poetry and fixed expressions. An example is (a poetic passage): Allâh yurzugkiyat bi igitalaim marşûdin min hâwâkiy masgûmiy "May God bless you with a rightly-guided youth, (who is) emaciated by (his) love for you (f. sg.)".

Forms such as masalan, tagriban and tab'an are current in DA as well.
4.2.

Like in group I, e.g.: 'ūmurhuw mā šāfuw baʿāḏhuw "they had never seen each other".

Negation of a nominal sentence: w alnayyah glayylah miš imʿākkarah "and the water is little, (but) not turbid", and a negated participle: miš ʿārif "I don’t know".

Negating nominal sentences and participles, however, is often done with the negated pronominals, e.g. ilkān māhwa xābīr "if he does not know", māhya ʿiddah kīṭrāh "it (f. sg.) is not much household goods", w ilkān māhya rāḍyāh "and if she does not consent".

The bi-partite negation may be used, but such instances are best interpreted as K-forms, e.g. ilkān màhwa xābīr "if he does not know", màhya ʿiddah kīṭrāh "it (f. sg.) is not much household goods", w ilkān māhya rāḍyāh "and if she does not consent".

4.3.

The b-imperfect may be heard in DA, but more often the habitual present is expressed with the simple imperfect. Instances of the b-imperfect are therefore best regarded as K-forms.

Examples of the simple imperfect to express the habitual present: (Sālim) kān tīn sāknīn fi Zūqḥah, b innisbah tīn tīn yā dDawāḡrah fi mántīgat aSalmānah b izāt. almīy ʿandhā māṣafat xamsah w ʿiṣrīn kīluw, ilbīr. tirīd innās b iḡrār, w iyīḡibu ʾēh? w iyīḡibu, yīmšuw... yīrdūw ʿa ilbīr. "We used to live on the Zūḡbah (-peninsula). As far as we Dawāḡrah are concerned, in the Salmānah region itself. The water with us was a distance of twenty five kilometres (away), the well. People would get water with jugs, and bring what? And they would bring, they would go... to get water from the well."

Another example is: waṣṣifīlyah kēf itṣayydūn āssimak "describe to me how you go fishing"876.

In other Sinai dialects studied so far, one would sooner hear b-imperfects in such cases.

876 This may seem like a strange sentence coming from an informant, but this particular informant acted as my teacher of Dwēğiyy, and he would try to teach me how to phrase a question properly, and then continue answering it.
4.4.

The future particles *ha-* may be used in DA, but often the simple imperfect is used.

An example with *ha-*: *ihna tab’an ninzil alba’ar, fi ëh? fi ’awwal arba’ah-*nšā’ Allâh haninzil f-’awwil arba’ah. "We, of course, go out to sea in what? In the beginning of April, God willing, we shall go out (to sea) in the beginning of April."

Examples with the simple perfect: *bukrah tğiły ťamanha "tomorrow its (f. sg.) price will go up (lit. become expensive)”, aği*k *bukrah "I shall come to you tomorrow".

The only two instances in DA with *râh* are: *inšâllâh, b umîr Allâh, râh ana ‘ajtákk imm arrâgil dîh w âxuďk. "God willing, I shall rid myself of that man and take you." in mā mašēuw mn ihniy, râh nuktukuw zavy ma kitalna gğmâl "if you don’t go away from here, we shall kill you like we killed your camels".

In addition, futurity may be expressed with suffixed *widd* (cf. IV, 4.11.).

4.5.

Like in group I, *fîh* is current. For the negation *ma fiš*, and also *mâš* are used.

4.6.1.1.1.

Like in group I, *yōm* is used independently: *yōm ālmâtâr yinizil... naḏhak kidîยy ingül: ‘ya ťabī, tükrim!’ "when the rain comes down, we laugh and say: ‘Oh Lord, You are generous!’".

4.6.1.1.2.1.

The *n* of *yōmin* is doubled, also when used independently: *îw yōminoň al’gâmâl iyğiňa, iydirha taľat dâyŗât kîh "and when the camel comes, it goes around it (i.e. the birzah877 ) three times".

4.6.1.1.2.2.

Suffixed *yōmin*: *al’arts yōminnaň yîği, yilbid gûd fi lğaabal fôg "the groom, when he comes, he hides far away up in the desert", *îw yōminnaň yanšaň, itbillah b ilmâyyaň "and when it dries, you moisten it with water*.

4.6.1.2.3.

Unsuffixed *min yōm* (but without *-inn*) was recorded a number of times in *DA* in the meaning of "from the day/moment that", e.g.: *min yōm gaffayt ‘anha ṣīrt widdyah-mūt* "From the moment that I left her, I have been wanting to die."

4.6.1.2.4.

An example in *DA*: *w iyğibün álğimal abu ḡabīḥah, yōm ma widdhum iyğibün al’arūs* "and they bring the camel with the saddle, when they want to bring the bride".

4.6.1.2.1.

An example in *DA*: *w atallī‘ ibah l’ayš lamma bithammar . . . b adayyih* "and I take the bread out with it when it becomes brown... with my hands".

4.6.1.2.2.

Suffixed *lammann* was recorded in *DA* only once in the meaning of "until": *iw hàḍī ṣrūdat, hàḍī ṣrūdat ig‘udat dàllat [. . .] tuṣurud lammannha ri‘īt [. . .] lammannha bāṭalat* "and this one (i.e. the daughter of the lady speaking) fled, this one fled and sat and kept [...] fleeing until she came back [...] when she stopped (fleeing)"878.

4.6.1.2.3.

An example in *DA* with *lamma* meaning "until": *insammil ‘ala ḏbu’rān tirsālāh tirsālāh, lēlah b lēlah lamma nawsal Falasṭīn masīy* "we would go east on the camels in stages, night after night until we arrived in Palestine on foot". (Another example may be found in IV, 4.6.1.2.1.)

4.6.1.3.

The conjunction *lōmin* used independently: *iw lōmin niğiy w īntuw ḡyūf . . ." and when we come and you are guests..."

The conjunction *lōmin* was also recorded suffixed in *DA*, e.g.: *lākan lōminnyah mā-ṭabb‘ah, [. . .] biṣir ēḥ? iyṣāf minyah* "but if I do not train it, [...] it becomes what? It will be afraid of me".

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878 This sentence was uttered in reference to the marriage of her daughter. MURRAY (1935), pp. 182-3 mentions this fleeing of the bride as a custom among the Muzaina (i.e. Mžěnəh) of south Sinai, the Beni Sakhr (i.e. Bant Šaxr) of Transjordania, the Shararat (i.e. Šarārāt) of Arabia, and the Ma‘aza (i.e. Ma‘ázah) of the eastern desert in Egypt.
In DA another hybrid form lōmma may be heard, e.g.: lōmma ššams tiğī̜y hnīy ngūl ₐḏ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣...
back, and the woman (will bring) a (large) spoonful of flour, and she will have a bite of bread with her, because she has small children with her who will cry on the way”.

Suffixed *ilkän*: *rizig yā mi n nxālah, yā mn ālbaḥar ilkānna msarrāhīn* "(our) livelihood is either from the datepalm, or from the sea, if we have permission (to go fishing)".

*kān* was conjugated in a few cases: *w ilkānat wiris, alwirs ādīy mā fīh hāḥīh. kān wiris, āhuw ṣābān kull wāḥid awla b ‘īrsah* "if it is an inheritance (i.e. a piece of land, *aṛḍ* = f.), there is nothing to this inheritance. If it is an inheritance, everyone, of course, has the first right to his inheritance".

4.7.3.1.4.

Examples in *DA*: *w izkānha binti’ammah yā’ni, fiha ēh? taṣfiḏ iswayyīh ya’n-alfēn ṭalāṭah* "and if she is his niece, that is, there is what on it (i.e. the bridal price)? There is a bit of a reduction, like two or three thousand".

An example with *iza*: *w izā kān lammha wāḡid, fi lyōm masal nūṣ kīl-aw kīluw, lammha kull ṭalāt t-iyyān wall-ārba’āh tsayyyāh* "and if she has gathered a lot (lit. if her gathering is plentiful), half a kilo or a kilo a day, for instance, she melts what she has gathered every three or four days”.

4.7.3.1.5.

*kān* "if" used independently in *DA*: *kān... wāḥad ʿāṣīg-lih ṣāḥid gāwī-lih ṣāḥid* "if... someone is in love with someone (f.), has taken a liking to someone (f.)".

*kān + in (+ suffix) was not recorded in *DA*. 

4.7.3.1.6.

An example of *ilkān* introducing alternatives in *DA*: *w ilwiliyah titgatta batṭānīyah, ṭḥya w i’yālha safar. iyrrabb’ūn b ḫalāḥuw, ilkān ʿindhuw ʿaṣar rūs aw xamas rūs dawābb* "The woman covers herself with a blanket, she and her children, when traveling. They search for pasture with their goats and sheep, whether they have ten head, or five head of animals".

4.7.3.2.

Examples of the absence of a conditional particle in *DA*: *ḡābat, ingul ḡābat iṣšams* "if it has disappeared, we say "the sun has disappeared", and *widdna fattah fititah, nīfīṭt alʿa:yīs* "if we want fattah, we crumble the bread".
4.8.1.

Examples in DA: *ha, irá ẓayf* "Look, there's a guest!", and suffixed *irāh*! "there he is!".

4.8.2.

Only one example was recorded in DA: *addibdēbah háy l ilbūriy* "the dibdēbah" (cf. fn 854 to IV, 3.1.6.) here is for the Flathead greymullet", said when the net referred to was not visible.

4.8.3.

The DA particle is *lann*, as recorded in the example: *lannih iygūl-lī* "there he says to me".

*linn*, and less often *lann* may be heard meaning "because" e.g.: *xuʃɔl.* *läkin ihna 'indna ismah hiğil. linnha miẖaġglah min riğlēha min taḥat* "An anklet. But with us it is called a *hiğl*. Because she wears anklets on the lower parts of her legs."

4.8.4.

One example was recorded in DA: *iw là ṣayf yiğiy min barra widdih iyfūt 'alēna yilga lḥer xaliy* "there's a guest coming from outside, who wants to drop in on us and finds the house empty".

4.9.

Examples in DA: *alliy tsawwīh gār fi lgabīr tilgāh* "what you do (in this world) you will most certainly find in the grave", *gār tiširīy ilʿatwā minyah šriy* "you will have to buy the truce from me".

4.10.

Instances of the intensifying particle *la-* recorded in DA: *yowlad, imš l-ḍrubk, imš l-āktīl, aʃawwif! "Boy, go away, (or) I shall hit you, go away, (or) I shall smack you, I shall scare you!"*

4.11.

In the 1st p. c. sg., *widd* may be suffixed with either the possessive suffix, or the object suffix in DA, without any apparent difference in meaning, e.g.: *widdyah Igurub mink ʿala bintk. widdinyah Igurub mink ʿala bintk. "I want to be related to you by (marrying) your daughter (the formula for asking for a girl's hand)".*
B. IV. A description of Dwegriy Arabic.

Like in group I, e.g. (volition): gāl ilyah : "la' [. . . ], 'ayzil lḥisāb." ani gutlah: widdk lḥsāb ēh? ëllī yḥāsīb īlī'bād rabbna "he said to me: "No, I want (you to pay) the bill." I said to him: "What bill do you want? The (only) One settling accounts with mortals is our Lord".

An example of widd expressing futurity: ilgūţah hādiy fiha sāmak widdna nirmīha llēlih "there is fish in this part, we shall (want to) throw it (f. sg., i.e. our net) out tonight".

An example in which widd expresses purpose: iw minnah tgūm itgīs īlmakān widdha tsawwiy lmīfah fīh "and after that she goes and measures the place in order to make the mīfa in it".

N.B. An example of widd expressing necessity from the perspective of the speaker: ìmūs nād ēh? ‘ammāmak, w ūlād ụxutk. ụxutk ūlmīyīh w Ḥāmdah w iSlēmah, nādhin iw nimūsh l iṣfārāh. ụxutiyah w ụxutk, widdhin yurgūṣin fi sāmir. "Go call what? Your aunt and your nieces. Your sister ūlmīyyah and Ḥāmdah and Slēmah, call them and let's go to the wedding feast. Your sister and my sister, they should dance during the sāmir. 879"

An example of widd expressing intended direction: w iygūn widdhuw masal ilgūţah hādiy widdhuw līmakān masal hādiy, masal widdhuw āmn ilMaṭāmīr "and they come, for instance, headed for this part, headed, for instance, for this place, for instance headed for āmn alMaṭāmīr".

4.12.

In DA some instances show ‘ādat, e.g.: tuşurud itrawwih ‘ādat [. . . ] l ahāliha "she flees and goes home to her family", but also fa lūlād yasmaʿūn, iw yahdaʿūn 880 ‘ād "so the boys listen, and improvise rhymes".

The form ‘ādat is comparable to CA ‘ādatan "usually", and ‘ād must be a further development, with a shift in meaning from "usually" to "so, then".

In a few instances baga was recorded in the same meaning of "so, then", e.g.: hawāk ilk ēh baga? "What do you want (lit. for you) then?".

879 For sāmir, cf. fn 291 to I, 2.2.1.3.
IV. A description of Dwêgriy Arabic.

4.13.

One example in DA: *ifrâxya awakâlin. yugha-l mà kän ʿindna bärüdah mraxxsín bärüdah*. . . "My chickens were eaten. So if we don't have a rifle, (if we are not) licensed (to have) a rifle...".


No instances of the narrative imperative were recorded in DA.881

4.14.2.

The use of unconjugated *kân* as a temporal marker is regular in DA, e.g.: *kän nsawwiyy zzarî kôm "we used to make (i.e. pile) the crops into a heap", law miʿna flūs, kän banêt ilyâh law ʿōdah wîdhah "If we would have had money, I would have built myself if only one room". In this last instance *kän* is used to put the main clause in the plusquam perfectum needed for an irrealis.

This development has progressed even a step further in DA, since not only is *kän* not conjugated as an auxiliary, but neither is it conjugated as a notional verb, e.g.: *kän ihniy inta, ʿindna. iw ʿıt marra tânya w šarrafina hniy "you were here, with us. And once again you came and honoured us here (with your presence)”, ihna kän nās, bass nās ēh? nās igšulatna ʾqqayʿah "we were people, but people who what? People whom perdition had struck." fih[a] nōbah, albaduw kän šēṁīn, ʿalʿarab . . . imḥazzabīh "at one time, the bedouins were bad people, the arabs were... organised in (rival) factions", and also: intiy kän wēn, ya wiliyyih? itgūl: ʿwallah kän ʿind igširān atxarraf "Where were you, woman? She says: 'By God, I was with the neighbours chatting'".

The examples also show that, if the subject is not clear from the context, it may be supplied in the form of an independent personal pronoun.

During direct elicitation informants had no trouble whatsoever producing such sentences as: *intin kan wēn? "where were you (f. pl.)?", ʾihya kän wēn? "where was she?", ihna kän ihniy "we were here".

4.14.3.

An example (one of few) in DA: *baʿd išwayyiḥ iḥna kišīy ḥawāliy rubī śāʿah ʿašār digāyig, inģik lâmmin ṭāniy "after a while, about a quarter of an hour or ten minutes, we (come to you and) pull it back in (i.e. the net)".

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881 The conclusion that it is not current in DA should not be drawn, since many of the texts recorded in DA were of an explanatory nature, rather than being narratives.
B. IV. A description of Dwègriy Arabic.

4.15.
Examples in DA: frâxyah anwakâlin "my chickens were eaten", but (the same speaker, a few lines down) ákal ʿindyah ṭalaṭ farxât "he ate (i.e. the fox) three of my chickens". The same goes for buksah "box", ṭalaṭ buksât, yōmīnnaḥ kīr ḡl ibkass "three boxes. When they are many, we say bkass".

4.16.
Limited or countable numbers may be referred to in the f. pl. in DA. Often enough the sg. of the nominal will be f., but this is not always the case, e.g.: markabēn iyīffīn "two boats sail in a circle (i.e. they complete one circle)" (the sg. markab may be f. here), w inʿabbīy fiḥ ġawālīn ṭayyāh. īlkān, wala ṭalīxīn ṭalīxīhīn "and we pour gallons of water into it. If, no offense intended, we are able to carry them (f.), we carry them", ṭalaṭ īʿšīy msawwyāthin ēh? ka īmurğēhah. (while speaking about a siʿn "swing for churning butter") "three sticks, having made them (f. pl.) (into) what? Like a swing" (the sg. ʿasāh is f., e.g. ʿasāyah "my stick"), kān miʿyīh xmax īğnēhāt, īw dōbhīn īyaassīnīnīyah blādīyah "I had five pounds on me, and these were barely enough to get me back home". sāḥīb īzzārāh... yiʿtīna kull waḥīd īmīrēn. īmīrēn ēh? īmīrēn azzārī. ʿarīʿ išṣāʿīr, īrwa:mmīhīn l ṭiʿīyāl "the owner of the crops gives everyone of us two armfuls. Two armfuls of what? Two armfuls of the crops. Barley crops, and we take them (f.) home for the children".

In one instance, even a limited number of men (probably three) was referred to in the f. pl.: w iyīsilīnīyah miʿhīn w anā-ʿawīd ʿa lma:kāb ali:iy-nglūbat "and they took me with them (i.e. the fishermen on the boat) and I returned to the boat that had overturned".882

N.B. The example preceding the last one shows that the dual goes with the pl. Another example is: itwallīd zīlīt zīlītayn f-āssīnāh [...] nīgīl ʿalēhīn nbayyīthīn "she gives birth to one or two kids (goats)883 a year [...] We lock them up to let them spend the night".

5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

The type of stress/pitch heard in group I was not heard in DA.

882 Since women do not go fishing, it is clear that the reference is to men here.
883 Cf. BAILEY (1974b), fn 44: zlayṭ, zilīn "new born kid".
V. A brief description of the sedentary dialect of al′Ariš, and (V. ad.) remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

In this chapter the dialect of al′Ariš and that of Gazzah (Gaza), as described in SALONEN (1979 and 1980), are briefly discussed. The dialects will be treated in one chapter, since they are both dialects spoken in towns. We shall see however, that the two dialects show an important number of differences, whereby their classification as one typological group would not be justified. To avoid the impression that they are typologically similar, the dialects are treated separately in this chapter.

Since the aim of this study is to investigate the bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral, the descriptions of both dialects will be succinct. The specific purpose of the first part of this chapter is to enable us to conclude that 'AA is not of the bedouin type. The purpose of the second part is to compare a relatively nearby town dialect (Gaza is situated some seventy kilometers to the northeast of al′Ariš, and also on the Mediterranean coast) to that of al′Ariš. Since we know that some bedouin tribes of our group I (cf. A. I. e. Present-day distribution and a concise history of bedouin tribes in this study.) have stayed in what is now known as the Gaza Strip, we might hope to find influences comparable to those on the dialect of al′Ariš.

The typological position of both dialects is briefly discussed in the conclusions (cf. C. I. and II.).

The town of al′Ariš has "a very mixed population [comprising] the descendants of Ottoman officials, Egyptian peasants, and migrant cultivators from the Hijāz, [...] much swelled by refugees, incomers, [...]", as well as members of the different bedouin tribes of the Sinai desert. The number of inhabitants must be well over 100,000 today.

The dialect briefly summarized here is that of the Fawaxriyyah, who are generally (i.e. by themselves and by other inhabitants of the town) considered to speak the original dialect of the town. Most of these people live in the part of town by the same name, built around the mosque with the same name lying to

884 I hope to discuss 'AA more extensively in a future article.
885 Cf. E.I., p. 625.
886 This estimate was given by one of my 'Arāyšiy informants, and should not be far off the mark.
the west of the new centre. Their name, which is coined on a morphological pattern often used for names of bedouin tribes, is said to be derived from two brothers, both potters, who came from Gazzah some time in the past, and settled in al'Aris.\textsuperscript{887}

Although 'AA does have a number of characteristics in common with the bedouin type of dialects in general (criteria A) -1) in A. III. b. True bedouin dialect), and NWA dialects in particular, there is a large number of differences between 'AA and these bedouin dialects (i.e. resulting from those criteria marked B-S), and that of the Sawârkah (SA, discussed in chapter I), which is spoken in the immediate vicinity of al'Aris.

1. Phonology.

1.1.1.

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of 'AA is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>trill</th>
<th>semivowel</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>b</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>w</td>
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<td>labio-dental</td>
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<td>interdental</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>postalveolar</td>
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<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
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<td>velar</td>
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<td>uvular</td>
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<td>pharyngeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v = voiced, vl = voiceless</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2.

As the only dialect of northern Sinai researched so far, 'AA lacks all interdentals: reflexes of *t and *d are t and d respectively, as in talâta "three",

\textsuperscript{887} SUQAYR (1916). p. 167-170, writes that the Fawâxiriyyah came to al'Aris as immigrants from Syria, and that they owe their name to the fact that they traded in pottery which they brought from Gaza.
hāda "this (m. sg.)", while the reflex of *d and *q is plosive d, as in indif "clean", darab "he hit".

Loans from MSA or CA may show s for *t, as in masalan "for instance", sawānī "seconds", z for *q, as in iżkān (CA *iḍa kān) "if", and z for *q, as in muḥāfīz "Governor".

1.1.3.

As is the case throughout northern Sinai, reflexes for *q and *k in ‘AA are unaffricated g and k respectively, e.g. galil "little, few", giṣṣa "story", and yākul "he eats", rikib "he mounted".

In loans from CA or MSA *q may have a q reflex, e.g.: ma ẓahadnahās min qabl "we had not witnessed it (f. sg.) before", and in katal "hit" *q has a k reflex, although gatal, yugtul in the meaning of "kill" was also recorded.

1.1.4.

A regular reflex for *g is ġ in ‘AA, but often ġ (I.P.A. [d]) was recorded in free variation (?) with ġ. A fricative realization ż was not heard in ‘AA, e.g.: rāgil "man", ẓamalēn "two camels".

1.1.5.

Glottalization of ẓ was not heard in ‘AA.

1.1.6.

The ‘AA reflex for * in *sa’al is ‘: sa’al, yis’al, but w in wakl "food" and in wakkal "he fed". In ‘AA, like in many dialects, "family" is ‘ēla, "minaret" is mēdana, "he eats" is yākul, and "head" is rās (pl. rūs).

A member of ʿelīt iwlād iSlemān (who are not Fawaxriyyah) in alʿAriṣ was recorded saying biddi ʿa’akklak sandawītī "I’ll give you a sandwich to eat", and ʿakl for "food". However, this may be due to his university education.

Pausal glottalization of final vowels was not observed in ‘AA.

1.1.7.

Secondary velarization is not as widespread as in the surrounding bedouin type dialects, e.g. no velarization in ‘AA forms: galb "heart", gāl "he said", igrayyib "near", ragaba "neck", fawākhī "fruits", burtqān "orange (fruit)", āxadat "she took", azrag "blue", rugfān "loaves of bread", naxl "palm trees", xāfu "they feared", xāl "uncle", kamān "also", but velarization (particularly
B. V. The sedentary dialect of al'Arīṣ

where r is involved) like in surrounding bedouin dialects in ifrāx "chickens", ikbār "old (pl.)", bāhāf "sea", ahmar "red", rābi' "fourth".

1.1.8.

There is a good chance that for 'AA, /r/ and /r/ can be isolated as separate phonemes in the minimal pair gārī "running" - gārī "my neighbour", since both gār "neighbour" and gārya "running (f. sg.)" were recorded.

/r/ and /r/ can be isolated in a minimal pair wālā "by God" - wālā "or", but it is the only opposition heard in 'AA, which leads to the conclusion that, for the time being, the phonemic status of / should be considered marginal.

Velarization of ār as in: inhār "day", nār "fire", musmār "nail", gār "neighbour", kbār "old (pl.)", but šāri' "road", bithārib "she wares war", imbārih "yesterday", gārya "running (f. sg.)".

Velarization of the sequence rā as in: ifrāx "chickens", garāba "kinship", gīrān "neighbours".

1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1.

Vowel phonemes in 'AA are five long vowels and three short vowels:

Long vowels: i   u   short vowels: i   u

e   o

1.2.2.1.

/i/ and /ē/ are stable in 'AA, and do not overlap phonetically in neutral environments. E.g. i in bagīd "I light" is clearly higher than ē in gēd "chain". On- and off-glides as reported in group I may be heard in 'AA as well, but struck me as less pronounced.

1.2.2.2.

/ū/ and /ū/ are stable in 'AA, and do not overlap phonetically, e.g. in xūf "fear" is clearly lower than ū in axūh "his brother".

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888 On the initial i- in these two latter forms, cf. fn 951 below.
Off-glides as reported in group I may be heard in ‘AA as well, but struck me as less pronounced. Lowering of a when preceded by emphatics is markedly less than as reported for group I.

1.2.2.3.
As described for group I. ā in ‘ārif will have an open [aː].

1.2.2.4.
Long vowels preceding stressed syllables are regularly shortened, also in careful speech, e.g.: şabûha "they brought her", (measure 1-3) itgabalna "we met", ma‘ūn "receptacle", (measure 3) yhâkini "he tells me", (but no shortening of stressed ĕ preceding CC, e.g. aşâb‘î "my fingers", ǧârya "running (f. sg.)").

1.2.3.1.
Minimal pairs isolating /al/, /il/ and /ul/ in ‘AA are:
gûdūt "I led" - gîdūt "I lit"  ẖatīt "he placed" - ẖût! "place!"
šaddūt "he pulled" - šiddūt! "pull!"

1.2.3.2.
Largely as described for group I, e.g.: îyûtūt "place", îybugg "sprinkle", îyrudd "answer", iyfukkan "loosen; heal (by dissolving a spell)", iydurūr "harm", iyuxsîş "enter", iyruşs "spray", but iyûddūt "stretch", iyshiddūt "pull", iyhiff "sniff", iyhillū "solve" and the influence of labial m makes u appear in iyushum "smell".

1.2.3.4.1.
The situation is like in group I.

1.2.3.4.2.
The situation is like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.1.
The situation is like in group I.

1.2.3.4.3.2.
Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ā or stressed a is not a ‘AA feature, e.g. katâbt "I wrote", fataht "I opened", takâsi "taxis", kabâbi "glasses (for drinking)". 
Raising of *a in the pattern *C₁aC₂iC₃ hardly occurs in 'AA (şigir "small, young" was only recorded twice). (for further detail, cf. V, 3.1.1.1.).

1.2.3.4.3.3.
Raising of final -a (either T or *-ā(')) in pause does not occur very regularly. When it does, it is usually not much higher than between [i] and [e], and then only when this -a is not preceded by M or X, e.g.: axūye # "my brother", išwayye # "a little (adv.)", hāge # "something", kide # "thus, so", but also ḥagiga # "truth", mayya # "water", sabiyya # "young girl", kida # "thus, so", hiña # "here", and mágbařa # "grave", and also (reflexes of *-ā(')) sahra "desert", ḥaša # "stones", xāḍra "green (f. sg.), bēda "white (f. sg.)".

1.2.4.1.
Apart from regular exceptions such as mawqûd "present", CA loans dawli "international", fawri "immediate", *ay and *aw have been monophthongized in all positions. The phonemes /ê/ and /î/, and /ō/ and /ū/ are clearly distinguishable, e.g. āś "bread", ẓêf "guest", ḥōs "yard (where chickens are kept)", ṣōmaʿa "silo (storage for grain)".

N.B. *laymûn and *zaytûn have developed into lamûn "lemons" and zatûn "olives" in 'AA.889
Primae wāw verbs usually have the diphthong iw in the imperfect (except of the 1st p. c. sg.), e.g. tiwlid "she gives birth", yiwlzin "he weighs", yiwsal "he arrives", yiwgaʿ "it (m. sg.) hurts", yiwgaf (~ yigaf) "he stops".

1.2.4.2.
Minimal pairs isolating the long vowels in 'AA are:
ṭêr "birds (coll.)" - ṭîr "fly!" - ṭâr "he flew"
ṣōm "fasting" - šûm "fast!" - şâm "he fasted"

N.B. Final diphthongs may be heard in MSA or CA loans 'aw "or", and law "if", but these are not regular in 'AA.

1.2.4.3.
Like in group I, but ḥâda "this (m. sg.)" is without velarization.

1.2.4.4.

Reflexes of final \(^{-}â(')\) are treated like \(T\) with regard to raising (cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.3.). \(\text{ṣahrīt isSuwēs}\) "the desert of (i.e. near) Suez", where final \(^{-}â\) (as in CA \(^{-}ṣahrā\)) is treated as \(T\) in construction, illustrates the parallel in another way.

\(\text{"AA forms are: šīta }\) "winter", \(hīna "here", dīnya "(this) world", ṣalāt il'īša "evening prayer", and ṭayya "water".\)

1.2.4.4.3.

Preceding \(a\) in open syllable is of no consequence to the absence or presence of raising of final \(^{-}â(')\) in \(\text{"AA.}\)

1.2.4.4.4.

For phonetic factors inhibiting possible raising in pause, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.3. Imperfects ending in \(-a\) (the \(C_3 = y\) verbs or mediae infirmae) were recorded in pause, but no raising was observed in these cases.

N.B. "He came" is \(\text{iḡa }\sim\text{iḡa}\) in \(\text{"AA, and the final vowel may be raised in pause.}\)

1.2.4.5.

Cf. remarks in V, 1.2.2.1. and 1.2.2.2.

1.2.4.6.

Diphthongs \(*ay\) and \(*aw\) have been monophthongized in all environments in \(\text{"AA (cf. V, 1.2.4.1.).}\) A diphthong \(ay\) like in \(\text{ṣaymīn }(<\text{ṣāyīm }+\text{īn}) "fasting (c. pl.)" and }\text{xayfīn }(<\text{xāyīf }+\text{īn}) "fearing (c. pl.)" is formed in conformity with V, 1.2.2.4.

Diphthongization of final \(-i\) and \(-ū\) is much less regular than in group I (where we have \(-iy\) and \(-uw\)); in \(\text{"AA -i and -u are the regular reflexes.}\)

Diphthongs \(-iy\) and \(-uw\) resulting from anaptyxis occur in \(\text{"AA as well, e.g.: hiluw }\#\) "sweet, beautiful", \(māšiy }\#\) "walking".

1.2.4.6.2.2.

A morphologically patterned diphthong \(i\text{w, not found in any of our bedouin dialects of the area, is regular in }\text{"AA, e.g. yiwsal }\) "he arrives", \(i\text{wlād }\) "children".
1.2.4.7.
Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs was not recorded in 'AA.

2. Stress and phonotactics.

2.1.1.
Stress in 'AA is of the máktaba-type. Rules in 'AA are:

1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (but contrast this with # for the anaptyxis rule in I, 2.3.)
2) The domain of stress is formed by the last four syllables, including the suffixes, but excluding the article il-.*
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequence are stressed.
4) The following types of "heavy" sequences occur: vCC(C), vC(C) (including V(fj)).890
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (cf. examples in 2.2.1.1.)
6) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left.

* Notice that we do not need to make an exception for the verbal measures n-1 and l-t, since we postulate underlying patterns (measure n-1) nC_1aC_2aC_3, yinC_1iC_2iC_3 and (measure 1-t) C_1aC_2aC_3, yinC_1iC_2iC_3. Stress is then regular, e.g.: yinixwixd "it (m. sg.) is taken", yišttri(y) "he buys", but (i)nwxad "it (m. sg.) was taken", and (i)ståra "he bought" (for more detail, cf. V, 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).

Stressed articles were recorded in a story where bedouin speech was imitated: abūya bisi ilmi b ilmi "my father waters the water (meant as a riddle)". Notice however, that the article is il-, not al- like in most surrounding bedouin dialects.

2.1.1.1.
Stress on vowels preceding heavy sequences: mádrasa "school", mákta "office", hatakulna "she will eat us", wakalání "they fed me", inmha "her
mother", *iynadfu* "he cleans it (m. sg.)", *xayfin* "fearing (m. pl.)", *họsalatu* "its (m. sg.) gizzard", *ințawala* "elongated (f. sg.)", *yınıtfih* "it (m. sg.) is opened", *ințimir* "shut up! (lit. be buried!)", *yirîtmî(y)* "it (m. sg.) is thrown", *yîstîryu* "they buy".

2.1.1.2.1.

Stress in words without heavy sequences: *kâtab* "he wrote", *sîmi* "he heard", *riikab* "knees", *ṣîta* "winter", *mâratu* "his wife", *dâbaḫu* "he slaughtered him", *éğabatak* "she pleased you", *râgabatak* "your neck", *infâtah* "it was opened", *irtâma* "it (m. sg.) was thrown", *ilwâlad* "the boy", *issâgara* "the tree".

2.1.1.2.1.3.

Cf. V, 2.1.1.2.1.

2.1.1.2.1.6.

Resyllabication of *CaCaCV* sequences is not a feature of ‘AA.

2.1.1.2.2.

Cf. V, 2.1.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.1.

2.1.2.3.

In ‘AA -*i* (< *-*i*) is lengthened when suffixed, e.g.: *yîrmiha* "he throws it (f. sg.)", *bitsaxnih* "you (f. sg.) heat it", *bitlagîh* "you encounter it (m. sg.)", *agadîk* "I take you to court".

When suffixed with the f. morpheme *i* → *iyy* (< *iy*), e.g. *iwliyya* "woman", *ṣabiyya* "young girl", *şabiyya* "folk - (adj.)".

The reflex *-i* of older *-* (or *CA* *-*-*în*) is only stressed when suffixed and in an eligible position in nouns: *gâdi* "judge", *mâdi* "past", and lengthened in *araðîna* "our lands".

2.1.2.4.

The *gahawah*-syndrome is not of feature of ‘AA (cf. V, 2.2.2.1.).

2.1.2.5.

Not recorded in ‘AA.

2.1.3.1.

Stress units with the prep. *min* were not recorded in ‘AA.
2.1.3.2.1.

Enclisis of the prep. $l +$ suff. is regular in 'AA, e.g.: \textit{galāt-lu} "she said to him", \textit{iğāt-lu} "she came to him", \textit{ma tγul-ilhušš} "don't say it (m. sg.) to him", \textit{aşhār-ilha} "I dig for it (f. sg.)", \textit{basaww\texttt{ī}-lu} "I make for him", \textit{itガイilik} "she comes to you (f. sg.)", \textit{iyhuttülha} "they put for her".

2.1.3.2.2.

A remarkable example of enclitic suffixing of the prep. $b$ is \textit{miš faydā-b hāge} "it does not bring anything (i.e. it is not helpful)". No further examples of the enclitic use of $b$ were recorded in 'AA.

2.2. Phonotactics.

2.2.1.1.

The \textit{gahawah}-syndrome is not a feature of 'AA, e.g.: \textit{gahwa} "coffee", \textit{lahm} "meat" (\textit{lāhim}, and \textit{lāhimha} "her meat"), \textit{naxl} "palm trees" (\textit{naxil} #, and \textit{nāxilha} "her palm trees"), \textit{ahmar} "red", although clearly \textit{bāgār} "sea", and \textit{wāhada} "one (f. sg.)". This last example however may be a hybrid form of \textit{wāhida} and \textit{ahad}.

2.2.2.1.

The \textit{bukara}-syndrome was not noticed to create word-medial vowels in 'AA, but an example in sandhi is: \textit{fi țașir izzamān} "in the old days". Non-elision of high vowels due to the influence of $r$, morphophonemic or in sandhi, was not recorded in 'AA.

2.2.2.2.

The influence of $l$ may be responsible for the non-elision (in sandhi) of high vowels in such examples as: \textit{irrāgil illi} \ldots "the man who ..."

An example of morphophonemic non-elision of a high vowel is: \textit{bistařmilālu} "they use for it (m. sg.)".

2.2.2.3.

No instances of articulatory delay of $n$ were recorded in 'AA.

2.2.3.

Articulatory delay of $ç$ following geminates was not heard in 'AA.
2.3. Anaptyxis.

Rules described for group I also hold for 'AA.

2.3.1.

Examples as listed for group I may be heard in 'AA as well.

2.3.2.

Remarks made for group I also hold for 'AA.

2.3.2.2.

Base forms in 'AA are ihmär "donkey", iṣgūr "falcons", iṣgāra "cigarette", etc. The fact that the initial vowels should be considered to be part of the morphological base (and that they therefore have phonemic status) may be concluded from the fact that l of the preceding article does not assimilate to the "sunletters" following these initial vowels, e.g.: liṣgūr "the falcons", liṣgāra "the cigarette".

2.3.3.1.

Examples of unresolved clusters in 'AA: bintna "our daughter", šufiha "I saw her", šumt # "I fasted", bilwīg "it (m. sg.) pronounces the r as y (a speech defect)"891, gult-lak "I said to you", iwsilt # "I arrived", burtğān "oranges (coll.)".

These examples corroborate our findings for group I.

2.3.3.3.1.

Like in group I, geminates may, but need not be reduced when they form a cluster with a following consonant, e.g.: immha ~ imha "her mother", biddhum ~ bidhum "they want".

2.3.3.3.2.

Clusters formed by the preposition 'ind + consonant-initial suff. are unresolved in 'AA, e.g.: 'indna "with us", 'indha "with her", 'indku "with you (pl.)".

2.3.3.3.3.

The 2nd p. m. sg. pron. suffixes C-ak / ṭ-ḳ behave predictably in 'AA.

---

891 Cf. HINDS/BADAWI (1986), root l- w- q.
2.3.4.

Remarks made for group I hold for 'AA as well, with the exception of initial anaptyctics of group I; in 'AA these original anaptyctics are part of the morphological base, e.g. isgār "small, young (pl.)", ītyūr "birds". Forms found in group I such as rḳāb "knees", šīṭīy "winter" are rūḳāb and šīṭā in 'AA.

2.3.4.1.2.

Cf. examples in V, 2.4.1.

2.3.5.

Stressed original anaptyctics may be found in the prepositions b and l. When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes the forms are ībha "with her", ībna "with us", ībku "with you (pl.)", ībhum "with them", but when vowel-initial suffixes follow the stressed initial ī- is also present (through paradigmatic leveling): ību "with him", ībak "with you (m. sg.)", ībik "with you (f. sg.)", and ībi "with me". The forms with l are: īlu, īlha, etc. (cf. fn to I, 2.3.5.).

When the preposition l is enclitically suffixed, we may still hear the forms without the stressed anaptyctic, e.g. galāt-ilha "she said to her", gultlu "I said to him".

2.4. Elision of short vowels.

The rule described for group I holds for 'AA as well, and like group I, 'AA is "différentiel".

2.4.1.

Morphophonemic l-elision in 'AA takes place like in group I, e.g.: (ṣīrib + it → *ṣīribit →) ṣīribit "she drank", (gāhil + a → *gāhila →) gāhila "young (f. sg.)".

Examples with immediate subsequent anaptyxis (cf. V, 2.3.4.1.2.): (yīḡsil + u → *yīḡsilu →) yīḡsilu "they wash", buṭṛub + u → *buṭṛubu → buṭṭurbu "he hits him".

An example of a morphophonemic elision of i following a geminate: (naddif + u → *naddifu →) naddifu "clean it (m. sg.)!"

2.4.2.

Sandhi elision of l as described for group I also takes place in 'AA, e.g.: iyśālīḥ imlāku "he reconciliates the ghosts that control him (lit. his kings)", wālḍ ilwalad "the father of the boy".
2.4.3.

Since initial $i$ has been concluded to be part of the base forms in ‘AA (i.e. it is not an anaptyctic, cf. V, 2.3.2.4.), cyclicity of the $I$-elision rule in sandhi cannot be concluded here.

2.4.4.

Not recorded in ‘AA.

2.5. Assimilation.

Assimilations as reported in I, 2.5. (except those involving phonemes which are not part of the ‘AA inventory) may be heard in ‘AA as well.

The instances of total progressive assimilations involving initial -$h$ of pron. suffixes are not heard in ‘AA, e.g. $rāsha$ "her head", $wiṣ̣ha$ "her face", $kāssarat-hum$ "she shattered them", $aḥuṭha$ "I place it (f. sg.)", except $h + h \rightarrow ḫh$, as in $nīdab-ha$ "we slaughter it (f. sg.)".

3. Morphology.

3.1.1.1.

The pattern $*C_1aC_2iC_3$ has been morphologically restructured as $iC_1C_2iC_3$ mainly in those cases where $C_1 \neq X$: $iktir$ "much, many", $ikbir$ "large, old", $irfi'$ "thin", $itxin$ "fat", $indif$ "clean", $iṣ̣iřar$ "barley", $iṣ̣iğ" small, young", $iṣ̣riṭa$ "ribbon", $iğriḍ" palm leaves (coll.)", $iṭhin$ "flour", $iḍgiğ" flour". The $C_1aC_2iC_3$ pattern has been preserved in those cases where $C_1 = X$: $ḥadid$ "iron", $ḥagiga$ "truth", $i’Ariṣ$ "name of the town", $‘ağin$ "dough", $ḥażin" sad, mourning", $gasil" laundry", $xatib" fiancé", $xamira" yeast", $hazil" weak", but also $gadim$ "old", $rabi’" spring", $tarīg" road", $galil" little" (the latter two examples suggest that when $C_2 = L$ restructuring does not take place, although contrasting forms recorded are $iṣ̣riṭa" tape", and $iğriḍ" palm leaves")

3.1.1.3.

No raising in ‘AA: $battlx$ "watermelons (coll.)", $kabril$ "matches (coll.)", $sakklna$ "knife", $mandil" handkerchief".

3.1.1.4.

Raising of $a$ in $CaCCaC$ is regular in ‘AA, and occurs irrespective of the phonetic environment. Like in groups II and III, we may conclude that the two patterns $*C_1aC_2C_2āC_3$ and $*C_1aC_2C_3ān$ have been morphologically restructured
to be $*C_1iC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$ and $*C_1iC_2C_3\ddot{a}n$ (no instances of the vowel preceding $C_2$ being $u$ were recorded).

3.1.1.4.1.

Examples of $*C_1aC_2C_2\bar{a}C_3$: nissây "forgetful", giddâha "lighter (for cigarettes etc.)", tillâga "refrigerator", šiyyâd "fisherman".

3.1.1.4.2.

Examples of $*C_1aC_2C_3\ddot{a}n$: ʾišān "thirsty", ʾiryân "naked", wiğârn "painful".

3.1.1.5.

Raising of $a$ in $...C\ddot{a}C\ddot{a}C...$ is not a ʿAA feature, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.2.

3.1.1.6.

Raising of $a$ in $...C\bar{a}C\ddot{a}C...$ is not a ʿAA feature, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.2.

3.1.1.8.

No raising of $a$ in $CaC\ddot{u}C(ah)$ takes place in ʿAA, e.g.: xarûf "sheep (sg.)", ṣabûr "patient (adj.)", ʿarûs "bride". Also axûh "his brother", yîdbahûh "they slaughter it (m. sg.)", and bagûm "I get up").

3.1.1.9.

No examples were recorded in ʿAA.

3.1.2.

Reflexes of $*C_1aC_2C_3(ah)$ in ʿAA: fahm "coal", ǧidy "kid goat", taht "under", wiss "face", wâhada "one (f. sg.)", wakl ~ (ʾ)akl "food".

3.1.3.

A reflex of $*C_1aC_2iC_3(ah)$ in ʿAA: kalma "word".

3.1.4.

Reflexes of $*C_1uC_2C_3(ah)$ in ʿAA: bunn "coffee beans (coll.)", ruzz "rice", kull "every; all", kumm "sleeve", imm "mother", ʿuxt "sister", widn "ear", ǧumʿ a "Friday".
3.1.5.

The rule described for group I only holds in 'AA where \( V \) of \( *CICVC \) is \( \bar{v} \), or \( I \) is a stressed short vowel following (not necessarily directly) in a word, and not in \( *CICV \) where \( V \) is \( \bar{v} \).

Examples of elision are: \( ifr\dot{a}x \) "chickens", \( ikh\dot{a}r \) "large; old (pl.)", \( iw\dot{d}\dot{a}n \) "ears", \( ir\dot{s}\dot{a}\dot{s} \) "lead (metal)". Also in the \( iC_1C_2iC_3 \) reflexes of \( *C_1aC_2iC_3 \) (on preceding \( i \), cf. V, 2.3.2.4.): \( ik\dot{\ddot{t}}\dot{\ddot{u}}r \) "much; many", \( in\dot{d}if \) "clean".

A likely development for the last two examples is that \( *a \) was raised first, assimilating to the following stressed \( i \) (\( *C_1iC_2iC_3 \)), after which the resulting short high vowel became stable as such, and was consequently dropped (\( *C_1C_2iC_3 \)). This elision created a word-initial CC cluster which was then resolved, after which the anaptyctic resolving this cluster became stable in the morphologically restructured pattern (\( iC_1C_2iC_3 \)). This development did not take place in those forms where phonetic factors hindered the raising of \( *a \) of the original pattern.

Non-elision in: \( \text{\textit{ṣi\textipa{t}a}} \) "winter", \( \text{\textit{d}\textipa{ṣ}ra} \) "barley", \( \text{\textit{\'i\textipa{s}\textipa{a}}} \) "evening (prayer)"), and \( \text{\textit{r\textipa{\k{u}k\textipa{b}}}a} \) "knees", \( \text{\textit{h\textipa{\u{g}\textipa{n}}}a} \) "injections", \( \text{\textit{\'u\textipa{l}a}b} \) "tins", \( \text{\textit{h\textipa{n}a}} \) "here", \( \text{\textit{\'i\textipa{n}a}b} \) "grapes".

In examples like \( \text{\textit{b\textipa{i\textipa{b}a}n}} \) "doors", \( \text{\textit{\'\textipa{\d{e}r}a}n} \) "neighbours", the short vowel results from the reduction of the long vowel (here \( i \)) (cf. I, 1.2.2.4.).

3.1.6.

Apart from the current set (i.e. forms like \( \text{\textit{i\textipa{k\textipa{w}a\textipa{y}{\ddot{y}}}}a} \) "good", \( \text{\textit{i\textipa{\d{g}a\textipa{y}{\ddot{y}}}y}i}r \) "small; young", \( \text{\textit{\textipa{g}r\textipa{y}{\ddot{y}}}{\ddot{y}}i}b \) "near") diminutives are not regularly heard in 'AA.

3.1.7.

The pattern for nominals denoting colours and physical defects is \( aC_1C_2aC_3 \) in 'AA, e.g.: \( \text{\textit{\d{a}b\textipa{y}{\ddot{a}}\d{\ddot{a}}}} \) "white", \( \text{\textit{a\textipa{x}{\ddot{d}}\textipa{r}}} \) "green", \( \text{\textit{a\textipa{\z{a}{\ddot{r}}}{\ddot{g}}}a} \) "blue". 892 Corresponding f. sg. forms are \( \text{\textit{\d{b}e\textipa{\d{\ddot{a}}}}a} \), \( \text{\textit{x\textipa{d}{\ddot{a}}}\d{\ddot{r}}}a \), and \( \text{\textit{z\textipa{\d{a}{\ddot{r}}}g}}a \), and pl. forms are \( \text{\textit{\d{b}\textipa{i}{\ddot{\ddot{d}}}}} \), \( \text{\textit{xu\textipa{\d{\ddot{c}}}{\ddot{r}}}a \), and \( \text{\textit{zur}}g \).

Examples of physical defects: \( \text{\textit{\d{a}t\textipa{r}a}{\ddot{s}}} \) "deaf", \( \text{\textit{\d{x}{\ddot{r}}a}{\ddot{s}}} \) "mute". Corresponding f. sg. forms are \( \text{\textit{\d{\textipa{t}}\textipa{\d{\ddot{r}}}{\ddot{s}}a} \), \( \text{\textit{x\textipa{\d{\ddot{r}}}{\ddot{s}}}a \), and pl. forms are \( \text{\textit{\d{f}{\ddot{u}}r}a} \), \( \text{\textit{\d{x}{\ddot{u}}r}a} \).

3.1.8.

The elative patterns are like in group I, e.g.: \( \text{\textit{\d{a}k\textipa{t}a}r} \) "more; most", \( \text{\textit{\d{a}\textipa{\h{a}{\ddot{l}}}a} \) "sweeter; more beautiful", \( \text{\textit{\d{a}\textipa{x}{\d{\ddot{a}}}d\textipa{d}}} \) "more intense; most intense".

892 Like in \( Ca\textipa{A} \), \( \text{\textit{\textipa{\d{s}{\ddot{\d{w}}}}\textipa{d}}} \) "black" is more regularly euphemistically \( \text{\textipa{a}{\ddot{m}}a\textipa{r}} \).
3.1.9.1.

The article and the relative pronoun in 'AA are *il* and *illi* respectively. The allomorph of the article before vowel-initial nouns is often *l*, e.g.: *ilḥagiga"the truth", and *lisbū"illi* fāt itwaffa axūye # "last week my brother died".

3.1.9.2.

In 'AA imm "mother", *uxt"sister", and *ihna "we" are current. "Mouth" is *bugg or *hanak. But "how many/much?" is *ākam.

3.1.10.1.

T-rule 1 described for group I also holds in 'AA, but only when the T-vowel is in open syllable, e.g.: *hōsalatu"its (m. sg.) gizzard", *rāgabatak"your neck", *māratak"your wife". When the T-vowel is followed by CC within word-boundaries however, it is *i, e.g.: ragabitha"her neck".

3.1.10.2.

T-rule 2 described for group I also holds in 'AA, e.g.: *gillit innaḍâfa"the lack of hygiene", *sahhithum"their health", *biṭa"tu"his", *riḥīthath"her smell", *sinnth"my tooth".

In one instance the reflex of *-ā' was treated as T: *sahrit isSuwēs"the desert near (lit. of) Suez".

3.1.10.3.

The *gahawah-syndrome is not active in 'AA, e.g. *gahwa"coffee", *naxl"palm tree", but an exception is *bahar"sea".

3.1.10.4.

T following *ā is treated like in group I, e.g.: *wiḥyāt ʾēni!"I swear it is true! (lit. by the life of my eye!)".

3.1.10.5.

Like in group I, elision of the T-vowel in open syllable following *ā is occurs, but no elision of the vowel *a of the verbal ending -at in similar positions takes place, e.g.: *ibtā"tu"his", *nāgiti "my she-camel", *sāfatu "she saw him", *sālatu"she carried it (away)".
3.1.11.

The genitive marker in 'AA is ibtä', ibtä'a, ibtù', and also tä', tā'a, e.g.: il'umur tā'u "his age", ilmaniyya btä'tu "his death fate".

3.1.12.1.

Independent personal pronominals in 'AA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>&quot;he&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>&quot;she&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>&quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>&quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>&quot;I&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The forms hù and hî were also recorded, but occurred much less often.
*2) āna was also recorded, but occurred much less.

3.1.12.2.

Pronominal suffixes in 'AA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>C-u, ā-h*1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ā-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>C-ak, ā-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ā-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>C-ā, ā-ya (poss.)*3) / -ni (obj.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The 3rd p. m. sg. allomorph in negations is often -hu (and the ū of the negation is then doubled), e.g.: ma lhuššī 'ahšh "he does not have a father", ani ma ramēhušš(i) "I did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma ūramēhušš(i) "he did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma tištrihušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) buy it (m. sg.), ma tištriyušš(i) "don't (f. sg.) buy it (m. sg.), ma tištriyušš(i) "don't (f. pl.) buy it (m. sg.), ma tguhušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) say it (m. sg.)!", ma ūsthušš(i) "I did not see him".

Forms without the ā also occur, but are lesss regular, e.g. ma tguhušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) say it (m. sg.)!", ma ūsthušš(i) "I did not see him". Such forms without the initial ā - were considered to be characteristic of effeminate speech.
The forms with initial *h- appear to be a morphological hypercharacterization: h + uh. The šš must be an assimilated *hš, which would imply an older suffix *-uh: mā šuft + uh + š (like the "effeminate" forms). The extra h was then added to vowel-final verb forms (tertiae infirmae) as in mā ramahušš "he did not throw it (m. sg.)", from which a negated suffix -hušš was generalized, which could then spread to consonant-final verb forms (i.e. C₃ ≠ y): mā šuštihušš. 893

*2) Notice that 'AA does not have the invariable -ki(y) suffix characteristic of many surrounding bedouin dialects.

*3) The allomorph v-y was recorded once: abūy bisgi lmayya b ilmayya "my father waters the water with water".

3.1.13.1.

Demonstratives in 'AA. Near deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. hāda</td>
<td>c. hadōl (-a) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. hādi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. hadāk (-a)</td>
<td>c. hadlāk (-a) * ~ hadkīm (-ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. hadik (-a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice that the l of the pl. demonstrative is not doubled when it is non-final. An alternative dōl for the near deixis was also recorded.

3.1.13.2.

Specifying ha- is quite regular in 'AA, e.g.: lagu hālayyla 'indhum. lagu hālayyla šalūha w ġabūha tala haṛğamaż. min wèn igat ma yi'raʃūš. "They found this little girl with them. They found this little girl and took her away and brought her with them on this camel. From where she had come, they didn't know". 894

For "now" halhīn, ilhīn, and even alhīn (with the article al-) may be heard in 'AA.

893 In CaA we see a comparable hypercharacterization in the negation, e.g. ramā(h) "he threw it (m. sg.)", but ma ramahūš (rama+h+u+š) "he did not throw it (m. sg.)" (but ma alešš (< *ma 'alehš) instead of -ma 'alehūš for "never mind").

894 Cf. fn 462 to I, 3.1.13.2.
3.1.14.

Interrogatives in 'AA are: 1) mîn?, 2) ēš?*, 3) lēš?*, 4) wāgīš?, 5) wên? (∼ few instances of ūn?), 6) ?, 7) kef? (∼ twice izzāy?), 8) gaddēš?, 9) ākam?

* ē(h) and lē(h) were not recorded in 'AA. The interrogative ēš is also combined with the independent pronominals of the 3rd person, the ĕ of which is then assimilated to the preceding š, e.g.: ēšū "what is it?, ēšiyya "what is it (f.sg.)".

'ālām + pron. suff. was not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.1.

Adverbs in 'AA are:

1) ihnāk "there";
2) gād "over there", ġāy "this way, hither";
3) hīna "here";
4) ki'da "thus";
5) (h)alhīn ~ ilhīn "now" (∼ twice dilwagti)
6) lissa "still", or with neg. "(not) yet";
7) *minnu was not recorded in the meaning of "then, next";
8) *ūgub’ha was not recorded (but the conjunction 'ugub ma is regular).
9) ba’dēn "after that".

N.B. wala gād wala ġāy was recorded for "nowhere".

3.1.15.2.1.

*xāsallah and *xāf for "maybe" were not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.2.2.

*kūd for "maybe" was not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.3.

*bi’hel for "very, extremely" was not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.4.

bi’swēš "slowly, carefully" was heard in 'AA as well: dāsat ‘alēha bi’swēš "she carefully put her foot on her".
3.1.15.5.  
*min xöf la* for "lest" was also recorded in 'AA, e.g.: *gêd ḥadîd, tâ' liğmâl illî fi lbarî min xöf la vinsîrî byî'mîlûhum kurr riği*[^895] *îha ḥadîda zayy kida "an iron chain, (like that) of the camels in the desert, lest they be stolen they make for them... every leg has an iron (chain) like this."

3.1.16.  
Prepositions + pers. pron. suffixes in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l+[*1])</th>
<th>'ala+[*2])</th>
<th>ma‘a+[*3])</th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>min+[*4])</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>īlu</td>
<td>'alēh</td>
<td>ma‘āh</td>
<td>fih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>īlha</td>
<td>'alēha</td>
<td>ma‘āha</td>
<td>fiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ilak</td>
<td>'alēk</td>
<td>ma‘āk</td>
<td>fîk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>ilkî</td>
<td>'alēki</td>
<td>ma‘āki</td>
<td>fîki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>īli</td>
<td>'alayya</td>
<td>ma‘āya</td>
<td>fiyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>īlhum</td>
<td>'alēhum</td>
<td>ma‘āhum</td>
<td>fihum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>īkîw</td>
<td>'alēku</td>
<td>ma‘āku</td>
<td>fîku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>īlîna</td>
<td>'alēna</td>
<td>ma‘āna</td>
<td>fîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) A similar paradigm for b+: ību etc. When enclitically suffixed, the forms are without the stressed intial i-, e.g.: *galît-lu* "she said to him", *afhär-ilha* "I dig for her" (where i preceding l is anaptyctic). The independent prepositions are *la ~ li* and *b*, e.g.: *la wâlid "to a father", and biṣûf ib ēnu "he sees with his eye" (where the vowel preceding b is an anaptyctic). A negated example *ma lhuṣṣî 'aḥb* "he has no father" was also recorded (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).

*2) Both ‘a and ‘ala are used as independent forms, e.g.: ‘a tîl "immediately", ‘ala sağara "in (lit. on) a tree".

*3) The independent form is ma‘a.

*4) A similar paradigm for ‘an "from; about", e.g.: ‘annu, ‘anha, etc.

The preposition *taḥt* was recorded as *taḥtîth* "under it (m. sg.)". The preposition *‘ind* has a paradigm without anaptyctics, e.g.: *‘indku* "with you (c. pl.)", *‘indna* "with us". Both *ba‘d* and *‘ugb* were recorded for "after".

[^895]: *kurr riği* < *kull riği* (regressive assimilation).
3.1.17.1.

Independent cardinal numbers from one to ten recorded in 'AA are (dependent numbers follow in braces):

1. wāhid (m.)/wāhada (f.), 2. itnēn (c.), 3. talāta {talāt ~ tālat}, 4. ārba‘a {ārba‘}, 5. xamsa {xams}, 6. sitta {sitt}, 7. sab‘a {sab‘}, 8. tamānya {not recorded}, 9. tīs‘a {tis‘}, 10. ‘āsara {‘āsar}.

Recorded plural nouns which take a proclitic t- are: talat t-īyyām "three days", ārba‘ t-īrkān "four corners".

3.1.17.2.

Ordinals recorded in 'AA: awwal "first", tāni (f. tānya) "second", tālii "third", ṭābi‘ "fourth", āṣir "tenth".

3.1.17.3.

Numerals from 11-19 used independently end in -ā‘iš in 'AA, e.g.: ihḍā‘iš "eleven", ṭinā‘iš "twelve", xamisṭā‘iš "fifteen". When the counted noun follows they end in -āšar, e.g.: tamantāšar sana "eighteen years", although the fact that the ' is missing from this form may be due to koineizing influences.

tens: īśrin "twenty", talatin "thirty", sittin "sixty", etc.

hundreds: miyya, mitēn.

3.1.18.

The dual is formed like in group I, e.g.: sa‘tēn "two hours", saġaratēn "two trees", ġamalēn "two camels", yomēn "two days".

‘enēn ilwāhid "one's eyes", riġlēn "legs", idēn "hands", riġlēha "her legs", and ‘enēku "your (pl.) eyes", ‘enēna "our eyes", and riġlēhum "their legs" (all pseudo-duals).

3.2. Verbal morphology.

3.2.1.1.

The two underlying perf. patterns for measure 1 regular verbs are \( C_1iC_2iC_3 \), and \( C_1aC_2aC_3 \). For 'AA these yield the following conjugations:
The sedentary dialect of al’Artš

perf. "mount"     perf. "open"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>rɪkɪb</td>
<td>c. rɪkbu*1)</td>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>fātah</td>
<td>c. fātahu*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>rɪkbɪt*1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>fātahat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>iʁkɪbɪt*2)</td>
<td>c. iʁkɪbɪtu*2)</td>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>fātaht</td>
<td>c. fātahtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>iʁkɪbɪti*2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>fātahiti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>iʁkɪbɪ*2)</td>
<td>ɪʁkɪbna*2)</td>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>fātahna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice that, unlike older *C₁aC₂iC₃a verbs in DA, the raised reflex i of the older *a of the first syllable does not reappear in closed syllables in ‘AA.

*2) The underlying i of the first syllable of the base form is dropped in open unstressed syllables.

*3) Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the c. pl. verbal ending of the a-type perfect.

3.2.1.2.

The imperfect patterns for measure 1 regular verbs are yiC₁C₂aC₃, yuC₁C₂uC₃ and yiC₁C₂iC₃, with harmonized vowels of the imperfect prefix in the u- and i-types. These patterns yield the following conjugations:

Imperf.  "open"                  "sit"                  "grab"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>yɪfɪtah</td>
<td>c. yɪfɪtahu</td>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>yɪgʻud</td>
<td>c. yɪguʻdu</td>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>yɪmsik</td>
<td>c. yɪmsiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>tɪfɪtah</td>
<td>tɪgʻud</td>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>tɪmsik</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>tɪmsik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>tɪfɪtah</td>
<td>c. tɪfɪtahu</td>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>tɪgʻud</td>
<td>c. tɪguʻdu</td>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>tɪmsik</td>
<td>c. tɪmsiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>tɪfɪtah</td>
<td>tɪguʻdi</td>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>tɪmsiki</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>tɪmsiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>ɑfɪtah</td>
<td>nɪfɪtah</td>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>ágʻud</td>
<td>nugʻud</td>
<td>1.c</td>
<td>ámsik</td>
<td>nɪmsik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the prefixes of the a-type imperfect.

Verbs with C₁ = X will have one of the above-mentioned conjugations, e.g.: hiɪlim, yiɪlɪm "dream", ʒɑt̪as, yuɣtus "dive", ʒamal, yiɣmîl "make; do".

3.2.1.3.

Reflexes of CA *C₁aC₂uC₃, *yaC₁C₂uC₃ in ‘AA are: kitɪr, yikɪt̪ar "become many", kɪbir, yikɪbar "become big; grow Older", ʃɪgɪr, yɪʃɪg̱ar "become small".
3.2.1.4.

Active participles of measure 1 regular verbs are like in group I.

N.B. An active participle + object suffix does not form a construct state in 'AA, e.g.: *amlāḥ "having (f. sg.) done it (m. sg.)", ḥaṭṭāḥ "having (f. sg.) placed it (m. sg.)".

3.2.1.5.

Imperatives of regular verbs in 'AA: iftāh "open! (m. sg.)", iftāḥi "open (f. sg.)", iftiḥu "open! (c. pl.)"; úgʿud "sit down! (m. sg.)", úguʿdi "sit down! (f. sg.)", úguʿdu "sit down! (c. pl.)"; īmsik "take, grab! (m. sg.)", īmsiki "take, grab! (f. sg.)", īmsiku "take, grab! (c. pl.)".

3.2.2.1.

In 'AA the prefixes of the imperfect of the measure 1 irregular verbs $C_1 = w$ (prima wāw) have a diphthong iw, except in the 1st p. c. sg. (where it is initial aw- as in awṣal "I arrive", awzin "I weigh"), e.g.: yiwsalu "they arrive", tiwzin "she weighs".

Direct elicitation yielded yígaf as well as yiwgart "he stands up".

3.2.2.2.

An irregular verb $C_1 = y$ (prima yā') in 'AA: yibis, yēbas "dry (intrans.)".

3.2.2.3.

Irregular verbs $C_1 = *'$ (prima hamzah) in 'AA are: (')ākal, yākul "eat", and (')āxad, yāxūd "take".

The imperatives are: kul! (m. sg.), kuli! (f. sg.), kūlu! (c. pl.). Active participles are: wākil, wākla, waklin (and wāxid, etc.), but an 'Arāyši who is not from the Fawaxriyyah says (')ākil, (')ākla, (')aklin (and (')āxid, etc.).

Similarly, "food" is wakl among the Fawaxriyyah, but (')akl (and il'ākl with hamzah) among other 'Arayšiyah of the 'élit iWlād iSlêmān.
3.2.2.4.1.

"Say" in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>c. gâlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>gâlat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>c. gultu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>gulti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gulna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Remarks made for group I are valid for 'AA as well: bišîl ~ biyšîl, and biygûl ~ bigûl, but never •bšîl or •bgûl.

3.2.2.4.2.

Imperatives of mediae infirmae with short base vowels were not recorded in 'AA.

Imperatives used with the verb gâb, yjîb "bring" are: hât (m. sg.), hâti (f. sg.), hâtu (c. pl.).

3.2.2.4.3.

Active participles in 'AA: 'âyiz, 'âyza, 'ayzîn (or 'âwiz, 'âwza, 'awzîn).

3.2.2.5.1.

Tertiae infirmae in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;forget&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;find&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nîsî(y)</td>
<td>c. nîsyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>nîsyit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>insît</td>
<td>c. insitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>insîti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>insît</td>
<td>insîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Walk" has an i-type perfect mîsî(y) in 'AA.

N.B. Short high vowels in unstressed syllables of the i-type perfect are dropped in 'AA (like in BA of group III), cf. irdikt "I heard" (V, 3.2.2.1.), and are
therefore to be considered underlying lîl in 'AA as well (comparable to the situation in BA of group III and eŠA).

3.2.2.5.2.

Tertiae infirmae imperfect in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'AA</th>
<th></th>
<th>'AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>c. yînsa</td>
<td>yîmši</td>
<td>c. yîmšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>yînsu</td>
<td>tîmši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>tînsa</td>
<td>tîmši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tînsu</td>
<td>c. tîmšu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tînsa</td>
<td>tîmši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tînsi</td>
<td>tîmši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ánnsa</td>
<td>nînsa</td>
<td>ánmsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice that the final radical y is dropped in this i-type measure 1 (in contrast with measure 1-i, cf. V, 3.2.3.3.1.).

3.2.2.5.3.

Apocopated (m. sg.) imperatives, like in group I, were not recorded in 'AA. Instead: îmši! (m. sg.), and îmši! (f. sg.), îmšu! (m. pl.).

3.2.2.5.4.

Active participles in 'AA are: gâryi(y) (m. sg.), gârya (f. sg.), gâryin (c. pl.) "running". Pass. participles were not recorded.

3.2.2.5.5.

No verbal nouns were recorded in 'AA.

3.2.2.6.1.

"come" in 'AA*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'AA</th>
<th></th>
<th>'AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>iğa*</td>
<td>c. iğu*</td>
<td>yîği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>iğat*</td>
<td>tiği</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>iğët</td>
<td>c. iğëtu</td>
<td>tiği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>iğët</td>
<td>tiği</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>iğët</td>
<td>iğëna</td>
<td>âği</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms with a short initial (stressed) i- were also recorded, i.e. iğa "he came", iğat "she came", iğu "they came".
3.2.2.6.2.  
No imperatives of the verb "come" are available in the 'AA material.

3.2.2.6.3.  
In 'AA: ḡây, ḡâya, ḡayyín (the latter < *ḡâyîn).

3.2.2.7.1.  
"pull tight" in 'AA:

<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>m.</td>
<td>šâdd</td>
<td>c. šâddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>šâddat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>šâdêt</td>
<td>c. šâdêtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>šâdêti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>šâdêt</td>
<td>šâdêna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. The raising of a, as was observed in BaA (cf. I, 3.2.2.7.1.) and in group II (cf. II, 3.2.2.7.1.), does not take place in 'AA.

3.2.2.7.2.  
Imperatives show the base vowel of the imperfect: ḥuttî! (m. sg.), ḥuttî! (f. sg.), ḥuttî! (c. pl.) "put, place!" and šîddî! (m. sg.), šîddî! (f. sg.), šîddî! (c. pl.) "pull tight!".

3.2.2.7.3.  
Active participles of irregular verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) were not recorded in 'AA.

Passive participles have a maC$_1$C$_2$üC$_3$ pattern, e.g. maḥṭūt "placed".

3.2.3.1.1.  
Measure $n-1$ is the basic passive measure to measure 1. The preformative is $n$- for the perfect, with the underlying pattern naC$_1$CaC$_2$aC$_3$, and the imperfect pattern yinC$_1$iC$_2$iC$_3$. However, the high vowel preceding C$_2$ will immediately be dropped, and often an anaptyctic i will precede C$_1$ (cf. V, 2.1.1. for stress in these patterns), e.g.: (i)nwákâl, yínîwkîl "be eaten" (but in the speech of non- Fawaxriyyah itákal, yittákâl, cf. CaA (y)ittákîl), nbáṣât, yínîbsît "rejoice".

The high vowel in the second syllable is then stressed in eligible positions, e.g. yinsîrgû "they are stolen" (i.e. no a "reappears"). This is also the reason
why a basic pattern $yinC_1iC_2iC_3$ is preferred instead of $yinC_1iC_2iC_3$; rather than formulating a rule specifying the "sudden" appearance of the stressed $i$ in $yinsirgu$, we prefer to assume this high vowel as part of the morphological base, which is dropped synchronically in unstressed open syllables (i.e. in conformity with I, 2.3.1.), which implies that this high vowel is also an underlying $i$.

Like in measure 1-t (cf. V, 3.2.3.3.1.), when preceding $C$ or $#$ forms a cluster with the initial $nC_1$ of the perfect, this cluster will be eliminated by inserting an anaptyctic preceding the first consonant (here $n$) of the underlying form.

3.2.3.1.2.

In $n$-1 measures to medial geminate verbs we do have $a$ (which was never raised because it is always in closed syllables): (i)nhátt, yinhátt "be placed", (i)nkâbb, yinkâbb "be poured".

3.2.3.1.3.

In ‘AA the passive measure $n$-1 to medial weak verbs invariably have $a$ in perfect and imperfect, e.g.: inbâ’, yinbâ’ "be sold".

3.2.3.1.4.

The participle is formed with the pattern $minC_1aC_3$, e.g.: minbâ’ "sold".

3.2.3.2.

Measure $t$-1 verbs were not recorded in ‘AA.

3.2.3.3.1.

Like in measure $n$-1 (cf. V, 3.2.3.1.1.), the vowel in the syllable preceding the preformative may be stressed in eligible positions in the imperfect, but the (anaptyctic) vowel often preceding $C_1$ is not stressed in the perfect in measure 1-t. The underlying patterns are $C_1taC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yiC_1tiC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect. The high vowel $i$ preceding $C_2$ is immediately dropped when it is in open syllable, after which the resulting cluster will often be eliminated by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between $C_1$ and the $t$-infixed, e.g.: štâgal, yîstgil "work". When preceding $C$ or $#$ forms a cluster with the initial $C_1t$ of the perfect, this cluster will be eliminated by inserting an anaptyctic preceding the first vowel (here $C_1$) of the underlying form.
The i of the second syllable of the underlying imperfect pattern again is underlying il, i.e. no a "reappears" when its syllable is closed, and the i is stressed, as in e.g. yišṭāgīlu "they work".

Notice that in 'AA the final radical y of weak roots may close the syllable (as opposed to the final radical y in measure 1, cf. V, 3.2.2.5.2.): intu bišṭiryu "you (f. sg.) buy", humma bišṭiryu "they buy" (c. pl.), inu bišṭiryu "you buy (c. pl.)", itirīwyu "you (c. p.) drink water" (comparable forms in BaA, cf. I, 3.2.3.3.1.).

In the perfect there are no surprises (cf. V, 3.2.2.5.1.), e.g.: irtāwu "they drank water", ištāru "they bought".

3.2.3.3.2.

Measure 1-t medial weak verbs, like measure n-1, have an invariable ā (the patterns are (i)C1tāC3 and yiC1tāC3), e.g. irtāḥ, yirtāḥ "rest", and a short a when a consonant-initial verbal ending follows: irtāḥ "I rested", irtaḥtu "you (c. pl.) rested".

3.2.3.3.3.

Measure 1-t medial geminate verbs (C2 = C3) have an invariable short a in the perfect and imperfect (patterns (i)C1taC2C2, and yiC1taC2C2), e.g. irtadd, yirtadd "be returned".

3.2.3.3.4.

The measure 1-t pattern for the participle is miC1tiC2iC3, e.g.: mūrtfī', and (f. sg.) mūrtfī'a "raised, elevated".

Examples of participles of the mediae geminatae and mediae infirmae verbs were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.4.1.

Measure ista-1, like measure 2 (cf. V, 3.2.3.5.) has morphologically alternating a in perf., and i in imperf. The morphological pattern for the perf. is (i)staC1C2aC3, and for imperf. yistaC1C2iC3. E.g.: (i)staṭrab, yistaṭrib "find strange".

3.2.3.4.2.

Measure ista-1 verbs where C2 = y were not recorded in 'AA.
3.2.3.4.3.

An example of measure ista-1 verbs where $C_3 = y$ is istarxa, yistarxi "become soft (said with reference to dough)".

3.2.3.4.4.

Measure ista-1 where $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) verbs were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.4.5.

Measure ista-1 active participles are formed with the pattern mista$C_1C_2C_3$, e.g. mistraryiyh "rested", mistá'íghla (mista'ígh + a) "quick (f. sg.)". Other measure ista-1 participles were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.5.

Measure 2 has a morphological vowel distribution, and measure t-2 has morphologically fixed $a$ in 'AA. The morphological patterns are for measure 2: perfect $C_1aC_2C_3$, imperfect (i)$yC_1aC_2C_3$. For measure t-2 the patterns are: perfect (i)$tC_1aC_2C_3$, imperfect yit$C_1aC_2C_3$.

3.2.3.5.1.

Examples of measure 2 sound roots: saxxan, iysaxxin "heat", šayyih, iyšayyih "melt (trans.)".

Morphophonemic elision of the $i$ of the imperfect, and also its elision in sandhi is regular, e.g.: bitšayyih "you (f. sg.) melt it (m. sg.)".

3.2.3.5.3.

An example of measure 2 (originally) primae hamzah ($C_1 = $) verb is wakkal, iywakkil among the Fawaxriyyah. But (')$akkal, iy'akkil was also heard among non-Fawaxriyyah.

3.2.3.5.4.

Examples of the measure t-2 imperfect are: nitkallam "we speak", yitgawwaz "he is married", yitwaffa "he dies", batwanna "I wait (patiently)" (the latter originally a primae hamzah verb).

Examples of the perfect t-2 are: itkallam "he spoke", itgawwaz "he was married".
3.2.3.5.5.

The measure 2 verbal noun has the pattern $taC_1C_2C_3$, e.g.: $tandif$ "cleaning". A verbal noun of measure $t-2$ was not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.5.6.

Active participles of measure 2 are formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$, e.g.: $imnaddif$ "having cleaned". A passive participle is formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, e.g.: $imşadda'$ "having a headache", $imhammal$ "loaded up".

Active participles of measure $t-2$ are formed with the pattern $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$, e.g.: $mit'axra$ "backward".

3.2.3.6.

Like in measures 2 and $t-2$, the distribution of vowels in measures 3 and $t-3$ is morphological in 'AA: alternating $a$ and $i$ in 3, and fixed $a$ in $t-3$. The patterns for measure 3 are $C_1âC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $(i)yC_1âC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect. The patterns for $t-3$ are $(i)tC_1âC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $ytC_1âC_2aC_3$ for the imperfect.

3.2.3.6.1.

Examples of measure 3 are: $gâbal$, $ygâbil$ "meet", $hârab$, $iyhârib$ "wage war". An example of measure $t-3$ is: $itgâbal$, $yitgâbal$ "meet with each other".

3.2.3.6.2.

Active participles of measure 3 are formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1âC_2iC_3$, e.g.: $imlâgi$ "having found". Participles of measure $t-3$ were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.6.3.

Measures 3 and $t-3$ verbal nouns were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.7.

Measure 4 verbs were not recorded in 'AA.

3.2.3.8.

Measure 9 forms recorded in 'AA are: $ibtihmarr$ "they (f. sg.) turn red", $bixdarr$ "it (m. sg.) turns green".
3.2.3.9.

Quadriliteral verbs conjugate like measure 2 with the patterns (perfect) C₁aC₂C₃aC₄, and (imperfect) (i)yC₁aC₂C₃iC₄, e.g.: farfaš, iṣfarfiš "become lively".

Verbs considered typical for bedouin dialects with the inserted w before C₂ (i.e. the C₁awC₂aC₃, yC₁awC₂iC₃-type) were not recorded in 'AA.

Quadrilaterals with the (i)t- prefix were not recorded in 'AA.

4. Remarks on syntax.

4.1.

Instances of tanwīn (nunation) were not recorded in 'AA.

4.2.

Negation of the verb is regularly done with bi-partite ma . . . š(i). The use of the latter part ši is particularly frequent in 'AA, e.g.: ma ǧatš "she did not come". The 3rd p. m. sg. suff. -hu allomorph used in negation normally has doubled š, e.g.: ma ramethšsši "I did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma ʿisimhušši maʿšan "it is not called maʿšan (a bowl for kneading dough)" (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).

When the future particle precedes the verb form, the negation will be formed with preceding miš, e.g.: miš hatnām "you will not sleep".

The negation may be combined with ši "(lit.) a thing" (< *'ayy šay' "any thing"), where in surrounding dialects one may hear šiš or ḥāšš (the latter also current in 'AA), e.g.: ma biwsalšš šši "nothing reaches it (m. sg.)".

When extra emphasis is intended the single mā may be used, e.g.: mā li kalām maʿāk hina ǧer ʿind ilʿarab ilʿarba "I have nothing to say to you here but in the presence of the true bedouins", ʿifrāgil ʾilli mā bixallif "a (lit. the) man who produces no offspring".

Negations of prepositional phrases are regularly formed with ma . . . š, e.g. ma lūš ʿilāg "there is no cure for it (m. sg.)", ma lhušši ʿaḥḥ "he does not have a father".
The negation of nominals and participles may be formed with *miš* preceding the nominal, e.g.: *miš mawğūdah* "she is not present", but *ma ḥaddiš* (#) "nobody".

4.3.

Examples of the *b*-imperfect in 'AA: *ibnuṣud w ibnizra* 'we harvest and sow", *ʿenē ḫtihmarr* "his eyes turn red", *biynâm ikwayyis* "he sleeps well".

Examples of *bi*-* and *bu*-* in the 3rd p. (m. sg. and c. pl.): *bišikku* "they have doubts", *wislu ṭārāği līktīr īlti ħū ʿēh? (other speaker) bigdi. "they came to the old man who what? (other speaker) passes judgement", *budxul* "he enters", and *biḥuṭṭi tū* "they place".

N.B. Due to the absence of vowel harmony in prefixes of the *a*-type imperfect, *ha*-, as in *badbah* "I slaughter", is only used in the 1st p. c. sg.

4.4.

The future is expressed by using the *ha*-* morpheme (*ha*-* was not recorded) preceding the imperfect form, e.g.: *ani ḥṭala* 'a ḥtīta tānyē "I shall go to another place (lit. piece)", *hatakulna" she will eat us". Another option to express futurity is the use of suffixed *bidd* (cf. V, 4.11.).

4.5.

*ḥth* "there is/are" is used like in group I. The negation was recorded as *ma fis* or *ma fisš(i)* (*-māš was not heard) in 'AA.

4.6.1.

*lamma* is regularly used for "when", but was not recorded as *lamman*, or suffixed as in *lamannu* "when he". *yōm* was only recorded once in this sense, and the instance in which it occurred it was suffixed: *yominna" when we".

4.6.1.1.2.2.

One example with *yōm* was recorded in 'AA: *yominna binruggu" when we make it (m. sg.) flat (i.e. the dough)".

4.6.1.2.1.

An example of *lamma* used independently is: *lamma-ḡḡawwaz waḥada ṣabīyya, itwaffa huwwa" when (i.e. after) he had married a young girl, he died".


4.6.1.2.3.
An example of *lamma* used in the sense of "until" is: *bitsaxxnih ṭab' an* (other speaker) *lamma yṣîh w ilgêd yṣîr ahmar ahmar* "you heat it, of course (other speaker) until it melts, and the chain becomes red hot (lit. red red)".

4.6.2.
*hatta* was recorded only a few times in the sense of "until". It was not recorded in the sense of "so that" in 'AA, nor was it suffixed in the recorded instances of "until".

4.7.1.
*gām* used as a "marker of consequent action" was not recorded in 'AA, but the possibility of its occurrence in 'AA in the sense described in I, 4.7.1. should not be excluded at this stage.

4.7.2.
A number of instances of *rāḥ* used as an auxiliary were recorded in 'AA, but in all instances the sense of "go (away)" was still present. In the instances that were not 3rd p. m. sg. it was conjugated (with the 3rd p. m. sg. one cannot be certain), e.g.: *'immi rāḥit itḥārib fi ṭabbha* "my mother has gone to wage war on her Lord".

4.7.3.
*kān* in conditional sentences was only recorded in combination with preceding *iz* in 'AA. This *kān* was not suffixed in any of the recorded instances. *law* and *in* were used much more regularly.

4.7.3.1.4.
An example of *izkān* in 'AA is: *izkān b illél ṭer asmar, w izkān fi nnhâr ṭer abyāḍ* "if it is during the night (it is) a black bird, and if it is during the day (it is) a white bird".

4.7.3.2.
Conditional sentences without conditional particles were not recorded in 'AA.

4.8.1.
A presentative particle *ir'(a) or *ar'(a) was not recorded in 'AA.
4.8.2. A presentative particle *hāy or *hay was not recorded in 'AA.

4.8.3. A particle *wlin, *wilin (w + lin), or *win (w + in) was not recorded in 'AA.

4.8.4. A particle *wlā+ was not recorded in 'AA.

4.9. ġér is used in 'AA like reflexes of *gayr in group I, e.g.: gālu: 'ġér niwšal ilgādi' "they said: 'we must go to the judge'.

4.10. The intensifying particle *la was not heard in 'AA.

4.11. In 'AA bidd + suff. is current to express "want" or "need", e.g.: ėš bidāak? "what do you want?'

An example of the use of bidd expressing futurity is: biddna rrūḥ (< nrūḥ) nāxilna "we shall (or: want to) go to our palm trees".

An example of bidd expressing purpose is: iw ḥattu biddhum yitʿaššu "and they made camp to have dinner".

N.B. bidd expressing necessity from the perspective of the speaker or intended direction was not recorded in 'AA.

4.12. An example of the use of ʿād in 'AA is: gālat: 'bass midd ʿidak iw midd riḡlak, iw ʿalēk ʿahd Allāh ma adurrak.' maddu xayfīn ʿād ᵇīfī ġūla. "She said: 'just stretch out your hand, and stretch out your leg, and I swear by God that I shall not harm you.' So they stretched out (their hands and legs), they were afraid, (because she was) a ġūlah, you (f. sg.) see?".

896 The verb ḥaff, yhuff is also used in the meaning of "make camp", cf. fn. 658 to I, 4.11.
4.13.

An example of yigba in 'AA is: marad irrabî hâda byigba ger tâlî iw ma'â l'ayyil âtta yikbar "this disease of spring\textsuperscript{897} will then stay with the child until it grows up".


No instances of the narrative imperative were recorded in 'AA.

4.14.2.

An example of unconjugated kân in 'AA: īgat iw kân itgûl ... "she came and said ...".

In other cases, however, kân appeared conjugated as well, e.g.: kânu ġama'îtna birűlu "our (lit. group of) people used to go".

4.14.3.

No instances of the ethical dative were recorded in 'AA.

4.15.

The words fâs "hoe" and idrä "arm" were said to have the possible plurals fasât and fisân "hoes", and idra'ât and dur'ân "arms". I am not aware of any difference in the usage of these plurals.

4.16.

'AA does not have a separate pl. for the f. Instead, the original m. pl. now functions as a c. pl.

N.B. Some examples of the dual in concord with the c. pl. are: issaġaratên hadôl "these two trees", and lagêl ʿindha suʿatên ma lhumûs ħall "I found two questions with her to which there is no solution".

5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

The type of stress/pitch patterns reported for group I were not heard in 'AA.

\textsuperscript{897} In HINDS/BADAWI (1986), p. 324, ramad (lit. ophthalmia", of which marad could well be a folk etymological metathesis) rabî'î is listed as "inflammation of the eyes caused by an allergy to pollen etc., and occurring in the spring".
V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

Farther to the northeast of al'Aris on the Mediterranean coast lies the town of Gazzah (Gaza). The dialect of this town is described in SALONEN (1979 and 1980) (for the sake of brevity referred to here as 1979 and 1980 respectively) and remarks on this dialect in comparison with the dialect of al'Aris follow below. To make the comparison I have relied on the information provided by Salonen, although I have some doubts as to the Gazzâwiy origin (i.e. whether they are originally from the town of Gaza) of some of Salonen's informants (cf. remarks in fn 939).

Note that although the transcription used in Salonen's publications has been largely maintained here, a few changes, apart from the fact that transcriptions are now in italics, were made: Salonen's h appears here as x, and usage with respect to hyphenation, prepositions and the conjunction w is as outlined in A. III. e. Method of description.

ad. 1. Phonology.

ad. 1.1.2.

GA has interdental reflexes t and ð for *t and *d (in contrast with 'AA in V, 1.1.2.), although the texts do show quite a few instances of plosive reflexes for *t (mainly in numerals), e.g.: tālīte (1979, text I, 1.23, p. 6).

The reflex of *z is reported to be d. Salonen adds however, that the articulation of this phoneme is very often between z and ð, which makes it hard to decide which of the two is actually produced.\(^898\) If the reflex is indeed ð, the situation in GA would be the mirror image of the situation in BA where the only interdental reflex is the emphatic d (cf. III, 1.1.2.). If however, the reflex is actually a conceivable interdental ð (with minimal friction?), GA would have the set of interdental reflexes regularly found in bedouin dialects.

\(^898\) Cf. SALONEN (1979), pp. 38-9. The examples which are listed (transcribed there: z-zurûf "the circumstances", niẓām "system", and bi-i-dībat) with a clear z are best interpreted as K-forms (loaned from MSA); the lexemes in which z was heard are quite commonly heard with z in other dialects as well, including those that have ð as a reflex for d and ð (cf. this study, chapters I-V, 1.1.2.). Compare also bi i-dībat in CaA, where one might have expected *bi i-dībat. Cf. also remarks in PALVA (1984), p. 7. In the case of zugan' "my youth" (1980, text VII, 1.1, p. 8) we are most probably dealing with a back formation of zīr (pl. zīr) (assimilation < *sīr (pl. *sīr)) "little, young".
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

Notice however, that Bergsträsser reports stops \( t \), \( d \) and \( d \) as reflexes for the interdentals in \( GA \).

ad. 1.1.3.

The \( GA \) reflexes for \( *q \) and \( *k \) are \( g \) and \( k \) respectively, e.g.: (for \( *q \)) ygulla "he says to her" (1980, text I, ll. 3-4, p. 6), gabl "before" (1980, text VI, l. 1, p. 8), and (for \( *k \)) kân "there was (m. sg.)" (1980, text II, l. 1, p. 6), iktir "much" (ibid. l. 2), kull "every" (ibid., l. 4), unnik "your (f. sg.) mother" (1980, text I, l. 15, p. 6).

Exceptions are heard in loans, e.g. quwwát "forces" (1980, text III, l. 2, p. 7), and burtuqiyye "Portuguese" (ibid. ll. 6-7), and bunduqiyye "rifle" (1980, text IV, l. 8, p. 7).

Although Bergsträsser reports \( k \) for \( *k \) as well, he reports \( ' \) for \( *q \) in \( GA \).

ad. 1.1.4.

The \( GA \) reflex for \( *' \) is \( g \), e.g.: yiğmaç "he gathers" (1980, text I, l. 12, p. 6), ğeş "army" (1980, text IV, l. 7, p. 7).

However, Bergsträsser reports \( z \) for \( GA \).

ad. 1.1.6.

Like in 'AA, the reflex for \( *' \) in \( *sa'al \) is \( ' \), e.g. yis'alni (1980, text VII, ll. 6-7, p. 8), but unlike in 'AA, \( *' \) has a \( ' \) reflex in 'äklät "dishes" (1979, text I, l. 19, p. 5) and 'äkel "food" (1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10). "Family" was recorded as 'êli or 'èle (1979, text II, l. 33, p. 6 and 1979, text VII, l. 22, p. 10), but also (in a higher register) 'â'tîle (1979, text V, l. 28, p. 10). "Minaret" was reported as mèdne (with a dropped \( a \)) (twice in 1980, text XVII, ll. 108-9, p. 20), "he eats" is yakul (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.3.), and "head" occurs as râs (1979, text III, l. 25, p. 7) (pl. rûs, ibid. l. 26, p. 8).

ad. 1.1.7.

As far as the spread of (secondary) velarization in \( GA \) is concerned, not much can be gathered from Salonen's publications, since such velarization is not indicated in the transcription of the texts. For example, "head" is transcribed as

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899 Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 1.
900 Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), maps 3 and 4 respectively.
901 Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 2.
902 The context is: \( w \ 'ida min näfs al'aîle "and if [she is] from the same family", where the interdental in \( 'ida \) is also an indication that the speaker is using a higher register.
rās (1979, text III, l. 25, p. 7); there is a good chance that this is realized as I.P.A. [raːs], but it might also be [raːs].

ad. 1.2. Vowels.

ad. 1.2.2.1. Some phonetic overlapping of ē and ɪ is apparent from instances such as kīf "how" (1979, text I, l. 20, p. 5) ~ kēf (1980, text XVII, l. 183, p. 23), nās tānyên "other people" (1979, text VII, l. 3, p. 10), āsnēn "years" (1979, text V, l. 3, p. 8) ~ āsnīn (1979, text V, l. 4, p. 8).

ad. 1.2.2.2. Some phonetic overlapping of ŏ and ŭ appears to occur. Examples are: bya'rfōs "they don't know" (1979, text VI, l. 6, p. 9), ūda "room" (1980, text X, l. 54, p. 12), but the number of such instances in the GA texts is limited.

ad. 1.2.2.3. A feature described as very typical of GA is the limited raising of a and ā to ā and ŋ in neutral positions.⁹⁰³ Like in ‘AA, such raising of the short a in GA is limited, and not conditioned by the a being in open syllable preceding A (i.e. stressed ă or ā), cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.1. and 1.2.3.4.3.2.

Like in ‘AA, raising of long ā is limited in GA as well (cf. V, 1.2.2.3.), although a number of instances recorded in GA show more extreme raising, e.g.: bëxod "I take" (1979, text VII, l. 10, p. 10), mṭabbagēt "mṭabbag pastry" (1979, text XI, l. 15 and l. 17, p. 14), firēn "mice" (1979, text XI, l. 38, p. 15), lägehā "he found her" (1979, text XI, l. 13 p. 14).

ad. 1.2.2.4. The shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions does occur in GA, but is apparently less regular than in ‘AA. Examples of shortening of long vowels in GA are: ēʃ įzāmānūt "in the old days" (1979, text XI, l. 2, p. 14), sālāmūt "greetings" (1979, text XI, l. 25, p. 14). However, instances in which such shortening does not occur are much more regular. Examples are: sātūra "meat cleaver" (1979, text III, l. 22, p. 7), mārāğiː "swings" (1979, text IV, l. 2, p. 8), ḥāğiː "things" (1979, text V, l. 16, p. 9).

⁹⁰³ Cf. ibid., p. 40. I interpret ā and ŋ in Salonen’s transcription as raised and perhaps slightly centralized a and ā, which would be between I.P.A. [ɛ] - [æ] and [ɛː] - [æː] respectively.
ad. 1.2.3.2.

Examples of mediae geminatae verbs show that the distribution of high vowels largely conforms to the phonetical conditioning described in I, 1.2.3.2.: Examples of *i* as imperf. vowel (sometimes transcribed as *e*) are: *yṣidd* "he pulls" (1979, text IX, l. 3, p. 12) (but also *ṣaddu ‘ala xêlku* "saddle up your horses" (1980, text XVII, l. 83, p. 20)), *yleff* "he goes around" (1979, text XIII, l. 4, p. 17) (but also *hilaff* "he rolls (a cigarette)" (1980, text X, l. 20, p. 11)), *alimm* "I gather" (1980, text I, l. 16, p. 6), *bitkibb* "you throw down" (1980, text XVI, l. 31, p. 16).

Examples of *u* as imperf. vowel are: *ta-huttlu* "so that I put for him" (1979, text XI, ll. 21-2, p. 14) (but also *yṭtib* "he puts" (1979, text IX, l. 24, p. 13)), *yxuṣš* "he enters" (1979, text XIII, l. 7, p. 17), *bimurr* "he passes by" (1980, text II, l. 5, p. 6), *aiuxx* "I shoot" (1980, text X, l. 59, p. 12), *ntušš* "(here) we set out" (1980, text XVII, l. 25, p. 18).

An originally measure 4 verb with *u* is: *ytullu* "they have a look" (1979, text XI, l. 63, p. 15), but we have *i* in *yhibb* "he loves" (twice in 1980, text XVI, l. 37, p. 17 and 1980, text XVII, l. 159, p. 22).

From these examples we may conclude a partial lack of phonemic distinction between the high vowels *i* and *u*.

ad. 1.2.3.4.3.

On the raising of *a*, cf. remarks in V, ad. 1.2.2.3.

ad. 1.2.3.4.3.3.

In pause the word-final -*a* tends to be raised to -*e* in GA, and a higher degree of raising towards -*i* is attributed to influences of other dialects. The degree of raising of *T* in GA towards [e] is thus comparable to the raising of *T* in ʿAA, although such raising (towards [e] ~ [e]) in ʿAA, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.3.) is less regular than in GA. Also, the texts show a good number of instances where such raising occurs in sentence-medial positions, e.g.: *ṣzzalame* (1980, text XI, l. 3, p. 12), *ḥkāye ǧarība* # "a strange story" (1980, text XIV, l. 8, p. 15), *ḥalḥabbe mottākle* # "this bit had been eaten" (1980, text XVII, l. 10, p. 18).

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ad. 1.2.4.1.

Like in ‘AA diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized in all positions in GA (e.g. xēl "horses", hōš "court"), except in those cases where forms would no longer have been morphologically transparent, e.g. ‘awdāh "clearer", mawğūd "present".905

ad. 1.2.4.4.

Like in ‘AA, reflexes of final *-â(’) are raised like T, e.g. (sentence-medial) assitā "the winter" (1980, text II, l. 5, p. 6). Raising remains absent in ṣassāhra #906 "the desert" (1980, text II, l. 11, p. 6) and (sentence-medial) bēda "white (f. sg.)" (1979, text VII, l. 4, p. 10). Instances of reflexes of *-â(’) in non-velarized environments in pause are hīna # (1980, text I, l. 4, p. 6) and ḥablā (probably a misprint for ḥūbla, cf. CA *hublā) "pregnant" (1980, text XII, l. 4., p. 14), and ġada # "lunch" (1980, text XI, l. 2, p. 12), which suggests that treatment of the *-â(’) in GA will be like that of T with regard to raising in pause.

Final -a of the 3rd p. f. sg. possessive pron. -ha or -a (!) (*-hā) in non-velarized environments is not raised higher than -ā (not only in pause), but such raising may also remain absent, e.g.: (in sentence-medial position) 'ismhā "its (f. sg.) name" (1979, text XV, l. 3, p. 18). (sentence-medial) ġābūhā "they brought her" (1979, text VII, l. 24, p. 11), gātālā # "he killed her" (1979, text II, l. 11, p. 6), wiğha # (1979, text VII, l. 10, p. 10) "(lit.) her face". Similarly, raising of the final -a of the 1st p. c. pl. poss. pron. -na (*-nā) is not higher than ă (I presume this to be around I.P.A. [e]) or absent, e.g.: (ʔ)i’ā’dāʾ tabaʾīnna # "our enemies" (1979, text V, l. 23, p. 9). The verbal ending -na (*-nā) of the 1st p. c. pl. perfect is not being raised higher than ā either, e.g.: zhigna "we had more than our fill" (1980, text XVII, l. 75, p. 19), māyyānā "we turned" (1980, text XI, l. 16, p. 13).

In one instance suffixed *-ā was treated as -āh (-âT): ma’nātu "its (m. sg.) meaning" (1979, text II, l. 42, p. 7).

ad. 1.2.4.6.2.2.

A morphologically patterned diphthong iw does not appear to be current in GA. Instead, instances in GA where one would expect iw in ‘AA are: nūṣal "we arrive" (1980, text VII, l. 5, p. 9), ā’u "beware! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII.

906 Salonen does not indicate secondary velarization in his transcription. In this case velarization of s must have spread to r (→ ṭ), which inhibited raising.
Remarks on the dialect of ûazzah (Gaza). 505

1. In addition, morphological base forms forms like ‘AA iwläd with initial iw- are less likely in GA, since we have forms like ǝzzgär "the young (pl.)" (1979, text III, l. 8, p. 7), ǝzzgîr "the young" (1979, text III, l. 12, p. 7), ǝssläh "the weapons" (1979, text IX, l. 5, p. 12), and ǝrrgâl "the men" (1979, text XIII, l. 6, p. 17), not lişgär, lişgîr, lišläh, and liťgâl like in ‘AA (cf. V, 2.3.2.4.). The implication of such forms is that initial CC does occur in morphophonemic base forms in GA. Therefore a high vowel preceding a sequence wCv is more likely to be an anaptyctic than a phoneme of the base form.

ad. 2. Stress and phonotactics.

ad. 2.1.1.

Salonen's publications do not offer a clear picture with regard to word-stress. There are, however, indications that the exception made in ‘AA for the 1-t verbal measure (and then also in the n-1 measure, cf. V, 2.1.1.) is made in GA as well: (measure 1-t) bontgel "she is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 7, p. 8, and l. 15, p. 9) would be bínigîl in ‘AA; stress is of the máktaba-type (also evident from a form like byorgçu "they dance" (1979, text VII, l. 5, p. 10)907, and the preformative of the 1-t imperf. is stressed in eligible positions, whereas the preformative of the perfect is excepted from the stress rule, as is illustrated by the (measure n-1) forms ǝnharag, and in the same line nharag "it was burnt" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6), and ǝštâgal "he worked" (1980, text X, l. 4, p. 10).

Forms like ‘ala īgämäl "on the camel" (1979, text VII, l. 28, p. 11), ǝlmara "the woman" (1979, text XI, l. 9, p. 14), ǝlwalad (1979, text XIV, l. 7, p. 17) are indications that in GA, like in ‘AA, the article is not a stressable unit.

In sequences CaCaCv stress is most probably on the vowel of the first syllable; would it have been on the vowel of the second syllable, then elisions of the (stressed) a (in e.g. hašlet, ‘aklat) as described in V, ad. 2.4. are much less likely to occur.

ad. 2.1.1.2.1.6.

Like in ‘AA resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences does not occur in GA, e.g.: ǝzzâlâme "the man" (1979, text II, l. 7, p. 6), ǝşgâra "tree" (1979, text II, l. 26, p. 6).

907 In some cases Salonen makes a point of indicating stress where it is apparently not predictable, e.g. manzâra "its (f. sg.) appearance" (twice in 1979, text II, l. 29, p. 6). Here it is presumably manzar + a (3rd p. f. sg. pron. suffix), cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.2.
ad. 2.1.3.2.1.

Enclisis of the suffixed preposition ʕ (of which the independent form is la) is as regular in ʕA as it is in ʕA, e.g. gālat-ʕu "she said to him" (1979, text XI, l. 20, p. 14) and hāṭṭā-ʕu "having put (f. sg.) for him" (1979, text XI, l. 11, p. 14).

ad. 2.2. Phonotactics.

ad. 2.2.1.1.

The gahawah - syndrome is not active in ʕA, nor in ʕA, although a few forms may suggest otherwise: yḥakīni "he tells me" (1980, text XVI, l. 8, p. 16), šahar "month" (1980, text XVII, l. 15 and l. 18, p. 18), bahar "sea" (1980, text X, l. 32, p. 11).

However, the majority of examples indicate that the gahawah - syndrome is not active. Verb forms are: ʕahfad "I memorize" (1980, text VII, l. 14, p. 9), ʕahkilak "I tell you" (1980, text VIII, l. 1, p. 9), and btaʿrafi* "you (f. sg.) know" (1980, text IX, l. 4, p. 9). Nominals are: gahwe "coffee" (1979, text X, l. 8, p. 13), ʕahri "my back" (1980, text VII, l. 10, p. 8), ahlu "his family" (1980, text XII, l. 12, p. 14), ʕahs "young donkey" (1980, text XIII, l. 4, p. 14), and a measure 1 past part. mahbūs "imprisoned" (1979, text II, l. 6, p. 6).

* N.B. The example btaʿrafi might suggest that ʕA has vowel harmony in the prefixes of the a-type imperfect of measure 1. That this is not the case becomes clear when we consider examples like: mā byīšbaʾš "he does not eat his fill" (1980, text X, l. 45, p. 11), yigdar "he can" (1980, text XI, l. 29, p. 13).

ad. 2.3. Anaptyxis.

ad. 2.3.3.3.1.

Elision of ʕ in sequences vC_sC_sIC_bV (→ vC_sC_sC_bV, where C_sC_a is a geminate) also occurs in ʕA, but Salonen does not report (or indicate in his transcription) a subsequent reduction of the geminate in such cases. Examples

908 Cf. Salonen (1980), p. 47, where a number of instances of the ethical dative are listed.
909 A shortened ā in (measure 3) yḥakīni, cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.4.
910 Salonen often writes ā for a high vowel which has a lower realization due to the influence of neighbouring X. Other such examples with neighbouring ā are yaʿīšhum "he gives them" (1979, text VII, l. 30, p. 11), ʿašrīn "twenty" (1979, text VII, l. 24, p. 11), maʾītha "having given her" (1980, text XIII, l. 5, p. 14).
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Ḥazzāh (Gaza).

from the ḤA texts are: ūnāyymūḥa "they let her sleep" (1979, text XI, l. 52, p. 15), mṣaṭūsā "having (f. sg.) strangled it (m. sg.)" (1979, text XI, l. 58, p. 15). An example where I-elision does not precede: lūffhen "he wrapped them (f. pl.)" (1979, text X, l. 20, p. 13).

It is likely however, that the geminate in such clusters is (at least) phonetically reduced.

ad. 2.3.5.

Like in 'AA (cf. V, 2.3.5.) stressed original anaptyctics may be heard in the suffixed preposition la, e.g. 'alūk "you have (lit. to you)" (1980, text XV, l. 13, p. 15), 'ilak (1980, text XVII, l. 210, p. 23). Notice, however, that the enclitically suffixed forms do not have such an initial (stressed) vowel, e.g. mūllātlak "she filled (lit. for you)" (1980, text XVII, l. 70, p. 19), and since the form gūlilhā "I said to her" (1980, text IX, l. 3 and 5, p. 9) is not written as gūli qilhā (or something similar), we may conclude that it is stressed gūlilhā, in which q is an anaptyctic. The conclusion is that the allomorph of the prep. "for" used for enclitic sufficing is l.

Another form in ḤA is ṣṣîtā "the winter" (twice in 1980, text II, l. 1 and 5, p. 6), which is a form heard in 'AA as well (cf. V, 2.3.4.). The likely implication of this form is that in ḤA one would also have forms like 'īnāb "grapes", rūkāb "knees", etc.

ad. 2.4. Elision of short vowels.

Like in 'AA (cf. V, 2.4.), short high vowels in ḤA are dropped in open syllables, e.g.: (elision of the high vowel in unstressed open syllable) hūnāra "she-donkey" (1979, text XIV, l. 14, p. 17), but notice here that in ḤA the morphological base form has initial CC where 'AA has initial iCC- (cf. V, 2.3.2.4.).

An example of a morphophonemic elision in open syllable is: šil'ītī "(lit.) it (f. sg.) came up to me" (1979, text IX, l. 11, p. 12).

A morphophonemic elision of the high vowel with subsequent anaptyxis to resolve the resulting cluster: bilābsūs "they do not wear" (1979, text XIII, l. 10, p. 17).

A morphophonemic elision of the high vowel without subsequent anaptyxis to resolve the resulting cluster: yzaqrīn "they (f.) ululate" (1979, text VII, l. 11, p. 10).

A morphophonemic elision of a high vowel in open syllable following a geminate: yḡammʿūhum "they gather them" (1979, text IX, l. 6, p. 12).
However, \( GA \) is apparently not as "différentiel" with regard to the elision of short vowels as 'AA; short a is dropped in word-medial positions in a considerable number of instances as well. Examples are: \( rægbütu \) "his neck" (1979, text VIII, l. 2 and 10, p. 11), \( rægbetäk \) "your neck" (1979, text VIII, l. 14, p. 12), ankasrat "it (f. sg.) was broken" (1979, text IX, l. 5, p. 13), 'amłatthin "she made them (f. pl.)" (1979, text XI, l. 17, p. 14), 'axdäthum "she took them" (1980, text XVII, l. 41, p. 18), 'åklät "she ate" (1980, text XVII, l. 154, p. 22), mä darbatläk "she did not hit (lit. for you)" (1980, text XVII, l. 197, p. 23), haslet "it (f. sg.) happened" (1980, text V, l. 13, p. 8). All the preceding instances show the elision of a in a sequence \( CaC_{-}Ca \). This elision does not however, occur consistently in comparable forms, and there is no discernable pattern as to which forms do show such a-elision, and which do not, e.g.: 'jjakarat "she thought" (1980, text I, l. 14, p. 6), xašaba "piece of wood" (1980, text XI, l. 31, p. 13), several instances of zalama or zälämä "man" (e.g. 1980, text X, l. 38, p. 11, and 1980, text XI, l. 3, p. 12), xalagattam "she gave birth to them (lit. created them)" (1980, text 14, l. 15, p. 15), 'axäqet "she started (lit. took)" (1980, text XVII, l. 72, p. 19).

Additional instances of a-elision in sequences other than \( CaCaCa \) are: 
\( ţasslätha \) "she washed it (f. sg.) thoroughly" (1980, text XVII, l. 13, p. 18) contrasting with labbasathum "she dressed them" (1980, text XVII, l. 42, p. 18), 
\( ǧamä'tak \) "your group of people" (1980, text 14, l. 1, p. 15) contrasting with sā'atën "two hours" (1980, text 14, ll. 10-11, p. 15), and a sandhi elision of a in mä gdart "I could not" (1980, text XI, l. 22, p. 13).

ad. 2.5. Assimilation.

Unlike my 'AA material, Salonen's \( GA \) material shows a few instances of initial h- of a pron. suffix assimilating to the preceding voiceless consonant t: 
\( ǧabbartta \) "I set it (f. sg.) (of a broken bone)" (1980, text IX, l. 29, p. 10), 
\( garētta \) "I recited it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVI, l. 16, p. 16). In one example we may even see h- of the suffix assimilate to a preceding voiced consonant: 
\( mäxidda \) (mäxid + ha) "having (m. sg.) taken her" (1980, text XII, l. 4, p. 14). This last example is quite exceptional, and the question is whether this should perhaps be interpreted as mäxida, i.e. mäxid + a (cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.2.).
ad. 3. Morphology.

ad. 3.1.1.1.

Like in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.1.1.), in those cases where \( C_1 \neq X \), \( a \) has often been dropped from the pattern \( *C_1aC_2iC_3 \), but in GA this pattern has been morphologically restructured as \( C_1C_2iC_3 \) (as opposed to \( iC_1C_2iC_3 \) in ‘AA). This underlying pattern in GA can be concluded from the form \( azzgîr "the young" \) (1979, text III, l. 12, p. 7). Other examples are: \( kîr "many" \) (1979, text II, l. 4, p. 5), \( kbîr "large, old" \) (1979, text III, l. 13, p. 7), \( ġğdîde "the new (f. sg.)" \) (1979, text I, l. 15, p. 5), \( b'iđe "far" \) (1980, text IV, l. 5-6, p. 7), \( mlîh "good, fine" \) (1980, text X, l. 33, p. 11), \( fiîra "loaf of (a type of pizza) bread" \) (1980, text X, l. 37, p. 11), \( rgîf "loaf of (flat) bread" \) (1979, text XI, l. 34, p. 13).

And like in ‘AA, the \( a \) has not been dropped from the pattern in those cases where \( C_1 = X \), e.g.: \( hadîd "iron" \) (1979, text VIII, l. 21, p. 12), \( ʿazîz "dear" \) (1980, text XVII, l. 56, p. 19), \( ʿarîs "groom" \) (1979, text VI, l. 2, p. 9), \( ǧâriba "stranger (f.)" \) (1979, text VI, l. 27, p. 10), \( hamîr "donkeys (coll.)" \) (1980, text XIII, l. 2, p. 14), \( ǧasîl "laundry" \) (1980, text XVII, l. 89, p. 20).

Other exceptions show that the development of the pattern \( C_1aC_2iC_3 > C_1C_2iC_3 \) is not entirely regular: \( ba'iđ "far" \) (1979, text VIII, l. 19, p. 12), \( gadîmî "old (f. sg.)" \) (1979, text I, l. 14, p. 5), \( ʾnâṣîbi "my share (of fate)" \) (1979, text IX, l. 11, p. 12), \( marîdă "ill (f. sg.)" \) (1979, text XII, l. 2, p. 16), \( mâdinî "town" \) (1979, text XIII, l. 2, p. 16), \( ǧîdîd "new" \) (1980, text XVI, l. 31, p. 16), \( ʾwâliyye "woman" \) (1980, text XVII, l. 13, p. 18), \( ʾtârîg "road" \) (1980, text XVII, l. 139, p. 21).

ad. 3.1.1.4.

Raising of the short \( a \) in the patterns \( C_1aC_2C_3ān \) and \( C_1aC_2C_3āC_3 \) occurs in GA, but is nowhere near as regular as in ‘AA. Two examples of such raising are \( kîslân "lazy" \) (1980, text VII, l. 7, p. 8) and \( ẓâffâra "whistle" \) (1980, text XVII, l. 31, p. 18), but there is no (significant) raising in \( zâḥgān "fed up" \) (1979, text XIII, l. 6, p. 14), \( mâlîyānā "full" \) (1980, text X, l. 58, p. 12), \( ʾshâbān "satiated" \) (1980, text X, l. 61, p. 12), \( ʾaṭšān "thirsty" \) (1979, text XI, l. 21, p. 14), \( ʾayyānî "ill (f. sg.)" \) (1979, text XII, l. 3, p. 16), \( ʾaryān "naked" \) (1979, text XIII, l. 11, p. 17), and \( fâllāḥîn "farmers" \) (1979, text I, l. 6, p. 5).

\[^{\text{911}}\] Elision of \( a \) in this pattern is perhaps putting it too simple. The process is described in more detail in V, 3.1.5.

ad. 3.1.1.8.

Like in ‘AA, raising of a in the pattern C₁aC₂uC₃ does not appear to be current in GA, e.g.: xarūf "lamb" (1979, text XI, l. 37, p. 15), ‘aġūz "old (of a woman)" (1979, text XI, l. 64, p. 16), ‘arūs "bride" (1979, text VII, l. 1, p. 10), and examples where the influence of preceding X cannot be held responsible for the absence of such raising is yahūd "Jews" (once in 1979, text II, l. 3, p. 5; twice in 1979, text V, l. 22, p. 9), and sabūʾ "celebration of a wedding seven days after the ceremony" (1979, text VII, l. 36, p. 11).

ad. 3.1.6.

Like in ‘AA, diminutive patterns are not used frequently in GA.

ad. 3.1.7.

In GA the pattern aC₁C₂aC₃ is used for colours, e.g. ‘abyaḍ "white" (1979, text IX, l. 21, p. 13), of which the f. sg. form is (pattern C₁aC₂C₃a) bēda (with unstressed final -a) (1979, text VII, l. 4, p. 10). Other examples are xaḍra "green (f. sg.)", samra "brown (f. sg.)" (both in 1979, text II, l. 27, p. 6).

An example of adjectives used for physical defects is xārsā "deaf" (notice the s instead of š, cf. fn 264 to I, 2.1.1.2.1.2.) (1980, text I, l. 2, p. 6). In ‘AA we find the same patterns in use.

ad. 3.1.8.

Elatives reported for GA are like in ‘AA, e.g.: ‘awḍaḥ "clearer / clearest" (1979, text I, l. 16, p. 5), ‘ahamm "more important / most important" (1979, text VII, l. 29, p. 11).

ad. 3.1.9.1.

Like in ‘AA, the article is il- (cf. 1979 and 1980, passim, often transcribed as al-), and the relative pronoun is illi (1979, text VIII, l. 10, p. 11) in GA. In addition, Salonen mentions (cf. 1980, p. 49) il, yallli and halli as less frequent relative pronouns.

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912 Cf. SALONEN (1980), p. 49. In addition one may also hear the shorter form l, yalli (< ya + illi) and halli (< ha + illi) in GA.
Like in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.13.2.) the frequent use of "specifying" ha- preceding the article in GA is noteworthy\(^{913}\) (cf. many instances in 1980, XVII).

ad. 3.1.9.2.

Recorded in GA: \(\omega mm\) (e.g. 1979, text II, l. 7, p. 6) (~ once \(\omega mm\) (1979, text III, l. 10, p. 7) and once \(\omega mm\) (1980, text XIV, l. 15, p. 15)) "mother", \(oxt\) (1979, text VI, l. 10, p. 9) "sister", and \(\omega h\eta \, \sim \, \omega h\eta\) "we" (1979, p. 40).

The plural of \(\omega \delta a\) "room" (1980, text X, l. 54, p. 12) was recorded as \('\omega wad\) (1980, text XVII, l. 93, p. 21).

ad. 3.1.10.1., 3.1.10.2. and 3.1.10.4.

With regard to the feminine suffix (T) in construct state in GA: instances in the texts suggest that the T-rules for ‘AA are basically the same in GA: when T is preceded by a in open syllable, T will be -at, unless the T-vowel is followed by CC within word-boundaries, in which case it will be -it (often transcribed as -et).

Examples are: \(t\alpha n\gamma r\alpha t \, m\gamma \eta \gamma e\) "a kettle of water" (1979, text X, l. 15, p. 13), \(s\alpha n\alpha t \, 1962\) "the year 1962" (1980, text III, l. 1, p. 7), \(m\alpha d\alpha r\alpha s\, t \, X\alpha n \, Y\alpha n\alpha t\) "the school in Xân Yûnis" (1979, text IX, l. 14, p. 9), \(m\alpha r\alpha t\, t\) "his wife" (1979, text XII, l. 2, p. 13).

There are a few special cases though: \(m\alpha r\alpha t\, t\) "his wife" (1979, text III, l. 1, p. 7), \(r\alpha g\beta \alpha t\) "your neck", \(r\alpha g\beta e\tau k\) "your neck" (both in 1979, text VIII, ll. 14-5, p. 12). The first two of these are best explained as \(r\alpha g\beta aT \, + \, -u\) and \(m\alpha r\alpha T \, + \, -u\), after which the preceding a in open syllable may be dropped (but cf. the contrasting form \(m\alpha r\alpha t\) above). The form \(r\alpha g\beta e\tau k\) (with e) is not clear to me, but four other comparable instances in the same text show a instead of e, which makes the form with e stand out as the exception.

An example of the T-vowel preceded by a, but in closed syllable: \(m\alpha d\alpha r\alpha s\, t\, n\alpha t\) "our school" (twice in 1980, text IX, l. 14, p. 9).

In cases where it is not preceded by an a in open syllable, T will be -it (also transcribed as -et or -et), of which the vowel is dropped or stressed in eligible positions: \(g\alpha s\gamma s\, t\, m\alpha d\alpha r\alpha s\) "the story of the school" (1979, text II, ll. 2-3, p. 5), \(\dot{s}\, w\alpha y\alpha t\, \dot{\eta}l\nu\) "a bit of candy" (1979, text III, l. 11, p. 7), \(t\, \alpha m\alpha m\) "my aunt" (1980, text XVII, l. 75, p. 19), \(t\, \alpha m\alpha m\, t\) "our aunt" (1980, text XVII, l. 119, p. 21), \(r\alpha g\beta s\, t\, \ell\alpha \, r\alpha s\) "the wedding dance" (1979, text VII, ll. 1-2, p. 10).

\(^{913}\) Cf. SALONEN (1979), p. 46, where it is also reported that hal- can also occur functioning as a definite article. Cf. also ibid. (1980), p. 48, where hal- is said to often be better translated with the German indefinite article "ein, eine" (English "a").
Remarks on the dialect of ‘Arūsto (Gaza).

Exceptions may be found here as well: lä ḡāyat ma "until" (1979, text V, l. 2, p. 8), qaryati "my village" (1980, text V, l. 2, p. 7). The latter two examples are probably best interpreted as loans from MSA (notice also the q instead of the regular g reflex). Another exception is sāʿatēn "two hours" (twice in 1980, text XIV, ll. 10-11, p. 15) which contrasts with a more predictable ḡamāʿak "your group of people" (1980, text XIV, l. 1, p. 15).

An example of T in construct state preceded by Ṙ is wa ḥyāt 'ābūy "by the life of my father!" (1980, text XVII, l. 131, p. 21).

ad. 3.1.11.

Salonen reports that the construct state is used much more frequently in GA than annexation with the genitive markers btā, tā, taba and māl (the former two of these are also heard in ‘AA). Such a preference for the construct state is not a ‘AA feature. (cf. V, 3.1.11.).

ad. 3.1.12.1.915

An important difference between ‘AA morphology and that of GA is that GA has a distinction m./f. in the plural, while ‘AA uses the original m. pl. as a c. pl. In GA we thus have two additional pers. pronominals: intin ~ inten (2nd p. f. pl.) and hinne (3rd p. f. pl.). Other differences are (cf. V, 3.1.12.1.):
- Apparently āni is less frequent in GA than in ‘AA
- The forms hā and hi are more frequent in GA than in ‘AA
- GA has an alternative nohna, and also aḥna occurs. Bergsträsser however, only gives a form without initial n-.917

ad. 3.1.12.2.918

The main difference with ‘AA is again that GA has the f. pl. forms of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl.: -kin ~ kun and -hin ~ -hun ~ -un (but cf. remark below). Other differences are:

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915 Cf. ibid., pp. 40-1.
916 Although this does not seem to be so in all cases, as is illustrated by kānu lbanāt gḍāf ḡwayye "the girls were a little weak" (1980, text IX, ll. 19-20, p. 10).
917 Cf. BERGSTÄSSER (1915), map 14.
- GA has a ʷ-y allomorph for the 1st p. c. sg., only recorded once in 'AA.
- GA has a C-a allomorph for the 3rd p. f. sg., and a C-um allomorph for the 3rd p. m. pl. (both without initial h-).

There are indications that this -a suffix, although it is not vowel-initial, does attract stress onto a preceding vowel, e.g. mangéra "its (f. sg.) appearance" (twice in 1979, text II, l. 29, p. 6), and mâxidda "having taken her" (1980, text XII, l. 4, p. 14) should perhaps read mâxída, since assimilation of h to a preceding voiced consonant is not very likely (cf. remarks in V, ad. 2.5.). The same would then be true for the -um suffix.

Important similarities between 'AA and GA are:
- Both 'AA and GA have -u for the 3rd p. m. sg.
- Neither dialect has an invariable -ki for the 2nd p. f. sg. ⁹¹⁹
- The 1st p. sg. suffixes -i and -ni are unstressed in both 'AA and GA.

An additional similarity with 'AA seems to be the 3rd p. m. sg. pron. suffix -u in combination with a negation; like in 'AA, the u is (usually) not lengthened when followed by the ṣ of the negation, e.g. an mā 'aḡabatos "if she does not please him" (1979, text VI, l. 8, p. 9), bo'rfos "he does not know him" (1979, text VI, l. 24, p. 10), and a comparable bya'rfus "he does not know him" (1980, text XIV, l. 4, p. 15). These forms are much like the 'AA forms that were considered typical of effeminate speech. A difference between the 'AA and GA examples however, is that Salonen does not indicate doubling of the final ṣ in these cases. One would expect stress on u (or o) in these cases, but since it is not indicated, no conclusion will be drawn here other than that these forms are almost like those heard 'AA.

The allomorphs -o, -kum, -kun, -hun, -un, and -hon are labeled "not typical" of GA, and are ascribed to the influence of speakers not originally from Gaza.

ad. 3.1.13.1.

Apart from the presence of interdentals in GA, demonstratives heard in 'AA may also be heard in GA. In addition, GA has the (less frequent, and mainly in pause) shorter forms (m. sg.) hāḍ, hā and (f. sg.) ḥāyy ~ ḥāy for near

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⁹¹⁹ Although a few instances in GA do show this invariable -ki (which is heard in many northern Sinai dialects, cf. other chapters 3.1.12.2.), e.g. kalsōnik ~ kalsōnki "your (f. sg.) knickers" (cf. SALONEN (1979), p. 42), this allomorph is the exception rather than the rule.
Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

deixis (cf. however V, ad. 4.8.2.), (c. pl.) hādolāk for far deixis, and only (f. sg.) hadīk (without final -a) for far deixis.

Like in ‘AA, the non-final l in the pl. forms is not doubled: (near deixis) hadōla, and (far deixis) hādolāk ~ hādlāk.920

3.1.13.2.

The notably frequent use of specifying ha- preceding the article has already been referred to above (cf. V, ad. 3.1.9.1.).

ad. 3.1.14.921

Like in ‘AA, the GA interrogative mīn? "who?" has a long vowel. For "what?" GA has ēš? or šū? (both regularly sentence-initial), but the latter was not heard in ‘AA. "Why?" was recorded as la ēš?, la šū? and lēš? (1980, p. 59) (only lēš? in ‘AA); "where?" is wēn? ~ wayn? (1980, p. 58); "when?" is wagtēš? (1980, p. 57); "how?" is kif? (1980, p. 58) ~ kēf? (1980, p. 59); "how much?" is guddēš? (1980, p. 59); "how many?" is kam? (1980, p. 59) (ákam? in ‘AA).

SALONEN (1979), p. 47, gives ēši (without doubling of the ū) a form comparable to the forms ēššū? and ēššiyya? "what is it?" heard in ‘AA. The more typically bedouin interrogative ‘alām + suffix does not appear in the GA texts.

ad. 3.1.15.1.

There is a good deal of variation in the use of adverbs in GA. Some differences between GA and ‘AA with regard to adverbs (cf. V, 3.1.15.1) are:

- ‘AA ihnâk "there" was recorded in GA as henāki (1980, text VIII, l. 5, p. 9), hināk (1980, text XIII, l. 3, p. 14), hnāk (1979, text VII, l. 23, p. 11), and hanāka (1980, text XVII, l. 77, p. 19).
- ‘AA gād "over there" was recorded as gādi (1979, text XIII, l. 5, p. 17) in GA, and also lagād (perhaps la gād?) "further" was recorded (1980, p. 58). ‘AA gāy "this way, hither" was not recorded in GA.
- ‘AA hi'na "here" was also recorded in GA as hîna (1980, text I, l. 4, p. 6). Other forms in GA are: hena (1979, text XIII, l. 6, p. 17), hôn (1979, text VIII, l. 23, p. 12), hăn (1979, text XI, l. 68, p. 16), hën (1979, text XII, l. 7, p. 16), hâna (1980, text XVII, l. 82, p. 20).

920 Cf. Palva’s remark on NWA dialects in fn 461 of this study.
Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

- 'AA kîda "thus" is not regular in GA. Instead hêk is (1980, text XI, l. 30, p. 13) (hêk was not recorded in 'AA).
- 'AA (h)allîn ~ ilhîn "now" was not recorded in GA. Instead we have halla' (1979, text II, l. 23, p. 6), hessâ (1980, text I, l. 17, p. 6), hassa (1980, text XVII, l. 99, p. 20).²²²
- 'AA lissa "still", or with neg. "(not) yet" was also recorded in GA as lissa (1980, text XVII, l. 88, p. 20), and as assâ (1980, text XVII, l. 61, p. 19) (compare ssâ in group I).
- minus "then, next" was not recorded in GA.
- úgubha was not recorded in GA or in 'AA. The conjunction úgub ma (which occurs in 'AA) was not recorded in GA.
- 'AA ba’dên "after that" is current in GA as well (1979, text V, l. 4, p. 8).

ad. 3.1.16.

Prepositions recorded in GA as compared to 'AA are²²³:

- The preposition "to, for" is treated like in 'AA. It has an independent form la (~ less frequently li). When suffixed the l has a stressed i- (often transcribed as a) preformative, e.g. ñlu "to him", 'ilhâ. When the suffixed preposition is itself enclitically suffixed, this stressed preformative is absent, e.g. gâldt-lu "she said to him", but an anaptyctic vowel may appear in its place to resolve clusters resulting from such enclitic suffixing, e.g. gâldt-ilha "she said to him".

- The indepedent form of the preposition "with" appears to be b (although Salonen also gives bi, most of his examples show b, e.g. bi-z-zêt would be b izzêt "with (the) oil" in the transcription used in this study). Salonen does not report suffixed forms, or enclitic suffixing of this preposition in GA.

- Like in 'AA, the preposition "on" has the independent forms 'ala and 'a. When suffixed the final a (of 'ala) → e, e.g. 'alêki "on you (f. sg.)".

- The regular independent forms for "with" are ma' and ma'a in GA (in 'AA only ma'a). When suffixed final a (of ma'a) is lengthened → å, e.g. ma'âha "with her" (same in 'AA). Exceptions were however also recorded, e.g.: ma'êki "with you (f. sg.)" (1980, text I, l. 17, p. 6), ma'û "(lit.) with him" (1980, text IV, l. 7, p. 7), ma'i "with me" (1980, text V, l. 13, p. 8).

- Like in 'AA, the preposition "in" has an independent form fi. When suffixed the i is lengthened → i, e.g. fiha "in her".

²²² Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 27, only reports hal'êt for GA.
²²³ Cf. SALONEN (1979), pp. 50-6.
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

- The prepositions "from" and "from, about" have the respective independent forms min and 'an (like in 'AA). The final n is doubled when these prepositions are suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, e.g. 'annu "about him". The independent form mnə is reported to be rarer, and I assume that this means that the vowel of min is dropped in sandhi (Salonen gives the example mnə-s-siğin "from (the) jail", which would be (# i) mn issiğin # in the transcription used in this study).

Salonen does not report doubling of n for suffixed min, but it is likely that this occurs in GA as well.

- The preposition "with", which appears as 'ind in 'AA, has the GA forms 'and (more seldomly transcribed as 'ind) and 'and. When suffixed with the 1st p.c. pl. pron. suffix -na, the d of the preposition is dropped e.g. 'andna ~ 'anna "with us" (in 'AA the d is not fully released either), and with other consonant-initial suffixes no anaptyctic is inserted, e.g. 'andhum "they have (lit. with them)" (1980, text XI, l. 16, p. 13).

- The preposition "after" is ba'd in GA, 'ugb was not recorded in GA (both occur in 'AA).

ad. 3.1.17.

A f. form for "two", not recorded in 'AA, was recorded in GA as in îdë attintên "his two hands" (1980, text X, l. 27, p. 11).

Other numerals are basically the same as those recorded in 'AA (cf. V, 3.1.17.), except that high vowels in the contiguity of X may have lower (transcribed as a) realizations, and that unstressed long vowels have usually remained long. Also, in spite of regular interdental reflexes in GA, numerals often have plosive reflexes instead, e.g. tölättn "thirty" (1980, text VI, ll. 1-2), p. 8), tâmânyâ (notice also the short â preceding the n) "eight" (1980, text VII, l. 3, p. 8). Another difference with 'AA is the f. form for "one": wâhde in GA (1980, text V, l. 4, p. 7) (and like in 'AA "someone (f.)" is wahada (1979, text XI, l. 1, p. 14)), and a was dropped in sandhi in the example tâlt âsnîn "three years" (1979, text III, l. 13, p. 7).

Examples of (originally *a-initial) pl. nouns taking a proclitic t-: 'âșar t-tirğfe "ten loaves of (flat) bread" (1980, text X, l. 45, p. 11), 'arba' t-iyyâm "four days" (1980, text XVII, ll. 189-190, p. 23).

GA ordinal numbers are like in 'AA, e.g.: awwal "first" (1979, text VI, l. 1. p 9); tâni (transcribed as tâni) "second" (1979, text II, l. 16, p. 6), tâlit "third" (f. sg. tâlte recorded) (1979, text II, l. 23, p. 6), râbi' "fourth" (recorded
as ṛābeʾ (1979, text VIII, l. 24, p. 12), sādis "sixth" (recorded as sādes) and sābiʾ "seventh" (recorded as sābeʾ) (the latter two in 1980, text XVI, l. 7, p. 16).

Like in 'AA, the numerals from 11-19 preceding the counted noun end in (velarized?) -ar, but the ṣ has not been dropped from these forms, e.g. xamšaʾšar sene "fifteen years" (in 'AA tamantšar "eighteen" was recorded). Numerals not followed by the counted noun end in -qʾiš in 'AA, and a comparable form recorded in GA is ṯatš "twelve" (1979, text XIII, l. 3, p. 17).

ad. 3.1.18.

Like in 'AA, the dual is formed with the suffix -en, e.g. giršen "two piastres" (1979, text XIV, l. 25, p. 18) and sāʾatēn "two hours" (1980, text IVX, l. 10, p. 15). When suffixed, the final -n of a pseudo-dual is dropped, e.g. idē ihtintēn "his two hands" (1980, text X, l. 27, p. 11) (in the transcription used in this study this would read idēh ihtintēn).

ad. 3.2. Verbal morphology.

Like in nominal morphology, a major difference with 'AA is that GA has a f./m. distinction in the pl. where 'AA uses a c. pl.

ad. 3.2.1.1.

Like in 'AA, the two underlying perf. patterns for measure 1 regular verbs are C1C2iC3, and C1aC2aC3. For GA these yield the following conjugations:

perf. "drink"*1)                           perf. "open"*4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>širibu*2)</td>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>fātaḥ</td>
<td>fātaḥu*5)*6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>šīrbat*2)</td>
<td>šīrbin</td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>fātaḥat*5)</td>
<td>fātaḥin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>šīrbīt*3)</td>
<td>šīrbītā*3)</td>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>fātaḥt</td>
<td>fātaḥtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>šīrbīt*3)</td>
<td>šīrbītin</td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>fātaḥti</td>
<td>fātaḥin*6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>šīrbīt*3)</td>
<td>šīrbīna*3)</td>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>fātaḥt</td>
<td>fātaḥna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Salonen does not list a conjugation of the i-type perfect. The conjugation such as it appears here was generalized from the texts, although ambiguous or contradictory forms also occurred.
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

Like in 'AA, the raised reflex i of older *a of the first syllable does not reappear in closed syllables in GA. Examples are: kābru "they grew up" (1980, text XVII, l. 24, p. 18), mà 'irfū₃hāš "they did not recognize her" (1980, text XVII, l. 40, p. 18). The 3rd p. f. sg. ending appears to be -ar²⁴ (-it in 'AA). Examples are: ʿerfatu "she recognized him" (1980, text XVII, l. 142, p. 21).

Like in 'AA, the underlying i of the first syllable of the base form is dropped in open unstressed syllables. Examples are: smīt "I heard" (1979, text XII, l. 15, p. 16), lābna "we played" (1980, text IX, l. 12, p. 9), zhigna "we have had enough (of something)" (1980, text XVII, l. 75, p. 19), wǧīfī "you (f. sg.) stopped" (1980, text XVII, l. 113, p. 21), šūbti "you (f. sg.) drank" (1980, text XVII, l. 112, p. 21), but a form contradicting this generalization is ṭawfīr "I fell" (1980, text IX, l. 28, p. 10).


In this conjugation the possible elision of a in open syllable is not reflected (cf. remarks above in V, ad. 2.4.).

Like in 'AA, vowel harmony in the m. pl. verbal ending of the a-type perfect is absent. Lack of vowel harmony in the f. pl. suffix was also assumed here, although I have not come across instances to substantiate this; there is a chance that the ending is actually -an.

ad. 3.2.1.2.

Like in 'AA (cf. V, 3.2.1.2.) the imperfect patterns for measure 1 regular verbs are yiC₁C₂aC₃, yuC₁C₂uC₃, and yiC₁C₂iC₃, with harmonized vowels of the imperfect prefix in the u- and i-types. These patterns yield the following conjugations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperf.</th>
<th>&quot;open&quot;*1</th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;*2</th>
<th>&quot;grab&quot;*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>yiftah</td>
<td>yiftahu*3</td>
<td>yūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tifiah</td>
<td>tifiahin*4</td>
<td>tūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tifihā</td>
<td>tifihān*3</td>
<td>tūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tifihāti3</td>
<td>tifihātin*4</td>
<td>tīmsik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>āftah</td>
<td>nifihā</td>
<td>āg'ud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not entirely certain, since forms like ṭāl'et (1980, text XVII, l. 109, p. 20), riq'et "she returned" (1979, text IV, l. 9, p. 8) are ambiguous, and forms like til'ītu (1979, text VIII, l. 12, p. 11) and til'ītu (1979, text IX, l. 11, p. 12) contradict this generalization, whereas til'ātu (1979, text VIII, l. 1, p. 11) confirms it.
The conjugation of the \( a \)-type imperfect such as it appears here has been generalized from the texts, since such a conjugation is not listed by Salonen.

Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the prefixes of the \( a \)-type imperfect. Examples are:  
- \( \text{tiṭāḥ} \) "she opens" (1979, text V, l. 2, p. 8),  
- \( \text{yiqṣāb} \) "he drinks" (1979, text X, l. 9, p. 13),  
- \( \text{būṭṭaḥi} \) "they (s.g.) go out" (1979, text XI, l. 62, p. 15),  
- \( \text{tiṭāḥak} \) "she laughs" (1979, text XII, l. 6, p. 16),  
- \( \text{yiqṣālāni} \) (with hamzah) "he asks me" (1980, text VII, l. 7, p. 8).

Forms like \( \text{byaṣmālu} \) "they make" (1979, text VII, l. 35-6) seem to contradict the generalization made here, but the influence of \( ʕ \) is likely to be responsible for the lowering of the high vowel of the prefix (cf. remarks in fn 909 to V, ad. 2.2.1.1.).

Conjugations of the \( i \)-type (\( \text{yiktīb} \) "he writes") and \( u \)-type (\( \text{yuḍrub} \) "he hits") imperfects are listed in 1979, p. 49, as \( b \)-imperfects.

In addition to the 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. ending -\( u \) and the 2nd p. f. sg. ending -\( i \), Salonen reports -\( ān \) and -\( ān (!) \) respectively, which is strong evidence of North Arabian (i.e. Nağdiy) bedouin influences.

The ending -\( ān \), without vowel harmony, is not entirely certain; it might be -\( an \).

Verbs with \( C_1 = X \) will have one of the above-mentioned conjugations, e.g.:  
- \( \text{tiṭāgin} \) "she kneads" (1980, text XI, l. 22 p. 13),  
- \( \text{tixbex} \) "she bakes" (1980, text XI, l. 23, p. 13),  
- \( \text{byaḥbalen} \) "they (f.) become pregnant" (1980, text XVII, l. 1 p. 17),  
- \( \text{boxtbo} \) "he proposes" (1979, text VI, l. 1, p. 9),  
- \( \text{boḥḍarūś} \) "they do not attend" (1979, text VI, l. 27, p. 10).

A perfect form in GA of \( *C_1aC_2uC_3, *yaC_1C_2uC_3 \) is: \( \text{kabru} \) "they grew up" (1980, text XVII, l. 24, p. 18). The comparable 'AA form would be \( \text{kibrū} \).

An imperfect identical to the 'AA form is \( \text{tikbar} \) "it (f. sg.) grows bigger" (three instances in 1979, text VIII, l. 2, p. 11).

GA active participles are like in 'AA, e.g.:  
- \( \text{sākēn} \) "living" (1980, text IV, l. 1., p. 7),  
- \( \text{ḥāfed} \) "having memorized" (1980, text VII, l. 6, p. 8),  
- \( \text{ṭārfe} \) "(lit.) knowing (f. sg.)" (1980, text XI, l. 12, p. 12),  
- \( \text{ṭārba} \) "(lit.) having (f. sg.) hit" (1979, text XIV, l. 11, p. 17),  
- \( \text{miš ṭārfinu} \) "they do not know him" (1979, text XVI, l. 3, p. 18).
N.B. A f. sg. active participle + object suffix does not form a construct state in GA (like in 'AA). Examples are: *mfaqtsa "having (f. sg.) strangled it (m. sg.)" (1979, text XI, 1. 58, p. 15), and *msallma(h) "having (f. sg.) handed over to him" (1980, text X, ll. 5-6, p. 10).

ad. 3.2.1.5.

Examples of imperatives of regular verbs in GA are like those heard in 'AA (cf. V, 3.2.1.5.): *iftah "open! (m. sg.)" (1980, text VII, 1. 8, p. 8), *'iskti "be (f. sg.) silent!" (1980, text XVII, 1. 123, p. 21), but also *'uskut "be (m. sg.) silent!" (1979, text XIII, 1. 17, p. 17), and *'ug'ud "sit down!" (1980, text X, 1. 56, p. 12).

ad. 3.2.2.1.

A diphthong *iw heard in measure 1 irregular verbs C₁ = w (primae wāw) in 'AA does not appear to be current in GA. Instead, we have the GA forms nūṣal "we arrive" (1980, text VII, 1. 5, p. 9), *ū'u "beware! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, 1. 77, p. 19).

Another primae wāw verb form is *yigef (1980, text X, 1. 28, p. 11) (compare *yigaf in 'AA).

ad. 3.2.2.3.

The perfect and imperfect of irregular verbs C₁ = *' (primae hamzah) in GA are like in 'AA: *ākal, yākul "eat", and *āxad, yāxud "take". Examples are: *'akalu "he ate him" (1980, text VI, 1. 14, p. 8), *'axadet (1980, text IX, 1. 24, p. 10), yāxod "he eats" (1980, text VIII, 1. 3, p. 9), nāxud "we take" (1980, text X, 1. 34, p. 11).

Notice however, that an (exceptional) instance with * also appears in the GA texts: *bökul "he eats" (1980, text XVII, 1. 152, p. 22), and the long * also may also be raised as in *bēxod "he takes" (1979, text VII, 1. 10, p. 10).

The vowel of the m. sg. imperative in GA is lengthened (unless these forms are instances of prosodical lengthening): *kōl! (twice in 1980, text XI, ll. 25-6, p. 13), and *xōd! (1980, text XIII, 1. 18, p. 14). The imperative of the m. pl. is *kulu! (three instances in 1980, text XVII, ll. 45 and 71), and the f. sg. form *kūli! (twice in 1980, text XVII, ll. 156-7, p. 22), and a f. pl. form *kūlin is highly likely. The form *kiltha "eat (f. sg.) it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, 1. 12, p. 18) was recorded as well.
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Ḥazzah (Gaza).

The active participles are more like in our group I, however: màxdi "having (f. sg.) taken" (1979, text XI, l. 19, p. 14), màxidda (màxîd + ha, but f. remarks in V, ad. 3.1.12.2.) "having (m. sg.) taken her" (1980, text XII, l. 4, p. 14), màkli having eaten (f. sg.) (1980, text XVII, l. 126, p. 21). (In ‘AA of the Fawaxriyyah these participles are with initial w-).

Notice that raising in the first and last example is higher than normal in GA. This is attributed to influences of (speakers of) other dialects (cf. remark in V, ad. 1.2.3.4.3.3.), and such influences may very well be responsible for the (more typically bedouin) initial m- in these participles.

"Food" is ('a)kal (three instances, recorded as ‘äkel ~ 'akel in 1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10 and in the same text ll. 30 and 38, p. 11).

ad. 3.2.2.4.1.

"Say" in GA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>gàlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>gâlat</td>
<td>gàlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gultu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>gultî</td>
<td>gultîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>guîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>ygûl</td>
<td>ygûlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
<td>ygûlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
<td>tgûlu*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tgûli*2)</td>
<td>tgûlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>agûl</td>
<td>ngûl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The conjugation of the imperf. is listed as b-imperfects in 1979, p. 49.
*2) In addition to the pl. -u and f. sg. -i endings Salonen lists -ûn and -în (!), cf. remark *3) in V, ad. 3.2.1.2.

When the forms with the long base vowels listed here are enclitically suffixed, these long vowels are often shortened, e.g. 'agullha "I say to her" (1980, text V, l. 7, p. 7), tgulli "she says to me" (same text, l. 8), gallu "he said to him" (1980, text X, l. 33, p. 11), gâlâtlu "she said to him" (1980, text XI, l. 8, p. 12).

N.B. Like in ‘AA, bîšîl ~ biyîšîl, and biyûgûl ~ bigûl (or bugûl in GA), but not *bîšîl or *bugûl. E.g.: bîšîru "(lit.) they become" (1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10) and bizûrnâ "he visits us" (1979, text IX, l. 26, p. 13), although an exceptional instance bki‘în (perhaps a misprint for bakûn?) "I am" (1980, text VII, l. 5, p. 8) was also recorded.
ad. 3.2.2.4.2.

Imperatives of mediae infirmae with short base vowels do not appear in the GA texts. Instead, e.g.: Gül "say!" (1979, text II, l. 25, p. 6), güm "get up!" (1979, text VIII, l. 20, p. 12). A m. pl. form is gûmu "get up!" (1980, text XVII, l. 76, p. 19).

Examples of imperatives used with the verb ğâb, yğîb "bring" are: hát! "bring! (m. sg.)" (1980, text XIII, l. 7, p. 14), hátîlki! "(lit.) bring (f. sg.) for yourself" (1979, text II, l. 1, p. 5), hátu! "bring! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 204, p. 23).

ad. 3.2.2.4.3.

Examples of active participles in GA: šâyef "(lit.) seeing" (1980, text I, l. 6, p. 6), xâyef "fearing, afraid" (1980, text V, l. 12, p. 8), râyhîn "going (m. pl.)" (1979, text IX, l. 8, p. 12).

ad. 3.2.2.5.1.

Information on the perfect of tertiae infirmae in GA is not entirely clear, but the i-type perfect does not seem to be very frequent in GA; only forms with the long vowel ê, none with i appear in the texts. E.g.: garêna "we studied" (1980, text IX, l. 18, p. 10), gâretta "I recited it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVI, l. 16, p. 16), bagêt "(lit.) you became" (1980, text XI, l. 6, p. 12), badêna "we started" (1980, text XI, l. 11, p. 12), maşêna "we walked" (1980, text XVII, l. 125, p. 21).

Recorded forms of the verb mâsâ (or misî ?) yimsî "go" are: (3rd p. f. sg.) mâsât (1979, text XI, l. 8, p. 14), mişyât (ibid. l. 12) and mâşyât (ibid. l. 16).

Recorded perfect forms of the verb "find" are: lagâ "he found" (1980, text VI, l. 3, p. 8), lagu "they found" (1979, text XI, l. 64, p. 16), ligat "she found" (1980, text XVII, l. 107, p. 20), lagâ "he found him" (1980, text XIII, l. 12, p. 14), läget "she found" (1980, text XVII, l. 10, p. 18), lagathum "she found them" (1980, text XVII, l. 50, p. 19), lägêna "we found him" (1979, text IX, l. 9, p. 12), ma lapétik "you did not find" (1979, text XII, l. 17, p. 16), but the base vowel a (?) is dropped in lgét "I found" (1980, text XI, l. 23, p. 13).

Other recorded forms are: bagyat "it (f. sg.) remained" (1980, text I, l. 10, p. 6), bagu "(lit.) they became" (1979, text XI, l. 67, p. 16), šâhyat "she woke up" (1979, text XI, l. 37, p. 15), šâhyu "they woke up" (ibid., l. 47), but also šilhyat (ibid, l. 54), šâhyu (ibid. l. 61), ramû "they threw him" (1980, text XVII, l. 218, p. 24), kawâ "he cauterized him" (1979, text VIII, l. 21, p. 12),
gälähä "he cooked it (f. sg.)" (1979, text IX, l. 20, p. 13), lägehä "he found her" (1979, text XI, l. 13, p. 14), lagëni "he found me" (1979, text XI, l. 27, p. 14) (for these last two examples, cf. the remark on raising of à in V, ad. 1.2.2.3. above), (and in a higher register?) badâ’in "they (f.) started" (1979, text II, l. 8, p. 6).

A form which does suggest the presence of an i-type perfect in GA however, is biki "he cried" (1979, text IX, l. 27, p. 13).

ad. 3.2.2.5.2.

For the imperfect we have both an a-type, as well as an i-type for the tertiae infirmae in GA, e.g.: yibdä "he starts" (1979, text V, l. 1, p. 8), btigri "they (f. sg.) run" (1979, text VII, l. 24, p. 11).

ad. 3.2.2.5.3.

Apologetic (m. sg.) imperatives do not appear in the texts of GA.

ad. 3.2.2.5.4.

An example of an act. part. in GA is faḍyā̀t "empty (f. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 174, p. 22).

ad. 3.2.2.6.1.

Like in ‘AA, the perfect of the verb "come" has a proclitic in GA, but in GA it is a short (’i)- or (’a)- instead of more regular ‘AA i-. It only appears to be used when stress is not on the following syllable because consonant-initial verbal suffixes follow (triggering the use of a long base vowel i, as in e.g. ġîna, but when followed by a non-verbal suffix ‘iğâkum "he came to you (m. pl.)"). The resulting paradigm is comparable to forms in BA of our group III, although the long base vowel is ĺ in BA, like in ‘AA.

Secondly, most examples in the GA texts do not show lengthening of the imperfect vowel current in ‘AA, but GA imperfect forms are more like those found in BaA of our group I and DA (group IV) (cf. 3.2.2.6.1. of chapters I and IV respectively).

Examples of the perfect are: ‘ägä "he came" (1980 text VI, l. 10, p. 8), ‘iğat "she came" (1979, text IX, l. 16, p. 12), ġînä "we came" (twice in 1979, text IX, l. 9, p. 12 and 1980, text XI, l. 30, p. 14), and suffixed ‘iğâkum "he came to you (m. pl.)" (1979, text XV, l. 9, p. 18).

Examples of the imperfect are: ‘aġi "I come" (1980, text VII, l. 12, p. 8), byigi "he comes" (1980, text III, l. 17, p. 7), btigi "she comes" (1979, text VII, l.
Remarks on the dialect of ûazzah (Gaza).

10, p. 10), yiğu "they come" (1979, text VII, 1. 21, p. 10), but also biği "he comes" (1979, text VI, 1. 24, p. 10).

ad. 3.2.2.6.2.

Recorded imperatives of the verb "come" in GA are: ta'āl (1980, text XVI, l. 21, p. 16), t'e (1980, text XVII, l. 111, p. 21) (cf. remarks on raising of ā in V, ad. 1.2.2.3.), and also ta' in the expression rūḥ, yā šahar, ta', yā šahar "the months passed (lit. go, oh month, come, oh month)" (1980, text XVII, l. 15, p. 18). A f. sg. form is ta'āli (1980, text I, l. 4, p. 6).

ad. 3.2.2.7.1.

Mediae geminatae in GA are treated like in 'AA. Examples are (perfect): xass "he entered" (1980, text XVII, l. 167, p. 22), hāṭṭathā "she placed it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 9, p. 17), ḥassēt "I felt/noticed" (1980, text V, l. 11, p. 8), maddu 'ala ḥattarig "they hit the road" (1980, text XVII, l. 33, p. 18), 'addināhin (< 'addināhin) "we counted them (f.)" (1980, text XI, l. 27, p. 13).

Examples of imperfect: (u-type) biddu yxuss "he wants to enter" (1980, text XVII, l. 214, p. 24), biddna niuss "we want to roam about (lit. pour)" (1980, text XVII, l. 25, p. 18), biḥṭṭu "they place" (1979, text VII, l. 18, p. 10), (i-type) yleff "he goes around" (1979, text XIII, l. 4, p. 17), yṣiddni "he pulls me" (1979, text IX, l. 3, p. 12), (a-type) biṭdall "it (f.) stays" (1979, text II, l. 28, p. 6).

N.B. No instances of raising of a in closed syllable preceding ē in the perfect, as was observed in BaA (cf. I, 3.2.2.7.1.) and in group II (cf. II, 3.2.2.7.1.), appear in the GA texts.

ad. 3.2.2.7.3.

The m. sg. of active participles of irregular verbs C2 = C3 (mediae geminatae) recorded in GA are formed with the pattern CāCC or the pattern CāCiC, e.g.: ḥābeb "willing, loving (m. sg.)" (1979, text VI, ll. 2-3, p. 9), mādid "having (m. sg.) stretched out" (1980, text XVII, l. 137, p. 21), but also ḥāṭt, which must be a misprint for hāṭt "having (m. sg.) placed" (1980, text XVI, l. 13, p. 16), ḏall "remaining (m. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 158, p. 22), and ḥass "feeling (m. sg.)" (1979, text X, l. 7, p. 13). F. sg. forms are: ḥāṭṭalu "having (f. sg.) placed for him" (1979, text XI, l. 11, p. 14), ḥāṭṭa "having placed" (1979, text XI, l. 40, p. 15), and a m. pl. form is ḥāṭṭalin "having (m. pl.) urinated" (1980, text XVII, l. 74, p. 19).
Passive participles have a $maC_1C_2iC_3$ pattern in $\hat{G}A$, e.g. $mah\hat{t}u\hat{a}$ "placed (f. sg.)" (1979, text II, l. 30, p. 6).

ad. 3.2.3.1.1.

Like in ‘AA, measure $n-1$ is the basic passive measure to measure $1$ in $\hat{G}A$. The preformative is $(i)n-$ for the perfect, with the pattern $(i)nC_1iC_2aC_3$, and the imperfect pattern is $yinC_1iC_2iC_3$.

Forms which suggest that the treatment of $n-1$ and $1-t$ measures in $\hat{G}A$ is similar to that in ‘AA are: (measure $1-t$) $bdntgel$ "she is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 7, p. 8, and l. 15, p. 9) which would be $bintgil$ in ‘AA. The preformative of the $1-t$ imperfect is stressed in eligible positions, whereas the preformative of the perfect appears to be excepted from the stress rule, as is suggested by the (measure $n-1$) form $\hat{n}harag$, and in the same line $\hat{n}harag$ "it (m. sg.) was burnt" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6). The vowel $a$ is dropped in $\hat{a}nkasrat$ "it (f. sg.) broke" (1979, text X, l. 5, p. 13), in (sandhi elision) $\hat{i}nxal\hat{i}$ "it became mixed" (1979, text I, l. 9, p. 5), but not in $\hat{w}nxal\hat{a}tu$ "they became mixed" (ibid., l. 11).

A $\hat{G}A$ form which does not conform to the system described for ‘AA is: $\hat{m}a\ yin\hat{a}raf\hat{u}\hat{s}$ "they are not recognized" (1979, text XVI, l. 4, p. 18).

ad. 3.2.3.1.2.

An example of a measure $n-1$ imperfect of mediae geminatae in $\hat{G}A$ is $btin\hat{h}a\hat{f}t$ "it (f. sg.) is put" (1980, text X, l. 21, p. 11).

ad. 3.2.3.1.3.

A $\hat{G}A$ measure $n-1$ perfect to medial weak verbs is $ind\hat{a}r$ "he turned around" (1979, text XII, l. 8, p. 16).

ad. 3.2.3.2.

Measure $t-1$ verbs do not appear in the $\hat{G}A$ texts.

ad. 3.2.3.3.1.

A few examples suggest that measure $1-t$ is treated like in ‘AA: the vowel in the syllable preceding the preformative may be stressed in eligible positions in the imperfect (instances of the perfect of measure $1-t$ are too few for any conclusions). The underlying patterns are $(i)C_1taC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yiC_1tiC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect. The high vowel $i$ preceding $C_2$ is immediately dropped when it is in open syllable, after which the resulting cluster can be eliminated by inserting an anaptyctic vowel between $C_1$ and the $t$-infix, e.g.
(imperfect): bəntgel "he is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 15, p. 9), aštrülku "buy (m. pl.) for yourselves!" (1979, text III, l. 11, p. 7). However, there are many examples which do not (entirely) conform to the rule described: mništiri (< bnistiři) "we buy" (1979, text IX, l. 6, p. 12), ajṭahim "I understand" (1980, text VII, l. 12, p. 8), tiṭihim "she understands" (1980, text I, l. 2, p. 6), tištarik "you take part" (1980, text X, l. 31, p. 11), bṭāḥtirimu "you (m. pl.) respect" (1980, text XVI, l. 21, p. 16).

An example of the perfect: əftakarat "she thought" (1980, text I, l. 14, p. 6).

Notice that, unlike in ‘AA, the final radical y of tertiae infirmae does not close the syllable in the GA example yištirin "they (f.) buy" (1980, text XVII, l. 4, p. 17).

ad. 3.2.3.3.2.

An example of a measure 1-t medial weak (C₂ = y) verb in GA: byiḥtāgu "they need" (1979, text VII, l. 38, p. 11).

ad. 3.2.3.3.4.

An example of a tertiae infirmae participle in GA is: mīštari "having (m. sg.) bought" (1980, text XIII, l. 1, p. 4).

ad. 3.2.3.4.1.

A few instances show that measure (i)sta-l, like measure 2 (cf. V, 3.2.3.5.) has i in the imperfect in GA. The morphological pattern for the imperfect thus appears to be yistaCiC₂iC₃: byista'lmu "they use" (1979, text I, l. 5, p. 5), and byista'muḥa "they use it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVI, l. 47, p. 17) (in both instances there is a morphophonemic elision of the base vowel i). Another example is mā mništarmelš (< mā bnīštarmelš) "we do not use" (1979, text V, l. 23, p. 9), but a contradictory example is yiştanžaru "they wait" (1980, text XVII, l. 215, p. 24), although the z is an indication that we may be dealing with a loan in this case. This might explain the vowel a instead of the more expected i preceding the r.

ad. 3.2.3.4.4.

A perfect of a measure (i)sta-l verb, where C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) recorded in GA is stahallu "they occupied" (1980, text IV, l. 9, p. 7).
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

A measure (i)sta-1 active participle in GA is (mediae geminatae): *mistahi "bashful, shy"* (1980, text XII, 1. 9, p. 14). Another example is (sound root) *masta‘mrtn "colonizing (m. pl.)"* (1980, text XV, ll. 2-3, p. 15).

Like in ‘AA, measure 2 has morphological vowel distribution, and morphologically fixed *a* in measure t-2 in GA. The morphological patterns for measure 2 are: perfect $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, imperfect $yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$. For measure t-2 the patterns are: perfect $(i)tC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, imperfect $yitC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

Examples of measure 2 sound roots are: *walladat, twallid "give birth"* (1980, text XII, ll. 4 and 13, p. 14), *rawwah, yrawweh "go home"* (1980, text XVII, ll. 165 and 172). Exceptions have been recorded as well, e.g.: (imperfect) *brawwah* (with a base vowel *a* instead of *i* as in an expected *brawwiḥ*925) "he goes home".

The morphophonemic elision of *i* of the imperfect is regular, e.g.: *yfatthu "they open (repeatedly)"* (1980, text XVII, 1. 94, p. 20), *yğümm‘āhum "they collect them"* (1979, text IX, l. 6, p. 12).

Examples of measure t-2 imperfect are: *byitgadda "he has lunch"* (1980, text X, l. 46, p. 11), *atsayyar "I relieve myself"*926 (1980, text XI, l. 30, p. 13), *yitgawwazha "he marries her"* (1980, text XVII, l. 221, p. 24). An example in which the *a* is dropped: *yitgafflu "they are locked up"* (1980, text XVII, l. 112, p. 21).

Examples of perfect t-2 are: *tbaṭṭah "he bent down"* (1980, text XII, l. 7, p. 14), *tgayyadet "they (f. sg.) were put on chains"* (1980, text XVII, l. 119, p. 21), *tgawwaz "he married"* (1979, text VII, l. 23, p. 11).

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925 This may be due, however, to the fact that Salonen often writes *a* for a lowered *i* in the contiguity of *X*, cf. remarks in fn 909.

926 Salonen’s translation “I move” is not correct; the context indicates that the speaker meant that he could not relieve himself after eating cactus fruits. Cf. also HINDS/BADAWI (1986), p. 445.
Like in `AA, active participles of measure 2 in GA are formed with the pattern $mC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g.: $mbarrid$ "cold (-hearted)" (1980, text X, l. 40, p. 11), $mkawwnin$ "having formed (m. pl.)" (1980, text IX, l. 2, p. 9). Exceptions are: $mfakkar$ (instead of expected $mfakkir$) "thinking (m. sg.)" (1980, text XII, l. 11, p. 14), $mrawwahin$ (instead of expected $mrawwhin$) "going home (m. pl.)" (1979, text XII, l. 13, p. 16), but $mrawweh$ "going home (m. sg.)" (1980, text V, l. 1, p. 7), which is the more expected form.

A passive participle is formed with the pattern $mC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g.: $m'allaga$ "suspended, hanging (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, ll. 95-6, p. 20).

Active participles of measure $t$-2 are formed with the pattern $miiC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g.: $mitmaddidi$ "stretched out (f. sg.)" (1979, text XI, ll. 64-5, p. 16). Notice also the absence of high vowel elision, which is in conformity with the rule described in I, 2.4.4.

Measures 3 and $t$-3 in GA are treated like in `AA: alternating $a$ and $i$ in 3, and fixed $a$ in $t$-3. The patterns for measure 3 are $C_1C_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yC_1aC_2iC_3$ for the imperfect. The patterns for $t$-3 are $(i)tC_1aC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yitC_1aC_2aC_3$ for the imperfect.

Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) $nsâfîr$ "we travel" (1980, text XI, l. 14, p. 12), $ysâ'idha$ "he helps her" (1980, text XII, l. 6, p. 14), $bagâdik$ "I take you to court" (1980, text XIII, l. 16, p. 14). A measure 3 perfect: $lâga$ "he found" (1980, text VI, l. 3, p. 8).

An example of measure $t$-3 is: $'atgâda$ "I am taken to court" (1980, text XIII, l. 18, p. 14), and a doubtful (since neither $a$ nor $i$ is written) example is $addâyeg$ (instead of a more expected $addâyag$, assimilated $< *atdâyag$) "I am irritated" (1980, text IV, l. 11, p. 15).

A number of instances of measure 4 verbs - not current in `AA - appear in the GA texts. Examples are: $mâ$ 'ašba'ûni "they did not let me eat my fill" (1980, text X, l. 62, p. 12), 'atala' "he took out" (1979, text XIV, l. 25, p. 18), 'o'la "he gave" (1979, text III, l. 10, p. 7), but also (measure 1) 'atala "he gave him" (1979, text II, l. 36, p. 6), 'ažâhin "he gave them (f.)" (1980, text XVII, ll. 18-9, p. 18).
An active participle of measure IV is *ma’tiha* "having (m. sg.) given her" (1980, text XIII, l. 5, p. 14) (cf. remarks in fn 909 to V, ad. 2.2.1.1.).

ad. 3.2.3.9.

GA quadriliteral verbs conjugate like in ‘AA with the patterns (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$, and (imperfect) $yC_1aC_2C_3iC_4$. Examples are: *tbähdelnä* "you insult us" (1980, text X, l. 56, p. 12), *’agarigšu* "I chew him up" (1980, text XVII, l. 184, p. 23), *yišarmten* "they (f.) work as whores" (1979, text II, l. 9, p. 6).

Verbs considered typical for bedouin dialects with the inserted $w$ before $C_2$ (i.e. the $C_1awC_2aC_3$, $yC_1awC_2iC_3$-type) were not recorded in ‘AA, but in GA we have the examples: *m'öfye* "empty (f. sg.) (of a house)" (1980, text XVII, l. 91, p. 20), and with a (*i*)- prefix: *titlūleh* "it (f. sg.) swings" (1980, text XVII, l. 87, p. 20) (on phonetic overlapping of $ō$ and $ā$, cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.1.). Significantly, however, verbs considered to be more typically bedouin like *gōtar*, *ygōtir* "go" and *sölaf*, *ysölif* "tell" do not occur in the GA texts.

A quadriliteral with the (*i*)*- prefix was also recorded in GA, e.g.: *titmarğahi* "you (f. sg.) swing" (1979, text IV, l. 4, p. 8).

ad. 4. Remarks on syntax.

ad. 4.1.

Like in ‘AA, *tanwīn* (nunciation) is not current in GA.

ad. 4.2.

Negation of the verb is normally done with *mā* (and *la* ... *w la* "neither ...

Negation is quite a number of negations formed with the bi-partite *mā* ...$ā$ appear in the texts, of which the first element (*mā*) may be dropped, e.g. *bostamarrψs* "he does not continue" (1979, text V, l. 29, p. 9). Salonen does not report any difference in function between the two possibilities.

*išī* "(lit.) a thing" was also recorded in GA, although not in negations, e.g.: *kull išī* (twice in 1980, text II, ll. 4 and 9, p. 6). Another example is (adverbially) *‘awwal ḫāši bootbo* "he first proposes to him (i.e. he asks the bride’s father for her hand)" (1979, text VI, l. 1, p. 9), and shortened as in *‘awwalīs* *xawātu bādā’in yišarmten* "at first his sisters started working as whores" (1979, text II, ll. 8-9, p. 6). Other examples are: *kull *išī nḥaraq kullīš* "everything burned down, everything" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6).
An example of si used in a negation is mā beʿrif šī "he does not know a thing" (1979, text XIV, l. 4, p. 17).

Negating nominals and participles, can be done with preceding mīš, and also with mā huš or mū (the latter two are not current in ‘AA).927

Bergsträsser928 however, reports only the compound negation with verb forms as being current.

ad. 4.3.

Like in ‘AA, the b-imperfect is current in GA (cf. 1979, pp. 48-9).

ad. 4.4.

In a few instances the future is expressed with rāḥ preceding the simple imperfect, e.g.: mā rāḥ ’anām maʿki hessā "I am not going to sleep with you (f. sg.) now" (1980, text I, ll. 16-7, p. 6), and ələləli hād rāḥ yākulna, əlgūl "tonight he will eat us, the gūl" (1980, text XVII, l. 202, p. 23).

The future is however, usually expressed with bidd (cf. ad. V, 4. 12.). A future particle ha- or ḥa- does not appear to be current in GA.

ad. 4.5.

fiḥ "there is/are" is used in GA (cf. 1979, p. 49) like in ‘AA, e.g. ʃā kān fī wāḥad lāḥām ‘anna fī Gazza "so there was a butcher with us in Gaza" (1979, text III, l. 1, p. 7). The negation was recorded as mā fiṣš, e.g.: garīb mā fiṣš "there is not a stranger (present)" (1979, text VI, l. 26, p. 10), and also without the first element, e.g. fiṣš ḥada fī ddār "there was nobody in the house" (1980, text XVII, l. 91, p. 20).

An instance of fiṣṣi (although transcribed as fiṣṣi šṭ29) is: fiṣṣi ḥada fī ddār "there was nobody in the house" (1980, text XVII, l. 107, p. 20), and also (transcribed as such) fiṣṣi ḥādā (1980, text XVII, ll. 191-2, p. 23).

The negation •māš does not appear in the GA texts.

ad. 4.6.1.

lamma is regularly used for "when" in GA, and was also recorded as lamman. It was not recorded suffixed as in •lammannu "when he".

927 Cf. SALONEN (1979), p. 59, also for additional examples.
928 Cf. BERGSTÄSSER (1915), map 21.
929 The interpretation of fiṣṣi instead of fiṣš šṭ is preferred here, since it makes better sense in the context.
lamman used in the sense of "so that": birkiz `ala `idē attintēn lamman ṣâydar yigef "he supports himself with (lit. on) his two hands so that he is able to stand up" (1980, p. 56).

Suffixed lamman does not appear to be current in GA, and neither do variations on yôm in this sense.

ad. 4.6.1.2.1.

An example of lamma used in the sense of "when" is: mêl lamma ṣâyiyî bārnētāt wāhād "like when I throw down somebody's hat" (1980, text XVI, l. 28, p. 16).

ad. 4.6.1.2.2.

An example of lamman in the sense of "when" in GA: lamman ṣrawn kwayysin xāliṣ "when we had become very good" (1980, text IX, l. 9, p. 9).

ad. 4.6.1.2.3.

An example of lamma used in the sense of "until": biddu rēbā` sā`a lammā yxalliṣ "he would need a quarter of an hour to finish (or: until he would finish)" (1980, text X, ll. 16-7, p. 10).

ad. 4.6.2.

ḥetta and also ḥetta li occur in GA in the sense of "so that", e.g.: ḥetta-t`allām "so that I would learn" (1980, text VII, l. 14, p. 9), and other examples may be found in 1980, pp. 52-3.

ad. 4.7.1.

gām used as a "marker of consequent action" was recorded in GA, e.g. gām tīlī fōg ṣāddār "he then climbed on top of the house" (1979, text II, l. 10, p. 6), and unconjugated in the example gām miskû w ḥāttû fi ssiğin "they then arrested him and put him in jail" (1979, text II, l. 14, p. 6).

ad. 4.7.2.

An example of rāḥ used as an unconjugated particle in GA is fū rāḥ hiyya gālettu "so she then said to him" (1979, text IV, ll. 2-3, p. 8). Another example (where the absence of conjugation cannot be established) is rāḥ rafa` ʾasba`u lwalad "the boy then put his finger up" (1979, text XIV, l. 16, p. 18).

In other instances the sense of "go (away)" is still present, e.g.: rāḥ ġāb hālghwāṣṭ w hālghāqāt "he went and brought these pearls and these things" (1980, text XVII, l. 186, p. 23).
Ad. 4.7.3.

Like in 'AA, law and in are normally used to introduce conditional sentences (cf. 1980, p. 55), and in addition, quite a number of instances with iza (~ ida) occur in the texts. Examples are: 'in mā wgiflí "if you (f. sg.) do not stop" (1980, text XVII, I. 113, p. 21) p. 12), law māt hāda, biddak txarrib dyārna fih? "if this (man) dies, are you going to destroy our house through this (or: him):" (1980, text X, I. 67), iza hū miš 'ārefha "if he does not know her" (1979, text VI, I. 6, p. 9), 'ida mā lagētš "if you do not find" (1979, text XII, I. 17, p. 16).

kān introducing conditional sentences, either with or without preceding iz, was not recorded in GA.

Ad. 4.7.3.2.

Examples of conditional sentences without a conditional particle in GA are: ġāri ddars, miš ġāri ddars, yīila' yākol gātli "if he had studied the lesson, (or) if he had not studied the lesson, he would get a beating" (1979, text XIV, I. 5-6, p. 17), and mā ġāfed oddāres, byiği l'ustāz yis'alni ʾakūn kislān b ilmādrāse "if I had not memorized the lesson, the teacher would come and ask me whether I was lazy in school" (1980, text VII, I. 6-7, p. 8).

Ad. 4.8.1.

A presentative particle •tr('a) or •ar('a) was not recorded in GA.

Ad. 4.8.2.

Presentative particles ḥāy and hayy were also recorded in GA, although Salonen (cf. 1980, p. 48) interprets them as demonstratives: alġūl hayy ġā "here the ġūl has come", and ḥaslet ma'ī ṣā'ī "this is what happened to me". The interpretation of a presentative appears more plausible in the first instance in particular.

Ad. 4.8.3.

A particle •wlin, •wilin (w + lin), or •win (w + in) was not recorded in GA.

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Salonen's translations of these examples do not reflect conditional sentences, but it was felt that this fits in better with the context.
The particle *illa* denoting a sudden turn in the narration was recorded in *GA*. Several examples may be found in 1980, p. 61. One of these examples is: *b nass atfarīg 'illa halgūli šāfatlak iyyā "half-way this gūlah suddenly saw him (lit. for you)".*

An example of *gër* in *GA* (like in ‘AA): *iza mā btākulha, gër âtuxxak "if you don't eat it (f. sg.), I shall (certainly) shoot you".*

The intensifying particle *la* appears in the *GA* example *walla, la-ḥattīk bi hōd ḥattāhūne "by God, I shall put you in the basin of this grinder" (1980, text XVII, ll. 7-8, p. 17).*

Like in ‘AA *bidd* + suff. is current in *GA* to express "want" or "need", e.g.: *ēš biddak? "what do you want?"* (1980, text XVII, l. 27, p. 18), and *biddu rabs' sā'la lamnā yxalliš "he would need a quarter of an hour to finish"* (1980, text X, ll. 16-7, p. 10).

In several instances however, "want" is expressed with the verb *rād, yrid* (not recorded in ‘AA), e.g.: *w dāymān lāmmān yrid ynām ma'ha yifris al'abāye "an every time he wanted to sleep with her he would spread out the robe".*

*bidd* expresses futurity in the examples: *tayyib yā ʿAwād Ǧabr, ēš bidda nāxud? "Okay ʿAwād Ǧabr, what shall we bring along?"* (1980, text X, l. 34, p. 11), and *kān ʿəšna binnā nmut "we were (almost) going to die"* (1980, text XVII, l. 123, p. 21).

An example of *bidd* expressing purpose: *'ağa biddu yğib əşšīnīyye ttältā "he came to bring the third dish"* (1980, text X, ll. 63-4, p. 12).

N.B. An example of *bidd* expressing necessity from the perspective of the speaker (as well as a sense of futurity) is *biddak tākul w tgmū šab'ān min dārī "you are going to eat and leave my house satiated"* (1980, text X, l. 61, p. 12).

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931 Like the use of *illa uhal* (i.e. *illa w hal* in the transcription used in this study) in the dialect of *Bīr Zēt*, cf. BLAU (1960), § 20, p. 33 and § 189b, p. 245.
ad. 4.12.

An example of the use of ‘ād in GA: huwwa ‘ād xāyef, ʾulwalad "he was afraid, the boy" (1980, text XVII, ll. 58-9, p. 19). More examples are given in 1980, pp. 56-7.

ad. 4.13.

yigba does not appear to be current in GA.

ad. 4.14.1.

I have not noticed instances of the narrative imperative in the GA texts.

ad. 4.14.2.

An example of unconjugated kān in GA: kān ḥawāli ‘aṣrīn xēl btīğri "about twenty horses were running" (1979, text VII, ll. 24-5, p. 11). But kān may also appear conjugated as in: kunna mingib ʾasslāḥ "we used to get weapons" (1979, text IX, ll. 4-5, p. 12).

ad. 4.14.3.

The ethical dative is very frequently used in GA. An example is: māllātlak ḥaddiset "she filled the kettle (lit. for you)". This example, and many more may be found in 1980, p. 47.

ad. 4.16.

Unlike ‘AA, GA has a separate pl. for the feminine.

ad. 5. A sketchy remark on pitch.

No remarks (no recordings of GA texts were available to me).
C. Conclusions.

In order to form an overall picture of the area under investigation, the information represented in the MAPS in the appendix will be discussed. The criteria referred to are listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. b. and c.).

A brief summary of 'AA characteristics (as presented in chapter V) contrasting with the bedouin type of group I spoken in the immediate vicinity of the town is given below, and this list of contrasting features should lead to the conclusion that 'AA is not of the bedouin type.

I. The dialects of al'Arîş and Ġazzah.

a. The dialect of al'Arîş compared to the dialect type of group I.

'AA has a number of characteristics in common with the bedouin type of dialects in general, and NWA dialects in particular. These shared characteristics are listed in A. II. b. True bedouin dialect (B-S criteria are underlined):

- **A1** g reflex for *g* (cf. 1.1.4.).
- **B1** g reflex for *q* (cf. 1.1.3.).
- **C1** Lack of affrication in reflexes for *q* and *k* (cf. 1.1.3.).
- **D1** Partial lack of phonemic distinction between short high vowels i and u (cf. 1.2.3.2.).
- **E1** Reduction of consonant clusters \( C_aC_aC_bV \rightarrow C_aC_bV \) (cf. 2.3.3.3.1.).
- **F1** 2nd p. m. pl. pron. suffix -ku(w) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
- **G1** Absence of a noticeable preference for the construct state (a feature in common with NWA dialects), but annexation with (ib)ṭā‘ (as opposed to šuql in NWA dialects) (cf. 3.1.11.).
- **H1** Absence of tanwin (cf. 4.1.).
- **I1** Use of the preposition fi (cf. 3.1.16.).

There is, however, a large number of differences between 'AA and these bedouin dialects (i.e. resulting from those criteria marked B-S), and between 'AA and the dialect of the Sawârkah (SA, a NWA dialect), which is spoken in the immediate vicinity of al'Arîş (preceding numbers correspond to the criteria listed in the introduction in A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix, and
also to the MAPS in the appendix. Numbers of B-S criteria are again underlined):

2) 'AA lacks plain interdentals: reflexes of *t and *d are t and d respectively, e.g. *talātā "three", ḥāda "this (m. sg.)" (cf. V, 1.1.2.).

3) 'AA lacks the emphatic interdental: the reflex of *d and *d is plosive d, e.g. darab "he hit", indīf "clean" (cf. V, 1.1.2.).

4) Secondary velarization is not as widespread in 'AA as it is in the surrounding bedouin type dialects (cf. V, 1.1.7.).

5) But for regular exceptions, *ay and *aw have been monophthongized in all positions in 'AA. The phonemes /êl/ and /i/, and /êl/ and /û/ are clearly distinguishable (cf. V, 1.2.2.1., 1.2.2.2. and 1.2.4.1.).

6) Long vowels in unstressed positions are shortened in 'AA much more regularly than in surrounding bedouin dialects (where it is a feature of allegro speech) (cf. V, 1.2.2.4.).

7) Raising of a in open syllable preceding A is not a 'AA feature, e.g. takāsi "taxis", kābā "cups", katabt "I wrote" (cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.1.).

8), 9) Raising of final -a (either T or *-â(')) in pause is usually not much higher than between [e] and [e] (cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

10) Cf. 5).

11) Stress in CvcCvC is always on the first syllable in 'AA, e.g. *širib "he drank", kātab "he wrote", rūkab "knees", šīta "winter" (cf. V, 2.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.1.) (a partial difference).

12) Stress in CvcCaCv is always on the first syllable in 'AA, e.g. rágaba "neck", dāxalat "she entered" (cf. V, 2.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.1.) (a partial difference).

13) Stress in CaCaCaCv is always on the first syllable in 'AA. This is similar to the situation in SA and RA, but contrasts with DA and AA (cf. V, 2.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.1.).

14) The article and the preformatives of the perfect of the verbal measures n-1 and 1-t are not stressable units, although the preformatives of these measures are stressable in the imperf. (cf. V, 2.1.1., 2.1.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.).

15) The gahawah-syndrome is not a feature of 'AA (cf. V, 2.2.1.1.).

16) Initial CCV is not found in 'AA (cf. V, 2.3.2.4. and 2.3.2.4.).

17) Morphological restructuring of *C1aC2iC3(a) as tC1C2iC3(a) in 'AA, mainly in those cases where C1 ≠ X (cf. V, 3.1.1.1.).

18) *C2CCāC has been morphologically restructured as CiCCāC in 'AA (cf. V, 3.1.1.4.).

19) Raising of a in CaCūC(a) does not take place in 'AA (cf. V, 3.1.1.8.).
25) The article is *il*-' (/*i*l-) and the rel. pron. is *illi* (cf. V, 3.1.9.1.).
26) Absence of initial */l/ in nouns mentioned in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.9.2.).
27) Treatment of *T* in ‘AA is slightly different from the situation in *SA: T* in open syllable in construction will be *-at* in both dialects, but in closed syllable it will be *-it* in ‘AA, as opposed to *-at* in *SA* (a partial difference is concluded).
29) Annexation with *ibtâ‘* (~ sometimes *tâ‘*) in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.11.).
30) No gender distinction is made in the pl. (cf. V, 3.1.12.1. and 3.2.1.1.).
31) The independent 3rd p. sg. m. and f. pers. pronouns are *huwwa* and *hiyya* in ‘AA (~ much less *hû, hî*) (cf. V, 3.1.12.1.).
32) The independent 1st p. c. sg. pers. pron. is *âni* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.12.1.).
33) The independent 1st p. c. pl. pers. pron. is *îhna* in ‘AA (which is similar to the surrounding bedouin dialects of group I, but unlike *DA*) (cf. V 3.1.12.1.).
34) The 3rd p. m. sg. pron. suff. is *-u* in ‘AA (in negations *-hu*) (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).
35) The 3rd p. f. sg. pron. suff. is *-ha* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).
37) The 2nd p. f. sg. pron. suff. is not invariable *-ki(y)* in ‘AA, but *C-ik / û-ki* (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).
38) The 1st p. c. sg. pron. suffixes are unstressed in ‘AA: *C-i / û-ya* (poss.), and *-ni* (obj.) (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).
39) No emphatization in the ‘AA reflex of *yj* in *hâda* (cf. V, 3.1.13.1.).
40) The f. sg. demonstrative is *hâdi* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.13.1.) (a partial difference).
41) Like in *SA*, no gender distinction in pl. demonstr., but the dem. is *hadîl(a)* (without doubling of non-final *l*) (~ sometimes *dôl*) (cf. V, 3.1.13.1.).
45) Adverb "there" is *ihnâk* in ‘AA. Although Rosenhouse does list *hnâk* as a bedouin form, the true bedouin form in dialects surrounding ‘AA is clearly *hnuh*; the occurrence of *ihnâk* to the exclusion of *hnuh* is therefore interpreted as a sedentary feature (V, 3.1.15.1.).
46) Adverb "here" is *hina* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.15.1.).
47) Preposition "for" has stressed initial *î* in ‘AA (cf. V, 2.3.5. and 3.1.16.).
48) Preposition "with" + 3rd p. m. sg. pron. suffix is *ma’âh* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.16.).
49) F. sg. "one" is *wdhada* in ‘AA (cf. V, 3.1.17.1.).
50) No vowel harmony in verbal endings 3rd p. c. pl. perfect ‘AA (cf. V, 3.2.1.1.).
51) Cf. 30).
52) Morphological restructuring of the \( i \)-type perfect in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.1.1.).
53) No vowel harmony in the prefix of the \( a \)-type imperfect of measure 1 in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.1.2.).
54) No vowel harmony in 3rd p. c. pl. verbal ending of \( a \)-type imperfects in `AA, e.g. (cf. V, 3.2.1.2.).
55) Cf. 30).
56) A morphologically patterned diphthong \( iw \) occurs regularly in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.2.1., 1.2.4.1. and 1.2.4.6.2.2.).
57) Perfect of "eat" and "take" is with initial \( a \)- in `AA (actually like in DA and AA, but unlike RA and SA) (cf. V, 3.2.2.3.).
58) Imperfect vowel in "eat" and "take" is \( u \) in `AA: yâkul and yâxud (like in DA and TA, but unlike RA and SA) (cf. V, 3.2.2.3.).
59) Active participle of "eat" and "take" is with initial \( w \)- (wâkil, wâxid) among Fawaxriyyah, and with \( *'(\)'âkil, (\)'áxid) in the speech of other `Araysiyyah (cf. V, 3.2.2.3.).
60) Perfect of the verb "come" with initial \( i \)- when stressed (\( \sim \) stressed short \( i \)-) in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.2.6.1.).
61) Imperfect of the verb "come" with lengthened prefix vowel in `AA: yi\( ği \) "he comes" (cf. V, 3.2.2.6.1.).
62) Preformatives of \( n-1 \) and \( 1-t \) measures have the vowel \( i \) in `AA, e.g. inwâkal, yi\( ïn\)wikil "be eaten", and i\( ï\)stâra, yi\( ï\)st\( ï \)r(y) "buy" (cf. V, 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
63) The perfect of measure \( t-2 \) is never with \( ta- \), but with \( it- \), e.g. itkallam "he spoke" (cf. V, 3.2.3.5. and 3.2.3.5.4.).
64) Measure 4 is not in use in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.3.7.).
65) Lack of typical bedouin lexical items in `AA (cf. V, 3.2.3.9.).
66) The f. sg. act. part. + obj. suffix does not form a construct state in `AA: "ayzâh "she wants it (m. sg.)" (cf. remark in V, 3.2.1.4.).
67) Compound negation \( ma...\( ë\)i(i) \) is current in `AA, e.g. ma katabš(i) "he did not write" (cf. V, 4.2.).
68) The future particle ha- is current in `AA, e.g. hamši "I shall go" (cf. V, 4.4.).
69) yõm\( ï \)n(in) or lõm\( ï \)n(in) is not current in `AA, but lamma is (cf. V, 4.6.).
70) gâm as a "marker of consequent action" was not recorded in `AA (cf. V, 4.7.1.) (but cf. remark to u.) below in C. I. b.).
71) bidd is current in `AA (cf. V, 4.11.).
C. Conclusion

Differences between 'AA and SA showing up in MAPS 51 and 55 are already covered by 30).

Additional differences between 'AA and the bedouin type of dialects in the immediate vicinity of al'Arîs are:

Criterion LI: The interrogative 'alâm + pron. suff. was not heard in 'AA (cf. V, 3.1.14.).

Criterion LII (on the productivity of diminutive patterns) yields a difference with NWA which is not entirely certain; such patterns are clearly not productive in 'AA, but productivity of such patterns could not be concluded for all NWA dialects (cf. 3.1.6.).

Similarly for criterion KI (on the use of mār / mûr for "so then, but"); it is not likely to be a 'AA feature, but in dialects such as SA and RA it has not been recorded either, which may be due to the relatively limited available material on these dialects.

The differences between 'AA and the NWA type, and between 'AA and the bedouin type in general, add up to a considerable number; 60 of our numbered criteria (excluding 51 and 55)) yield differences, 4 of which (14, 15, 27) and 40) are partial. Some of these are not directly differences with SA spoken near al'Arls. The isoglosses drawn around the town of al'Arîs on the basis of our criteria form isogloss bundle nr -2- in MAP 00 distinguishing SA from 'AA. The number is clearly large enough to conclude that 'AA is not of the NWA type, nor a bedouin dialect.

The numbers skipped in our list above for 'AA stand for shared features with SA (and in most cases with the NWA type). The most prominent of these shared features is probably nr 621 (presence of the b-imperfect), which is actually a sedentary feature of SA and of most other bedouin dialects spoken in northern Sinai. Of the other shared characteristics some are more meaningful than others. Criterion 1), for instance, yields a shared feature of NWA and 'AA which is of lesser significance; this criterion was added to our list because it does have relevance for dialects in the northwest (and also in the south) of Sinai, and the similarity only shows up as a by-product, so to speak, of the criterion set for other dialects.

The similarities would add up to many more if we would only map them. Some of these similarities are actually sedentary characteristics found in NWA,
others are characteristics of NWA as opposed to Nağdiy (such as the absence of tanwîn, which, for our area, is only relevant in a comparison between bedouin dialects).

Of the unmapped criteria A) - l) yield similarities with the Negev type. Of these A), B), D), and E) are of particular interest, since these criteria yield bedouin characteristics in sedentary 'AA also found in sedentary eŠA (cf. below in C. V. d. Bundles of identified isoglosses in northern Sinai, isogloss bundle nr -21-).

b. The dialect of Gazzah compared to the dialect of al'Ariš.

As far as the typological position of GA is concerned: measured against our B-S criteria listed in the introduction, we see that GA shows bedouin characteristics through the following criteria (the outcome for 'AA is given in brackets):

  2) Interdental reflexes t and d, although in a good many instances GA shows stops t and d (respectively) (cf. V, ad. 1.1.2.) (stops in 'AA).
  6) Retention of long vowels in unstressed positions (cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.4.) (shortening in 'AA).
  20) Presence of initial CC in morphological patterns C₁C₂IC₃ and C₁C₂aC₃, but not in reflex for *C₁IC₂a (and presumably also C₁IC₂aC₃) (cf. V, ad. 2.3.5.) (absence of CC-initial patterns in 'AA).
  30) Gender distinction m./f. in the pl. (cf. V, ad. 3.1.12. and ad. 3.2.1.1.) (absent in 'AA).
  41) Interrogative wên? (cf. V, ad. 3.1.14.) (also in 'AA).
  44) Interrogative kēf? (cf. V, ad. 3.1.14.) (also in 'AA).
  56) Absence of morphologically patterned diphthong iw (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.1.) (presence of iw in 'AA).
  63) Use of measure 4 verbs, although instances of measure 4 verbs having crossed over to measure 1 are also reported (cf. V, ad. 3.2.3.7.) (absence of measure 4 'AA).
  68) Negation mā + verb form is reported to be "normal" in GA, but many instances of the compound negation mā ...-š (of which the first element is sometimes dropped) appear in the texts (cf. V, ad. 4.2.) (normally compound negation in 'AA).
Of the B-S criteria not represented in maps, GA shows bedouin characteristics through:

A) Voiced affricate reflex ǧ for *g (cf. V, ad. 1.1.4.) (also in ‘AA).
B) Voiced reflex ǧ for *q (cf. V, ad. 1.1.3.) (also in ‘AA).
D) Partial lack of phonemic distinction between i and u (cf. V, ad. 1.2.3.2.) (also in ‘AA).
E) Reduction of geminated C₂ when C₂ is followed by V: elision of i between C₂ and C₃ occurs regularly in these cases, and it is assumed here that geminated C₂ is also (phonetically) reduced (cf. V, ad. 2.3.3.3.1.) (also in ‘AA).
G) A preference for the construct state is reported for GA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.11.) (not in ‘AA).
I) Use of locative preposition ǧt (cf. V, ad. 3.1.16.) (also in ‘AA).

GA shows sedentary features through the following B-S criteria:

2) d is reported as the reflex of *d and *d (but cf. remark in V, ad. 1.1.2.) (also in ‘AA).
7) Raising of a in open syllable preceding (stressed) A is not characteristic of GA (nor is it of ‘AA) (raising of a in GA is reported, but it is certainly not as high as in the Negev, and is apparently unrelated to its position in the word) (cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.3.).
9) Extreme raising of reflexes of final *-â (‘) is not a feature of GA (cf. V, ad. 1.2.4.4.) (nor is it of ‘AA).
17) A sequence CaCaCV in GA is not resyllabicized to become CCvCV, (but CaCaCV co-occurs with CaCCV) (cf. V, ad. 2.1.1.2.1.6. and ad. 2.4.) (only CaCaCV in ‘AA).
18) The article and the preformatives of the perfect of measures n-1 and 1-1 are not stressable units (cf. V, ad. 2.1.1.) (same in ‘AA).
19) The gahawah-syndrome is not present in GA (cf. V, ad. 2.2.1.1.) (same in ‘AA).
25) Article is il- and the rel. pron. is illi (~ yalli ~ halli) (cf. V, ad. 3.1.9.1.) (also il- and illi in ‘AA).
34) Pron. suffix of the 3rd. p. m. sg. is -u in GA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.2.) (also in ‘AA).
41) No gender distinction in the pl. of demonstratives in GA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.13.) (same in ‘AA).
42) Interrogative min? "who?" has a long vowel in GA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.14.) (also in 'AA).

47) Preposition "for" has stressed initial i- in GA (cf. V, ad. 2.3.5. and ad. 3.1.16.) (also in 'AA).

53) No vowel harmony in the prefix of the a-imperfect of measure 1, but vowel harmony in the i- and u-types of this measure (cf. V, ad. 3.2.1.2.) (also in 'AA).

67) The f. sg. act. part. + obj. suff. do not form a construct state in GA (cf. V, ad. 3.2.1.4.) (same in 'AA).

69) The ft-imperfect is regular in GA (cf. V, ad. 4.3.) (also in 'AA).

21) Use of lamma(n) rather than yöm(in) or löm(in) in GA (cf. V, ad. 4.6.) (also in 'AA).

72) bidd is current in GA (cf. V, ad. 4.11.) (also in 'AA).

It is interesting to see that the B-S criteria yielding sedentary characteristics in GA all yield sedentary characteristics in 'AA as well.

With regard to the remaining B-S criteria:

4) No definitive conclusion with regard to the spread of velarization can be drawn from the material available (cf. V, ad. 1.1.7.).

39) With respect to absence or presence of velarization in demonstratives hād+ (or hād+) if not followed by i: since Salonen does not indicate secondary velarization, no conclusion can be drawn here (cf. V, ad. 3.1.13.).

43) Adverb "there" is usually h(i)nāk(a) in GA. Since we do not have information on this adverb in nearby bedouin dialects, no conclusion is drawn here (cf. V, ad. 3.1.15.1.).

46) Adverb "here" hīna ~ hān(a) (~ hēn) ~ hōn in GA Since we do not have information on this adverb in nearby bedouin dialects, no conclusion is drawn here (cf. V, ad. 3.1.15.1.).

66) Occurrence of $C_1T_0C_2aC_3$, $yC_1T_0C_2iC_3$-type of verbs: the presence of a typically bedouin verb like gōtar, ygōtir cannot be established for GA (cf. V, ad. 3.2.3.9.).

We see that GA has a number of typically bedouin features (according to our B-S criteria) in common with the bedouin type, and that these are more numerous than in 'AA. The bedouin features lacking in 'AA, but present in GA
are: 2), 6), 20), 30), 56), 65), 68) and 6), although 2), 65) and 68) could be listed as "partial" differences (cf. remarks in C. V. c. "Partial" isoglosses).

Other characteristics of GA distinguishing it from 'AA are listed below. In cases where differences are covered by our criteria listed in A. III. c. **Criteria used for maps in the appendix**, the number of the criterion follows in brackets:

a.) A degree of phonetic overlapping of ê and i, and of ø and ü (cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.1. and ad. 1.2.2.2.) (not in 'AA) (criterion 5)).
b.) Raising of a as high as ê (cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.3.) (not in 'AA).
c.) Up to a certain degree, GA appears to be "non-différentiel" (already referred to above under 12)) (cf. V, ad. 2.4.) ('AA is clearly "différentiel").
d.) Assimilation of initial h- of pron. suffixes to preceding (usually voiceless) consonants (cf. V, ad. 2.5.) (not in 'AA).
e.) In GA we have no morphological restructuring of the patterns *C₁aC₂C₃ân and *C₁aC₂C₂âC₃, whereas in 'AA these have been restructured as C₁iC₂C₃ân and *C₁iC₂C₂âC₃ (cf. V, ad. 3.1.1.4.) (criterion 22)).
f.) Independent personal pronouns: âni is less frequent in GA than in 'AA, hû and hi are more frequent in GA than in 'AA, and GA has an alternative nâhna, and also aâhna occurs (only iţna in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.1.). (criteria 31), 32) and 33)).
g.) Suffixed pers. pron.: apart from the absence of f. pl. forms in 'AA, GA has a v-y allomorph for the 1st p. c. sg. (only recorded once in 'AA), and GA has a C-a allomorph for the 3rd p. f. sg., and a C-um allomorph for the 3rd p. m. pl. (both without initial h-, not heard in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.2.) (criterion 35) for 3rd p. f. sg.).
h.) GA has shortened (although less frequent) demonstratives (m. sg.) hád, há and (f. sg.) hâyy ~ hây for near deixis, which were not heard in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.13.1.) (cf. however remarks in V, ad. 4.8.2.).
i.) Interrogatives: GA šû? for "what?" was not heard in 'AA. Similarly, la šû? for "why?" was not heard in 'AA, and "how many?" is kam? in GA, instead of âkam? in 'AA (cf. V, 3.1.14.).
j.) Adverbs: apart from adverbs mentioned above under 45J and 46), 'AA kida contrasts with GA hêk "thus", 'AA (h)alhîn ~ ilhîn "now" contrasts with halla' ~ hessâ ~ hassa in GA, and 'AA minnu "after that" does not appear to be current in GA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.15.1.).
C. Conclusion

k.) The unsuffixed preposition "with" may appear as ma' in GA and suffixed as ma'u (~ ma'a and ma'āh). In 'AA only ma'a and ma'āh are heard (cf. V, ad. 3.1.16.) (criterion 48)).

l.) Numerals: the GA f. form tintēn for "two" was not heard in 'AA, the f. form for "one" wāhde in GA contrasts with 'AA wahada. The ' has not been dropped from numerals 11-19 in GA, e.g. xamsta'sar is xamistqsar in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 3.1.17.) (criterion 49) for "one (f. sg.)").

m.) Apart from the 2nd and 3rd p. m. pl. ending -u and the 2nd p. f. sg. ending -i (also heard in 'AA), Salonen lists -un and -in (!) respectively, which is strong evidence of North Arabian (i.e. Nağdiy) bedouin influences (cf. V, ad. 3.2.1.2.) (partially covered by criterion 54)).

n.) The active participles of primae hamzah verbs have initial m- in GA, as opposed to initial w- in 'AA of the Favaxriyyah) (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.3.) (criterion 59)).

o.) The vowel of the m. sg. imperative of primae hamzah verbs in GA is lengthened (not in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.3.).

p.) The i-type perfect for tertiae infirmae verbs appears to be less current in GA than in 'AA (cf. ad. V, 3.2.2.5.1.).

q.) Perfect of the verb "come": the proclitic is short in GA (in 'AA it is either short i- or long i-). The base-vowel of the perfect with consonant-initial verbal suffixes is i in GA (but e in 'AA). When suffixed with consonant-initial verbal suffixes the proclitic is absent (but it is present in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.6.1.) (criterion 60)).

r.) Imperfect of the verb "come": the imperfect vowel is usually short i in GA (but it is long i in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.2.2.6.1.) (criterion 61)).

s.) The final radical y of tertiae infirmae measure 1-t verbs does not close the syllable in GA (it does in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 3.2.3.3.1.).

t.) A future particle ha- or ha- does not appear to be current in GA, but bidd is used (ha- ~ bidd occur in 'AA) (cf. V, ad. 4.4.) (criterion 70)).

u.)* gām used as a "marker of consequent action" was recorded in GA, but not in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 4.7.1.) (criterion 72)).

v.)* rāh was recorded as an unconjugated particle in GA, but not in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 4.7.2.).

w.)* A presentative particle (or demonstrative?) hāy ~ hāyy was recorded in GA, but not in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 4.8.2.).

x.)* The intensifying particle la- was recorded in GA, but not in 'AA (cf. V, ad. 4.10.).
C. Conclusion

y.)* The ethical dative is used much more frequently in GA than in 'AA (where it was not recorded) (cf. V, ad. 4.14.3.).

* For the last five differences listed here we cannot positively exclude the possibility that the situation in 'AA may be more or less like in GA; the absence of these features in 'AA may be related to the relative limitedness of the material available on this dialect.

Of these features constituting differences between GA and 'AA, the following are more like those found in our group I (or Negev- type: a., d.), e.), f.), g.) (only with regard to the v-y allomorph), i.) (only with regard to kam). k.) (i.e. the fact that the short form occurs), l.) (only with regard to the f. form for "two"), n.), r.) (i.e. a similarity with BaA of group I only), and (uncertain differences between 'AA and GA) u.), v.), w.), x.), y.).

II. The dialects of al'Arîš and Gazzah compared to dialects of Palestine and Transjordan.

Now that we have established that 'AA is not of the surrounding bedouin type, we shall measure 'AA against criteria listed in PALVA (1984) to try and more positively establish the typological position of the dialect of al'Arîš. In addition, we shall attempt to typologically classify the dialect of Gaza based on the information given in the preceding paragraph and in the second part of chapter V.

The criteria used to typologically classify the dialects of Palestine and Transjordan are listed below. The outcome of applying these criteria for 'AA, GA, South Transjordanian (abbreviated as STA), and the urban type (abbreviated as uA) follows in brackets:

(a) Reflexes of older interdentals *t, *d, and *d. (in 'AA: t, d, d; in GA: t, d, d (?); in STA: t, d, d; in uA: t, d, d) (cf. V, (ad.) 1.1.2.).

(b) Reflex of *q. (in 'AA: g; in GA: g; in STA: g; in uA: ' ) (cf. V, (ad.) 1.1.3.).

(c) Reflex of *k. (in 'AA: k; in GA: k; in STA: k; in uA: k) (cf. V, (ad.) 1.1.3.).

(d) Reflex of *g. (in 'AA: g; in GA: g; in STA: g; in uA: ž (I.P.A.[3])) (cf. V, (ad.) 1.1.4.).
C. Conclusion

1. Reflex of sequence CICa(C). (in ‘AA: CICa(C); in GA: CICa(C); in STA: CICA(C); in uA: CICA(C))932 (cf. V, (ad.) 2.3.5.).

2. Reflex of sequence CaCaCV. (in ‘AA: CaCaCV; in GA: CaCaCV or CaCCV; in STA: CaCaCV; in uA: CaCaCV.933 Where V = v, stress is on the vowel of the first syllable in all four dialect-types: CâCaCv) (cf. V, (ad.) 2.4. and V, (ad.) 2.1.1.).

(f) Reflex of sequence aXC (i.e. absence or presence of the gahawah-syndrome) (in ‘AA: aXC (i.e. absence); in GA: aXC (i.e. absence); in STA: aXC (i.e. absence); in uA: aXC (i.e. absence)) (cf. V, (ad.) 2.3.5.).

(g) Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons pl. in pers. pronouns and verbs. (in ‘AA: no distinction; in GA: distinction; in STA: distinction; in uA: no distinction) (cf. V, (ad.) 3.1.12.1. and V, (ad.) 3.2.1.1.).

(h) Imperfect indicative non-past (i.e. presence or absence of the b-imperfect). (in ‘AA: bigûl (i.e. presence); in GA: bigûl (i.e. presence); in STA: bigûl (i.e. presence); in uA: bi’ûl (i.e. presence)) (cf. V, (ad.) 4.3.).

(i) The adverb "here". (in ‘AA: hîna; in GA: hîna, hân(a) (~ hên), hôn; in STA: hân; in uA: hôn) (cf. V, (ad.) 3.1.15.1.).


(k) Occurrence of the compound negation mā ... -š. (in ‘AA: presence of compound negation, e.g. mā bihimmiš; in GA: presence/absence (latter option reported to be regular), e.g. mā bihimm, mā bihimm/iš, bihimm(iš); in STA: absence, e.g. mā bihimm; in uA: both, e.g. mā bihimm(iš)) (cf. V, (ad.) 4.2.).

* PALVA (1984) (pp. 366-7) actually phrases criterion (e) as one criterion: Reflex of the sequence CVCaCV. On the reasons for rephrasing this criterion as two criteria, cf. A. III. d. The gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences in the introduction of this study.

Measured against these criteria, ‘AA looks like a mixture between the rural South Transjordanian dialect type (synoptically typified in PALVA (1984) as

932 Cf. CLEVELAND (1963), p. 62 mentions that šita is used for "winter" in all of Jordan, although differing in meaning from "rain" to "winter" in his different (four) groups.

933 Cf. CLEVELAND (1967), e.g. ga’adit "she sat down", and ga’adîn "they (f.) sat down" (on p. 51). The dialect of Dawayimeh described in this article is characterized as "in general typical of those of all the Palestine villages south of an east-west line drawn approximately through Bethlehem (but excluding that city), though minor peculiarities are found in nearly every village", cf. ibid. p. 56.
bigül, dik/dyûk, gahwa) and the urban type (synoptically typified as bi’ûl). Similarities of ‘AA with the urban dialect type are in: (a), (c), (e) 1., (e) 2., (f), (g), (h), and (k). Similarities of ‘AA with the South Transjordanian dialect type are in: (b), (c), (d), (e) 1., (e) 2., (f), and (h).

Palva\textsuperscript{934} already remarks that the South Transjordanian dialect type is a mixed dialect type, "[...] the bedouin influx here comes almost exclusively from the bedouin dialects of Arabia Petraea", i.e. NWA dialects spoken east of the Negev. Such influences are comparable to the bedouin influences on ‘AA, which come from the NWA dialects surrounding al‘Arīʃ. In addition to such traceable bedouin influences, ‘AA has clear sedentary characteristics.

We have already noted that ĠA shows quite a few bedouin characteristics that are absent in ‘AA, although in several cases ĠA may also have parallel possibilities which are of a more sedentary type. The question is now whether ĠA is an originally bedouin-type of dialect which acquired sedentary features, or an originally sedentary dialect which acquired many bedouin features as a result of dialect contact with surrounding bedouin tribes.

If we combine information on ĠA in BERGSTRÄSSER (1915) with the information in SALONEN (1979) and (1980), and provided that the information in these publications is correct, it appears that the latter scenario is the most likely, i.e. ĠA was a more typically sedentary dialect before it acquired certain bedouin characteristics. Typically sedentary features reported for ĠA in BERGSTRÄSSER (1915) are:

- Plosive reflexes t, d and d for \( *t \), \( *d \) and \( *d/*d \).
- A ‘ reflex for \( *q \).
- A ź reflex for \( *g \).
- Use of compound negation of verbs mā ... ť.

In SALONEN (1979) and (1980) we see that apart from t and d as reflexes for \( *t \) and \( *d \), we may now also hear t and d. The present ĠA reflex d for \( *d \) and \( *d \) should then be interpreted as a relic of an older situation where all interdentals had plosive reflexes.

The ‘ reflex for \( *q \) has been replaced by g, and the ź reflex for \( *g \) has been replaced by ǧ. Instead of the compound negation mā ... ť, we may now also

\textsuperscript{934} Cf. PALVA (1984), p. 371.
hear more typically bedouin $mā +$ verb form, and also a more typically sedentary $..ā$.

The least we should conclude is that $GA$ is a dialect considerably influenced by other dialect types through dialect contact. Clear indicators are the many parallel forms that exist in $GA$ (cf. also remarks in A. II. d. Gathering linguistic material).

That dialect contact took (and is probably still taking) place should not be a surprise; after the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the area has seen an influx of vast numbers of refugees, so that today nearly half of the population of the Gaza Strip is of diverse Palestinian Arab origin, and "Gaza [town] and its surroundings continue to be greatly overpopulated by [these refugees]".935 We have also seen that several tribes (such as the Rmèlât and Sawârkah) whose dialects are described in chapter I lived (and some presumably still live, such as the Tařâbin?) in this area (cf. A. I. e. Present-day distribution and a concise history of bedouin tribes in this study.).

The influences on $GA$ that have led to more bedouin features need not all have come directly and exclusively from bedouin dialects, however. If we look at the maps in BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), we see in map 1 that as far as the replacement of stops $t$ and $d$ for $*t$ and $*d$ by plain interdentals $t$ and $d$ is concerned, the influence could have come from almost anywhere in Palestine (except the urban dialects), including the bedouin dialects. The same holds for the replacement of $z$ by $g$ for $*g$: map 2 shows that nearly all of Palestine (except the urban dialects) had $g$. In a scenario of dialect contact the replacement of $*q$ by $g$ however, is more likely to have been the result of direct contact with bedouin (a) dialect(s), since map 4 shows that $g$ almost exclusively occurs in the southern part of Palestine among bedouin tribes.

Finally, the development $mā .. .ā > mā$ could be due to bedouin influence, but Bergsträsser936 also reports that $mā$ co-occurs with the compound negation in the entire area937, except in bedouin dialects (with one exception

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935 Cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, under "Gaza" and "Gaza Strip". And also earlier there was a "marked increase in the population [of Gazzah], which rose from 16,000 inhabitants in 1882 to 40,000 in 1906 [...] By 1932, however, the population had declined to approximately 17,000 [...]", cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 1056.

936 Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), § 53 (p. 37).

937 Also PALVA (1984), p. 6, column (k), shows that the single negation $mā .. .ā$ is an option in the urban dialects of the area.
attributed to fallāhiy (i.e. "rural") influences). The development  mā . . . s > . . . s could be attributable to any rural dialect of Palestine938.939

III. Maps drawn of the area.

Many more maps than we have drawn here could have been drawn on the basis of the material presented in chapters I-V. For instance, a map on stress in nominals suffixed with the 2nd p. m. sg. suff. would show an interesting difference between DA (e.g. salâmâtk! "greetings to you!") and SA and 'AgA (salâmâtk!). Mapping such additional differences would result in numerous extra maps.

As was pointed out in the introduction (cf. A. III. a. Selecting criteria for comparison), the first criterion in a contrastive study for drawing a map of a certain area must be a linguistic difference showing up somewhere inside that area. In order to construct an evenly balanced picture of the linguistic situation,

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938 Cf ibid.
939 All this being said, I must confess that I am not entirely convinced of the accuracy of the data as provided by Salonen. His informants may have been Gazzâwiy’s (and the clear suggestion in 1979, p. 3, is that the dialect described is that of the town), but the question is whether they were actually born and bred in Gazzah town, or whether they (or some of them) perhaps grew up in villages or other towns in the area (i.e. the Gaza Strip, rather than Gaza town). Some indications that this may be the case are found in the texts themselves: in 1980, text IV, p. 7 the speaker (Abderrahman Nağgar, cf. ibid., p. 5) of 1980, texts I-VIII, mentions that the village where he lived as a little boy was about eight kilometers from Xän Yünis. This means that this village cannot have been nearer to Gazzah town than 12 kilometers away from it, since the distance between Xän Yünis and Gazzah town is approximately 20 kilometers. The woman speaker (the wife of Ahmad al-Hissi, cf. ibid. p. 5) of 1979, texts V and VI, and of 1980, text IX, also mentions that her school was in Xän Yünis, and that Ahmad al-Hissi himself is also from Xän Yünis becomes apparent when he addresses his wife in 1979, text II, p. 5, 1-2 saying "Tell us one of the stories of the (Gaza) Strip that you (f. pl.) have, (one of the stories) that we have from Xän Yünis...". If then this informant is not originally from Gazzah, it is unlikely that his brother (cf. 1980, p. 5), who is the speaker of 1980, text XIII, is.

This means that we may have serious doubts as to the Gazzâwiy (i.e. from the town Gazzah itself) origins of four of the total of ten speakers appearing in Salonen’s publications. In fact, roughly two thirds (as counted pages) of the spoken texts appearing in SALONEN (1979), and almost half of those appearing in SALONEN (1980) turn out to be of doubtful origin (in a linguistic sense, of course), which is simply too much. One can only hope that the remaining six informants are of less doubtful Gazzâwiy origin.

Another point of concern is that the informants had been living abroad in non-Arabic-speaking countries for a considerable time (Sweden and Finland, cf. 1979, p. 4). Chances that over the years their original dialect(s) was/were influenced by contact with speakers of Arabic from other parts of the Arab world should not be underestimated.
the differences should then cover the various fields of phonology, stress and phonotactics, morphology, and also lexicon. An attempt was made to present just such a balanced picture in this study; most of the criteria applied here are also applied in other dialect-geographical studies, and the information contained in the maps of this study thus facilitates direct comparison with the information presented in other dialect studies. In addition to the fields mentioned, a few aspects of syntax are also covered in the maps, such as the use of the b-imperfect (in MAP 69), and the future particle (in MAP 71). The outcome (although for some dialects uncertain) of the application of such criteria neatly corresponds to the typological classification made possible by the application of other criteria.

The result is, I believe, a fairly accurate representation of the linguistic situation in the area. Adding more maps would not fundamentally alter the overall picture already presented here. Any additional information illustrating further differences and similarities may be found in the descriptive chapters I-V.

Where the information for a particular dialect is very likely, but has only been recorded once, or not very clearly, the symbol for the likely form is followed by a question mark. Such information results in differences and similarities that have been labeled "uncertain".

IV. Classifying the dialects of the area.

To classify the dialects of our area we have drawn isogloss bundles in MAP 00. The isoglosses result from applying the criteria listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix). Most of these bundles have a geographical dimension, but one of the bundles (isogloss bundle number -21-) is labeled 'virtual', in that it does not have a direct geographical dimension since the dialects distinguished by this isogloss bundle do not actually geographically border on each other. Drawing such a bundle of virtual isoglosses does have a historical justification, however.

The purpose of this 'virtual' isogloss bundle is to illustrate the relatively small number of differences between BA and eŠA, notwithstanding the fact that the former can still be called a bedouin dialect in an important number of respects (cf. discussion under isogloss bundle number -21- in C. V. d. Bundles of identified isoglosses in northern Sinai), and the latter is of the sedentary type. The relatively small number of differences between BA and eŠA should illustrate the influence that these dialects have exerted on each other over the
centuries. That speakers of these dialects must have been in contact with each other is very likely, since we know that tribes in the northwest of Sinai regularly traveled to the eastern Nile Delta, and that still today several of our tribes have relatives settled in that area.\textsuperscript{940} BA does not only represent itself, but is here taken as the clearest exponent of a bedouin type of dialect in northern Sinai influenced by the sedentary type in the Egyptian Delta.

One of the original research questions was to what extent Sinai bedouin dialects have contributed to the development of the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyah. In BA, however, we have a good example of the extent to which more sedentary dialects in the Egyptian Delta must have contributed to the development of bedouin dialects in northwestern Sinai. The conclusion must be that in a situation of dialect contact, all dialects involved are influenced to some extent. To quantify the extent to which these influences are operative is to be reserved for future research. As was already pointed out earlier: it is of vital importance to know which tribe or subtribe settled where, in what numbers, among whom, when and for how long, if we are to arrive at some acceptable quantification of the influences we can now only suspect. It is of equal importance to first reconstruct as precisely as possible the earlier type of dialect spoken in the eastern Šarqiyyah, a "proto-ŠA" which must have been spoken before it became influenced by bedouin dialects.

That eŠA and BA do not directly border on each other should not keep us from making the comparison; we know that most, if not all bedouin tribes of the area had a (semi-) nomadic lifestyle before they became fully settled. The tribes in the northeast would travel east to Palestine to graze their small cattle, and to help in harvest times as day labourers, but the tribes in the northwest would often also travel west to the Egyptian Nile Delta for the same purposes.\textsuperscript{941} Many of these tribes are still found in the Egyptian Delta today, and a large number of inhabitants of Sinaïtic bedouin origin is found in the eastern part of the Delta.

Many of these new inhabitants can no longer be distinguished from their non-bedouin neighbours by their speech, and most of them have probably fully

\textsuperscript{940} ABUL FADL (1961), pp. 2-4, mentions a number of tribes found in the Šarqiyyah who are no doubt related to our tribes in the northwest of Sinai (in his transcription): Bayādiyin (Biyādiyyah), ʿal-ʿAḥārsah (Axārsah), ʿal-Masāʿid (Masāʿid), ʿal-ʿAqāyila (ʿAgāyilah)

\textsuperscript{941} Many of the older members of tribal communities still remember their annual trek to Palestine, which only ended after the creation of the state of Israel.
integrated into the rural communities in which they have settled. But some of these at least were still showing bedouin characteristics in their speech in the late 1950s, and members of originally bedouin communities with tribal ties in Sinai still regularly visit their relatives there.

These new inhabitants did contribute, however, to the development of a new dialect type of the eastern Šarqiyyah. The proposed 'virtual' isogloss bundle (number -21-) is therefore to be interpreted more from a historical perspective, when the dialects in question did actually geographically border on each other on a regular (seasonal) basis, and members of tribes from Sinai settled in the Šarqiyyah, than from a direct present-day geographical perspective, now that the seasonal trek of the different tribes in the northwest of Sinai has ceased to take place due to circumstances outlined in the introduction of this study (cf. A. I. a. Northern Sinai in history).

V. Remarks to isogloss bundles in northern Sinai drawn in MAP 00.

a. Isogloss bundles coinciding with tribal boundaries.

As was mentioned in the introduction (cf. A. II. b. Selecting targets for field research), our working hypothesis was that the dialect of one tribe will not differ much from one location to another location within the same tribal area. This hypothesis could grosso modo be corroborated during the reasearch for this study, although there were some exceptions.

One example of such an exception is the reported absence of raising of \( a \) in \( CaCiC(a) \) (\( \rightarrow CiCiC(a) \)) in the dialect of the Mawâlkah section living in Nağîlah, and the Mrâbiyyin from Gtayyi', who are both subsections of the Biyyâdîyyah. This raising does take place, however, in the dialect of the Hrûs subsection (in Râb'ah), and also, as far as could be verified, in that of the Marâzgah (in Bir al'Abd). This does not disprove our working hypothesis; it merely means that our definition of what constitutes a social entity could have been a little more refined.

The speech of the Dawâghra is another example: those living near the main road were found to show more koineizing influences in their speech than those living farther away from it.

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942 Cf. characteristics of speech recorded in the bedouin villages in ABUL FADL (1961).
943 I was also told that the judge of the Mâdâ'îd still travels to the Nile Delta on a regular basis to settle disputes between bedouins settled there.
C. Conclusion

Good examples of corroboration of our working hypothesis were also found: the dialect of the Masāʾid, for instance, who live in and around Čilbānah in the northwest of Sinai, is still strikingly similar (notwithstanding koineizing influences that have left their traces in MA as well) to that of the Ahaywāt, although these live hundreds of kilometres away, in the central eastern part of Sinai. The reason that these dialects have so many common characteristics is that the Masāʾid and the Ahaywāt were historically one tribe, from which the latter split off (either as a subsection, or a ʿēlah "a family", as it is reported).

Additional evidence of the correctness of our basic assumption was found in the dialect of the Sawārkah: the dialect recorded from Swērkīy speakers in arRōdah (or arRawqah) did not noticeably differ from the dialect spoken by Sawārkah in adDhayr, which is approximately 80 kilometres farther to the east.

The conclusion should therefore be that the isoglosses drawn have to be taken with (just) a pinch of salt to allow for some limited variation in terms of sheer geography. These isoglosses do coincide, however, with clear borders in terms of human geography944, and the two maps on p. I in the appendix illustrate this.

b. Isoglosses.

The isoglosses drawn on the basis of criteria listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix) appear in MAPS 1-73 in the appendix. In MAP 00 these isoglosses have been collected to form bundles. In MAP 74 the dialect groups are represented. The numbering of the isogloss bundles in MAP 00 corresponds to the numbering below (appearing between hyphens).

The numbering of MAPS 1-73 corresponds to the criteria listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix). Individual isoglosses resulting from applying these criteria are numbered in accordance with the criteria from which they are the result, e.g.: criterion 48) produces several isoglosses with the number 48), and these are drawn in MAP 48. E.g. the isogloss with the number 48) between SA (where we have m'āh for "with him") and BaA (where we have maʾāh ~ miʾāh) is part of isogloss bundle number -3- in MAP 00 distinguishing SA from BaA.

944 Cf. also remarks on "social dialects" in BLANC (1964), pp. 12-4.
c. "Partial" isoglosses.

A number of the isoglosses have been labeled "partial". These illustrate partial differences (or similarities) between dialects. They are "partial" in the sense that of parallel forms occurring in, say, dialect A, one or more forms may be identical to a form (or forms) recorded in dialect B with which dialect A is contrasted. If parallel forms exist in dialect A, the same form occurring in (a) neighbouring dialect(s), with which dialect A has come into contact, is generally best interpreted as the more recently introduced form in dialect A. The parallel form also occurring in dialect A, but not in the neighbouring contact dialect(s), is then usually best interpreted as the more original dialect A form.\textsuperscript{945}

Such a "partial" isogloss is the result of a slightly different approach than usual; to draw the maps for this study I have chosen not to overgeneralize the suspected original features of a dialect, since doing so would result in maps that do not fully reflect the linguistic reality. The linguistic reality, namely, is that all dialects are going through a process of change. The parallel forms that cause "partial" isoglosses are the indicators of the dynamics of such change, and it was felt that generalizing original forms and only mapping these to the exclusion of parallel forms would be like retouching a snapshot by omitting elements that would disturb a neat and more easily interpretable picture. The background of a picture here may provide valuable information on the direction of change in the dialects under study, especially, it is hoped, for future research.\textsuperscript{946}

If, for instance, for AxA the generalization would have been made that plain (i.e. non-emphatic) interdentals *t and *d have t and d reflexes, the fact that a number of forms with interdental reflexes were recorded in AxA would have had to be ignored. Conversely, if the presence of interdental reflexes would have been generalized, the fact that more often than not the reflexes will be plosives would have had to be ignored. Both generalizations do too little justice to the linguistic situation in AxA, and therefore neither is made. Criterion 21 will thus produce partial isoglosses between AxA and the dialects surrounding it. If one form appears in one of the dialects under comparison, and not in the other, a difference according to the criterion set is the result. If in one of the dialects a

\textsuperscript{945} This may seem like a rigorous and oversimplified statement, but it is a logical conclusion from TRUDGILL (1983), chapter 5. Paraphrased: changes which are the result of contact (externally motivated) are "non-natural", while changes that develop not as a result of contact (but are internally motivated) are "natural".

\textsuperscript{946} When dialects have come into contact with each other, several forms, originating from the different dialects, may exist side by side for some time in the dialect affected by such contact, until one of the forms is leveled out. Cf. fn 87 to A. II. d. in the introduction.
parallel form appears which may also be heard in the other dialect, setting the same criterion will yield a similarity.

As to the direction of change in this example, one might speculate that AxA is in the process of losing its interdental reflexes for *t and *d, which can be described as a general trend, and which is a stage in the process of change through which BA has already passed, but one can only be sure that the direction of change is towards loss of interdental reflexes of *t and *d if one returns after a number of years, and speakers of AxA no longer produce plain interdents. The conclusion of the direction of this change being towards the loss of plain interdents may be plausible - a four-fold opposition /t/ - /d/ - /t/ - /d/ is then reduced to a two-fold opposition /t/ - /d/, i.e. like in BA - but one cannot be one hundred percent sure. Sometimes speakers "decide" that a given change may constitute too much of a loss (because the original situation is too much of an identity marker in a positive sense), so that the process of change stops, and may even take a turn in the opposite direction. One cannot be sure therefore that in the case of AxA the direction of change is towards the loss of plain interdents; there is the somewhat less likely possibility that plain interdents are being reintroduced, and drawing conclusions as to the direction of movement from one still picture may seem premature.

However, if we can identify the isogloss drawn on the presence or absence of plain interdents as a "distinctive" isogloss, Goossens allows us to draw conclusions concerning the direction of the change. To paraphrase: when two neighbouring related dialects have different phoneme inventories, and the number of phonemes in these inventories also differs, then there are bound to be distinctive differences between these dialects. If we take the phoneme inventory of BA as an example and contrast it with the phoneme inventory of neighbouring SaA, we get the following picture:

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947 TRUDGILL (1986), passim, points out that salient features are the first to be subject to change as a result of dialect contact, provided they are not "too salient", i.e. too much of a stereotype, in which case salience may inhibit change.

948 This is less likely because one would then expect imperfections such as a t reflex for *t and a d reflex for *d. Such imperfect reintroductions (or hypercorrections) were however not recorded in AxA.

If we look for regular correspondences, we see that SaA d will regularly be d in BA, and SaA t will be t in BA. From this fact we cannot draw a conclusion of distinctiveness. But if we look at this information from the opposite angle, we see that there is not a regular correspondence between BA d and SaA d, or BA d and SaA d. The same holds for BA t and SaA t, or BA t and SaA t. To illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reflex of</th>
<th>in SaA</th>
<th>in BA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Table](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

From this irregular correspondence we may conclude distinctiveness of the identified isogloss. As to the direction of change we may conclude that the situation in BA represents a later stage in the development than the situation in SaA, and that the situation now found in BA could eventually develop in SaA as well, but the situation now found in SaA will not very likely develop (or be reintroduced) in BA. As Goossens950 puts it:

"Bei distinktiven Isoglossen weiß man also nicht nur, an welcher Seite der Grenze eine Neuerung sich vollzogen hat (nämlich dort wo Homonymie vorkommt), sondern auch, in welcher Richtung sich die Isoglosse künftig ausschließlich verschieben kann (nämlich in das Gebiet hinein, wo bis jetzt keine Phonemkollision stattfand). Nicht-distinktive Isoglossen können sich dagegen in zwei Richtungen verschieben."

This leads to the conclusion that the situation in AxA is much more likely to be an illustration of a process in which plain interdentals are being replaced by stops, than of a process in which stops t and d are being replaced by plain interdentals, and then only in those cases where they are reflexes of *t and *d.

950 Cf. ibid., p. 53.
respectively (i.e. imperfect and hypercorrect reintroductions such as *tamām and *dawa were not recorded).

d. Bundles of identified isoglosses in northern Sinai.

The criteria listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix) produce many isoglosses which distinguish the various dialects of our area. Below the isoglosses distinguishing neighbouring dialects are listed as part of the isogloss bundles which they form.

For ease of reference a succinct recapitulation of our criteria listed in the introduction (cf. A. III. c. Criteria used for maps in the appendix) is given below. The criteria (B-S criteria are underlined) are phrased as characteristics of the Negev-type. A more precise characterization of Negev Arabic (DA) may be found in chapter I. The numbering of the criteria corresponds with the numbering of the MAPS in the appendix:

Recapitulation of criteria used for maps in the appendix:

1) /kl/ for *k, not /kl/ and /kl/.
2) /t/ and /d/ for *t and *d.
3) /d/ for *d and *d.
4) widespread sec. velarization.
5) *ay > ë ~ ë and *aw > û ~ û.
6) unstressed û → n in allegro speech.
7) raising in aCA → ICA.
8) raising of T > -ih.
9) raising of final *-ā(i') > -iy.
10) M + final *-ā(i').
11) M or X + *ay or *aw: no monophthongization.
12) stress word-final vC3vC5vC3.
13) stress màCaCaCah.
14) stress *CaCvC.
15) stress *CaCìCv.
16) stress *CaCìCaCv.
17) no resyllabication of CaCaCv.
18) stress alCaCaC / ànCaCaC etc.
19) presence of gahawah-syndrome.

44) interrogative kalyf ~ kēf ~ kif "how?".
45) adv. "there" ënä / ënuh.
46) adv. "here" hnuiy or fi hâda ~ fi hâda.
47) prep. "for" + suff. lah ~ ëh.
48) prep. "with" + suff. ma'âh.
49) numeral "one (f.)" wiðdhìh.
50) vowel harmony 3rd p. m. pl. ending of a-type perfects: kitibaw.
51) vowel harmony 3rd p. f. pl. ending of a-type perfects kitìban.
52) no morphological restruct. of *šarîb.
53) Vowel harmony in prefix of imperf. measure 1: yašra⁸, yiktib, yug'ud.
54) vowel harmony in 3rd p. m. pl. and 2nd f. sg. verb ending of a-type imperf. / no final -n: ytašra⁸baw, tašra⁸ay.
55) vowel harmony 3rd p. f. pl. ending of a-, i- and u-type imperf.: yâšra⁸ban, yiktibin, yęgu'din.
20) presence of word-initial $CCV$.
21) $CiaCtC3(ah) > C1tC2tC3(ah)$.
22) $CaCCâC ightarrow CICCâC$.  
23) $CaCCâC(ah) > CIĆCâC(ah)$.
24) $aCCaC$ for *$aCCaC$.
25) article al- and rel. pron. alliy.
26) initial $a$ in annm, axi, adên etc.
27) $T$ in construction: $aCT ightarrow aCaT$.
28) elision of vowel $i$, not of $a$.
29) pronunciation with $suql$, not (b)âs.
30) gender distinction in pl.
31) 3rd p. m. & f. pron. $hâ$ and $hi$.
32) 1st p. c. sg. pers. pron. and(').
33) 1st. p. c. pl. pers. pron. ahna.
34) pron. suff. 3rd p. m. sg. -ak/-th.
35) pron. suff. 3rd p. f. sg. -hâ/-hây).
36) pron. suff. 2nd p. m. sg. -ak.
37) pron. suff. 2nd p. f. sg. -kiy.
38) pron. suff. 1st p. c. sg. -i and -nî.
39) $hâca - hâda "$this (m. sg.)"$.
40)$hêdîy "$this (f. sg.)"$.
41) no gender dist. in pl. dem. pron.
42) short $v$ in interr. $min "$who"$.
43) interrogative $wên "$where"$.

Using these Negev characteristics as criteria for comparison with and between other dialects spoken in northern Sinai produces the following bundles of isoglosses (cf. MAP 00 on p. I in the appendix):

-1- Isogloss bundle nr -1- distinguishes RA from SA.

Criterion 47)* yields a partial difference, but other criteria only yield similarities, although those concluded on the basis of 22) and 23) are not entirely certain.

* Ad 47): since in neither of these dialects the preposition has initial $i-$, the criterion set does not yield a B-S difference in this case.
Our criteria yield 1 difference (not counting the 2 uncertain ones) between RA and SA.

-2- Isogloss bundle nr -2- distinguishing 'AA from SA was discussed above in C. I. a.

Our criteria yield 60 differences between 'AA and SA, of which 4 are partial.

-3- Isogloss bundle nr -3- distinguishes SA from BaA.


Criteria 22) and 23) yield similarities that are not entirely certain.

* 9) and 42) are not interpreted as B-S oppositions here, since the forms that do occur in BaA are not of a nearby sedentary type. Ad 15): cf. remark on 15) under isogloss bundle nr -7-.

Our criteria yield 21 differences between BaA and SA, of which 17 are partial. We see that many of our criteria yield partial differences. These are "partial" in the sense that the outcome of applying a criterion may yield a difference between BaA and SA, as well as a similarity shared by these dialects. The reason is that certain dialectal features of BaA that would constitute differences between BaA and SA appear to be losing ground to forms that are similar to SA forms. This may be a very natural development resulting from dialect contact, but we have seen that some of these differences appear to be deliberately kept hidden from outsiders (cf. remarks in footnotes to I, 2.1.1.2.1.6. and I, 3.1.12.2.2.), because the forms are felt to be too much like the forms heard in DA, the dialect of the neighbouring tribe, who are viewed as pariahs.

-4- Isogloss bundle nr -3- distinguishes SA from BaA.

Criteria yielding differences are: 9)*, 15)* (partial), 16) (partial), 17) (partial), 18) (partial), 21) (partial), 26) (partial), 27) (partial), 28) (partial), 35) (partial, partly

65), and 72) are uncertain. 23) is an uncertain difference.

* Ad 9) and 42): cf. remarks to 9) and 42) under isogloss bundle nr -3-. Ad 15): cf. remark to 15) under isogloss bundle nr -7-.

Our criteria yield 18 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between TA and BaA, of which 16 are partial.

-5- Isogloss bundle nr -5- distinguishes SA from DA.


49), 59), 67) are uncertain, 22) and 23) are uncertain similarities.

Our criteria yield 12 differences between BaA and SA, of which 6 are partial.

-6- Isogloss bundle nr -6- distinguishes BaA from DA.


* Ad 9) and 42), cf. remarks on 9) and 42) under isogloss bundle nr -3-. Ad 15): cf. remark on 15) under isogloss bundle nr -7-. Ad 19): since in both dialects we have an active gahawah-syndrome, no B-S opposition should be concluded here (the difference appearing in MAP 19 is caused by criterion 17)). For 20) a B-S opposition should not be concluded in this case either, since both dialects have initial CC.
Our criteria yield 41 differences between BaA and DA, of which 20 are partial.

-7- Isogloss bundle nr -7- distinguishes SA from DA.

Criteria yielding differences: 10), 11), 12), 14) (partial), 15)* (partial), 16), 17), 19)*, 20)*, 21), 25) (partial), 26), 27), 28), 31), 32) (partial), 35), 36), 37), 38), 39)*, 40) (partial), 41), 42)*, 47), 48), 50), 51), 52), 54), 55), 57), 58), 60), 61), 64), 69), 72).

22) is an uncertain similarity, 23) is an uncertain difference.

* Ad 15): stress in *CaCaCv varies in SA, but one of the possibilities is stress being on the second syllable, as in DA. Therefore a partial difference is concluded here. Ad 19) and 20): cf. remarks to 19) and 20) under isogloss bundle nr -6-. Ad 39): no B-S opposition should be concluded here, since in both dialects d in the reflex of *hāda is not velarized. Ad 42): cf. remark on 42) under isogloss bundle nr -3-.

Our criteria yield 38 differences between SA and DA, of which 5 are partial.

-8- Isogloss bundle nr -8- distinguishes BA from DA.

Criteria yielding differences: 2), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 12), 13), 15), 16), 17), 18), 19), 20)* (partial), 21), 22), 23), 24), 25)* (partial), 26), 27), 28), 29) (partial), 31), 32), 33), 34), 36), 37), 38), 39)*, 40) (partial), 41), 42), 43), 44), 45), 46)*, 47), 48), 49), 51), 52), 53), 54), 55), 57), 59), 60), 61), 62), 63), 64), 65), 66), 67), 68), 69), 70), 71), 72), 73).

* Ad 20): cf. fn to 20) under isogloss bundle nr -21-. Ad 39): cf. remark on 39) under isogloss bundle nr -7-. Ad 46): cf. remark to 46) under isogloss bundle nr -14-.

Ad 50) not being counted as a difference: the difference in MAP 50 is already covered by 17). Therefore no difference is concluded here.

Added up, the 73 criteria applied yield no less than 63 differences between BA and DA, of which 4 are partial. This constitutes the largest concentration
of isoglosses in the area (closely followed by isogloss bundle nr -2- distinguishing ‘AA from SA).

-9- Isogloss bundle nr -9- distinguishes BA from BaA.


* Ad 20*: cf. fn to 20 under isogloss bundle nr -21-. Ad 47*: cf. remark to 47 under isogloss bundle nr -1-.

Our criteria yield 60 differences between BA and BaA, of which 15 are partial.

-10- Isogloss bundle nr -10- distinguishes BA from ‘AyA.

Criteria yielding differences: 21, 5, 7, 8, 29, 10, 11, 13, 14 (partial), 15 (partial), 16, 18, 19, 20* (partial), 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29 (partial), 31, 32 (partial), 33, 34, 35, 37, 39 (partial), 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48 (partial), 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58 (partial), 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73.

* Ad 20*: cf. fn to 20 under isogloss bundle number -21-.

27), 67), 72), are uncertain. 64) is an uncertain difference.

Our criteria yield 55 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between BA and ‘AyA, of which 7 are partial.

-11- Isogloss bundle nr -11- distinguishes BA from SaA.

Criteria yielding differences: 1, 2, 7 (partial), 8, 9*, 13, 16, 19, 20*, 21, 23, 24, 25 (partial), 29 (partial), 31 (partial), 32 (partial), 33, 36 (partial),
C. Conclusion

37), 39* (partial), 40) (partial), 43), 44) (partial), 46), (partial), 49), 50), 52), 53) (partial), 54), 59), 60), 62), 72) (partial).

65), 67) are uncertain similarities. 66) is an uncertain difference.

* Ad 9): the degree of raising and its conditioning is already covered by 8). No B-S opposition is concluded here, since no extreme raising (as in group I except BaA) or glottalization (as in BaA) occurs. Ad 20): the difference here is the quality of the initial vowel; neither dialect has initial CC in this pattern, therefore this is not a B-S opposition. Ad 39): the difference here is in part already covered by 2). Both dialects are similar in that velarization is absent in their reflexes of *ṭ, therefore this is not a B-S opposition. The partial difference is here concluded because of the occurrence of da(h)/di(h) in BA, which is absent in SaA.

Ad the absence of 27): since the gahawah-syndrome is not active in BA, 27) does not yield a real difference to SaA.

Our criteria yield 33 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between BA and SaA, of which 12 are partial.

-12- Isogloss bundle nr -12- distinguishes 'AgA from 'AyA.


27), 63), 67), 72) are uncertain. 66), 57) are uncertain similarities. 64) is an uncertain difference.

* Ad 20): cf. fn to 20) under isogloss bundle number -21-. Ad 47): cf. remark to 47) under isogloss bundle nr -1-.

Our criteria yield 35 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between 'AgA and 'AyA, of which 10 are partial.
C. Conclusion

-13- Isogloss bundle nr -13- distinguishes AxA from MA.

Criteria yielding differences: 21 (partial), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 14) (partial), 15) (partial), 16), 18), 19), 20)* (partial), 21), 22), 24), 25), 26), 29) (partial), 31), 32), 34), 35), 39) (partial), 40), 42), 43) (partial), 44), 45), 46), 47)*, 48), 49), 50), 51), 531 (partial), 54), 55), 57), 58), 59), 60), 61), 62), 63), 66), 67), 68), 70), 71), 73).

23), 27), 52), 64), 72) are uncertain. 651 is an uncertain difference.

* Ad 20)*: cf. fn to 20) under isogloss bundle nr -21-. Ad 47): cf. remark to 47) under isogloss bundle nr -1-.

Our criteria yield 51 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between AxA and MA, of which 8 are partial.

-14- Isogloss bundle nr -14- distinguishes AxA from BA.


23), 65) are uncertain.

* Ad 46): the form hāna in BA, AxA and ‘AgA could be a typically bedouin form. The criterion is underlined here as a B-S criterion, but perhaps it should not have been.

Our criteria yield 9 differences between AxA and BA, of which 6 are partial.

-15- Isogloss bundle nr -15- distinguishes SaA from ‘AyA.

C. Conclusion

27), 67, 72) are uncertain. 57), 68) are uncertain similarities. 64), 65) are uncertain differences.

* Ad 20): cf. fn to 20) under isogloss nr -21-. Ad 47): cf. remark to 47) under isogloss bundle nr -1-.

Our criteria yield 42 differences (not counting the 2 uncertain differences) between SaA and ‘AyA, of which 14 are partial.

-16- Isogloss bundle nr -16- distinguishes AxA from ‘AgA.


23), 63) are uncertain. 65), 66), 67) are uncertain differences.


Our criteria yield 31 differences (not counting the 3 uncertain differences) between AxA and ‘AgA, of which 12 are partial.

-17- Isogloss bundle nr -17- distinguishes AxA from SaA.


23) is uncertain. 65), 67) are uncertain similarities. 66) is an uncertain difference.

Since the *gahawah*-syndrome is not active in *AxA*, criterion 27) does not yield a real difference to *SaA*, and it is therefore not listed as one.

Our criteria yield 29 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between *AxA* and *SaA*, of which 13 are partial.

-18- Isogloss bundle nr -18- distinguishes *‘AgA* from *SaA*.

Criteria yielding differences: 27), 42), 44) (partial), 46)* (partial), 48), 50), 51), 54), 55), 73) (partial).

63) is uncertain. 65), 67) are uncertain differences. 66) is an uncertain similarity.

* Ad 46): cf. remark to 46) under isogloss bundle nr -14-.

Our criteria yield 10 differences (not counting the 2 uncertain differences) between *SaA* and *‘AgA*, of which 3 are partial.

-19- Isogloss bundle nr -19- distinguishes *eŠA* from *‘AyA*.


67), 72) are uncertain. 64) is an uncertain difference. 57) is an uncertain similarity.

* Ad 20): this criterion actually yields a whole difference (as opposed to a partial difference in e.g. isogloss bundle number -15-), cf. fn to 20) under isogloss bundle nr -21-. Ad 39): since non-velarized *hāda* does occur in *‘AyA*, this difference is labeled partial. Ad 46): cf. remark to 46) under isogloss bundle nr -14-.

Differences appearing in MAPS 51 and 55 are already covered by 30). These are therefore not listed here as differences.
Since the *gahawah*-syndrome is not active in eŠA, 27) does not yield a real difference between ‘AyA and eŠA.

Our criteria yield 56 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between eŠA and ‘AyA, of which 8 are partial.

**-20-** Isogloss bundle nr -20- distinguishes MA from ‘AyA.


52), 64), 67), and 72) are uncertain. 57) is an uncertain difference.

Our criteria yield 6 differences (not counting the 1 uncertain difference) between MA and ‘AyA, of which 4 are partial.

**-21-** Isogloss bundle nr -21- is 'virtual' (cf. remarks above in C. IV. Classifying the bedouin dialects of our area), and distinguishes BA from eŠA. Bedouin features found in some bedouin localities in the eastern Šarqiyyah were ignored in this comparison, as were features of the dialect of the Mawalkah and Mrâbiyyin subtribes of the Biyyâdiyyah, which actually show similarities with eŠA through criteria 21) and 23):

Criteria yielding differences (those produced by B-S criteria are underlined)*: 21, 61, 201 (partial)951, 21), 23), 26), 29) (partial), 30), 31) (partial), 33), 38), 39) (partial), 40) (partial), 46) (partial), 47), 56), 73) (partial).

* The difference between eŠA and BA in 39) is not listed here as a B-S difference, since velarization in the reflex of *hâda* is absent in both dialects. For 49) wâhada has been generalized as the most current form in eŠA. Differences appearing in MAPS 51) and 55) are already covered by 30), as is the difference produced by criterion 60).

951 Although both eŠA and BA have lišna, BA has e.g. issnūn "the teeth", irrgâl "the men", where eŠA would have lisnūn, and irrgâl. This means that BA has initial CC in the base forms of some morphological patterns, where eŠA does not: the patterns are C₁C₂uC₃ and C₁C₂uC₃ in BA, and they are iC₁C₂uC₃ and iC₁C₂uC₃ in eŠA. These morphological base forms for eŠA are concluded from the forms linhhās "the copper", cf. BEHINSTEDT/WOIDICH (1987), Vol. 3, p. 300 (text 44), sentence 14, wâṭlisghär "the young (pl.)", cf. ABUL FADL (1961), p. 109 (text 79, from iqSawâlih), l. 5, and isbuṭ "lions", cf. WOIDICH (1979), p. 80, where this form is contrasted (to establish the phonemic status of the, originally anaptyctic, initial i) with asbuṭ "week".
The 73 criteria applied here yield 17 differences, of which 7 are labeled "partial". As was pointed out, these "partial" differences often stand for parallel forms, and should then be interpreted as indicators of the dynamics of development relating to these dialects.

If we take a closer look at the criteria that produce these differences, we see that 8 of these are underlined, i.e. marked B-S: the criteria generally used to distinguish sedentary from bedouin dialects. BA shows bedouin characteristics through most of these criteria, where eŠA shows sedentary characteristics through the same criteria. The exception is 221, which yields a partially bedouin characteristic in eŠA (occurrence of widd alongside more typically sedentary bidd) lacking in BA.

If we then check for similarities produced by our criteria, we see that these number 60, of which 5 are labeled partial. The characteristics shared by BA and eŠA (similarities resulting from B-S criteria again underlined) are: 1), 21, 5), 72, 8), 92, 10), 11), 12), 13), 14), 15), 16), 17), 18), 19), 20) (partial)952, 22), 24), 251, 27), 28), 29) (partial), 31) (partial), 32), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39) (partial)*1), 40), 411, 421, 431, 44), 45), 451?*2), 461 (partial), 48), 49), 50), 52), 531, 54), 57), 58), 59), 60)*3), 61), 62), 63), 64), 651, 661, 67), 68), 69), 70), 711, 72), 73).

*1) Cf. remark to 39) above.
*2) It is not entirely certain whether the form hnäk should be seen as a bedouin or a sedentary form (Rosenhouse lists it as one of the possible bedouin forms). Here it is interpreted as a more typically sedentary form, since dialects of the more bedouin (according to our other criteria) group 1 type of dialects all have (co-occurring) hnuh.
*3) Although MAP 60) shows a difference, this difference is already covered by 30). The similarity here is in the proclitic - in the perf. of the verb "come".

Of these shared characteristics some are less meaningful than others. For instance, criterion 12) yields a similarity which only shows up due to the special situation in DA, and other than the conclusion that eŠA and BA have apparently not been influenced by DA with respect to stress in forms with final geminates, this similarity does not tell us much. The similarity produced by 28) is another example of a less meaningful similarity; the criterion
producing it was only set to show the special situation concerning T-vowel
(always $\alpha$) elision in DA. Similarly, criterion 36) shows a shared characteristic
because of the special situation in groups II and IV.

Most of these similarities are sedentary characteristics shared by $e\text{SA}$ and
$BA$, only a few are shared general bedouin characteristics. These shared
bedouin characteristics are five in total, and are produced by criterion 40, and
the criteria not represented in maps: $A$, $B$, $D$, $E$.

Notice that four of these similarities are typologically quite prominent.
This typological prominence is illustrated by how more central Delta dialects,
which can safely be characterized as typically sedentary dialects$^{953}$, score on
these criteria.

Ad $A$: In the central Delta secondary velarization is considerably less
widespread than in $e\text{SA}$.$^{954}$

Ad $B$: The reflex for $*g$ is the voiced plosive $g$ in the central Delta.$^{955}$

Ad $D$: The reflex for $*q$ is the voiceless plosive $q'$ in the central Delta.$^{956}$

Ad $E$: An initial geminate in a cluster $C_aC_aC_b$ is not reduced when followed
by $V$ in the central Delta.$^{957}$

Another clear shared feature of $BA$ (like all dialects in northern Sinai
researched for this study) and $e\text{SA}$ is the rule for anaptyxis: a cluster $C_aC_bC_c$
will be eliminated by insertion of the anaptyctic vowel between $C_a$ and $C_b$,
whereas in the rest of the Delta (and also in the Nile Valley, roughly north of
Asyût) the same cluster will be eliminated by inserting the anaptyctic between
$C_b$ and $C_c$.$^{958}$ A difference between $BA$ and $e\text{SA}$, however, is that in $BA$ (and
the other dialects in northern Sinai) such anaptyxis is phonetically conditioned
(i.e. depending on the sonoric value of the consonants involved), while in $e\text{SA}$
it appears not to be.$^{959}$

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$^{953}$ This is taken here to be common knowledge. I shall therefore refrain from substantiating
this claim. The classification of these dialects as sedentary is obviously not only on the
basis of the outcome of the four criteria mentioned here.


$^{955}$ Cf. ibid., maps 10-12, and 15.

$^{956}$ Cf. ibid., map 57.

$^{957}$ Cf. ibid., maps 10-12, and 15.

$^{958}$ Cf. ibid., map 56.

$^{959}$ Examples from $e\text{SA}$ are: $binit \; sagira$ "a young girl" (cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1987), p.
300, sentence 10), and $'inidki$ "with you (f. sg.)", and $la-kunit \; gumit \; xadit \; minnak \; lihmar$ "then I would get up and take the donkey away from you" (cf. WOIDICH (1979), p.
87, and p. 93 resp.).
We may conclude that $e\,\tilde{S}A$ and $BA$, measured against our criteria, including a considerable number used to distinguish sedentary from bedouin dialects (our B-S criteria), are actually more similar than they are different.

We have already established that $BA$ scores as a bedouin dialect on 7 B-S criteria, where $e\,\tilde{S}A$ scores as a sedentary dialect. A logical next step is to try and establish to what extent $BA$ can be said to be typologically bedouin or sedentary measured against our total number of B-S criteria.

B-S criteria measured against which $BA$ shows bedouin characteristics are: 31, 41, 61, 20) (partial)\(^960\), 30, 45, 71, 56. Of the unmapped criteria: $A$, $B$, $D$, $E$. These add up to 12 bedouin characteristics, of which 1 is partial and 2 are questionnable.

If we then check for sedentary characteristics in $BA$ measured against our B-S criteria we find: 21, 17, 18, 20) (partial)\(^961\), 25, 34, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73. Of the unmapped criteria: $Q$, (and $Q$ and $H$)).

These sedentary characteristics in $BA$ add up to 22 (excluding unmapped criteria $Q$ and $H$ in brackets), of which 1 is partial, and 2 are questionnable. This leads to the conclusion that, measured against our criteria, $BA$ actually shows more sedentary than bedouin characteristics.

Although these figures cannot be claimed to give an exact quantification for the typological classification of these dialects - after all, we are dealing with linguistics, not mathematics - they do provide us with a relatively accurate measure for their classification. We shall therefore attempt to express our classification in figures, and see if the outcome of our figures matches our earlier subdivision in dialect groups.

e. An attempt at a figured classification.

In table 1 below the bundles of isoglosses according to the corrected total number of isoglosses they represent have been listed. The total number is corrected in the following manner: partial isoglosses have been counted as half, since the criteria set for a partial isogloss may produce a similarity or a

\(^{960}\) Cf. fn 951.

\(^{961}\) Cf. fn 951.
difference. Uncertain differences or similarities are produced by criteria which did not show a clear outcome. To avoid an accusation of partiality in ranking the isogloss bundles, we have taken the logical conclusion of such differences or similarities as being uncertain as well, and these have also been counted as half, which implies a value judgement on the likelihood of such differences or similarities.\footnote{Since not counting a difference would imply that a similarity was observed, and counting a difference that a difference was observed, counting half a difference will imply that there is half a similarity. This means that the chance of there being a similarity is valued as likely, which is in most cases logical since we are looking at dialects that form a continuum, which are bound to have parallel forms. An alternative way is to omit the uncertain outcomes of criteria from our quantification by subtracting them from the total of 82, and to then calculate the percentage of differences on the basis of this new total. Instead of a percentage of differences of 47 (of the total of 82) in isogloss bundle nr -15- (one of those with the highest number of uncertain outcomes) we would then get 46.7 % of differences of a total of 75 measured (82 - 7 uncertain outcomes). Isogloss bundle nr -7- would have 44.4 % (of a total of 80), and isogloss bundle nr -13- would have 61.8 % (of a total of 76). The conclusion is that the alternative calculation will not alter the relative differences in calculated percentages between the different isoglosses in any substantial way.} Both the total numbers of partial isoglosses and of uncertain isoglosses have thus been divided by two to appear in table 1 below. To avoid suspicions of manipulation or partiality in ranking the isogloss bundles, the status of the isoglosses (i.e. the relative typological weight of our criteria, as B-S or non-B-S criteria) has not been valued.
Table 1 (using all criteria):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between</th>
<th>group(s)</th>
<th>step*</th>
<th>number of isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for partial</th>
<th>correct for uncertain</th>
<th>corrected total of isoglosses / (% of 82)**(3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1-</td>
<td>RA-SA</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-20-</td>
<td>MA-'AyA</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.5 (7.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14-</td>
<td>AxA-BA</td>
<td>III and III</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 (8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-18-</td>
<td>SaA-'AgA</td>
<td>II and II</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.5 (11.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4-</td>
<td>TA-BaA</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10.5 (12.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5-</td>
<td>SA-DSA</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>11.5 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3-</td>
<td>SA-BaA</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.5 (16.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21-</td>
<td>eSA-BA</td>
<td>? and III</td>
<td>0 or 1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.5 (16.5%) break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-17-</td>
<td>AxA-SaA</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24.5 (29.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-16-</td>
<td>AxA-'AgA</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>26.5 (32.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-11-</td>
<td>BA-SaA</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28.5 (34.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(-6-)</strong></td>
<td>BA-DA</td>
<td>I and IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31 (37.8%)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-12-</td>
<td>'AgA-'AyA</td>
<td>II and I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>33 (40.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(-7-)</strong></td>
<td>SA-DA</td>
<td>I and IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36.5 (44.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(-15-)</strong></td>
<td>SaA-'AyA</td>
<td>II and I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>38.5 (47.7%) break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-13-</td>
<td>AxA-MA</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-9-</td>
<td>BA-BaA</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52.5 (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10-</td>
<td>BA-'AyA</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53.5 (65.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-19-</td>
<td>eSA-'AyA</td>
<td>? and I</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54 (65.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(-2-)</strong></td>
<td>'AA-SA</td>
<td>'AA and I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58 (70.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(-8-)</strong></td>
<td>BA-DA</td>
<td>III and IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>61 (74.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number in the column "step" refers to the consecutive order of the dialect groups in the continuum, which reflects the typological distance; the higher the "step" value, the greater the typological distance. Graphically:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialect</th>
<th>group III</th>
<th>group II</th>
<th>group I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>SaA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>BA-DA</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>eSA</td>
<td>'AyA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>AxA-Ma</td>
<td>'AgA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

When dialect A is contrasted with dialect B, the "step" value will be 0, since both dialects belong to the same group. When dialect A is contrasted with dialect C, the "step" value will be 1, since the groups to which these dialects
have been assigned are in consecutive order (I-II). When dialects A and D are contrasted, the "step" value will be 2, since the dialects have been assigned to two groups (I and III) that are not in consecutive order (since group II is skipped). When dialects A and E are contrasted, and if we have decided that eŠA is not part of group III, the "step" value will be 3 (since groups II and III are skipped). For the "step" values listed in this table cf. MAP 74 in the appendix.

** For the isogloss bundles in italics and brackets, cf. remarks below.

*** The total of 82 is made up of the 73 criteria represented in the maps + the 9 criteria (i.e. A-I) listed in the introduction, cf. A. III. b. True bedouin dialect that are not represented in maps. Listed between brackets are the total numbers of isoglosses produced by these 82 criteria calculated as percentages of the total of 82.

We notice that dialects that have been grouped together (where "step" is 0) are separated by no more than a corrected total of 13,5 isoglosses, which is around 16,5 % of the total number of the 82 characteristics checked. The number of isoglosses between eŠA and BA (where "step" is 0 or 1) is also 13,5, but whether these dialects are to be grouped together in one group, or in two different groups is still left undecided; such classification depends on the weight one wishes to assign to the isoglosses that actually distinguish these dialects.

Dialects that have been assigned to different groups are separated by 24,5 (or almost 30 % of 82) to 38,5 (or 47 % of 82) isoglosses if these groups are in consecutive order inside our identified continuum of the groups I, II, and III (i.e. where the "step" value is 1).

When the groups of the continuum are not in a consecutive order (i.e. the "step" value is 2 or 3), and the groups that are not in a consecutive order are, by necessity, groups I and III (if the latter is understood to include eŠA), I and eŠA, or II and eŠA (if in the latter two cases eŠA is understood not to be part of group III) the dialects of these respective groups are separated by a minimum of 50 (or 61 % of 82), and a maximum of 61 (or almost 75 % of 82) isoglosses or more. The number of identified differences thus increases with the increase of typological distance.

Again it should be stressed that the numbers here do not provide a measure in absolute terms; the criteria set were for a large part (many of the criteria that are not marked B-S) selected to specifically reflect the situation in our area. If we should wish to formulate an absolute quantification, we should first have to establish the weight of every isogloss, which is not possible at this
accurately illustrated by the numbers listed in table 1, however. These numbers can therefore be taken as a starting point for typological classification of dialects in our area.

Since we suspect that we are actually looking for a transition bedouin-sedentary, let us run a double check by only using our B-S criteria (a total of 38: 30 represented in MAPS + 8 (i.e. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I listed in the introduction, (cf. A. III. b. True bedouin dialect), and see if the outcome is comparable to our earlier typological classification:

**Table 2** (using only B-S criteria):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between (rank in table 1 is in brackets)</th>
<th>group(s)</th>
<th>step*</th>
<th>number of B-S isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for partial isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for uncertain isoglosses</th>
<th>corrected total of B-S isoglosses / (perc. of 38)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1-</td>
<td>RA-SA (1)</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 (0 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5-</td>
<td>SA-DA (5)</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1 (2.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-20-</td>
<td>MA-'AyA (2)</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4-</td>
<td>TA-BaA (5)</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.5 (6.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3-</td>
<td>SA-BaA (7)</td>
<td>I and I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.5 (6.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-14-</td>
<td>AxA-BA (3)</td>
<td>III and III</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3 (7.9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-18-</td>
<td>SaA-'AgA (4)</td>
<td>II and II</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>4 (10.5 %) break</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(-7-)**
**(-6-)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between (rank in table 1 is in brackets)</th>
<th>group(s)</th>
<th>step*</th>
<th>number of B-S isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for partial isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for uncertain isoglosses</th>
<th>corrected total of B-S isoglosses / (perc. of 38)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-21-</td>
<td>eSA-BA (8)</td>
<td>? and III</td>
<td>0 or 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6,5 (17.1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-17-</td>
<td>AxA-SaA (9)</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7 (18.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-16-</td>
<td>AxA-'AgA (10)</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7,5 (19.7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-11-</td>
<td>BA-SaA (11)</td>
<td>III and II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7,5 (19.7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-12-</td>
<td>'AgA-'AyA (13)</td>
<td>II and I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11,5 (30.3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-15-</td>
<td>SaA-'AyA (15)</td>
<td>II and I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12 (31.6 %) break</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(-13-)**
**(-9-)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between (rank in table 1 is in brackets)</th>
<th>group(s)</th>
<th>step*</th>
<th>number of B-S isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for partial isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for uncertain isoglosses</th>
<th>corrected total of B-S isoglosses / (perc. of 38)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-13-</td>
<td>AxA-MA (16)</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>18 (47.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-9-</td>
<td>BA-BaA (17)</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19 (50 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10-</td>
<td>BA-'AyA (18)</td>
<td>III and I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>19.5 (51.3 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(-8-)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between (rank in table 1 is in brackets)</th>
<th>group(s)</th>
<th>step*</th>
<th>number of B-S isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for partial isoglosses</th>
<th>correct for uncertain isoglosses</th>
<th>corrected total of B-S isoglosses / (perc. of 38)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-21-</td>
<td>BA-DA (21)</td>
<td>III and IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22.5 (59.2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-19-</td>
<td>eSA- 'AyA (19)</td>
<td>? and I</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>24.5 (64.5 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(-2-)**
C. Conclusion

* Cf. MAP 74 in the appendix for the "step" value.

** For the isogloss bundles in italics and brackets, cf. remarks below.

If we now compare the corrected total numbers of table 1 (where all 82 criteria are used) with the corrected totals of table 2 (where only our 38 B-S criteria are used), we see that the outcome has not substantially changed for the dialects that form part of our continuum (with the exception of the dialects distinguished by isogloss bundle number -21-, which has now come nearer to the isogloss bundles with a step value 1). The percentage points may vary, but significantly, the difference in percentage points between contrasted dialects (which illustrates the typological distance expressed in the "step" value) remains within an acceptable, though not quantified margin. The clearest similarity with table 1 is the break between those contrasted dialects where the "step" value is 2 or more, and those dialects where the "step" value is 1.

Less clear than in table 1, but still visible is the break in table 2 between contrasted dialects with "step" values 0 and 1, with our virtual isogloss bundle number -21- being very near this break. In terms of our B-S criteria eŠA and BA are apparently typologically further apart than becomes apparent from table 1. However, to assign these two dialects to one single group or two different groups remains a matter of preference; as was already stated, it depends on how one wishes to value the typological weight of the identified isoglosses.

Table 2 also shows another interesting aspect: in terms of our B-S criteria the typological distance between groups I and II is greater than between groups II and III. Table 1 shows the same, although less clearly: contrasting group II dialects with group I dialects yields more isoglosses than contrasting group II dialects with group III dialects.

Comparing the dialects that fall outside our continuum with dialects forming part of it yields a few predictable results. Isogloss bundle number -8- distinguishes a largely sedentarized (in a linguistic sense, of course) dialect (BA) from a typically bedouin dialect (DA), and isogloss bundle number -2- distinguishes the (sedentary) town dialect al’Arîš from the group I bedouin dialect of the Sawârkah. The numbers of isoglosses produced by our B-S criteria forming these bundles are as a consequence among the highest counted in our area. But also in table 1 these isogloss bundles show the highest numbers of isoglosses.

Our isogloss bundles numbers -6- and -7- distinguish DA from BaA and SA respectively. In both cases the comparison is between typically bedouin
dialects, which is reflected by the relatively low number of isoglosses produced by our B-S criteria. Compared to the "step" values of the isogloss bundles distinguishing dialects from our continuum, isogloss bundles numbers -6- and -7- are even nearer to the break-line between our "step" values 0 and 1 than isogloss bundle number -21-. The conclusion is that measured against our B-S criteria the dialects distinguished by these isogloss bundles are still relatively similar.

Less predictably, however, is that these isogloss bundles (-6- and -7-), if treated like bundles distinguishing dialects inside our continuum, would receive a "step" value no higher than 1, whereas one might expect a higher value. The reason is that our numbers merely reflect counted isoglosses, and not the nature of the differences that form such isoglosses. To mention a few examples: in MAP 38 the pron. suffixes of the 1st p. c. sg. dialects are compared. In the case of DA, a binary opposition was counted as producing one isogloss in an isogloss bundle that distinguishes DA from a bordering dialect of our continuum. Counting this isogloss as one difference in a binary comparison, however, does not allow for the real outcome of the criterion set; the fact that in DA forms are found that occur nowhere else in our area should be interpreted as an indication that the typological distance between the compared dialects is actually greater than can be expressed in our binary comparison. To put it differently: if the comparison is between red apples and green apples, and the criterion is phrased as "red apple" or "not red apple", with the implication that if the outcome is "not red apple" the outcome will be "green apple", no allowance is made for an outcome being, say, "pear".

A similar more meaningful isogloss than can be expressed in terms of our binary opposition is found in MAP 51: the criterion set is meant to distinguish dialects that have vowel harmony in the 3rd p. f. pl. ending of the perfect from those dialects that do not. For DA as the only dialect in our area, however, the outcome is not simply "no vowel harmony", but rather "no vowel". To use our metaphor of fruit: the outcome of the criterion may be "not red apple", but the implication here should not be "green apple", nor should it be "pear", because in this case the outcome is simply "not fruit".

From such examples we should conclude a greater typological distance than can be expressed in figures derived from our binary comparison. The figures do express relatively accurately the typological positions of dialects that form part of our continuum, probably because these are interrelated due to the fact that they all developed out of an earlier more homogeneous dialect type, or because they have developed from different dialect types towards a more
homogeneous type. The figures do not do justice, however, to the typological position of a dialect clearly falling outside our continuum; the fact that they are not part of this continuum has to be concluded from the nature of the differences that draw the isoglosses, and indeed, such isoglosses should be considered of greater specific typological gravity than an isogloss produced by the same criterion between dialects inside our continuum. For this reason contrasted dialects that do not form part of the same continuum appear in italics and between brackets in the tables above.

In conclusion: our calculated percentages of differences between dialects inside our continuum illustrate the gradual change of a bedouin type towards a sedentary type. Dialects contrasted inside our continuum generally show comparable percentages in both tables because the change is about as gradual in terms of B-S criteria as it is in terms of other criteria. However, these calculated differences do not fully reflect the linguistic reality where dialects from inside our continuum are contrasted with dialects outside it.

VI. Eastern Šargāwī spoken in northern Sinai, NWA reaches the Suez Canal.

Let us come back to our original research questions. Our first question was: How far does the Negev dialectal type extend westward into the Sinaitic Peninsula? Our second question was: How far, if at all, does the Egyptian (eastern) Delta dialect type extend eastward into northern Sinai?

The answer to our first question is that the Negev type (our group I) has its western branch to the south of the eastern Šargāwīy branch, and cuts off the eastern Šargāwīy-type (with the dialect of the Masā‘īd), reaches the Suez Canal, and perhaps even crosses it (with the dialect of the ‘Ayāydah)."964"

Another conclusion of this study, which answers the second question, is that the eastern Šargāwīy dialect type has in group III its eastern bedouin branch reaching into the northwest of Sinai. The abrupt eastern border of this more

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963 Cf. PALVA (1991), pp. 154 and 160 where a relative homogeneity of the NWA dialects in earlier times is hypothesized.

964 Although social entities like bedouin tribes tend to speak one homogeneous dialect, the dialect of the ‘Ayāydah to the west of the Suez Canal would have to be researched first before we can draw a definitive conclusion; factors such as the greater proximity to and easier accessibility of the sedentary dialects of the Delta-type (owing to the absence of a physical obstacle such as the Suez Canal), as well as the availability of education may well have already had its influences on ‘Ayyādiy spoken to the west of the Canal.
bedouin version of the eastern Šarqâwiyy-type is isogloss bundle number -8- (distinguishing the dialects of the Biyyâdiyyah and the Dawâgrah), and a less abrupt eastern border is isogloss bundle nr -9- (distinguishing the dialects of the Biyyâdiyyah and Biliy).

VII. Northern Sinai and NWA dialects.

Our third question was: Do the different bedouin tribes in northern Sinai speak a homogeneous dialect, or is there perhaps a type of patchwork situation, in which each patch constitutes a tribal dialect? A related fourth question was: Are these "patches" interrelated in such a way that they constitute a continuum?

We have established that, with the exception of the dialect of the Dawâgrah and that of the town of al‘Arîš, the dialects spoken in northern Sinai constitute a continuum forming the transition from a Negev-type of dialect to the sedentary type of dialect spoken in the eastern Šarqiyyah. Roughly going from east to west, this continuum is seen in the gradual disappearance of Negev-type features, among which those that are typically bedouin, yielding for the greater part to the sedentary eastern Šarqâwiyy-type. The dialect spoken inside Sinai closest to that of Šarqiyyah is Biyyâdiyy (BA), closely followed by Axrasiyy (AxA). Some of the features in which these group III dialects differ from eastern Šarqâwiyy are typologically typically bedouin; Biyyâdiyy and Axrasiyy, unlike eastern Šarqâwiyy are characterized as bedouin dialects by our B-S criteria 31, 61, 201 (partial), 391 (partial), 471, and 561. Another striking shared feature of Biyyâdiyy (as the only dialect in northern Sinai) and eastern Šarqâwiyy is the maktabah stress-type.965

An intermediate position between groups I and III is occupied by the dialects of group II; a good many features found in group I are also found there, but a number of features found in group III also characterize group II, notwithstanding the fact that it does have characteristics of its own.

To mention some examples illustrating the intermediate position of group II:

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965 A conclusion in DE Jong (1996b), pp. 360-2, is that BA in earlier times had the same mdktaba stress type as all the dialects researched so far in northern Sinai, but that a stress shift has taken place in BA. Clues are the exceptions to the stress rule in BA (cf. III, 2.1.2.5.), e.g.: ǧaddādu "they renewed", but yǧaddiddu "they renew", and kīrīṭu "its (m. sg.) stomach", zībiddu "his butter", but ḫīritu "his piece", and gūṭītu "his cat".
In phonetics: group II has raising of the feminine suffix (I) in common with group I (cf. MAP 8), but it has its reflexes of final *-ä(') largely in common with group III (cf. MAPS 9 and 10).

In phonology: group II has its three interdental reflexes in common with group I, distinguishing groups I and II from group III (cf. MAPS 2 and 3), but it has its unconditionally monophthongized reflexes of *ay and *aw in common with group III, distinguishing groups II and III from group I (cf. MAP 11).

As for stress and phonotactics: group II has stress in CaCaC and CiCiC in common with group III, distinguishing these two groups from group I where stress of the type CaCáC and CiCiC is either possible or mandatory (cf. MAP 14). The same goes for stress in a CaCaCv sequence: in group I stress may be CaCáCv, but in groups II and III stress is exclusively CáCaCv (cf. MAP 15). But then the gahawah-syndrome is only productive in groups I and II, which distinguishes these groups from group III, where it is not (cf. MAP 19).

Another illustration of the intermediate position of group II is found in the raising of a in open syllables preceding stressed A: in group II a may be raised in this position when it is followed by stressed (long) á, but such raising generally remains absent (or is at least more limited than in group I) when it precedes stressed (short) á. In group I such raising of a is possible in both positions, whereas in group III a is not raised in either position (cf. MAP 7).

Further illustration of the intermediate position of group II is found in pronominal morphology: group II has the m. sg. pron. suff. C-u in common with group III (cf. MAP 34). On the other hand, the gahawah-syndrome has much more clearly left its mark in nominal patterns in group II than it has in group III, which distinguishes groups I and II from group III. Group II also shares with group III the morphological restructuring of *CaCCâC (> CiCCâC, cf. MAP 22) and *CiCaC (> iCCaC, cf. MAP 20) patterns, but shares its áCCaC pattern (where group III has íCCaC) for colours and physical defects with group I (cf. MAP 24).

'AgA of group II has a verb system very much like that found in group I, and SaA, also of group II, has its own verb system, which is in some ways unique for the area. These two verb systems actually constitute the main difference found between the dialects of group II, although there are similarities as well. Significantly, however, these two different systems are in many ways different from the sedentary type found in eastern Šargāwīy, which is not the case with the verbal system of the dialects of group III, and then especially Biyyādiy (cf., for instance, MAPS 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, and 62).
Clearly, group II occupies an intermediate position between groups I and III. The gradual disappearance of Negev-type characteristics yielding to more sedentary characteristics as we move from group I via groups II and III to eŠA constitutes a continuum; the gradualness of this change has a geographical dimension, and in our case this is an east-west dimension.

The term "Staffellandschaft" is used in German with reference to the gradual change of speech sounds reflected in neighbouring dialects. A graphical illustration of "Abstaffelung" is the gradual disappearance of interdentals yielding to plosives as we move from groups I and II via group III to eŠA:

(Read right to left, i.e. east to west)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reflex of</th>
<th>eŠA</th>
<th>group III</th>
<th>group II</th>
<th>group I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AxA</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t (~ t)</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d (~ d)</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d and *d</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group III occupies the position of a transitional area here. The fact that interdentals have only been partially replaced by stops, i.e. only the two non-emphatic or plain interdentals, has not affected the asymmetric situation in the phoneme inventory already found in group I. This lack of symmetry lies in the fact that d does not have its voiceless counterpart (i.e. there is not a voiceless emphatic interdental *t) in the phoneme inventory. We may also notice that in eŠA a symmetry has been established, since the merged d reflex of both *d and *d does have its voiceless counterpart in the phoneme t. The "Abstaffelung" also illustrates the reduction of the number of phonemes in the inventory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eŠA (4)</th>
<th>BA (4)</th>
<th>AxA (4 or 6)</th>
<th>group I (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t, t, d, d</td>
<td>t, t, d, d</td>
<td>t, t, d, d (t, d)</td>
<td>t, t, d, d, t, d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the term transitional area may be more regularly used with reference to dialects with different reflexes of one phoneme - in a transitional area some lexemes of a certain phoneme may have one reflex, and in other lexemes it will have another reflex - the presence of a "Staffellandschaft" can be concluded on a more abstract level.
The "Kernlandschaften", or core areas, between which these dialect groups lie are the Negev-type itself (or NWA of which our group I forms a part) in the east, and the sedentary dialect type of the central Nile Delta in the west. We have also established in the introduction of this study (cf. A. I. b. Cultural background) that these core areas are also identifiable in terms of cultural manifestations other than the dialect types spoken; the opposition is that between a bedouin and (formerly) (semi-) nomadic culture and a rural culture of farmers.

The choice whether group II is part of the Negev type, or should be typologically classified as a further extension of the Šarqiyyah type is a rather arbitrary one; group II simply occupies a middle position, and is in various ways part of both. We have established however, that measured by our B-S criteria group II is typologically further removed from group I than from group III, which could perhaps be sufficient grounds to regard group II as the furthest extremity of the bedouin branch of the eŠA type.

Our fifth question was: to what extent can the bedouin dialects in Sinai be concluded to be a western branch of the Northwestern group of bedouin dialects proposed by PALVA (1991)? Although our typological classification is not based on an exact quantification in absolute terms, we may conclude that the dialects of group I form this western branch. We should bear in mind however, that the borders of NWA inside this continuum of transition itself - if we wish to maintain that group II is both part of the NWA type in some ways, and part of the eastern Šarqiyyah type in other ways - are less abrupt than the accumulation of the total number of isoglosses identified between the total number of dialects that form this continuum; eŠA still has a few features in common with NWA, group III has more in common with NWA, and group II is even more similar to NWA.

The two dialect types clearly falling outside this continuum, are that of the Dawāğrah and that of the town alʿAriš. The more abrupt borders are indeed formed by the isogloss bundles distinguishing either of these two dialects from neighbouring dialects of our continuum.

We cannot speak, therefore, of a homogeneous dialect-type spoken in northern Sinai, unless we specify which dialects are being referred to. The dialects of our continuum are homogeneous in the literal sense that they

967 Cf. GOOSSENS (1969), pp. 47-52, on the terms "Abstaffelung" and "Kernlandschaft".
968 Cf. GOOSSENS (1969), p. 48: "In dem Übergangsgebiet häufen sich die Isoglossen [...]".
presumably developed from a more homogeneous earlier type. The dialect of the Dawāgrah, however, was clearly never part of this earlier type.


Apart from the apparent presence of the rule of resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast Negev in MAP 17), there is an additional number of typological features distinguishing Ḥwēṭiy from the Negev type. To mention the most striking ones:

a) ˈe and ə as unconditioned reflexes of *ay and *aw (contrast Negev in MAP 11).

b) No phonemic overlapping of ˈe and ə with ĩ and ū (contrast Negev in MAP 5).

c) Absence of extreme raising of final *-ā(‘) in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast Negev in MAP 9).

d) Stress in CvCvC is C’vCvC (contrast Negev in MAP 14).

e) The 1st. p. c. pl. pers. pron. is hinna in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast Negev in MAP 33).

f) The 3rd p. f. sg. pers. pron. suffix is -ha in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast "other bedouins" in the Negev, but like the dialect of the Ẓullām in the Negev in MAP 35).

g) The f. sg. demonstrative is ḥāḍī in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast Negev in MAP 40).

h) The c. pl. demonstrative was not heard with doubling of l in Ḥwēṭiy (contrast Negev in I, 3.1.13.1).


Cf. ibid., p. 296.

The absence of such raising in Ḥwēṭiy is concluded from the forms hina "here" (ibid., p. 305) and dīna "the water" (ibid., p. 306).


Cf. ibid.

Cf. ibid.

Cf. PALVA (1984-6), p. 298. Palva writes that the only forms he recorded (ḥaḍūla and ḥaḍūlāk) are "probably K-forms [...], whereas the genuine Ḥw[ēṭi] forms should be ḥaḍalā, ḥaḍallāk as in the dialect of the Bani ‘Aṭīye, or of the Negev type (ḥōḍal, ḥōḍallah, ḥōḍallāk)". One wonders how he arrived at this conclusion, since such forms were not recorded by him.

Apart from the lack of velarization in the Ḥwēṭiy forms, PALVA (1991), pp. 164-5, actually labels the doubling of the l (or ĩ) as "one of the most important peculiarities of the whole NWA dialect group". 
i) Treatment of $T$: Hwëtiy forms in construct state have -at when preceding a consonant, irrespective of consonants or vowels preceding $T$ (contrast Negev in MAP 27).

j) Absence of $b$-imperfect in Hwëtiy (contrast Negev in MAP 69).

Contrasting Hwëtiy with the Negev-type in terms of verbal morphology yields numerous differences:

k) $ga'dow/-u$ (contrast Negev in MAP 50).  

l) There is no vowel harmony in Hwëtiy perfect endings: $k(i)tâbin$, $šarbat$ (contrast Negev in MAPS 51 and 52).

m) The Hwëtiy imperfect prefix has invariable $a$, not only in $a$-type imperfects, but also in $i$- and $u$-type imperfects (contrast Negev in MAP 53).

n) The Hwëtiy imperatives of the $a$-type imperfect have proclitic ($'i$-) (contrast Negev in I, 3.2.1.5.).

o) Hwëtiy primae wâw verbs have long $ā$ in the imperfect prefix (contrast Negev in MAP 56).

p) The Hwëtiy imperfect of "come" is yi'gi (contrast Negev in MAP 61).  

Together with the criterion of the resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences, these add up to a considerable number of 17 differences, and if the form $ga'dow/-u$ (cf. fn to k)) is really a Hwëtiy form, we could even add a typologically very distinctive difference to this total of 17: Hwëtiy would then be non-différentiel, while Negev Arabic is clearly différentiel.

976 Cf. PALVA (1984-6), p. 299. A remark states that "due to the 'gahawah syndrome' the forms $ga'dat$, $ga'dow/ga'du$ and $ga'din$ are usually realized in the surface as $ga'adat/g'adat'$. If the form $ga'dat$ is then the true underlying form, the implication would be that Hwëtiy is "non-différentiel" with regard to elision of short high or low vowels. To be frank, however, I do not think this is the case, and I think that the 'gahawah-syndrome' has nothing to do with $ga'adat$ or $g'adat$ appearing as surface forms. After all, on the same page the forms $k(i)tâbat$, $k(i)tâbow/-u$, and $k(i)tâbin$ are listed, and, clearly, since $C_2 \neq X$ here, the gahawah-syndrome cannot be held responsible for the (stressed) $a$ in these forms.

977 Cf. ibid.

978 Cf. ibid. pp. 299-300.

979 Cf. ibid. p. 300.

980 Cf. ibid.

981 Cf. ibid., p. 302.

982 This total of 18 differences should not be compared in absolute terms to the numbers of differences added up under our isogloss bundles listed above; the number 18 in absolute
A number of the similarities with Negev Arabic listed in PALVA (1984-6), p. 307, are indeed noteworthy (N.B. B-S criteria are underlined):

- Absence of affricated reflexes of \(*q\) and \(*k\) (cf. our criterion Ç).
- Absence of final -\(n\) in the imperfect of 2nd p. f. sg, and 2nd and 3rd m. pl. (cf. our criterion 54)).
- Absence of tanwîn and its residues (cf. our criterion H1).
- The pron. suff. -\(ku(w)\) of the 2nd m. pl. (cf. our criterion F).
- Use of the locative prep. \(fi\) (cf. our criterion I).
- Use of interrogative \(kêf\) (cf. our criterion 44)).
- Occurrence of stressed pron. suffixes -\(i\) and -\(nî\) for 1st p. c. sg. (cf. our criterion 38)).
- Initial \(a-\) in measures \(n-1, 1-t, 9\ (?), and asta-1\, stressed in eligible positions (cf. our criteria 62) and 18).)
- Initial \(a-\) in (')amm, (')axt, (')axwân, (')adên, (')afâm (cf. our criterion 26)).

Other similarities (in PALVA (1984-6), p. 308), however, cannot be claimed to be distinctive in a comparison between bedouin dialects, although they can be distinctive in a comparison between bedouin and sedentary types of dialects. These criteria of a more general nature appear in our list as B-S criteria: 121 (presence of the gahawah-syndrome), 21 and 21 (retained interdentals), B1 (voiced reflex for \(*q\), 20) (gender distinction in pl.), 65) (a productive measure 4), and 251 (article al- and relative pron. alī/hallī) (respectively).

Palva's conclusion that \(Hwêtiy\) is part of his proposed NWA group deserves therefore reconsideration. One should not exclude the possibility that \(Hwêtiy\) shows these important similarities with NWA, because it was (and is?) influenced by NWA dialects, rather than originally being an NWA dialect itself, which acquired certain features reminiscent of the \(Nağdiy\) (or North Arabian) type. If the dialect of the Bani 'Atïye is indeed very similar to that of the

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983 Cf. BLANC (1970) p. 5 (116): "The [Negev] dialect is [...] very différentiel, as Cantineau used to say".
Hwētāṭ, its typological classification should receive the same caution. It may be that these dialects form part of the transition to yet another, possibly more Nağdiyy type of dialect.

This brings us to the answer of our sixth question: Can we perhaps add to the criteria mentioned in PALVA (1991) to identify NWA dialects, or do some of these need to be modified?

We have added the criterion of differentiality in short vowel elision of NWA dialects. Dialects that are "non-différentiel" should not be classified as NWA dialects.

We have removed the obscurity surrounding the subject of the gahawah-syndrome and resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences and (I-elision in) CICa(C) sequences by rephrasing new criteria on these topics.

We have proposed to measure dialects against additional criteria, a number of which we have explicitly marked as those potentially producing differences typically found between bedouin dialects and sedentary dialects.

IX. Final remarks in conclusion: what have we achieved?

With this study a blind spot located in the key area between the eastern and western Arab world has been coloured in. We have established that this key area is indeed the area of transition, and the linguistic bridge, which we hypothesized it to be.

To establish the typological status of a dialect as bedouin or sedentary we have drawn up a list of criteria to provide us with a tool of measurement. No claim is made here that this list is complete. Some of the B-S criteria which are now listed as producing distinctive typological differences between the bedouin and the sedentary type of dialects may have to be revised, or perhaps even be removed from our list, and maybe - hopefully - new criteria can be added. Other criteria used now only to point out typically Negev bedouin characteristics could perhaps be upgraded to be B-S criteria. A serious candidate for such

985 Although the Bani 'Atīye are reported to be related to the Masā'īd and Ahaywāṭ, cf. fn 30 in the introduction of this study.
upgrading could be stress in CaCaC (our criterion 14); there are indications that CaCaC is the more original stress type.\footnote{Cf. GROTFELD (1969), and also BLAU (1972) for an attempt at a historical reconstruction of stress: (simplified) CaCdC is the older type (still found in the Western dialects), later superseded by CdCaC, which originated and spread from the Syrian-Lebanese area in the East. If we take bedouin dialects to be conservative in this respect as well, this could constitute a B-S criterion.}

The list of B-S criteria used now, however, does provide us with a useful instrument for measuring; it is evenly spread over different fields of linguistic research, and its extensiveness should limit the risk of chance hits which may lead to a faulty typological classification. This list should be seen as tentative, but it is hoped that elements of the list may be of relevance for future research.

X. Desiderata.

The study in hand may provide insight in dialects spoken by tribes in the northern part of Sinai, but some of these tribes had to be left for future research. These are the Riyâšât, Malâlìhah, 'Alawiyyâh, and Gaţawiyyâh. In addition, the better part of the territory towards the south remains to be explored. Dialects of tribes in the central south and southwest of Sinai (e.g. the Garâşâh, and Awlãd Sa’îd\footnote{Cf. the map in BAILEY (1985), p. 23, for the distribution of bedouin tribes in Sinai in the early 20th century.}) could provide a link with our dialects of group II. The dialect of the Mžênih (or Muzaynâh), settled to the south of the southern Tařâbin on the Gulf of ‘Agabah in the southeast of Sinai could give us a useful link to the northern part of the Ḥiḡāz where their presence is also reported.

On a larger geographical scale, linguistic research into the dialects of tribes (such as the Mžênih) in the northern Ḥiḡāz remains sorely needed; linguistic investigations there\footnote{As is Tetsuo Nishio’s intention (personal communication).} may yield a vital link between the NWA dialects and dialects spoken along the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula. The added criterion of presence or absence of resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences could link up NWA dialects to such a larger western group on the Arabian Peninsula. From a dialect-historical perspective, I think, this could make good sense. Due to the lack of information on the linguistic situation in the northern part of the Ḥiḡāz, such a link can now be no more than a mere hypothesis.

The data collected in this study could provide insight into the development of dialects in terms of "dialect contact", if, and only then, this information could be combined with a precise history of settlement of bedouin
tribes in the area where the hypothesized dialect contact took place. We would have to know much more precisely which tribes (and in what numbers) settled where and when, and among (how many of) whom if we are to arrive at some acceptable quantification of the effects of such contact. The observation that the main Arab element to come to the area was of relatively homogeneous Tayyi' or southwestern/Hiğāziy origin (cf. A. I. *Present-day distribution and remarks on the history of bedouin tribes in this study*) is not precise enough to warrant sufficiently stable parameters for a sound discussion on the linguistic influences the tribes in question may have exerted; this relative homogeneity is too far back in history. Furthermore, we do not know whether the type of dialect spoken by these tribes was equally homogeneous, nor do we have any clues as to the original typological characteristics of such a type.

On the other hand, a thorough linguistic investigation of the dialect of, for instance, the village isSama'na in the eastern Šarqiyyah (cf. fn 685 of this study), preferably among speakers whose origins can be traced back to the Samā'nah of Sinai, could provide valuable clues as to the dynamics of "dialect contact", but only if we can also historically reconstruct a dialect-type which must have been spoken before the suspected bedouin influences became effective.

Another remaining desideratum is a quantification of the distinctiveness of isoglosses: their typological weight should be established. This study contains a list of criteria, largely based on the introduction to ROSENHOUSE (1984b), which can be used, as it is claimed there and also in this study, to distinguish bedouin type of dialects from the sedentary type. No claim is made here that this list is complete, nor that those criteria now listed as generally distinguishing sedentary from bedouin dialects are all of equal typological weight. In fact, for the figured typological classification of the dialects researched for this study, the isoglosses that resulted from "B-S criteria", as they have been termed here, have not been valued to be of greater relative typological weight than those produced by non-B-S criteria, simply to avoid the suspicion of manipulation or partiality in establishing the typological positions of the dialects measured. It is hoped however, that a quantification of the typological weight of isoglosses may be possible in the foreseeable future, and that the list of criteria in this study may provide an impetus to arrive at such a quantification.


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### Abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIEO</td>
<td>Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales Alger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFS</td>
<td>Asian Folklore Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<td>BSOAS</td>
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De Bedoeïenendialecten van de Kuststreek van de Noordelijke Sinaï

Brug tussen de Oostelijke en Westelijke Arabische Wereld

samenvatting in het Nederlands

Rudolf Erik de Jong, maart 1999
De noordelijke Sinai heeft door de eeuwen heen gediend als natuurlijke landbrug tussen de oostelijke en westelijke Arabische wereld. Aan systematisch taalkundig onderzoek naar de dialecten van de bedoeïenenstammen die dit gebied bewonen heeft het tot nu toe ontbroken. De vraag is dan ook of het gebied ook in taalkundige zin deze brugfunctie heeft.

In de beschikbare literatuur wordt vaak gerefereerd aan "de dialecten van de Sinai". Een volgende vraag is daarom of deze dialecten inderdaad zo’n homogene groep vormen, of dat er sprake is van een situatie waarin iedere stam een (tot op zekere hoogte) eigen dialect spreekt. Als dat laatste het geval is, is het dan ook mogelijk de noordelijke Sinai als taalkundig overgangsgebied te identificeren tussen de oostelijke en westelijke Arabische wereld? Met andere woorden: zijn de afzonderlijke stammendialecten onderling zodanig gerelateerd dat zij een continuum vormen tussen enerzijds de bedoeïenische dialecten die gesproken worden door bedoeïenen in de Negev, de noordelijke Hijāz en zuid Jordanië, en anderzijds de sedentaire dialecten die gesproken worden door de boerenbevolking in het meest oostelijke deel van de Nijldelta (in de provincie Šarqiyyah), zoals beschreven in ABUL FADL (1961) en WOIDICH (1979, 1980)?

De hypothese van deze studie is dat de noordelijke Sinai in taalkundig opzicht een overgangsgebied is tussen bedoeïenische dialecten en sedentaire dialecten. Voor het toetsen van deze hypothese is het allereerst van belang vast te stellen welke kenmerken als typisch bedoeïenisch te beschouwen zijn, en welke als typisch sedentair. Hiertoe is op basis van ROSENHOUSE (1984) een lijst opgesteld van 41 criteria (waarvan overigens 3 onbruikbaar bleken voor dit onderzoek) aan de hand waarvan gemeten kan worden in hoeverre een dialect te karakteriseren is als bedoeïenisch dan wel als sedentair. De lijst van de in totaal 38 zogenoemde B-S (Bedoeïenisch-Sedentair) criteria is aangevuld met een selectie van 44 andere binnen de noord Sinaï relevante criteria, zodat het totale aantal criteria waaraan de dialecten in kwestie worden gemeten op 82 komt. Als norm voor het bedoeïenische type is het in de Negev-woestijn gesproken dialect van de
Dulläm genomen, zoals beschreven in BLANC (1970). De criteria zijn zo geformuleerd dat zij overeenkomsten of verschillen opleveren met dit dialect van de Negev. Zo wordt een bedoeïenisch dialect in de meeste gevallen positief (d.w.z. overeenkomend het Negev-type), en een sedentair dialect negatief (d.w.z. afwijkend van het Negev-type) gekarakteriseerd. Deze waardering in termen van positief of negatief houdt overigens geen waardeoordeel in.

De redeneerrichting bedoeïenisch → sedentair in de gemaakte vergelijking is historisch bepaald; we weten dat de Arabische taal verspreid is door bedoeïenenstammen, en dat de moderne Arabische dialecten die buiten het Arabisch schiereiland worden gesproken in een ver verleden van oorsprong bedoeïendialecten zijn.\(^1\)

Bij het vaststellen van de isoglossen tussen de verschillende dialecten binnen de noord Sinaï is uitgegaan van de hypothese dat leden van een bepaalde stam als sociale entiteit, en levend in hetzelfde gebied, een homogeen dialect spreken. Deze hypothese is getoetst door zoveel mogelijk verschillende leden op verschillende locaties binnen hetzelfde stamgebied te interviewen. Het blijkt dat de hypothese in de meeste gevallen juist is, hoewel er in een enkel geval ook verschillen bleken te bestaan tussen clans van dezelfde stam onderling. Een logisch gevolg van de homogeniteit van het dialect van sprekers van dezelfde stam in hetzelfde stamgebied is dat de geconstateerde isoglossen samenvallen met de grenzen van dat stamgebied.

Een aantal van de isoglossen heeft het predikaat "gedeeltelijk" gekregen. Deze isoglossen illustreren gedeeltelijke verschillen (of overeenkomsten) tussen dialecten. Zij zijn "gedeeltelijk" in die zin dat van meerdere, naast elkaar voorkomende vormen (zogenaamde parallele vormen) in bijvoorbeeld dialect A, één of meerdere vormen identiek kunnen zijn aan (een) vorm(en) in een aangrenzend dialect B, waarmee dialect A wordt vergelijken. Als een dergelijke parallele vorm in dialect A ook wordt aangetroffen in dialect B, dan is deze als gevolg van dialect-contact meestal overgenomen door dialect A uit dialect B. De parallele vorm in dialect A die niet wordt aangetroffen in één of meerdere van de naburige dialecten, is meestal het best te beschouwen als de meer oorspronkelijke vorm van dialect A.\(^2\)

Om een dergelijke "gedeeltelijke" isoglosse vast te stellen is een enigszins andere benadering dan gebruikelijk gevolgd. Voor het intekenen
van de kaarten in deze studie zijn niet uitsluitend de veronderstelde oorspronkelijke karakteristieken van een dialect weergegeven, omdat dit zou leiden tot kaarten die minder volledig de taalkundige realiteit weergeven. De taalkundige realiteit is namelijk dat al deze dialecten in meer of mindere mate verwikkeld zijn in een proces van taalverandering. Juist de parallele vormen die resulteren in "gedeeltelijke" isoglossen zijn de indicatoren van de dynamiek van die verandering. Het generaliseren en in kaart brengen van de oorspronkelijke karakteristieken met weglating van de parallele vormen zou hetzelfde zijn als het retoucheren van een momentopname om een netter en makkelijker te interpreteren beeld te verkrijgen. In ons geval kan juist de achtergrond in het beeld waardevolle informatie verschaffen over de richting van verandering in de bestudeerde dialecten en, naar gehoopt wordt, aangrijpingspunten bieden voor toekomstig onderzoek.

Verdere onderzoeksvragen in deze studie, die direct verband houden met de discussie over het continuum, zijn: Hoever westwaarts strekt het dialect-type van de Negev zich uit? Gekoppeld daaraan is de vraag: Hoever naar het oosten kan het dialect-type van de oostelijke Nijl delta nog gehoord worden?

Meting van de dialecten van de noordelijke Sinai’ aan de hand van de 82 opgestelde criteria levert verschillende interessante resultaten op. Zo blijkt dat inderdaad een continuum geïdentificeerd kan worden, dat de overgang vormt tussen het dialect-type van de Negev en dat van de oostelijke Šarqiyyah. Het continuum wordt gekenmerkt door de geleidelijke verdwijning van Negev-achtige karakteristieken, die plaats maken voor meer sedentaire kenmerken, zoals die ook worden aangetroffen in de oostelijke Šarqiyyah. Het overgangsgebied tussen deze beide dialect-types wordt gevormd door opeenvolgende, in dit onderzoek nader geïdentificeerde dialectgroepen.

Groep I wordt gevormd door het eerdergenoemde dialect van de Ḏullām (in de Negev-woestijn), dat van de Ahaywāt (in de midden-oostelijke Sinai’), de dialecten van de noordoostelijke Sinai’-stammen Rmēlāt en Sawārkhāh, alsmede de (noordelijke) Tarābīn, de noordwestelijke stammen ‘Ayāydhah en Masā’īd, en in mindere mate dat van Biliy in het midden-noorden van de Sinai’.
Het dialect-type van groep I maakt deel uit van de door PALVA (1991) voorgestelde groep van Noordwestelijk Arabische dialecten (of NWA). Aan de door Palva gehanteerde criteria voor het identificeren van een NWA-dialect zijn in deze studie enkele criteria toegevoegd, terwijl andere opnieuw zijn gefomuleerd. Zo is een strikter onderscheid gemaakt in de twee voor de classificatie van bedoeïenendialecten relevante criteria: dat van het zogenaamde gahawah-syndroom en dat van de hieronder nader toegelichte resyllabicatie van \( CaCaCV \) -opeenvolgingen. Het gahawah-syndroom\(^3\) is bij uitstek een kenmerk van bedoeïenendialecten, en is dus te gebruiken voor het onderscheid tussen bedoeïenische en sedentaire dialecttypes. Het criterium van resyllabicatie is daarentegen alleen te gebruiken voor het onderscheid tussen Na\(\dot{g}\)diy-bedoeïenisch en non-Na\(\dot{g}\)diy-bedoeïenisch; deze resyllabicatie-regel is dus niet kenmerkend voor alle bedoeïenendialecten.

Het overgangsgebied tussen het dialect-type van groep I (of het Negev-type) en het dialect van de oostelijke \(\dot{S}\)arqiyyah wordt gevormd door de groep II dialecten van de in het noordwesten van de Sinaï woonachtige stammen Samâ‘nah en ‘Agâylah, alsook de dialecten van groep III van de eveneens in het noordwesten woonachtige stammen Biyyâdiyyah en Axârsah.

Groep II neemt in het continuum een middenpositie in tussen de groepen I en III. Met behulp van de 82 criteria kan reeds vastgesteld worden dat groep II meer verschillen vertoont met groep I dan met groep III. Dit beeld wordt alleen maar bevestigd als de verschillende dialectgroepen aan de hand van uitsluitend B-S criteria worden gemeten; juist dan blijkt dat de typologische afstand tussen de groepen I en II groter is dan die tussen de groepen II en III.

Meer in het algemeen blijkt dat zich in dit overgangsgebied een relatief grote concentratie aan isoglossen laat vaststellen, wat aansluit bij de constatering van GOOSSENS (1969), p. 48: dat een overgangsgebied wordt gekarakteriseerd door een opeenhoping van isoglossen. Het continuum blijkt inderdaad de overgang te vormen tussen twee zogenaamde "Kernlandschappen"\(^4\): dat van de (voormalig) (semi-) nomadische bedoeïenencultuur in de noordelijke \(\dot{H}\)i\(\ddot{g}\)âz, zuid Jordanië en de Negev woestijn enerzijds, en dat van de sedentaire boerencultuur van de Egyptische Nijl delta anderzijds.\(^5\) Deze twee "Kernlandschappen" zijn
overigens ook in andere dan taalkundig opzicht duidelijk identificeerbaar als zelfstandige culturele entiteiten.

De vraag hoever het Negev-type westwaarts reikt is in het voorgaande al grotendeels beantwoord: de dialecten van de ‘Ayāyda and Masā’tid gesproken aan of nabij de oostoever van het Suez Kanaal vormen als dialecten van groep I de meest westelijke voortzetting van dit dialecttype.6

De indeling in de verschillende groepen op taalkundige gronden wordt geschaad door informatie uit diverse bronnen7 met betrekking tot de datering van de aankomst van de verschillende stammen in de Sinaï: de stammen van groep I (met uitzondering van Biliy) blijken te zijn aangekomen in de Sinaï in de zestiende eeuw (A.D.) of later, terwijl de stammen van de groepen II en III reeds voor de dertiende eeuw (A.D.) in de Sinaï te vinden waren. Zo blijkt de indeling in dialect-typologische groepen naast een geografische oost-west dimensie ook een historische dimensie te hebben.

In het voorgaande was al sprake van "gedeeltelijke" isoglossen. Een ander nieuw element in de onderzoeksmethodiek is de "virtuele" isoglossenbundel. Deze onderscheidt het dialect van de oostelijke Sarqiyyah van dat van de Biyyādyyah (als duidelijkste voorbeeld van een bedoeïenendialect dat zich ontwikkelde in de richting van een meer sedentair dialect-type). Deze "virtuele" isoglossenbundel verschilt van meer gangbaar getekende isoglossenbundels, omdat de beide gecontrasteerde dialecten niet in geografisch direct aan elkaar grenzende gebieden worden gesproken.

Het staat echter vast dat dit voorheen gedurende een aantal maanden per jaar wel het geval was. De verschillende stammen in het noordwesten van de Sinaï trokken jaarlijks naar de Nijldelta op zoek naar weidegronden voor hun kleinvee. Daarbij werkten leden van die stammen als dagloners bij het binnenhalen van de oogst. Na de voltooiing van het Suez Kanaal werd de traditionele trek westwaarts met kleinvee zo goed als onmogelijk.

Later, vanaf het midden van de jaren veertig, kwam onder Egyptisch bestuur een proces van modernisering in de Sinaï op gang. Toen in 1948 de staat Israel werd gesticht, was de route oostwaarts naar Palestina, waar voor
de diverse stammen eveneens weidegrond en seizoenarbeid te vinden was, ook afgesloten. De Israelische bezetting van de Sinai (1967-82) versnelde het eerder ingezette ontwikkelingsproces. Na de teruggave van de Sinai zette de Egyptische overheid haar beleid van het permanent sedentariseren van bedoeïenenstammen voort. Het belangrijkste effect van deze ontwikkelingen was dat bedoeïenen in het noorden van de Sinai toegang kregen tot onderwijs, meestal van Egyptisch sprekkende onderwijzers. Ook maakten zij kennis met moderne communicatiemiddelen en nam hun individuele mobilititeit toe; ze werden kort gezegd blootgesteld aan de moderne wereld.

De hier getekende "virtuele" isoglossenbundel dient dus vanuit een historisch perspectief te worden geïnterpreteerd, en minder vanuit een hedendaags geografisch perspectief. In deze studie illustreert de "virtuele" isoglossenbundel het relatief kleine aantal verschillen tussen het dialect van de oostelijke Šarqiyyah en dat van de Biyyādiyyah.

Andere binnen het gebied van de noordelijke Sinai gesproken dialecten zijn het dialect van de paria-stam de Dawâgrah, die werken als vissers op de Bardawil lagune (groep IV), en dat van de stad al'Šariš (groep V). Deze dialecten maken geen deel uit van het continuum.

Gemeten aan de B-S criteria is het dialect van de Dawâgrah weliswaar te karakteriseren als een bedoeïenendialect, maar het is niet van het bedoeïenische (Noordwestelijk Arabische) type van groep I. Het dialect van de Dawâgrah vertoont belangrijke overeenkomsten met het Naĝdiy-type, en dan met name met de zuidelijke of centrale varianten hiervan. Eén van de belangrijkste criteria met behulp waarvan de oorsprong van dit dialect kan worden vastgesteld, is dat van de resyllabicatie van *CaCaCV-sequenties. In dialecten van het Naĝdiy-type, en dus ook in het dialect van de Dawâgrah, krijgen dergelijke opeenvolgingen van klinkers en medeklinkers een CCaCV lettergrepen-structuur (waar bepaalde factoren verhoging van a in de tweede lettergreep van de met * gemarkeerde sequentie voorkomen) of CCICV (waar dergelijke factoren afweczig zijn), bijv. bâ$al "uien (collectivum)", maar (*ba$alah →) bâlah "ui (nomen unitatis)", en zo ook (*gahâwâh →) ghâwâh "koffie", en een beklemtoonde hoge korte klinker i in (*zâlamâh →) zîmâh "man", maar u in (*hâfabâh →) hûbah "een stuk brandhout (nomen unitatis)". Dit verschijnsel van resyllabicatie van CaCaCV-sequenties is al eerder

Een andere karakteristiek van het dialect van de Dawâgrah is dat het in zekere opzichten niet zo "différentiel" is als de omliggende dialecten: de korte klinker a wordt in bepaalde posities geëlideerd, terwijl in de dialecten van omliggende stammen, en ook in dat van al'ArîS, de a in soortgelijke posities wordt gehandhaafd.

Het dialect van al'ArîS op zijn beurt vertoont weliswaar bedoeïenische trekjes, die waarschijnlijk het gevolg zijn van dialectcontact met de in de directe omgeving gesproken bedoeïendialecten van groep I, het Negev-type, maar dit dialect kan toch in verreweg de meeste opzichten het best gekarakteriseerd worden als een sedentair of stadsdialect.

Zowel het dialect van de Dawâgrahals dat van al'ArîS vallen zoals gezegd duidelijk buiten het geconstateerde continuum, en deze dialecten maken in taalkundig opzicht dan ook geen deel uit van het overgangsgebied tussen de oostelijke en westelijke Arabische wereld.

Om de verscheidenheid van de in de regio gesproken dialecten die wel deel uitmaken van het continuum te kwantificeren is in deze studie een methode geïntroduceerd, waarmee op basis van de 82 eerder genoemde criteria een percentage berekend kan worden. Dit percentage drukt uit in hoeverre een dialect verschilt van een naburig dialect, waarmee het wordt vergeleken. Hoe hoger dit percentage is, hoe hoger het aantal geconstateerde isoglossen is, en dus ook hoe verschillender de betrokken dialecten zijn. De berekening illustreert waarom de dialecten, die deel uitmaken van het continuum, zijn onderverdeeld in de opeenvolgende typologische groepen I, II en III.

Het blijkt dat dialecten die deel uitmaken van één groep door 16,5% of minder van het totaal van 82 mogelijke isoglossen worden gescheiden. Dialecten van het continuum die zijn ondergebracht in verschillende, maar wel direct opeenvolgende groepen (dus I en II, of II en III, maar niet I en III), blijken door minimaal 29,9% en maximaal 47% van de 82 mogelijke isoglossen gescheiden te worden. Dialecten van het continuum, die zijn
ondergebracht in niet direct opeenvolgende groepen (dus I en III), worden gescheiden door tenminste 61% van de 82 mogelijke isoglossen.

De typologische afstand tussen de vergeleken dialecten blijkt stapsgewijs toe te nemen. De berekende percentages van verschillen tussen twee gecontrasteerde dialecten uit eenzelfde groep (of dat nu I, II of III is) bevinden zich binnen een duidelijke, zij het niet gekwantificeerde marge (namelijk tussen de 2,4% en 16,5%). Voorts zien we dat er een goed waarneembare stap is van 13,5 percentagepunten tussen deze verzameling van gecontrasteerde paren en de verzameling van steeds twee dialecten die deel uitmaken van verschillende direct opeenvolgende groepen van het continuum. Tussen deze verzameling van contrastparen en de verzameling van steeds twee dialecten uit verschillende en niet direct opeenvolgende groepen is wederom een soortgelijke stap van 14 percentagepunten zichtbaar.

Aan deze typologische afstand tussen dialecten is in deze studie een zogenaamde "stapwaarde" ("step value") toegekend. Tussen twee dialecten uit eenzelfde groep is de typologische afstand (uitgedrukt in de "stapwaarde") op 0 gesteld. Tussen twee dialecten uit twee verschillende, maar wel direct opeenvolgende groepen is een "stapwaarde" van 1 toegekend, en tussen twee dialecten uit niet direct opeenvolgende groepen is een "stapwaarde" toegekend van 2 of meer. Hoe hoger de toegekende "stapwaarde" is, hoe groter de typologische afstand.

Daarmee is nu ook een, zij het niet eenduidig, antwoord te geven op de vraag hoever het dialect-type van de oostelijke Šarqiyyah oostwaarts reikt: hoewel groep III nog een belangrijk aantal bedoeïenische kenmerken vertoont, is deze groep in veel opzichten te beschouwen als een oostelijke voortzetting van het meer sedentaire oostelijke Šarqiyyah-type. Het berekende percentage op basis van de 82 criteria illustreert dit: in slechts 16,5% van de gevallen is sprake van een verschil tussen deze twee dialecten, wat dit contrastpaar vergelijkbaar maakt met de verzameling van contrastparen die een "stapwaarde" van 0 hebben.

Wanneer beide dialecten echter uitsluitend aan de 38 B-S criteria worden gemeten blijkt de typologische afstand groter te zijn: de vergelijking levert dan een aantal verschillen op dat meer vergelijkbaar is met de groep contrastparen met een "stapwaarde" 1. Er is dus geen uitsluitend te geven over de vraag of de beide dialecten deel uitmaken van eenzelfde groep, of dat zij behoren tot twee direct opeenvolgende groepen.
binnen het continuum; dit hangt ervan af hoe zwaar men de geconstateerde isoglossen wil laten wegen.

Een vergelijking van een dialect van het continuum met een dialect van buiten het continuum laat zich minder makkelijk via deze berekening kwantificeren. Het probleem is dat voor een vergelijking van dialecten binnen het continuum de criteria voor vaststelling van de typologische positie van een dialect zich beter laten vertalen in binaire opposities\textsuperscript{10}, doordat er in het verleden waarschijnlijk een homogener dialect-type werd gesproken. Voor een vergelijking van dialecten met een minder homogene achtergrond doet de binaire methodiek echter in veel gevallen geen recht aan de aard van de geconstateerde verschillen. Zo is in deze studie de implicatie van de gehanteerde binaire vergelijking dat een afwijking van het bedoeïenische Negev-type een meer sedentaire karakteristiek inhoudt. Met enige uitzonderingen is dit een automatisme, omdat het continuum de overgang vormt van een bedoeïenisch type naar een sedentair type en de berekeningsmethode erop is afgesteld juist deze overgang te illustreren. De gehanteerde berekeningsmethode telt simpelweg de isoglossen, zonder de aard van de verschillen op basis waarvan deze isoglossen zijn getrokken in ogenschouw te nemen.

Een illustratie van het falen van deze berekeningsmethode voor een vergelijking van dialecten die niet allebei deel uitmaken van hetzelfde continuum zien we als het dialect van de Dawâghrah (buiten het continuum) vergeleken wordt met dat van de Sawârkah (deel van het continuum). De vergelijking op basis van de 82 criteria levert 44,5% van het totale aantal mogelijke isoglossen op. Dit zou inhouden dat de typologische afstand uit te drukken zou zijn in een "stapwaarde" van 1. Wanneer we echter de aard van de verschillen nader bekijken, dan zien we dat de implicatie van een sedentaire karakteristiek voor Dawâghrah Arabisch, waar dit dialect afwijkt van het bedoeïenische Negev-type, onjuist zou zijn. Het dialect van de Dawâghrah is namelijk wel degelijk te karakteriseren als bedoeïenisch, echter niet als Negev-bedoeïenisch, maar als Nağdiy-bedoeïenisch. Een vergelijking die gebruik maakt van implicatie-gebonden binaire opposities zou hier dus kunnen leiden tot een foute voorstelling van zaken. De typologische afstand tussen beide bovengenoemde dialecten is immers veel groter dan uitgedrukt in een "stapwaarde" 1. Dit dient in dit geval echter te worden opgemaakt uit de aard van de verschillen, niet uit het aantal ervan.
Rest de eerdere vraag of de dialecten van de Sinaï een homogene groep vormen. Naar blijkt is hiervan niet echt sprake. Buiten de aangetroffen verschillen tussen dialecten van het continuum onderling, is zoals gesteld het dialect van de Dawāğrah duidelijk van een andere (namelijk Nağdiy) oorsprong gebleken. Ook het dialect van Biliy (van groep I) draagt sporen van het Nağdiy-type.

Mogelijk spraken de overige stammen die deel uitmaken van het taalkundige continuum al voordat zij in de Sinaï arriveerden een min of meer homogeen dialect. Dit sluit aan op de hypothese dat de betreffende stammen een relatief homogene Tayyî of zuidwestelijk/Hiğāz-ische oorsprong zouden hebben. Mocht dit al zo zijn, dan ligt deze gemeenschappelijke oorsprong echter dertien ver terug in de geschiedenis, dat hieruit op taalkundig gebied hoe dan ook nog geen conclusies getrokken kunnen worden.

Met deze studie is nu een blinde vlek ingekleurd. Er is een vrij gedetailleerd beeld ontstaan van de linguïstische situatie in de noordelijke Sinaï. Ook wordt de taalkundige rol van deze kuststreek als overgangsgebied in de vorm van een continuum tussen het Noordwest Arabische dialect-type (waarvan het Negev-type deel uitmaakt) en het sedentaire dialect-type van de Egyptische Nijl delta (waarvan het dialect-type van de oostelijke Šarqiyyah in vele opzichten ook deel uitmaakt) metterdaad bevestigd. Daarnaast zijn de beschrijvingen van de verschillende dialecten van de noordelijke Sinai door talrijke verwijzingen gekoppeld aan de dialecten in de directe omgeving, en daarmee in een breder dialect-geografisch perspectief geplaatst.

Windhoek, maart 1999
Voetnoten:

1 Zie ROSENHOUSE (1984), p. 3.

2 Een voorbeeld is het 2de persoon mannelijk enkelvoud bezitsuffix voor "jouw". In de dialecten van groep II ('Agâylah en Samâ'nah) is zowel bêtak als bêt{k voor "jouw huis" te horen, terwijl in de aangrenzende dialecten van groep I ('Ayâydah) en groep III (Axârsâh en Biyyâdiyyah) alleen bêtak voorkomt. Dit betekent dat de meer oorspronkelijke vorm in de dialecten van groep II hoogstwaarschijnlijk bêt{k is en de vorm bêtak overgenomen is uit één of meerdere van de aangrenzende dialecten.

3 In een opeenvolging van aXC, waarbij X een larygaal of faryngaaal (namelijk h, ñ, r of g) en C een willekeurige consonant, wordt een korte lange vocaal a ingevoegd tussen X en C, zodat een nieuwe opeenvolging aXaC ontstaat. Voorbeelden zijn (de *aXC en aXaC opeenvolgingen zijn hier onderstreept): *naxlah → naxalâh “dadelpalm” en *gehâwah → gehawâh "koffie".


5 Taalkundig gezien gaat het hier om de gebieden waarin enerzijds Noordwestelijk Arabisch (NWA, zoals geïdentificeerd in PALVA (1991)) wordt gesproken, en anderzijds het dialect-type van de centrale NijlDelta, wat goeddeels het dialect-type is dat ook in de Egyptische hoofdstad Cairo te horen is (zie BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH (1985), kaart 551).

6 Of dit dialect-type ook gesproken wordt door ten westen van het Suez Kanaal wonende 'Ayâydah is niet met zekerheid te stellen. Er is een kans dat door de kortere afstand tot de sedentaire cultuur van de NijlDelta, de afwezigheid van de fysieke hindernis van het kanaal, en de ruimere beschikbaarheid van faciliteiten zoals onderwijs, transport en communicatiemiddelen ten westen van het kanaal het dialect van deze 'Ayâydah inmiddels zodanig is beïnvloed, dat niet langer sprake kan zijn van één homogeen dialect gedeeld door stamleden ten oosten en ten westen van het kanaal.


8 De betekenis van de gebruikte symbolen in het volgende tekstgedeelte is: C = een consonant, V = een korte of lange vocaal, I = een korte (hoge) vocaal u of i, afhankelijk van naburige consonanten, en a is een korte (lage) vocaal a.

9 De term "differentiel" wordt gebruikt voor dialecten waarin, voor wat betreft de elisie of non-elisie van korte vocalen, een onderscheid gemaakt wordt tussen een hoge korte vocaal (i of u) en een lage korte vocaal (a). Dialecten die zowel u / i als a in vergelijkbare posities elideren, of dat juist in geen van beide gevallen doen, worden "non-differentiel" genoemd.

10 Zo is "1" in een binair stelsel (waarin alleen 0 en 1 worden gebruikt) de implicatie van "niet 0". In het geval van de vergelijking van dialecten in het hier gehanteerde model is "sedentair" de implicatie van "niet-Negev-type".


12 BAILEY (1985), p. 47 vermeldt dat de stam Biliy al voor de komst van Islam in de regio aanwezig was. Dat is zo'n 1000 jaar eerder dan de andere stammen van het continuum.

13 Zie o.a. MURRAY (1935), 'AMMâR (1944), ATTAYYIB (1997) en Peter Behnstedt en Manfred Woidich "Die Arabisierung Ägyptens" (verschijnt binnenkort).
THE BEDOUIN DIALECTS OF THE NORTHERN SINAI LITTORAL

Appendix (maps)

R.E. de Jong
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

Northern Sinai Littoral: isogloss bundles (cf. C, V)

MAP 00

Northern Sinai Littoral: approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes

Sources: EUROCONSULT (1992), BAILEY (1985), MURRAY (1935)
## Appendix, maps (not to scale)

Northern Sinai Littoral Topography: approximate position of waypoints on the main road from *alGanţarah Šarg* to Rafah

![Map of Northern Sinai Littoral Topography](image)

Approximate distances in Sinai from east to west (from *alGanţarah Šarg* to Rafah is 187 km as the crow flies)

Numbers in bold print are locations where recordings were made for this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nr on map</th>
<th>name of waypoint and appr. distance from <em>alGanţarah Šarg</em></th>
<th>nr on map</th>
<th>name of waypoint and appr. distance from <em>alGanţarah Šarg</em></th>
<th>nr on map</th>
<th>additional locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>alGanţarah Šarg</em> 20 km northeast to</td>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>Salmānāh</em> 7 km east to</td>
<td>37</td>
<td><em>adDab‘</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Gibānah</em> 12 km northeast to</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>Misūg</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>38</td>
<td><em>Gatyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Bālāţūfah</em> 6 km east to</td>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>al‘Amrāwiyyah</em> 2 km east to</td>
<td>39</td>
<td><em>Gibārah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Šūhada</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>22</td>
<td><em>atTlāl</em> 13 km east to</td>
<td>40</td>
<td><em>atTa‘awun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Rummānāh</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>23</td>
<td><em>Rūfāh</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>41</td>
<td><em>alKīfāh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Abuw Hamra</em> (6 October) 2 km east to</td>
<td>24</td>
<td><em>Mazār</em> 9.5 km east to</td>
<td>42</td>
<td><em>Gartś alGizlān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>alKarānāh</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>25</td>
<td><em>Sābīkah</em> 10 km east to</td>
<td>43</td>
<td><em>Lohfan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>Rāb‘ah</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>26</td>
<td><em>Midān</em> 10 km east to</td>
<td>44</td>
<td><em>alGārah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>Amm ‘Ugbah</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>27</td>
<td><em>Zārī‘</em> 5 km east to</td>
<td>45</td>
<td><em>adQhayr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>asSalām</em> 2.5 km east to</td>
<td>28</td>
<td><em>Masā‘id</em> 6.5 km east to</td>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>Bart 21</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>Neqīlah</em> 2 km east to</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>al‘Ariś</em> 4 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>alFāyday̲ah</em> 2.5 km east to</td>
<td>30</td>
<td><em>arrīsah</em> 10 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>anNaṣr</em> 3.5 km east to</td>
<td>31</td>
<td><em>Xarrābah</em> ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>Abuw Sa‘dān</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>32</td>
<td><em>Gabr ‘Mēr</em> from <em>Xarrābah</em> 26 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>Naǧāh</em> 4 km east to</td>
<td>33</td>
<td><em>asŠēx Zwawiyd</em> 189 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>Bir al‘Abd</em> 2.5 km east to</td>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>Abuw Tawīlah</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><em>Mabrūkāh</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>35</td>
<td><em>alMāṣūrāh</em> from <em>asŠēx Zwawiyd</em> 20 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>asSuđāt</em> 3 km east to</td>
<td>36</td>
<td><em>Rafah</em> 209 km east to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 1

MAP 2

MAP 3

cf. 1.1.1., 3.1.12.2.

cf. 1.1.2.

* /k/ and /g/ in inventory as separate phonemes:
no (only /k/):
yes: (only /g/)

reflexes for interdentals:
* /j/ and * /g/.

reflexes for stops:
*/d/ and */t/.

cf. 1.1.2.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 7

MAP 8

MAP 9

raising of a in open syllable preceding A
raising of the feminine suffix (r)
\[i(h)\] in neutral environments, not depending on pause position
\[i(h)\] in neutral environments (conditioning differs from D), not depending on pause position
between \([e\) and \([o\) in pause
between \([e\) and \([o\), possible in pause

cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.

cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.

cf. 1.2.4.4.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 10:

MAP 11:

MAP 12:

reflexes of final *-dt): 
M-<
M-ar(h)
M-<
cf. 1.2.4.4.

diphthongs *ay and *aw: phonetically contd.
diphthongs X-ay, X-aw, M-ay, M-aw
with poss. lengthening:
X-ay, M-ay
<, < throughout
cf. 1.2.4.1., 1.2.4.6., 1.2.4.7.

stress in med. gem.: 
yibb, yimm, atadd; astaff
yibb, yimm, atadd; astaff
cf. 2.1.1.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 16

MAP 17

MAP 18

stress in CaCaCaCv
CaCaCaCv
CCvCCv (resyll.)
CaCaC/Cv

resyllabication of CaCaCv
sequence:
o: CaCaCv (zalama, ghawanah, farhat)
yes: CCvCCv (source), CCvCCv (verbs) (zalama, bekhah, shawah, dafbat)
yes: CCvCCv (a[n]amah haqah, zahmah, dafbat) cf. 2.1.1.2.1.6.

stress in CaCaCaCv/
aCaCaCv: [measures n-1 and 1-], and aCaCaC (article)
aCaCaC (aCaCaC/)]CaCaCv, and aCaCaC
(i)nCaCaCv(i)CaCaCv, and aCaCaC

stress in anCaCaCv/
CaCaCv: [measures n-1 and 1-], and aCaCaC (article)
aCaCaC (aCaCaC/)]CaCaCv, and aCaCaC
(i)nCaCaCv(i)CaCaCv, and aCaCaC

stress in anCaCaCv/
CaCaCv: [measures n-1 and 1-], and aCaCaC (article)
aCaCaC (aCaCaC/)]CaCaCv, and aCaCaC
(i)nCaCaCv(i)CaCaCv, and aCaCaC

stress in anCaCaCv/
CaCaCv: [measures n-1 and 1-], and aCaCaC (article)
aCaCaC (aCaCaC/)]CaCaCv, and aCaCaC
(i)nCaCaCv(i)CaCaCv, and aCaCaC
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 19

MAP 20

MAP 21

reflex of pattern *CICaC:
CCaC (e.g. 'nahb') □
CCaC(C) (e.g. 'nahb') ○
CCaC (e.g. 'nahb') ▲
dCCaC (e.g. d'nahb) ▲
CICaC (e.g. 'nahb') ▲
cf. 2.3.5.

cf. 2.3.5.

cf. 3.1.1.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

Map 22

- Mediterranean Sea
- Port Said
- Lake Montecristo

- MA □
- AxA ▼
- AaG ▼
- BaA □
- DA □
- SA □ (?)
- RA □
- AA □
- TA □
- DA □?

- raising of a in CAUC (optional in neutral environments)
- CAUC (morph. restructuring)

Map 23

- Mediterranean Sea
- Port Said
- Lake Montecristo

- MA □
- AxA ▼
- AaG ▼
- BA □
- DA □
- SA □ (?)
- RA □
- AA □
- TA □ (?)
- DA □?

- raising of a in CAUC (optional in neutral environments)
- CAUC (morph. restructuring)

Map 24

- Mediterranean Sea
- Port Said
- Lake Montecristo

- MA □
- AxA ▼
- AaG ▼
- BA □
- DA □
- SA □
- RA □
- AA □

- raising of a in CAUC (optional in neutral environments)

Pattern: • CAUC for colours and physical defects
article and relative pronoun:
al-, ally
t-, lithy

"mother" and "sister":
oen, est
oven, est
oemp, est
imen, est

cf. 3.1.9.1

cf. 3.1.9.2

cf. 3.1.10.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 28

Mediterranean Sea

Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 29

Mediterranean Sea

T-vowel elision:

/ in eligible position is elided, a is never elided

Do not elide in eligible position

CT-vowel elision:

T-vowel elision:

/ in eligible position is elided, a is never elided

Do not elide in eligible position

analytical genitive:

Sugl

Bud

Gender distinction m. / f. in pl. of pronouns and verbs:

yes

no

Gender distinction m. / f. in pl. of pronouns and verbs:

yes

no

cf. 3.1.10., 3.1.11., and 3.2.1.2.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 52

MAP 53

MAP 54

Verb perf. CuC/C
Sirib, Siribi, Siri̲bi̲
Sirib, Siribi, Siri̲bi̲
Sirib, Siribi, Siri̲bi̲
Sirib, Siribi, Siri̲bi̲
cf. 2.1.1.2.1.5., 3.2.1.1.

Vowel harmony in prefix of a-type imperf.:
yabrab
cf. 3.2.1.2

3rd p. m. pl. imperf. ending:
yaCUCum, ylIICUCum
ylaCUCum, ylIICUCum
ylaCUCum, ylIICUCum
ylaCUCum, ylIICUCum

cf. 3.2.1.2.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 64

MAP 65

MAP 66

Typical bedouin verb: the CUCuC-CuC-type
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 70

MAP 71

MAP 72

cf. 4.6.1.

cf. 4.6.1.

cf. 4.7.1.
Appendix, maps (not to scale)

MAP 73

Dialect groups in Northern Sinai:

MAP 74