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

de Jong, R.E.

Citation for published version (APA):

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V. A brief description of the sedentary dialect of al‘Aris, and (V. ad.) remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

In this chapter the dialect of al‘Aris 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‘Aris, and also on the Mediterranean coast) to that of al‘Aris. 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‘Aris.

The typological position of both dialects is briefly discussed in the conclusions (cf. C. I. and II.).

The town of al‘Aris has "a very mixed population [comprising] the descendants of Ottoman officials, Egyptian peasants, and migrant cultivators from the Hijdžâz, [...] much swelled by refugees, incomers, [...]"885, as well as members of the different bedouin tribes of the Sinai desert. The number of inhabitants must be well over 100,000 today.886

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

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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 ‘Arâyiyy 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'Arîs.\footnote{SUQAYR (1916), p. 167-170, writes that the Fawâxirîyyah came to al'Arîs as immigrants from Syria, and that they owe their name to the fact that they traded in pottery which they brought from Gaza.}

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'Arîs.

1. Phonology.

1.1.1.

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of 'AA is:

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v = voiced, vl = voiceless

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", \footnote{SUQAYR (1916), p. 167-170, writes that the Fawâxirîyyah came to al'Arîs 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 *ḏ and *ṯ is plosive ḍ, as in ḍindīf "clean", darāb "he hit".

Loans from MSA or CA may show s for *ṣ, as in masalān "for instance", sawānī "seconds", z for *ḏ, as in izkān (CA *iḏa kān) "if", and ż for *ṯ, as in muḥāfīz "Governor".

1.1.3.
As is the case throughout northern Sinai, reflexes for *q and *k in 'AA are unaffricated ḡ and ƙ respectively, e.g. galīl "little, few", giṣṣa "story", and yākul "he eats", rikīb "he mounted".

In loans from CA or MSA *q may have a q reflex, e.g.: ma šahadnahāš min qabl "we had not witnessed it (f. sg.) before", and in kātal "hit" *q has a k reflex, although gatal, yugtul in the meaning of "kill" was also recorded.

1.1.4.
A regular reflex for *ḡ is ḡ in 'AA, but often ḡ (I.P.A. [dʒ]) was recorded in free variation (?) with ġ. A fricative realization ż was not heard in 'AA, e.g.: ḡāgil "man", ḡamalēn "two camels".

1.1.5.
Glottalization of ṣ was not heard in 'AA.

1.1.6.
The 'AA reflex for * in *sa'āl is : sa'āl, yiṣ'āl, but w in wakīl "food" and in wakkal "he fed". In 'AA, like in many dialects, "family" is 'ēla, "minaret" is médana, "he eats" is yākul, and "head" is rās (pl. rūs).

A member of 'ēlit iwlaḏ īSlemān (who are not Fawaxriyyah) in al'Ariš was recorded saying biddī 'a'akklak sāndawītš "I'll give you a sandwich to eat", and 'akl 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: galīb "heart", gāl "he said", iγrayyib "near", ragaba "neck", fawākīh "fruits", bentgān "orange (fruit)", áxadat "she took", azrag "blue", rugfān "loaves of bread", naxl "palm trees", xāfu "they feared", xāl "uncle", kamān "also", but velarization (particularly
where ṭ is involved) like in surrounding bedouin dialects in ḳfrāx "chickens", ḳbār "old (pl.)"§§§, ḳhaṭar "sea", ḳhmar "red", ṭābīɛ "fourth".

1.1.8.

There is a good chance that for ‘AA, /l/ and /ɾ/ can be isolated as separate phonemes in the minimal pair ḡāri "running" - ḡāri "my neighbour", since both ḡar "neighbour" and ḡārya "running (f. sg.)" were recorded.

/l/ and /ɾ/ can be isolated in a minimal pair waʃ̣a "by God" - waʃla "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 ṭr as in: ḵnḥr "day", ṭnr "fire", musmr "nail", ṭr "neighbour", ḵbɑr "old (pl.)", but šhr "road", bthɑrib "she wages war", imbɑrih "yesterday", ḡɑrya "running (f. sg.)".

Velarization of the sequence ṭr as in: ḳfrɑx "chickens", garɑba "kinship", ɣirɑn "neighbours".

1.2. Vowels.

1.2.1.

Vowel phonemes in ‘AA are five long vowels and three short vowels:

Long vowels: \( i \) \( ĩ \) \( ū \) short vowels: \( i \) \( u \)
\( ē \) \( ō \)
\( ɑ \) \( a \)

1.2.2.1.

/lī/ and /lē/ 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.

/lò/ and /lù/ are stable in ‘AA, and do not overlap phonetically, e.g. in xōf "fear" is clearly lower than ū in axůh "his brother".

§§§ 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 ąda when preceded by emphatics is markedly less than as reported for group I.

1.2.2.3.
As described for group I. ã in 'ârif will have an open [a:].

1.2.2.4.
Long vowels preceding stressed syllables are regularly shortened, also in careful speech, e.g.: ǧabūha "they brought her", (measure 1-3) itgabalna "we met", maʿūn "receptacle", (measure 3) yḥakīni "he tells me", (but no shortening of stressed ӯ preceding CC, e.g. aṣābī "my fingers", ġārya "running (f. sg.)").

1.2.3.1.
Minimal pairs isolating taboola, luq, and luq in 'AA are:
gudt "I led" - gidt "I lit" ḥatt "he placed" - ḥutt! "place!"
šadd "he pulled" - šidd! "pull!"

1.2.3.2.
Largely as described for group I, e.g.: iyhutt "place", iybugg "sprinkle", iyrudd "answer", iyfukk "loosen; heal (by dissolving a spell)", iydur "harm", iyxuss "enter", iyruš "spray", but iymidd "stretch", iyśidd "pull", iyhiff "sniff", iyhill "solve" and the influence of labial m makes u appear in iyšumm "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 ą in open syllable preceding stressed ā or stressed ą is not a 'AA feature, e.g. katâbt "I wrote", fatah "I opened", takası "taxis", kabābi "glasses (for drinking)".
Raising of \(*a\) in the pattern \(*C_1aC_2iC_3\) hardly occurs in 'AA (\(\text{\=s}\text{\=ig}\) "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 \(*-\acute{a}(\text{'})\)) in pause does not occur very regularly. When it does, it is usually not much higher than between [\(\text{\=i}\)] and [\(\text{\=e}\)], and then only when this -\(a\) is not preceded by \(M\) or \(X\), e.g.: \(\text{\=a}x\text{\=u}y\text{\=e}\) "my brother", \(\text{i\=s}\text{\=u}y\text{\=e}\) "a little (adv.)", \(\text{\=h}\text{\=\=a}g\text{\=e}\) "something", \(\text{k\=i\=d}\text{\=e}\) "thus, so", but also \(\text{\=h}\text{\=a}g\text{\=i}g\text{\=a}\) "truth", \(\text{m\=a}y\text{\=y}\text{\=a}\) "water", \(\text{s\=a}b\text{\=i}y\text{\=a}\) "young girl", \(\text{k\=i\=d}\text{\=a}\) "thus, so", \(\text{\=h}\text{\=i\=n}\text{\=a}\) "here", and \(\text{\=m\=a}\text{\=g}\text{\=b}\text{\=a}\text{\=r}\text{\=a}\) "grave", and also (reflexes of \(*-\acute{a}(\text{'})\) \(\text{s}\text{\=a}h\text{\=r}\) "desert", \(\text{\=h}\text{\=a}\text{\=s}\text{\=a}\) "stones", \(\text{x\=a}\text{\=d}\text{\=r}\text{\=a}\) "green (f. sg.), \(\text{b\=e}\text{\=d}\text{\=a}\) "white (f. sg.)".

1.2.4.1.

Apart from regular exceptions such as \(\text{maw\=g\=u}\text{\=d}\) "present", CA loans \(\text{dawli}\) "international", \(\text{fawri}\) "immediate", \(*a\text{\=y}\) and \(*a\text{\=w}\) have been monophthongized in all positions. The phonemes \(\text{l}\text{\=e}\text{l}\) and \(\text{\=l}\text{\=i}\text{l}\), and \(\text{\=l}\text{\=o}\text{l}\) and \(\text{\=l}\text{\=u}\text{l}\) are clearly distinguishable, e.g. \(\text{\=c}\text{\=e}\text{\=s}\) "bread", \(\text{\=\=c}\text{\=e}\text{\=f}\) "guest", \(\text{\=h}\text{\=o}\text{\=s}\) "yard (where chickens are kept)", \(\text{\=s}\text{\=o}\text{\=m}\text{\=a}\text{\=a}\) "silo (storage for grain)".

N.B. \(*l\text{\=a}\text{\=y}\text{\=m}\text{\=\=n}\) and \(*z\text{\=a}\text{\=y}\text{\=t}\text{\=\=n}\) have developed into \(\text{l\=a}\text{\=m}\text{\=\=n}\) "lemons" and \(\text{z\=a}\text{\=t}\text{\=\=n}\) "olives" in 'AA.\(^{889}\)

Primae \(w\text{\=a}\text{\=w}\) verbs usually have the diphthong \(i\text{\=w}\) in the imperfect (except of the 1st p. c. sg.), e.g. \(\text{t\=i}\text{\=w}\text{\=l}\text{\=i}\text{\=d}\) "she gives birth", \(\text{y}\text{\=i}\text{\=w}\text{\=z}\text{\=i}\text{\=n}\) "he weighs", \(\text{y}\text{\=i}\text{\=w}\\text{\=s}\text{\=a}\text{\=l}\) "he arrives", \(\text{y}\text{\=i}\text{\=w}\\text{\=g}\text{\=a}\text{\=\=}\text{\(\sim \)yigaf}\) "he stops".

1.2.4.2.

Minimal pairs isolating the long vowels in 'AA are:

\(\text{\=\=\=t}\text{\=e}\text{\=r}\) "birds (coll.)" - \(\text{\=t}\text{\=\=r}\) "fly!" - \(\text{\=\=t}\text{\=\=r}\) "he flew"
\(\text{\=s}\text{\=o}\text{\=m}\) "fasting" - \(\text{\=s}\text{\=u}\text{\=m}\) "fast!" - \(\text{\=s}\text{\=u}\text{\=m}\) "he fasted"

N.B. Final diphthongs may be heard in MSA or CA loans 'aw "or", and \(\text{\=l}\text{\=a}\text{\=w}\) "if", but these are not regular in 'AA.

1.2.4.3.

Like in group I, but \(\text{\=h}\text{\=a}\text{\=d}\text{\=a}\) "this (m. sg.)" is without velarization.

1.2.4.4.

Reflexes of final */-a/' are treated like $T$ with regard to raising (cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.3.). $\text{sahrit} \text{ isSuwès} "$the desert of (i.e. near) Suez", where final */-ä' (as in CA */sahrâ') is treated as $T$ in construction, illustrates the parallel in another way.

`AA forms are: ſita "$winter", hina "$here", dinya "(this) world", $\text{salât il'īša} "$evening prayer", and ṭayya "$water$.

1.2.4.4.3.

Preceding $\mathbf{a}$ in open syllable is of no consequence to the absence or presence of raising of final */-ä(') in `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 $\text{īga} \sim \text{īğa}$ in `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 `AA (cf. V, 1.2.4.1.). A diphthong ay like in $\text{saymīn }(< \text{sāyīm } + \text{ in}) "$facing (c. pl.)" and $\text{xayfīn } (\text{xāyīf } + \text{ in}) "$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 `AA */i* and */u* are the regular reflexes.

Diphthongs */-iy* and */-uw* resulting from anaptyxis occur in `AA as well, e.g.: $\text{hilūw} # "sweet, beautiful", mašīy # "walking$.

1.2.4.6.2.2.

A morphologically patterned diphthong */iw*, not found in any of our bedouin dialects of the area, is regular in `AA, e.g. *yiwsal "he arrives", iwñād "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 \( \V(h) \)).
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 the 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.: \( yin\text{iw}xid "\text{it (m. sg.) is taken}" \), \( y\text{š}t\text{ri}(y) "\text{he buys}" \), but \( i\text{n\v{a}x}ad "\text{it (m. sg.) was taken}" \) and \( i\text{š}t\text{ára} "\text{he bought}" \) (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: \( ab\text{úy}a \text{b}is\text{gi} \text{i}l\text{mi} \text{b} \text{i}l\text{mi} "\text{my father waters the water (meant as a riddle)}" \). Notice however, that the article is \( i\text{l-} \), not \( al- \) like in most surrounding bedouin dialects.

2.1.1.1.

Stress on vowels preceding heavy sequences: \( \text{mádrasa} "\text{school}" \), \( \text{máktab} "\text{office}" \), \( \text{hatakúlna} "\text{she will eat us}" \), \( \text{wakkalúni} "\text{they fed me}" \), \( \text{üm}m\text{ha} "\text{her} \)

mother", \textit{iynad\textsuperscript{fu} "he cleans it (m. sg.)"}, \textit{xayfin "fearing (m. pl.)"}, \textit{h\textacute{o}salatu "its (m. sg.) gizzard"}, \textit{im\textacute{t}awala "elongated (f. sg.)"}, \textit{y\textacute{in}fith "it (m. sg.) is opened"}, \textit{im\textacute{t}mir "shut up! (lit. be buried!)"}, \textit{y\textacute{ir}im\textacute{y}mi(y) "it (m. sg.) is thrown"}, \textit{yi\textacute{sh}t\textacute{i}ryu "they buy"}.

2.1.1.2.1.

Stress in words without heavy sequences: \textit{k\textacute{a}tab "he wrote"}, \textit{s\textacute{i}mi` "he heard"}, \textit{ri\textacute{k}ab "knees"}, \textit{s\textacute{h}ita "winter"}, \textit{m\textacute{a}ratu "his wife"}, \textit{d\textacute{a}ba\textacute{h}u "he slaughtered him"}, \textit{\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}b\textacute{a}t\textacute{a}k "she pleased you"}, \textit{r\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}b\textacute{a}t\textacute{a}k "your neck"}, \textit{inf\textacute{\textacute{a}t\textacute{a}h "it was opened"}, \textit{irt\textacute{a}ma "it (m. sg.) was thrown"}, \textit{il\textacute{w}\textacute{\textacute{a}}lad "the boy"}, \textit{iss\textacute{\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}}\textacute{r}a "the tree"}.

2.1.1.2.1.3.

\textit{Cf. V, 2.1.1.2.1}.

2.1.1.2.1.6.

\textit{Resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences is not a feature of \textit{`AA}}.

2.1.1.2.2.

\textit{Cf. V, 2.1.1.1. and 2.1.1.2.1}.

2.1.2.3.

In \textit{`AA -i (< *-i)} is lengthened when suffixed, e.g.: \textit{yirm\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}h\textacute{a} "he throws it (f. sg.)"}, \textit{bitsax\textacute{\textacute{n}}ih "you (f. sg.) heat it"}, \textit{bitlag\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}h "you encounter it (m. sg.)"}, \textit{aga\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{d}}}k "I take you to court"}.

When suffixed with the f. morpheme \textit{i \textendash; iyy (< *iy)}, e.g. \textit{iwliyya "woman"}, \textit{sa\textacute{\textacute{b}}iy\textacute{\textacute{a}} "young girl"}, \textit{sa\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{b}}}i\textacute{\textacute{y}}\textacute{\textacute{a}} "folk - (adj)"}.

The reflex \textit{-i} of older \textit{*-i} (or \textit{CA *-in}) is only stressed when suffixed and in an eligible position in nouns: \textit{g\textacute{\textacute{a}}\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{d}}}i "judge"}, \textit{m\textacute{\textacute{a}}\textacute{\textacute{d}}}i "past", and lengthened in \textit{ara\textacute{\textacute{d}}\textacute{\textacute{a}}}na "our lands".

2.1.2.4.

\textit{The gahawah-syndrome is not of feature of \textit{`AA}} (cf. V, 2.2.2.1.).

2.1.2.5.

\textit{Not recorded in \textit{`AA}}.

2.1.3.1.

\textit{Stress units with the prep. \textit{min were not recorded in \textit{`AA}}.

B. V. The sedentary dialect of \textit{al\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{A}}}ris\textacute{\textacute{\textacute{h}}} 473
2.1.3.2.1.

Enclisis of the prep. / suff. is regular in 'AA, e.g.: galât-lu "she said to him", iğât-lu "she came to him", ma tguil-ilhušš "don't say it (m. sg.) to him", ašhâr-ilha "I dig for it (f. sg.)", basawwi-lu "I make for him", itğı-lîk "she comes to you (f. sg.)", iyhuṭṭîlha "they put for her".

2.1.3.2.2.

A remarkable example of enclitic suffixing of the prep. b is miš faydâ-b hâge "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 gahawah-syndrome is not a feature of 'AA, e.g.: gahwa "coffee", laḥm "meat" (lāhim #, and láhimha "her meat"), naxl "palm trees" (naxil #, and nāxilha "her palm trees"), aḥmar "red", although clearly bâḥar "sea", and wâkada "one (f. sg.)". This last example however may be a hybrid form of wâhida and aḥad.

2.2.2.1.

The bukara-syndrome was not noticed to create word-medial vowels in 'AA, but an example in sandhi is: fi 'aṣir izzamân "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: îrṟâgil illi ... "the man who ..."

An example of morphophonemic non-elision of a high vowel is: bistâmilâlu "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 ' 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 ihmār "donkey", isgūr "falcons", isgāra "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", šuфиha "I saw her", šumt # "I fasted", bilwīg "it (m. sg.) pronounces the r as y (a speech defect)"891, guљt-lak "I said to you", iwšilt # "I arrived", burtgān "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", bidhhum ~ 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 / ĕ-k 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. isgâr "small, young (pl.)", ityûr "birds". Forms found in group I such as rbeschäftig "knees", šitiy "winter" are rûkab and šîta 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 ibha "with her", ibna "with us", ibku "with you (pl.)", ibhum "with them", but when vowel-initial suffixes follow the stressed initial i- is also present (through paradigmatic leveling): ibu "with him", ibak "with you (m. sg.)", ibik "with you (f. sg.)", and ibi "with me". The forms with l are: ilu, ilha, 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. galât-ilha "she said to her", gulțlu "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.: (širib + it → *širibit →) širbit "she drank", (gâhil + a → *gâhila →) gâhla "young (f. sg.)".

Examples with immediate subsequent anaptyxis (cf. V, 2.3.4.1.2.): (yîgsil + u → *yîgsilu →) yîgsilu "they wash", buḍrub + u → *buḍrubu → bûḍurbu "he hits him".

An example of a morphophonemic elision of i following a geminate: (naḍdif + u → *naḍdifu →) naḍdifu "clean it (m. sg.)."

2.4.2.

Sandhi elision of I as described for group I also takes place in ‘AA, e.g.: iyşâlih inlâku "he reconciliates the ghosts that control him (lit. his kings)", wâld 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", $wīšha$ "her face", $kassarathum$ "she shattered them", $ahkan$ "I place it (f. sg.)", except $h + h \rightarrow hh$, as in $nidbaḥha$ "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", $ikbīr$ "large, old", $irfi$ "thin", $ixi$n "fat", $indif$ "clean", $iṣīr$ "barley", $iṣīr$ "small, young", $išriṭa$ "ribbon", $iğriḍ$ "palm leaves (coll.)", $iṭḥin$ "flour", $iḍgiḍ$ "flour". The $C_1aC_2iC_3$ pattern has been preserved in those cases where $C_1 = X$: $ḥaṣid$ "iron", $ḥagiğa$ "truth", $il'Arīš$ "name of the town", ‘aḡīn"dough", $ḥaṣīn"sad, mourning", $ğaṣīl"laundry", xaṭīb"fiancé", xamīra"yeast", $ḥaṭīl"weak", but also $gadīm"old", rabī"spring", ṭarīg"road", $galił"little" (the latter two examples suggest that when $C_2 = L$ restructuring does not take place, although contrasting forms recorded are $išriṭa"tape", and $iğriḍ"palm leaves")

3.1.1.3.
No raising in 'AA: $baṭīx"watermelons (coll.)", kabriṭ"matches (coll.)", sakkīna"knife", mandil"handkerchief".

3.1.1.4.
Raising of $a$ in CaCCāC 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 \( *C_1iC_2C_3\) and \( *C_1iC_2C_3\) (no instances of the vowel preceding \( C_2 \) being \( u \) were recorded).

3.1.1.4.1.

Examples of \( *C_1aC_2C_3\): \textit{nissāy} "forgetful", \textit{giddāha} "lighter (for cigarettes etc.)", \textit{tillāga} "refrigerator", \textit{ṣiyyād} "fisherman".

3.1.1.4.2.

Examples of \( *C_1aC_2C_3\): \textit{ṭištān} "thirsty", \textit{ṭiryān} "naked", \textit{wiḡˈān} "painful".

3.1.1.5.

Raising of \( a \) in \( ...CaCāC... \) is not a \('AA\) feature, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.2.

3.1.1.6.

Raising of \( a \) in \( ...CaCdC... \) is not a \('AA\) feature, cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.2.

3.1.1.8.

No raising of \( a \) in \( CaCūC(ah) \) takes place in \('AA\), e.g.: \textit{xarūf} "sheep (sg.)", \textit{ṣabūr} "patient (adj.)", \textit{‘arūs} "bride". Also \textit{axūh} "his brother", \textit{yidbaḥūh} "they slaughter it (m. sg.)", and \textit{bagūm} "I get up".

3.1.1.9.

No examples were recorded in \('AA\).

3.1.2.

Reflexes of \( *C_1aC_2C_3(ah) \) in \('AA\): \textit{faḥm} "coal", \textit{ḡidy} "kid goat", \textit{iḥt} "under", \textit{wišš} "face", \textit{wāḥada} "one (f. sg.)", \textit{wakīl} - (‘)\textit{akl} "food".

3.1.3.

A reflex of \( *C_1aC_2iC_3(ah) \) in \('AA\): \textit{kalma} "word".

3.1.4.

Reflexes of \( *C_1uC_2C_3(ah) \) in \('AA\): \textit{bunn} "coffee beans (coll.)", \textit{ruzz} "rice", \textit{kull} "every; all", \textit{kumm} "sleeve", \textit{imm} "mother", \textit{uxt} "sister", \textit{widn} "ear", \textit{gumˈa} "Friday".
3.1.5.

The rule described for group I only holds in ‘AA where V of *CICVC is \( \tilde{v} \), or \( l \) is a stressed short vowel following (not necessarily directly) in a word, and not in *CICV where \( V \) is \( \tilde{v} \).

Examples of elision are: iff\( \tilde{r} \)ax "chickens", ikb\( \tilde{a} \)r "large; old (pl.)", iwd\( \tilde{a} \)n "ears", ir\( \tilde{s} \)\( \tilde{s} \) "lead (metal)". Also in the \( iC_1C_2iC_3 \) reflexes of *C\( iC_1aC_2iC_3 \) (on preceding \( i \), cf. V, 2.3.2.4.): ik\( \tilde{t} \)ir "much; many", in\( \tilde{d} \)if "clean".

A likely development for the last two examples is that *\( a \) was raised first, assimilating to the following stressed \( i \) (*C\( iC_1iC_2iC_3 \)), after which the resulting short high vowel became stable as such, and was consequently dropped (*C\( iC_1C_2iC_3 \)). 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 (i\( C_1C_2iC_3 \)). This development did not take place in those forms where phonetic factors hindered the raising of *\( a \) of the original pattern.

Non-elision in: si\( t \)a "winter", d\( \tilde{u} \)ra "barley", i\( \tilde{s} \)\( \tilde{u} \)a "evening (prayer)"; and r\( \tilde{k} \)\( \tilde{k} \)ah "knees", h\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{g} \)\( \tilde{a} \)n "injections", i\( \tilde{d} \)\( \tilde{a} \)b "tins", h\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{n} \)a "here", i\( \tilde{n} \)\( \tilde{a} \)b "grapes".

In examples like bib\( \tilde{a} \)n "doors", g\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{a} \)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 ik\( \tilde{w} \)\( \tilde{a} \)y\( \tilde{y} \)is "good", i\( \tilde{s} \)g\( \tilde{a} \)y\( \tilde{y} \)y\( \tilde{i} \)r "small; young", gray\( \tilde{y} \)ib "near") diminutives are not regularly heard in ‘AA.

3.1.7.

The pattern for nominals denoting colours and physical defects is aC\( iC_1C_2aC_3 \) in ‘AA, e.g.: åby\( \tilde{a} \)d "white", ax\( \tilde{d} \)\( \tilde{a} \)r "green", az\( \tilde{r} \)a\( \tilde{g} \) "blue". Corresponding f. sg. forms are b\( \tilde{e} \)\( \tilde{a} \), x\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{d} \)\( \tilde{a} \), and z\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{g} \)a, and pl. forms are bi\( \tilde{d} \), xu\( \tilde{i} \)\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{i} \), and zurg.

Examples of physical defects: atra\( \tilde{s} \) "deaf", axra\( \tilde{s} \) "mute". Corresponding f. sg. forms are t\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{s} \), x\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{r} \)\( \tilde{s} \), and pl. forms are t\( \tilde{u} \)\( \tilde{r} \), xur\( \tilde{s} \).

3.1.8.

The elative patterns are like in group I, e.g.: akt\( \tilde{a} \)r "more; most", a\( \tilde{h} \)\( \tilde{l} \)a "sweeter; more beautiful", a\( \tilde{k} \)\( \tilde{a} \)d "more intense; most intense".

\( \text{892 Like in } CaA, is\tilde{w}i\tilde{d} "black" \text{ is more regularly euphemistically } \tilde{a}sm\tilde{a}r. \)
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.: *ilhagiga* "the truth", and *lisbū’ illi fāt itwaffa axūye # "last week my brother died".

3.1.9.2.
In ‘AA *imm "mother*, *uxt "sister", and *ihnna "we" are current. "Mouth" is *bugg or *hanak. But "how many/much?" is *ākum.*

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 innaḍåfa "the lack of hygiene", *sahḥithum "their health", biṭ’tu "his", riḥitha "her smell", sinnti "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.: *w ihyat ‘eni! "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", nāgti "my she-camel", šāfatu "she saw him", šālatu "she carried it (away)".*
3.1.11.

The genitive marker in 'AA is ibtä', ibtä'a, ibtū', and also tā', 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. huuwa*1)</td>
<td>&quot;he&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. hiyya*1)</td>
<td>&quot;she&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. inta</td>
<td>&quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. inti</td>
<td>&quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. âni*2)</td>
<td>&quot;I&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The forms hû and hî were also recorded, but occurred much less often.

*2) âna 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. C-u, v-h*1)</td>
<td>-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. -ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. C-ak, v-k</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. C-ik*2), v-ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c. C-i, v-ya (poss.)*3) / -ni (obj.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The 3rd p. m. sg. allomorph in negations is often -hu (and the š of the negation is then doubled), e.g.: ma lhušši 'ăb't "he does not have a father", ani ma ramahušš(i) "I did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma ūramahušš(i) "he did not throw it (m. sg.)", ma tīštrihušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) buy it (m. sg.), ma ītišryihušš(i) "don't (c. pl.) buy it (m. sg.), ma tâlhušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) say it (m. sg.)!”, ma šufthušš(i) "I did not see him".

Forms without the h also occur, but are less regular, e.g. ma ūgulušš(i) "don't (m. sg.) say it (m. sg.)!", ma šufhušš(i) "I did not see him". Such forms without the initial h- were considered to be characteristic of effeminate speech.
The forms with initial *h-* appear to be a morphological hypercharacterization: \( h + uh \). The ss must be an assimilated *hs, which would imply an older suffix *-uh: mā ṣufat + 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. \( C_3 \neq y \)): mā ṣufihušš. 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: aðûy bisgi lμayya b ilμayya "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. hâda</td>
<td>c. hadöl (-a)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. hâdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. hadâk (-a)</td>
<td>c. hadlâk (-a) ~ hadkiim (-ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. hadîk (-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 döl for the near deixis was also recorded.

3.1.13.2.

Specifying ha- is quite regular in 'AA, e.g.: lagu hal'ayyla 'indhum. lagu hal'ayyla šalûha w ḡabûha 'ala haḡgama!. min wèn iğat ma yi'râfûš. "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" halhîn, ilhîn, and even alhîn (with the article al-) may be heard in 'AA.

893 In Caa we see a comparable hypercharacterization in the negation, e.g. ramâ(h) "he threw it (m. sg.)", but ma ramahuš (rama+h+u+š) "he did not throw it (m. sg.)" (but ma 'alešš (< *ma 'alehš) instead of -ma 'alehš for "never mind").

894 Cf. fn 462 to I, 3.1.13.2.
3.1.14.

Interrogatives in 'AA are: 1) mīn?, 2) ēš?*, 3) lēš?*, 4) wagtēš?, 5) wēn? (~ few instances of fēn?), 6) ?, 7) kēf? (~ 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 h of which is then assimilated to the preceding š, e.g.: ēšū "what is it?, ēšīyya "what is it (f.sg.)".

'alām + pron. suff. was not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.1.

Adverbs in 'AA are:

1) īhnāk "there";
2) gād "over there", ĝāy "this way, hither";
3) ēhīna "here";
4) kīda "thus";
5) (h)alḥīn ~ ilḥīn "now" (~ twice dilvagti)
6) lissa "still", or with neg. "(not) yet";
7) *minnu was not recorded in the meaning of "then, next";
8) *ūgubha was not recorded (but the conjunction ʿugub ma is regular).
9) baʿdēn "after that".

N.B. wala gād wala ĝāy was recorded for "nowhere".

3.1.15.2.1.

*xāṣallah 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.

*bilḥēl for "very, extremely" was not recorded in 'AA.

3.1.15.4.

bišwēš "slowly, carefully" was heard in 'AA as well: dāsat ʿalēha bišwēš "she carefully put her foot on her".
3.1.15.5.

min xöf la for "lest" was also recorded in ‘AA, e.g.: gëd ḥädid, tâ' liğmâl ʿillī ʿi ʿbar ʿar min xöf la yīnsiṟgu byiʾmilūhm kurr riğił895 ṭīha ḥādīda ẓayy ʿida "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></th>
<th>l+*1)</th>
<th>ʿala+*2)</th>
<th>maʿa+*3)</th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>min+*4)</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>īlu</td>
<td>ʿalēh</td>
<td>maʿāh</td>
<td>fih</td>
<td>minnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>īlha</td>
<td>ʿalēha</td>
<td>maʿāha</td>
<td>fiha</td>
<td>minha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>ilak</td>
<td>ʿalēk</td>
<td>maʿāk</td>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>minnak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>īlik</td>
<td>ʿalēki</td>
<td>maʿāki</td>
<td>fiķ</td>
<td>minnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>īli</td>
<td>ʿalayya</td>
<td>maʿāya</td>
<td>fiyya</td>
<td>minni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.c.</td>
<td>īlhum</td>
<td>ʿalēhum</td>
<td>maʿāhum</td>
<td>fihum</td>
<td>minhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.c.</td>
<td>īlkūw</td>
<td>ʿalēku</td>
<td>maʿāku</td>
<td>fiḳ</td>
<td>minku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>īlna</td>
<td>ʿalēna</td>
<td>maʿāna</td>
<td>fiṇa</td>
<td>minna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) A similar paradigm for b+: ĭbu etc. When enclitically suffixed, the forms are without the stressed initial i-, e.g.: galāt-lu "she said to him", afhār-īla "I dig for her" (where i preceding l is anaptyctic). The independent prepositions are la ~ ʿī and b, e.g.: la wālīd "to a father", and biṣūf ib ʿēnu "he sees with his eye" (where the vowel preceding b is an anaptyctic). A negated example ma lhuššiʾabb "he has no father" was also recorded (cf. V, 3.1.12.2.).

*2) Both ʿa and ʿala are used as independent forms, e.g.: ʿa ṭūl "immediately", ʿala sağara "in (lit. on) a tree".

*3) The independent form is maʿa.

*4) A similar paradigm for ʿan "from; about", e.g.: ʿannu, ʿanha, etc.

The preposition taḥt was recorded as taḥtīth "under it (m. sg.)". The preposition ʿind has a paradigm without anaptyctics, e.g.: ʿindku "with you (c. pl.)", ʿindna "with us". Both baʿd and ʿugb were recorded for "after".

---
895 kurr riğił < kull riğił (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. sītta {sitt}, 7. sab‘a {sab‘}, 8. tamānya {not recorded}, 9. tīs‘a {tīs‘}, 10. ‘āsara {‘āsar}.

Recorded plural nouns which take a proclitic t- are: talat t-iyyām "three days", ārba‘ t-īrkān "four corners".

3.1.17.2.

Ordinals recorded in 'AA: awwal "first", tāni (f. tānya) "second", tālīt "third", rābī‘ "fourth", ʾāsīr "tenth".

3.1.17.3.

Numerals from 11-19 used independently end in -ā’siš in 'AA, e.g.: ihdāsiš "eleven", itnāsiš "twelve", xamistāsiš "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: ʾīśrin "twenty", talatin "thirty", sittin "sixty", etc.
hundreds: miyya, mitēn.

3.1.18.

The dual is formed like in group I, e.g.: saṭēn "two hours", sağaratēn "two trees", ġamalēn "two camels", yomēn "two days".

ʿenēn ilwāhid "one’s eyes", riğlēn "legs", idēn "hands", riğlēha "her legs", and ʿenēku "your (pl.) eyes", ʿenēna "our eyes", and riğlēhu "their legs" (all pseudo-duals).

3.2. Verbal morphology.

3.2.1.1.

The two underlying perf. patterns for measure 1 regular verbs are $C_1C_2iC_3$ and $C_1aC_2aC_3$. For 'AA these yield the following conjugations:
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B. V. The sedentary dialect of al’Artš

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>ríkib</td>
<td>c. ríkbu*1)</td>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>fátah</td>
<td>c. fátahu*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>ríkbir*1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>irkbir*2)</td>
<td>c. irkbiru*2)</td>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>irkibi*2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>irkibi*2)</td>
<td>irkiba*2)</td>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) Notice that, unlike older *C₁aC₂iC₃a verbs in PA, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;open&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;grab&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m</td>
<td>yiftah</td>
<td>c. yiftahu</td>
<td>yíg’ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f</td>
<td>tiftah</td>
<td>tíf’ud</td>
<td>tíg’ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m</td>
<td>tifṭaḥ</td>
<td>c. tifṭahu</td>
<td>túg’ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f</td>
<td>tifṭahi</td>
<td>tíf’ud</td>
<td>tíg’ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>adifṭah</td>
<td>nifṭaḥ</td>
<td>ág’ud</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.: nilim, yīlīm "dream", ḡaṭas, yuḡṭus "dive", ‘amal, yīlīm "make; do".

3.2.1.3.

Reflexes of CA *C₁aC₂uC₃, *yaC₁C₂uC₃ in ‘AA are: kitir, yikiar "become many", kibir, yikbar "become big; grow older", sigir, yisgar "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.: ‘amlāh "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: iftāḥ "open! (m. sg.)", iftāḥi "open (f. sg.)", iftāḥu "open! (c. pl.)"; úg‘ud "sit down! (m. sg.)", úgu‘di "sit down! (f. sg.)", úgu‘du "sit down! (c. pl.)"; imsiṣk "take, grab! (m. sg.)", imisiṣki "take, grab! (f. sg.)", imisiṣku "take, grab! (c. pl.)".

3.2.2.1.

In ‘AA the prefixes of the imperfect of the measure 1 irregular verbs C₁ = w (primae wāw) have a diphthong iw, except in the 1st p. c. sg. (where it is initial aw- as in awṣal "I arrive", awzīn "I weigh"), e.g.: yiwṣalū "they arrive", iwwūzīn "she weighs".

Direct elicitation yielded yiguṣ as well as yiwgaf "he stands up".

3.2.2.2.

An irregular verb C₁ = y (primae yā') in ‘AA: yibīṣ, yēbas "dry (intrans.)".

3.2.2.3.

Irregular verbs C₁ = *’ (primae hamzah) in ‘AA are: (’ākāl, yākul "eat", and (’āxād, yāxud "take".

The imperatives are: kul! (m. sg.), kuli! (f. sg.), kīlu! (c. pl.). Active participles are: wākil, wākla, wāklin (and wāxīd, etc.), but an ‘Arāyṣī who is not from the Fawaxriyyah says (’ākil, (’ākla, (’āklin (and (’āxīd, etc.).

Similarly, "food" is wākl among the Fawaxriyyah, but (’ākla (and il’ākl with hamzah) among other ‘Arayṣiyyah of the ‘ēlīt iWlād iSlēmān.
3.2.2.4.1.  
"Say" 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>3.m.</td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>gâlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>gâlat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gultu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>gulti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td></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 ţâb, yjîb "bring" are: hât (m. sg.), hâî (f. sg.), hâtu (c. pl.).

3.2.2.4.3.  
Active participles in 'AA: āyî, āyza, āyzîn (or āwîz, āwza, āwzîn).

3.2.2.5.1.  
Tertiae infirmae in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>&quot;find&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>nîsî(y)</td>
<td>nîsyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>nîsyît</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>insît</td>
<td>insîtu</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. irdîb "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:

"forget"  "walk"*

<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>yînsa</td>
<td>c. yînsu</td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tînsa</td>
<td>tînsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tînsa</td>
<td>c. tînsu</td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tînsi</td>
<td>tînsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>ánnsa</td>
<td>nînsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>ámshi</td>
<td>nîmshi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice that the final radical y is dropped in this i-type measure 1 (in contrast with measure 1-t, 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: ímshi! (m. sg.), and ímshi! (f. sg.), ímshu! (m. pl.).

3.2.2.5.4.

Active participles in ‘AA are: gâri(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>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>iğa*</td>
<td>c. iğu*</td>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>iğat*</td>
<td>tîgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>iğeti</td>
<td>c. iğetu</td>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>iğeti</td>
<td>tîgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>iğeti</td>
<td>iğena</td>
<td></td>
<td>aği</td>
<td>niği</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: ġāy, ġāya, ġayyīn (the latter < *ḡayīn).

3.2.2.7.1.

"pull tight" in 'AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>šadd</td>
<td>c. šāddu</td>
<td>iyšidd</td>
<td>c. iyšiddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>šāddat</td>
<td>c. šāddu</td>
<td>itšidd</td>
<td>c. itšiddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>c. šaddētu</td>
<td>itšidd</td>
<td>c. itšiddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>šaddēti</td>
<td>c. šaddētu</td>
<td>itšiddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddēna</td>
<td>ašidd</td>
<td>inšidd</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: ḥuṭṭ! (m. sg.), ḥuṭṭi! (f. sg.), ḥuṭṭu! (c. pl.) "put, place!", and šidd! (m. sg.), šiddī! (f. sg.), šiddu! (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 ma$C_1C_2uC_3$ 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 $nC_1aC_2aC_3$, and the imperfect pattern $yinC_1iC_2iC_3$. 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)nwa'kal, yiniwikil "be eaten" (but in the speech of non-Fawaxriyyah ittākal, yittākal, cf. CaA (y)ittākil), nbāsāt, yinibsīt "rejoice".

The high vowel in the second syllable is then stressed in eligible positions, e.g. yinsīrgu "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 \( yinsîrzu \), 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 1. 2.3.1.), which implies that this high vowel is also an underlying \( iil \).

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)\( nhâtt \), \( yinâtt \) "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 \( â \) 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 \( t \)-infix, e.g.: \( stâgal \), \( yistgil \) "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. yištīgu "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.): intī bištirīyī "you (f. sg.) buy", humma bištirīyu "they buy" (c. pl.). inū bištirīyu "you buy (c. pl.)", tirtīwyu "you (c. pl.) drink water" (comparable forms in BaA, cf. I, 3.2.3.1.).

In the perfect there are no surprises (cf. V, 3.2.2.5.1.), e.g.: irtāwū "they drank water", ištāru "they bought".

3.2.3.3.2.
Measure 1-t medial weak verbs, like measure n-1, have an invariable a (the patterns are (i)C1tāC3 and yiC1tāC3), e.g. irtāh, yirtāh "rest", and a short a when a consonant-initial verbal ending follows: irtāhī "I rested", irtāhtu "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 miC1tīC2iC3, e.g.: mírtīʕ, and (f. sg.) mirtīʕa "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)staɣrab, yistaɣrib "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$C_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. mistarayyih "rested", mistá'igla (mista'igil + 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 $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, imperfect $(i)yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$. For measure t-2 the patterns are: perfect $(i)tC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, imperfect $yitC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

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", yiğawwaz "he is married", yatwaaffa "he dies", batwanna "I wait (patiently)" (the latter originally a primae hamzah verb).

Examples of the perfect t-2 are: itkallam "he spoke", iiğawwaz "he was married".
The measure 2 verbal noun has the pattern $t\bar{a}C_1C_2\bar{t}C_3$, e.g.: $\text{tandif}$ "cleaning". A verbal noun of measure $t-2$ was not recorded in 'AA.

Active participles of measure 2 are formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$, e.g.: $\text{imnaddif}$ "having cleaned". A passive participle is formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, e.g.: $\text{im\textasciitilde{\textsf{s}}adda\textasciitilde{\textsf{e}}}$ "having a headache", $\text{imhammal}$ "loaded up".

Active participles of measure $t-2$ are formed with the pattern $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$, e.g.: $\text{mit\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}xxra}}$ "backward".

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 $C_1aC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $(i)yC_1aC_2iC_3$ 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: $\text{g\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}bal}, yg\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}bil}}$ "meet", $\text{h\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}rab}, iyh\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}rib}}$ "wage war". An example of measure $t-3$ is: $\text{itg\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}bal}, yitg\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}bal}}$ "meet with each other".

Active participles of measure 3 are formed with the pattern $(i)mC_1aC_2$iC_3, e.g.: $\text{iml\textasciitilde{\textsf{a}gi}}$ "having found". Participles of measure $t-3$ were not recorded in 'AA.

Measures 3 and $t-3$ verbal nouns were not recorded in 'AA.

Measure 4 verbs were not recorded in 'AA.

Measure 9 forms recorded in 'AA are: $\text{ibtihmarr}$ "they (f. sg.) turn red", $\text{bixdarr}$ "it (m. sg.) turns green".
3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs conjugate like measure 2 with the patterns (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$, and (imperfect) $(i)yC_1aC_2C_3iC_4$, e.g.: farfuš, iyfarfiš "become lively".

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.

Quadriliterals with the $(i)t$-prefix were not recorded in 'AA.

4. Remarks on syntax.

4.1. Instances of $tanwín$ (nuation) were not recorded in 'AA.

4.2. Negation of the verb is regularly done with bi-partite $ma \ldots š(i)$. 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.: $ma \, ǧamethušši$ "I did not throw it (m. sg.)", $ma \, ʾisimhušši$ $maʾğan$ "it is not called $maʾğan$ (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.: $miš \, ḥatnâm$ "you will not sleep".

The negation may be combined with $iši$ "(lit.) a thing" ($<*ayy šay$ "any thing"), where in surrounding dialects one may hear $šiy$ or $ḥağıh$ (the latter also current in 'AA), e.g.: $ma \, biwšalūš\, iši$ "nothing reaches it (m. sg.)".

When extra emphasis is intended the single $mā$ may be used, e.g.: $mā \, li\, kalām\, maʾāk\, hina\, ǧer\, ʿind\, ilʾarab\, ilʾarba$ "I have nothing to say to you here but in the presence of the true bedouins", $iṭrāgil\, illi\, mā\, bixallif$ "a (lit. the) man who produces no offspring".

Negations of prepositional phrases are regularly formed with $ma \ldots š$, e.g. $ma\, luš\, ʾilāq$ "there is no cure for it (m. sg.)", $ma\, lušši\, ʾaḥḥ$ "he does not have a father".
The negation of nominals and participles may be formed with *miš* preceding the nominal, e.g.: *miš mawgdah* "she is not present", but *ma ḥaddiš* (#) "nobody".

4.3.

Examples of the *b*-imperfect in ‘AA: *ibnuhsud w ibnzra* "we harvest and sow", *enēh btihmarf* "his eyes turn red", *biYNAM ikwayyis* "he sleeps well".

Examples of *bi-* and *bu-* in the 3rd p. (m. sg. and c. pl.): *bišikkku* "they have doubts", *wislü rrägil likbîr ilî hu ‘ēh? (other speaker) bigdi. "they came to the old man who what? (other speaker) passes judgement", *budxul* "he enters", and *bihuṭṭu* "they place".

N.B. Due to the absence of vowel harmony in prefixes of the *a*-type imperfect, *ha-*., as in *hadbah* "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 haṭla‘ a ḥittâ tânye* "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.

*fih* "there is/are" is used like in group I. The negation was recorded as *ma fis* or *ma fis(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". *yöm* 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 *yöm* 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-ğğawwaz wahada šabiyya, 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: *bitsaxninh ṭab‘an* (other speaker) *lamma ystīh w ilgēd ystr aḥmar aḥmar* "you heat it, of course (other speaker) until it melts, and the chain becomes red hot (lit. red red)".

4.6.2.

*ḥatta* 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.

*ḡām* 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.: *‘immī rāḥit ithārib fi rabbha* "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 illēl tēr asmar, w izkān fi nnḥar tēr abyad* "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 *iḥr*(*a*) or *iḥr*(*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 *wiln, *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.

*ger is used in 'AA like reflexes of *gayr in group I, e.g.: gālu: 'ger niwsal 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.: éš 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 yit'āššu "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 'ād in 'AA is: gālat: 'bass midd 'īdak iw midd riğlak, iw 'alēk 'ahd Aflāh ma aqurrak.' maddu xayfīn 'ād šūfī gūla. "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 gūlah, you (f. sg.) see?".

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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 irrabi‘ hâda byigha ḏer ṭdall iw ma‘a l‘ayyil ḥatta yikbar “this disease of spring* \(^{897}\) will then stay with the child until it grows up”.

4.14.1. No instances of the narrative imperative were recorded in ‘AA.

4.14.2. An example of unconjugated *kân* in ‘AA: *īgat iw kân itgūl ... “she came and said ... “.*

In other cases, however, *kân* appeared conjugated as well, e.g.: *kânu ǧama‘itna birūlu “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 idrâc “arm” were said to have the possible plurals *fasât* and *fisân “hoses”, 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: *issağaratën hadōl “these two trees”, and lagêt ‘indha su‘ālên ma lhums ḥall “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.

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\(^{897}\) *In HINDS/BADAWI (1986), p. 324, *ramad* (lit. ophthalmia”, of which *marad* could well be a folk etymological metathesis) *rabā‘i* 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'Arîš 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'Arîš 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 ḥ 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 ṭ and ḍ for *ṯ and *ḏ (in contrast with ‘AA in V, 1.1.2.), although the texts do show quite a few instances of plosive reflexes for *ṯ (mainly in numerals), e.g.: tālîte (1979, text I, 1. 23, p. 6).

The reflex of *ẓ is reported to be ḍ. Salonen adds however, that the articulation of this phoneme is very often between ẓ and ḍ, which makes it hard to decide which of the two is actually produced. If the reflex is indeed ḍ, the situation in GA would be the mirror image of the situation in BA where the only interdental reflex is the emphatic ḍ (cf. III, 1.1.2.). If however, the reflex is actually a conceivable interdental ḍ (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: ẓ-zurūf "the circumstances", niẓām "system", and bi-ẓ-ẓabt) with a clear ẓ are best interpreted as K-forms (loaned from MSA); the lexemes in which ẓ was heard are quite commonly heard with ẓ in other dialects as well, including those that have ḍ as a reflex for ḍ and ḍ (cf. this study, chapters I-V, 1.1.2.). Compare also bi ẓzabt in CaA, where one might have expected bi ddabt. 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 zgîr (pl. zgâr) (assimilation < *ṣghîr (pl. *ṣghâr)) "little, young".
Notice however, that Bergsträsser\(^9^9^9\) 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 \(*k\)) \(k\ddot{a}n\) "there was (m. sg.)" (1980, text II, l. 1, p. 6), \(ikt\ddot{i}r\) "much" (ibid. l. 2), \(kull\) "every" (ibid., l. 4), \(unmik\) "your (f. sg.) mother" (1980, text I, l. 15, p. 6).

Exceptions are heard in loans, e.g. \(quww\ddot{a}t\) "forces" (1980, text III, l. 2, p. 7), and \(burtuq\ddot{a}l\ddot{i}y\ddot{y}e\) "Portuguese" (ibid. ll. 6-7), and \(bunduq\ddot{i}y\ddot{y}e\) "rifle" (1980, text IV, l. 8, p. 7).

Although Bergsträsser reports \(k\) for \(*k\) as well, he reports \(\acute{\i}\) for \(*q\) in \(GA\).\(^9^0^0\)

ad. 1.1.4.

The \(GA\) reflex for \(*\dddot{g}\) is \(\dddot{g}\), e.g.: \(yig\dddot{m}\ddot{a}\) "he gathers" (1980, text I, l. 12, p. 6), \(\dddot{g}\ddot{e}\ddot{s}\) "army" (1980, text IV, l. 7, p. 7).

However, Bergsträsser\(^9^0^1\) reports \(\dddot{\xi}\) for \(GA\).

ad. 1.1.6.

Like in \('AA\), the reflex for \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\) in \(*sa\acute{\prime}l\) is \(\acute{\i}\), e.g. \(yis\acute{\prime}al\ddot{n}\ddot{i}\) (1980, text VII, ll. 6-7, p. 8), but unlike in \('AA\), \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\) has a \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\) reflex in \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}k\ddot{l}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\ddot{t}}\) "dishes" (1979, text I, l. 19, p. 5) and \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}k\ddot{\ddot{e}}l\) "food" (1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10). "Family" was recorded as \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{e}\ddot{l}\ddot{o}\) or \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{e}\ddot{l}\ddot{e}\) (1979, text II, l. 32, p. 6 and 1979, text VII, l. 22, p. 10), but also (in a higher register\(^9^0^2\)) \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{a}\ddot{l}\ddot{e}\) (1979, text V, l. 28, p. 10). "Minaret" was reported as \(m\ddot{\ddot{e}}d\ddot{n}\ddot{e}\) (with a dropped \(a\)) (twice in 1980, text XVII, ll. 108-9, p. 20), "he eats" is \(y\ddot{a}\ddot{k}\ddot{u}\ddot{l}\) (cf. \(V\), ad. 3.2.2.3.), and "head" occurs as \(r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}\) (1979, text III, l. 25, p. 7) (pl. \(r\ddot{u}\ddot{s}\), 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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\(^9^9^9\) Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 1.

\(^9^0^0\) Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), maps 3 and 4 respectively.

\(^9^0^1\) Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 2.

\(^9^0^2\) The context is: \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{d}a\ \dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{n}n\ddot{a}\ddot{\ddot{f}}\ddot{s}\ \dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{a}\ddot{l}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{\i}}}}\ddot{e}\) "and if [she is] from the same family", where the interdental in \(\dddot{\acute{\i}}\ddot{d}a\) is also an indication that the speaker is using a higher register.
Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

ras (1979, text III, l. 25, p. 7); there is a good chance that this is realized as I.P.A. [ɾaːs], but it might also be [raːs].

ad. 1.2. Vowels.

ad. 1.2.2.1.

Some phonetic overlapping of è and i is apparent from instances such as ktf "how" (1979, text I, l. 20, p. 5) ~ kef (1980, text XVII, l. 183, p. 23), nās tānyên "other people" (1979, text VII, l. 3, p. 10), asnēn "years" (1979, text V, l. 3, p. 8) ~ asnīn (1979, text V, l. 4, p. 8).

ad. 1.2.2.2.

Some phonetic overlapping of ð and ū appears to occur. Examples are: byarfōs "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 å to ä and e in neutral positions. 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 å or é), cf. V, 1.2.3.4.3.1. and 1.2.3.4.3.2.

Like in ‘AA, raising of long å 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.: bēxod "I take" (1979, text VII, l. 10, p. 10), mtiabbagēt "miabbag pastry" (1979, text XI, l. 15 and l. 17, p. 14), firēn "mice" (1979, text XI, l. 38, p. 15), lāgehä "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: fi zzāmnāt "in the old days" (1979, text XI, l. 2, p. 14), sālāmāt "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), marāgīl "swings" (1979, text IV, l. 2, p. 8), hāgāt "things" (1979, text V, l. 16, p. 9).

903 Cf. ibid., p. 40. I interpret å and ã in Salonen’s transcription as raised and perhaps slightly centralized a and å, which would be between I.P.A. [ɛ] - [æ] and [œ] - [œ] 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: *yšidd* "he pulls" (1979, text IX, 1. 3, p. 12) (but also *šaddu ʿala xelku* "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, II. 21-2, p. 14) (but also *yṭattt* "he puts" (1979, text IX, l. 24, p. 13)), *yuḫšš* "he enters" (1979, text XIII, l. 7, p. 17), *bimurr* "he passes by" (1980, text II, l. 5, p. 6), *aḫuxx* "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: *yṭullu* "they have a look" (1979, text XI, l. 63, p. 15), but we have *i* in *yḥibb* "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.: *ezzalame* (1980, text XI, l. 3, p. 12), *ḥkāye ḡariṭe* # "a strange story" (1980, text XIV, l. 8, p. 15), *ḥalḥabbe mottākle* # "this bit had been eaten" (1980, text XVII, l. 10, p. 18).

ad. 1.2.4.1.

Like in 'AA diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized in all positions in GA (e.g. xel "horses", hōs "court"), except in those cases where forms would no longer have been morphologically transparent, e.g. 'awdah "clearer", mawgūd "present".905

ad. 1.2.4.4.

Like in 'AA, reflexes of final *-â(‘) are raised like T, e.g. (sentence-medial) ṣāṣītā "the winter" (1980, text II, 1. 5, p. 6). Raising remains absent in ḥṣahra #906 "the desert" (1980, text II, 1. 11, p. 6) and (sentence-medial) bēda "white (f. sg.)" (1979, text VII, 1. 4, p. 10). Instances of reflexes of *-â(‘) in non-velarized environments in pause are hina # (1980, text I, 1. 4, p. 6) and hābla (probably a misprint for ḥābla, cf. CA *ḥublà) "pregnant" (1980, text XII, 1. 4., p. 14), and ḡāda # "lunch" (1980, text XI, 1. 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, 1. 3, p. 18), (sentence-medial) ḡābūhā "they brought her" (1979, text VII, 1. 24, p. 11), gāṭālā # "he killed her" (1979, text II, 1. 11, p. 6), wiḡa # (1979, text VII, 1. 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 ā (I presume this to be around I.P.A. [e]) or absent, e.g. : ( Arabia ) kattā 'ādā tabā'īnna # "our enemies" (1979, text V, 1. 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, 1. 75, p. 19), māyyāinā "we turned" (1980, text XI, 1. 16, p. 13).

In one instance suffixed *-ā was treated as -āh (-āT): maʾnātu "its (m. sg.) meaning" (1979, text II, 1. 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, 1. 5, p. 9), āʾu "beware! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, 1. 58).

906 Salonen does not indicate secondary velarization in his transcription. In this case velarization of ṣ must have spread to r (→ r), which inhibited raising.
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of ʿAzzah (Gaza).

l. 77, p. 19). In addition, morphological base forms forms like ʿAA ḫwād with initial ḫw- are less likely in ʿGA, since we have forms like ʿaẓẓār "the young (pl.)" (1979, text III, l. 8, p. 7), ʿaẓẓar "the young" (1979, text III, l. 12, p. 7), ʿassālāh "the weapons" (1979, text IX, l. 5, p. 12), and ʿaẓẓālāl "the men" (1979, text XIII, l. 6, p. 17), not ʿlis gūr, ʿlis gūr, ʿlis lāh, and ʿlis gūl like in ʿAA (cf. V, 2.3.2.4.). The implication of such forms is that initial CC does occur in morphophonemic base forms in ʿGA. 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 ʿAA for the 1-t verbal measure (and then also in the n-1 measure, cf. V, 2.1.1.) is made in ʿGA as well: (measure 1-t) būntgel "she is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 7, p. 8, and l. 15, p. 9) would be būnīgil in ʿAA; stress is of the māktaba-type (also evident from a form like būrgṣu "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 ʾāḥārag, and in the same line ṣharug "it was burnt" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6), and ṣīṭāgāl "he worked" (1980, text X, l. 4, p. 10).

Forms like ʿala iḡāmāl "on the camel" (1979, text VII, l. 28, p. 11), ʾalmarā "the woman" (1979, text XI, l. 9, p. 14), ʾalwarad (1979, text XIV, l. 7, p. 17) are indications that in ʿGA, like in ʿAA, 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. ḥaslet, ʿaklat) as described in V, ad. 2.4. are much less likely to occur.

ad. 2.1.1.2.1.6.

Like in ʿAA resyllabication of CaCaCv sequences does not occur in ʿGA, e.g.: ʾaẓẓālāme "the man" (1979, text II, l. 7, p. 6), ʾaẓẓārā "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. ʾamādra "its (f. sg.) appearance" (twice in 1979, text II, l. 29, p. 6). Here it is presumably ʾānẓār + a (3rd p. f. sg. pron. suffix), cf. V, ad. 3.1.12.2.
Remarks on the dialect of Gazzah (Gaza).

Enclisis of the suffixed preposition 1 (of which the independent form is la) is as regular in GA as it is in 'AA, e.g. gālat-lu "she said to him" (1979, text XI, 1. 20, p. 14) and ḥaṭṭā-lu "having put (f. sg.) for him" (1979, text XI, 1. 11, p. 14).

Phonotactics.

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in GA, nor in 'AA, although a few forms may suggest otherwise: yḥakīnî "he tells me" (1980, text XVI, 1. 8, p. 16), šahar "month" (1980, text XVII, 1. 15 and 1. 18, p. 18), bāhar "sea" (1980, text X, 1. 32, p. 11).

However, the majority of examples indicate that the gahawah-syndrome is not active. Verb forms are: 'ahfād "I memorize" (1980, text VII, 1. 14, p. 9), 'ahkilak "I tell you" (1980, text VIII, 1. 1, p. 9), and bta(rafi* "you (f. sg.) know" (1980, text IX, 1. 4, p. 9). Nominals are: gahwe "coffee" (1979, text X, 1. 8, p. 13), dāhi "my back" (1980, text VII, 1. 10, p. 8), ahlū "his family" (1980, text XII, 1. 12, p. 14), 'gahs "young donkey" (1980, text XIII, 1. 4, p. 14), and a measure 1 past part. mabhūs "imprisoned" (1979, text II, 1. 6, p. 6).

* N.B. The example bta(rafi might suggest that GA 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 byišbatš "he does not eat his fill" (1980, text X, 1. 45, p. 11), yigdar "he can" (1980, text XI, 1. 29, p. 13).

Elision of 1 in sequences vC₃C₄IC₅V → vC₃C₄C₅V, where C₃C₄ is a geminate) also occurs in GA, but Salonen does not report (or indicate in his transcription) a subsequent reduction of the geminate in such cases. Examples

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908 Cf. SALONEN (1980), p. 47, where a number of instances of the ethical dative are listed.
909 A shortened ₃ in (measure 3) yḥakīnî, cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.4.
910 Salonen often writes ₃ for a high vowel which has a lower realization due to the influence of neighbouring X. Other such examples with neighbouring ₃ are yaṭḥa'um "he gives them" (1979, text VII, 1. 30, p. 11), aš'īn "twenty" (1979, text VII, 1. 24, p. 11), maṭīha "having given her" (1980, text XIII, 1. 5, p. 14).
from the GA texts are:  yıəyəmyäha "they let her sleep" (1979, text XI, I. 52, p. 15), mfaṭīsä "having (f. sg.) strangled it (m. sg.)" (1979, text XI, I. 58, p. 15).

An example where /-elision does not precede: lüfhen "he wrapped them (f. pl.)" (1979, text X, I. 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. 'əlāk "you have (lit. to you)" (1980, text XV, I. 13, p. 15), 'ilak (1980, text XVII, I. 210, p. 23). Notice, however, that the enclitically suffixed forms do not have such an initial (stressed) vowel, e.g. müllätələk "she filled (lit. for you)" (1980, text XVII, I. 70, p. 19), and since the form gultəlha "I said to her" (1980, text IX, II. 3 and 5, p. 9) is not written as *gultəlha (or something similar), we may conclude that it is stressed gultəlha, in which a is an anaptyctic. The conclusion is that the allomorph of the prep. "for" used for enclitic suffixing is l.

Another form in GA is aššitā "the winter" (twice in 1980, text II, II. 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 GA one would also have forms like 'inəb "grapes", rükəb "knees", etc.

ad. 2.4. Elision of short vowels.

Like in 'AA (cf. V, 2.4.), short high vowels in GA are dropped in open syllables, e.g.: (elision of the high vowel in unstressed open syllable) əmnəra "she-donkey" (1979, text XIV, I. 14, p. 17), but notice here that in GA 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: ʧiʃiʃi "(lit.) it (f. sg.) came up to me" (1979, text IX, I. 11, p. 12).

A morphophonemic elision of the high vowel with subsequent anaptyxis to resolve the resulting cluster: びləbəsəš "they do not wear" (1979, text XIII, I. 10, p. 17).

A morphophonemic elision of the high vowel without subsequent anaptyxis to resolve the resulting cluster: əzəğrən "they (f.) ululate" (1979, text VII, I. 11, p. 10).

A morphophonemic elision of a high vowel in open syllable following a geminate: əgəməʔəhəm "they gather them" (1979, text IX, I. 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: rägbütu "his neck" (1979, text VIII, ll. 2 and 10, p. 11), rägbetäk "your neck" (1979, text VIII, l. 14, p. 12), ankäsrat "it (f. sg.) was broken" (1979, text IX, l. 5, p. 13), 'amlathan "she made them (f. pl.)" (1979, text XI, l. 17, p. 14), 'axdatham "she took them" (1980, text XVII, l. 41, p. 18), 'aklat "she ate" (1980, text XVII, l. 154, p. 22), mä darbatlak "she did not hit (lit. for you)" (1980, text XVII, l. 197, p. 23), hašlet "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.: sjtakarat "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), xalagattum "she gave birth to them (lit. created them)" (1980, text 14, l. 15, p. 15). 'axađet "she started (lit. took)" (1980, text XVII, l. 72, p. 19).

Additional instances of a-elision in sequences other than CaC_Ca are: ǧasslatha "she washed it (f. sg.) thoroughly" (1980, text XVII, l. 13, p. 18) contrasting with labbasatham "she dressed them" (1980, text XVII, l. 42, p. 18), ǧamā'tak "your group of people" (1980, text 14, l. 1, p. 15) contrasting with sā'ätēn "two hours" (1980, text 14, ll. 10-11, p. 15), and a sandhi elision of a in mā 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), garēttu "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: màxidda (mâxid + 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 màxida, i.e. màxid + 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 \( az\z\bar{g}\bar{i}r \) "the young" (1979, text III, l. 12, p. 7). Other examples are: \( kt\bar{i}r \) "many" (1979, text II, l. 4, p. 5), \( kb\bar{i}r \) "large, old" (1979, text III, l. 13, p. 7). \( \check{g}\check{d}\check{i}de \) "the new (f. sg.)" (1979, text I, l. 15, p. 5), \( b'\check{t}de \) "far" (1980, text IV, l. 5–6, p. 7), \( m\check{l}i\check{h} \) "good, fine" (1980, text X, l. 33, p. 11), \( f\check{j}\check{r}\check{a} \) "loaf of (a type of pizza) bread" (1980, text X, l. 37, p. 11), \( r^\#tf \) "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.: \( h\check{a}\check{d}\check{d}\check{i} \) "iron" (1979, text VIII, l. 21, p. 12), \( 'az\check{z} \) "dear" (1980, text XVII, l. 56, p. 19), \( 'ar\check{i} \) "groom" (1979, text VI, l. 2, p. 9), \( \check{g}\check{a}\check{r}\check{i}\check{b}a \) "stranger (f.)" (1979, text VI, l. 27, p. 10), \( h\check{a}m\check{\i}r \) "donkeys (coll.)" (1980, text XIII, l. 2, p. 14), \( \check{g}\check{a}\check{s}\check{i}l \) "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: \( b\check{a}'\check{t}d \) "far" (1979, text VIII, l. 19, p. 12), \( g\check{a}\check{d}\check{i}m\check{e} \) "old (f. sg.)" (1979, text I, l. 14, p. 5), \( n\check{a}\check{\i}b\check{i} \) "my share (of fate)" (1979, text IX, l. 11, p. 12), \( m\check{a}\check{r}\check{t}\check{\i}d\check{a} \) "ill (f. sg.)" (1979, text XII, l. 2, p. 16), \( m\check{a}\check{d}\check{\i}n\check{\i} \) "town" (1979, text XIII, l. 2, p. 16), \( \check{g}\check{i}\check{d}\check{\i} \) "new" (1980, text XVI, l. 31, p. 16), \( w\check{a}\check{l}\check{\i}y\check{y}e \) "woman" (1980, text XVII, l. 13, p. 18), \( t\check{a}\check{r}\check{\i}g \) "road" (1980, text XVII, l. 139, p. 21).

ad. 3.1.1.4.

Raising of the short \( a \) in the patterns \(*C_1aC_2C_2\check{\i}n\) and \(*C_1aC_2C_2\check{\a}C_3\) occurs in GA, but is nowhere near as regular as in 'AA. Two examples of such raising are \( k\check{i}\check{s}\check{l}\check{\i}n \) "lazy" (1980, text VII, l. 7, p. 8) and \( s\check{a}\check{\j}f\check{\a}\check{\r}a \) "whistle" (1980, text XVII, l. 31, p. 18), but there is no (significant) raising in \( z\check{a}\check{h}\check{g}\check{\a}n \) "fed up" (1979, text XIII, l. 6, p. 14), \( m\check{a}\check{\j}\check{\i}\check{\y}\check{\i} \) "full" (1980, text X, l. 58, p. 12), \( s\check{a}\check{h}\check{\bar{\i}}\check{\a}n \) "satiated" (1980, text X, l. 61, p. 12), \( 'a\check{t}\check{s}\check{\a}n \) "thirsty" (1979, text XI, l. 21, p. 14), \( 'a\check{y}\check{y}\check{\i}\check{\i}n \) "ill (f. sg.)" (1979, text XII, l. 3, p. 16), \( 'a\check{r}\check{y}\check{\a}n \) "naked" (1979, text XIII, l. 11, p. 17), and \( f\check{\a}\check{l}\check{l}\check{\a}\check{\i}\check{\h}i\check{n} \) "farmers" (1979, text I, l. 6, p. 5). \( l\check{a}\check{\h}\check{\j}\check{\h}e\check{\a}n\)
"butcher" (1979, text III, l. 1, p. 7), sawwāg "driver" (1980, text X, l. 1, p. 10), bayyā "seller" (1980, text XVII, l. 2, p. 17).

ad. 3.1.1.8.

Like in 'AA, raising of a in the pattern $C_1aC_2uC_3$ does not appear to be current in GA, e.g.: xarûf "lamb" (1979, text XI, l. 37, p. 15), 'ağûz "old (of a woman)" (1979, text XI, l. 64, p. 16), 'arûs "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 yahûd "Jews" (once in 1979, text II, l. 3, p. 5; twice in 1979, text V, l. 22, p. 9), and sabû "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 $aC_1C_2aC_3$ is used for colours, e.g. 'abyad "white" (1979, text IX, l. 21, p. 13), of which the f. sg. form is (pattern $C_1aC_2C_3a$) bêda (with unstressed final -a) (1979, text VII, l. 4, p. 10). Other examples are xadra "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 xârsä "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.: 'awdâh "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 əl-), and the relative pronoun is illi (1979, text VIII, l. 10, p. 11) in GA.$^{912}$ In addition, Salonen mentions (cf. 1980, p. 49) l, yallli and halli as less frequent relative pronouns.

$^{912}$ Cf. SALONEN (1980), p. 49. In addition one may also hear the shorter form l, yallli (< 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: \(\text{ummm}\) (e.g. 1979, text II, l. 7, p. 6) (~ once \(\text{ummm}\) (1979, text III, l. 10, p. 7) and once \(\text{ammm}\) (1980, text XIV, l. 15, p. 15)) "mother", \(\text{oxt}\) (1979, text VI, l. 10, p. 9) "sister", and \(\text{ohnā} \sim \text{nhnā}\) "we" (1979, p. 40).

The plural of 'ūda "room" (1980, text X, l. 54, p. 12) was recorded as 'awad (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: tanğarat mayye "a kettle of water" (1979, text X, l. 15, p. 13), sänät 1962 "the year 1962" (1980, text III, l. 1, p. 7), madrasat Xân Yûnis "the school in Xân Yûnis" (1979, text IX, l. 14, p. 9), maratu "his wife" (1979, text XII, l. 2, p. 13).

There are a few special cases though: martu "his wife" (1979, text III, l. 1, p. 7), râgbätu "your neck", râgbetäk "your neck" (both in 1979, text VIII, ll. 14-5, p. 12). The first two of these are best explained as râgab\(T + -u\) and mara\(T + -u\), after which the preceding a in open syllable may be dropped (but cf. the contrasting form maratu above). The form râgbetäk (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: madrasatna "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: gâşset almadrâsä "the story of the school" (1979, text II, ll. 2-3, p. 5), swâyyet hêlu "a bit of candy" (1979, text III, l. 11, p. 7), 'ammit "my aunt" (1980, text XVII, l. 75, p. 19), 'ammitsa "our aunt" (1980, text XVII, l. 119, p. 21), râşset âl'âres "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").
'arūsto "his bride" (1979, text VII, 1. 9, p. 10), lmālḥāme tāʾtu "his butcher shop" (1979, text III, 1. 4, p. 7), šūrāthā "her image" (1979, text XI, 1. 39, p. 15), ġēbu "his pocket" (1979, text XIV, ll. 25, p. 5).

Exceptions may be found here as well: lā ġāyat 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 ġanāʿak "your group of people" (1980, text XIV, l. 1, p. 15).

An example of T in construct state preceded by v is wa hyāt 'abūy "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 btāʿ, tāʿ, tabaʿ and māl916 (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 plural916, 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 hū and ħī are more frequent in GA than in 'AA.
- GA has an alternative noḥna, and also ahna 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:

915 Cf. ibid., pp. 40-1.
916 Although this does not seem to be so in all cases, as is illustrated by kānu lbanāṭ ḏʿāf ʿāf ġwayye "the girls were a little weak" (1980, text IX, ll. 19-20, p. 10).
917 Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 14.
GA has a $\text{-y}$ allomorph for the 1st p. c. sg., only recorded once in ‘AA.

GA has a $\text{C-a}$ allomorph for the 3rd p. f. sg., and a $\text{C-un}$ allomorph for the 3rd p. m. pl. (both without initial $h$).

There are indications that this $\text{-a}$ suffix, although it is not vowel-initial, does attract stress onto a preceding vowel, e.g. manţâra "its (f. sg.) appearance" (twice in 1979, text II, l. 29, p. 6), and mâxîddâ "having taken her" (1980, text XII, l. 4, p. 14) should perhaps read mâxîda, 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 $\text{-um}$ suffix.

Important similarities between ‘AA and GA are:

- Both ‘AA and GA have $\text{-u}$ for the 3rd p. m. sg.
- Neither dialect has an invariable $\text{-ki}$ for the 2nd p. f. sg.\textsuperscript{919}
- The 1st p. sg. suffixes $\text{-i}$ and $\text{-ni}$ are unstressed in both ‘AA and GA.

An additional similarity with ‘AA seems to be the 3rd p. m. sg. pron. suffix $\text{-u}$ in combination with a negation; like in ‘AA, the $u$ is (usually) not lengthened when followed by the $\tilde{s}$ of the negation, e.g. an mâ ʻaţâbatos "if she does not please him" (1979, text VI, l. 8, p. 9), boʻrfoš "he does not know him" (1979, text VI, l. 24, p. 10), and a comparable byaʻrifuš "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 $\tilde{s}$ 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 $\text{-o}$, $\text{-kum}$, $\text{-kun}$, $\text{-un}$, and $\text{-hon}$ 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.) hâd, hâ and (f. sg.) hâyy $\sim$ hây for near

\textsuperscript{919} Although a few instances in GA do show this invariable $\text{-ki}$ (which is heard in many northern Sinai dialects, cf. other chapters 3.1.12.2.), e.g. kalsônîk $\sim$ kalsönîki "your (f. sg.) knickers" (cf. SALONEN (1979), p. 42), this allomorph is the exception rather than the rule.
deixis (cf. however V, ad. 4.8.2.), (c. pl.) hāḏolāk for far deixis, and only (f. sg.) haḏīk (without final -a) for far deixis.

Like in ‘AA, the non-final I in the pl. forms is not doubled: (near deixis) haḏola, and (far deixis) hāḏolāk ~ hāḏlāk.\footnote{Cf. Palva’s remark on NWA dialects in fn 461 of this study.}

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.\footnote{Cf. SALONEN (1979), pp. 46-7.}

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 waqtēš? (1980, p. 57); "how?" is kīf? (1980, p. 58) ~ kēf? (1980, p. 59); "how much?" is gaddēš? (1980, p. 59); "how many?" is kam? (1980, p. 59) (ákam? in ‘AA).

SALONEN (1979), p. 47, gives ēši (without doubling of the š) a form comparable to the forms ēššū? and ēššīyya? "what is it?" heard in ‘AA. The more typically bedouin interrogative ‘al âm + 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 henâki (1980, text VIII, l. 5, p. 9), hinâk (1980, text XIII, l. 3, p. 14), hânâk (1979, text VII, l. 23, p. 11), and hanâka (1980, text XVII, l. 77, p. 19).
- ‘AA gâd "over there" was recorded as gâdi (1979, text XIII, l. 5, p. 17) in GA, and also lagâd (perhaps la gâd?) "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), hân (1979, text XI, l. 68, p. 16), hên (1979, text XII, l. 7, p. 16), hānâ (1980, text XVII, l. 82, p. 20).

\footnote{920}
B. V ad. Remarks on the dialect of Ġazzah (Gaza).

- ‘AA ki’dâ "thus" is not regular in ĠA. Instead hêk is (1980, text XI, l. 30, p. 13) (hêk was not recorded in ‘AA).
- ‘AA (h)alhin ~ ilhin "now" was not recorded in ĠA. Instead we have halâ’ (1979, text II, l. 23, p. 6), hessâ (1980, text I, l. 17, p. 6), hassâ (1980, text XVII, l. 99, p. 20).  
- ‘AA lissa "still", or with neg. "(not) yet" was also recorded in ĠA as lissa (1980, text XVII, l. 88, p. 20), and as asâs (1980, text XVII, l. 61, p. 19) (compare ssâ in group I).
- minnu "then, next" was not recorded in ĠA.
- ‘ügubha was not recorded in ĠA or in ‘AA. The conjunction ‘ugub ma (which occurs in ‘AA) was not recorded in ĠA.
- ‘AA ba‘dên "after that" is current in ĠA as well (1979, text V, l. 4, p. 8).

ad. 3.1.16.

Prepositions recorded in ĠA as compared to ‘AA are:

- 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 l- (often transcribed as â) preformative, e.g. îlu "to him", ‘ilhâ. When the suffixed preposition is itself enclitically suffixed, this stressed preformative is absent, e.g. gâldî-îlu "she said to him", but an anaptyctic vowel may appear in its place to resolve clusters resulting from such enclitic suffixing, e.g. gâldî-îla "she said to him".
- The independent form of the preposition "with" appears to be b (although Salonen also gives bi, most of his examples show b, e.g. bî-z-zêt would be b iizzêt "with (the) oil" in the transcription used in this study). Salonen does not report suffixed forms, or enclitic suffixing of this preposition in ĠA.
- Like in ‘AA, the preposition "on" has the independent forms ‘ala and ‘u. When suffixed the final a (of ‘ala) ~ ë, e.g. ‘alëki "on you (f. sg.)".
- The regular independent forms for "with" are ma‘ and ma‘a in ĠA (in ‘AA only ma‘a). When suffixed final a (of ma‘a) is lengthened ~ â, e.g. ma‘âha "with her" (same in ‘AA). Exceptions were however also recorded, e.g.: ma‘ki "with you (f. sg.)" (1980, text I, l. 17, p. 6), ma‘u "(lit.) with him" (1980, text IV, l. 7, p. 7), ma‘î "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 ~ î, e.g. fiha "in her".

922 Cf. Bergstrâsser (1915), map 27, only reports hal‘êt for ĠA.
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 mna is reported to be rarer, and I assume that this means that the vowel of min is dropped in sandhi (Salonen gives the example mna-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 'ind (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. 'anna ~ '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).

A f. form for "two", not recorded in 'AA, was recorded in GA as in idë 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. tālātīn "thirty" (1980, text VI, ll. 1-2), p. 8), tāmānyā (notice also the short ä preceding the n) "eight" (1980, text VII, l. 3, p. 8). Another difference with 'AA is the f. form for "one": wāhde in GA (1980, text V, l. 4, p. 7) (and like in 'AA "someone (f.)" is waḥada (1979, text XI, l. 1, p. 14)), and a was dropped in sandhi in the example tālī tānīn "three years" (1979, text III, l. 13, p. 7).

Examples of (originally *a-initial) pl. nouns taking a proclitic t-: 'ašar t-iğfe "ten loaves of (flat) bread" (1980, text X, l. 45, p. 11), 'arba' t-iyyām "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); tānî (transcribed as tānî) "second" (1979, text II, l. 16, p. 6), tālīt "third" (f. sg. tālīte recorded) (1979, text II, l. 23, p. 6), rābi' "fourth" (recorded...
as "rābe') (1979, text VIII, l. 24, p. 12), sādis"sixth" (recorded as sādes) and sābi' "seventh" (recorded as sābe') (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 ' has not been dropped from these forms, e.g. xamsta'sar sene "fifteen years" (in 'AA tamantāšar "eighteen" was recorded). Numerals not followed by the counted noun end in -qīš in 'AA, and a comparable form recorded in GA is ṭnats "twelve" (1979, text XIII, l. 3, p. 17).

ad. 3.1.18.

Like in 'AA, the dual is formed with the suffix -ēn, e.g. giršēn "two piastres" (1979, text XIV, l. 25, p. 18) and sā'ēten "two hours" (1980, text IVX, 1. 10, p. 15). When suffixed, the final -n of a pseudo-dual is dropped, e.g. īdē ātintēn "his two hands" (1980, text X, l. 27, p. 11) (in the transcription used in this study this would read īdēh ātintēn).

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 CϯCϯC?, and CϯaC. For GA these yield the following conjugations:

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{perf. } "drink"^{*1} & \text{perf. } "open"^{*4} \\
\hline
\text{SG} & \text{PL} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
3.m. & šūrib & šūribu^{*2} & fāṭah & fāṭahu^{*5,6} \\
3.f. & šūrbat^{*2} & šūrbin & fāṭahat^{*5} & fāṭāhīn \\
2.m. & šrībt^{*3} & šrībti^{*3} & fāṭī & fāṭāhū \\
2.f. & šrībti^{*3} & šrībtin & fāṭāti & fāṭāhin^{*6} \\
1.c. & šrībt^{*3} & šrībna^{*3} & fāṭāt & fāṭāhna \\
\end{array}
\]

*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).

*2) Like in 'AA, the raised reflex i of older *a of the first syllable does not reappear in closed syllables in GA. Examples are: kabru "they grew up" (1980, text XVII, l. 24, p. 18), mà 'irfūhās "they did not recognize her" (1980, text XVII, l. 40, p. 18). The 3rd p. f. sg. ending appears to be -at24 (-it in 'AA). Examples are: 'erfuatu "she recognized him" (1980, text XVII, l. 142, p. 21), waqfīt "she stopped", tāl'at "she went away" (1980, text XVII, l. 82, p. 20).

*3) Like in 'AA, the underlying i of the first syllable of the base form is dropped in open unstressed syllables. Examples are: smi't "I heard" (1979, text XII, l. 15, p. 16), ḍāʿūna "we played" (1980, text IX, l. 12, p. 9), zhigna "we have had enough (of something)" (1980, text XVII, l. 75, p. 19), wqīfti "you (f. sg.) stopped" (1980, text XVII, l. 113, p. 21), ṣrībtī "you (f. sg.) drank" (1980, text XVII, l. 112, p. 21), but a form contradicting this generalization is wqārrīt "I fell" (1980, text IX, l. 28, p. 10).


*5) In this conjugation the possible elision of a in open syllable is not reflected (cf. remarks above in V, ad. 2.4.).

*6) Like in 'AA, vowel harmony in the m. pl. verbal ending of the a-type perfect is absent. Lack of vowel harmony in te 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 yīC1C2aC3, yūC1C2uC3, and yīC1C2iC3, 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>yīftah</td>
<td>yīftahu*3)</td>
<td>yūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>tīfiḥā</td>
<td>tīfiḥi*n4)</td>
<td>tūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>tīfiḥā</td>
<td>tīfiḥu*3)</td>
<td>tūg'ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>tīfiḥi*3)</td>
<td>tīfiḥīn*4)</td>
<td>tīgu'di*3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>āftah</td>
<td>nīftah</td>
<td>āg'ud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

924 It is not entirely certain, since forms like tāl'etu (1980, text XVII, l. 109, p. 20), riğ'etu "she returned" (1979, text IV, l. 9, p. 8) are ambiguous, and forms like tīl'itu (1979, text VIII, l. 12, p. 11) and tīl'iti (1979, text IX, l. 11, p. 12) contradict this generalization, whereas tīl'attu (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: tiftah "she opens" (1979, text V, l. 2, p. 8), yišrab "he
drinks" (1979, text X, l. 9, p. 13), biišiat "they (. sg.) go out" (1979, text XI, l.
62, p. 15), tiḏhak "she laughs" (1979, text XII, l. 6, p. 16), yiš'ālni (with
hamzah!) "he asks me" (1980, text VII, l. 7, p. 8). Forms like bya'esmalu "they
make" (1979, text VII, l. 35-6) seem to contradict the generalization made
here, but the influence of ʼ 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 (yiktib "he writes") and u-type (yu’drub "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 -ûn and -ûn (!) respectively, which is strong evidence
of North Arabian (i.e. Naḏdiy) bedouin influences.

The ending -ûn, 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.: ti'ğin "she kneads" (1980, text XI, l. 22 p. 13), tixbez "she bakes" (1980,
text XI, l. 23, p. 13), byaḥbalen "they (f.) become pregnant" (1980, text XVII,
l. 1 p. 17), boxṭbo "he proposes" (1979, text VI, l. 1, p. 9), boḥḍarūš "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: kaḥbru "they grew
up" (1980, text XVII, l. 24, p. 18). The comparable 'AA form would be kibru.
An imperf. identical to the 'AA form is 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.: sāken "living" (1980, text IV, l.
l., p. 7), ĥāfeḏ "having memorized" (1980, text VII, l. 6, p. 8), ĕrfe "(lit.)
knowing (f. sg.)" (1980, text XI, l. 12, p. 12), ďarba "(lit.) having (f. sg.) hit"
(1979, text XIV, l. 11, p. 17), miš ʼârfinu "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: *mfatšā "having (f. sg.) strangled it (m. sg.)" (1979, text XI, l. 58, p. 15), and *ms'allmā(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, l. 8, p. 8), 'iskti "be (f. sg.) silent!" (1980, text 17, l. 123, p. 21), but also 'usktū "be (m. sg.) silent!" (1979, text XIII, l. 17, p. 17), and 'ug'ud "sit down!" (1980, text X, l. 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 nūšal "we arrive" (1980, text VII, l. 5, p. 9), 'ū'ū "beware! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 77, p. 19).

Another primae wāw verb form is yigeft (1980, text X, l. 28, p. 11) (compare yīgaf in 'AA).

ad. 3.2.2.3.

The perfect and imperfect of irregular verbs C₁ = *' (primae hamzah) in GA are like in 'AA: ákal, yākul "eat", and áxad, yāxud "take". Examples are: 'akalu "he ate him" (1980, text VI, l. 14, p. 8), 'axadet (1980, text IX, l. 24, p. 10), yāxod "he eats" (1980, text VIII, l. 3, p. 9), nāxud "we take" (1980, text X, l. 34, p. 11).

Notice however, that an (exceptional) instance with ŏ also appears in the GA texts: bōkul "he eats" (1980, text XVII, l. 152, p. 22), and the long ŏ may also be raised as in bēxod "he takes" (1979, text VII, l. 10, p. 10).

The vowel of the m. sg. imperative in GA is lengthened (unless these forms are instances of prosodic lengthening): kōl! (twice in 1980, text XI, ll. 25-6, p. 13), and xōd! (1980, text XIII, l. 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 kilīha "eat (f. sg.) it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 12, p. 18) was recorded as well.
The active participles are more like in our group I, however: mäxði "having (f. sg.) taken" (1979, text XI, l. 19, p. 14), mäxidda (mäxid + ha, but f. remarks in V, ad. 3.1.12.2.) "having (m. sg.) taken her" (1980, text XII, l. 4, p. 14), mäktli 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 (‘)akl (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>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>imperfect*1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.m.</td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>gâlu</td>
<td>ygûl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f.</td>
<td>gâlat</td>
<td>gâlin</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>gultu</td>
<td>tgûl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f.</td>
<td>gulti</td>
<td>gultin</td>
<td>tgûli*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.c.</td>
<td>gult</td>
<td>guina</td>
<td>agûl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1) The conjugation of the imperf. is listed as b-imperfec.ts in 1979, p. 49.

*2) In addition to the pl. -u and f. sg. -i endings Salonen lists -ün and -in (!), 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), gälâlù "she said to him" (1980, text XI, l. 8, p. 12).

N.B. Like in ‘AA, bišîl ~ biyšîl, and biygûl ~ biygûl (or bugûl in GA), but not •bšîl or •bgûl. E.g.: bišîru "(lit.) they become" (1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10) and bizûnnâ "he visits us" (1979, text IX, l. 26, p. 13), although an exceptional instance bkiin (perhaps a misprint for bakûn?) "I am" (1980, text VII, l. 5, p. 8) was also recorded.
Imperatives of mediae infirmae with short base vowels do not appear in the GA texts. Instead, e.g.: gul "say! (1979, text II, l. 25, p. 6), gum "get up!" (1979, text VIII, l. 20, p. 12). A m. pl. form is gumu "get up!" (1980, text XVII, l. 76, p. 19).

Examples of imperatives used with the verb ḡūb, yḡṭ "bring" are: ħāt! "bring! (m. sg.)" (1980, text XIII, l. 7, p. 14), ḡāṭilki! "(lit.) bring (f. sg.) for yourself" (1979, text II, l. 1, p. 5), ħātu! "bring! (m. pl.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 204, p. 23).

Examples of active participles in GA: šāyef "(lit.) seeing" (1980, text I, l. 6, p. 6), ḫāyef "fearing, afraid" (1980, text V, l. 12, p. 8), ṭāyīn "going (m. pl.)" (1979, text IX, l. 8, p. 12).

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.: garēna "we studied" (1980, text IX, l. 18, p. 10), garēta "I recited it (f. sg.)" (1980, text XVI, l. 16, p. 16), bagēt "(lit.) you became" (1980, text XI, l. 6, p. 12), badēna "we started" (1980, text XI, l. 11, p. 12), mašēna "we walked" (1980, text XVII, l. 125, p. 21).

Recorded forms of the verb mūšū (or miši ?) yimši "go" are: (3rd p. f. sg.) mūšāt (1979, text XI, l. 8, p. 14), mišyāt (ibid. l. 12) and māšyāt (ibid. l. 16).

Recorded perfect forms of the verb "find" are: lāgā "he found" (1980, text VI, l.3, p. 8), lāgu "they found" (1979, text XI, l. 64, p. 16), ligāt "she found" (1980, text XVII, l. 107, p. 20), lagā "he found him" (1980, text XIII, l. 12, p. 14), lāget "she found" (1980, text XVII, l. 10, p. 18), lagamāthum "she found them" (1980, text XVII, l. 50, p. 19), lāgēnā "we found him" (1979, text IX, l. 9, p. 12), ma lagētš "you did not find" (1979, text XII, l. 17, p. 16), but the base vowel a (?) is dropped in lgēt "I found" (1980, text XI, l. 23, p. 13).

Other recorded forms are: bagyaṭ "it (f. sg.) remained" (1980, text I, l. 10, p. 6), bagu "(lit.) they became" (1979, text XI, l. 67, p. 16), ṭahyaṭ "she woke up" (1979, text XI, l. 37, p. 15), ṭahyu "they woke up" (ibid., l. 47), but also ṭiḥyaṭ (ibid, l. 54), ṭaḥyu (ibid. l. 61), ṭaṭum "they threw him" (1980, text XVII, l. 218, p. 24), kawā "he cauterized him" (1979, text VIII, l. 21, p. 12),
gālāhā "he cooked it (f. sg.)" (1979, text IX, l. 20, p. 13), lāgēhā "he found her" (1979, text XI, l. 13, p. 14), lagēnī "he found me" (1979, text XI, l. 27, p. 14) (for these last two examples, cf. the remark on raising of ā in V, ad. 1.2.2.3. above), (and in a higher register?) badāʾin "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.: yibdā "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.

Apocopated (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 faḍyāt "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 ī-. 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 ī, as in e.g. ġīna, but when followed by a non-verbal suffix 'iġākum "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 ē 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: āgā "he came" (1980 text VI, l. 10, p. 8), iġat "she came" (1979, text IX, l. 16, p. 12), ġīnī "we came" (twice in 1979, text IX, l. 9, p. 12 and 1980, text XI, l. 30, p. 14), and suffixed 'iġākum "he came to you (m. pl.)" (1979, text XV, l. 9, p. 18).

Examples of the imperfect are: āgī "I come" (1980, text VII, l. 12, p. 8), byīgi "he comes" (1980, text III, l. 17, p. 7), btīgī "she comes" (1979, text VII, l.
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10, p. 10), yiğu "they come" (1979, text VII, l. 21, p. 10), but also biği "he comes" (1979, text VI, l. 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), rë (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, yū šahar, ta', yū 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): xaṣṣ "he entered" (1980, text XVII, l. 167, p. 22), ḥattātha "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), ‘addenāhin (< ‘addenāhin) "we counted them (f.)" (1980, text XI, l. 27, p. 13).

Examples of imperfect: (a-type) biddu yxuṣṣ "he wants to enter" (1980, text XVII, l. 214, p. 24), biddna njuṣṣ "we want to roam about (lit. pour)" (1980, text XVII, l. 25, p. 18), biḥattā "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, II. 2-3, p. 9), mādid "having (m. sg.) stretched out" (1980, text XVII, l. 137, p. 21), but also ḥātt, which must be a misprint for ḥāṭt "having (m. sg.) placed" (1980, text XVI, l. 13, p. 16), ḍāll "remaining (m. sg.)" (1980, text XVII, l. 158, p. 22), and ḥāss "feeling (m. sg.)" (1979, text X, l. 7, p. 13). F. sg. forms are: ḥāṭṭālu "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 šāxxin "having (m. pl.) urinated" (1980, text XVII, l. 74, p. 19).
Passive participles have a \( m\!a\!C_1C_2\!u\!C_3 \) pattern in \( \hat{G}A \), e.g. \( m\!a\!\hat{t}\!u\!\hat{t}a \) "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 \((i)n\!C_1\!d\!C_2\!a\!C_3\)

and the imperfect pattern is \( y\!i\!n\!C_1\!i\!C_2\!i\!C_3\).

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 \( 1\!-\!t \)) \( b\!\ddot{e}\!n\!t\!g\!e\!l \) "she is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 7, p. 8, and l. 15, p. 9) which would be \( b\!i\!n\!t\!g\!i\!l \) 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 \( (m\!-\!1) \) form \( n\!\ddot{h}\!a\!r\!a\!g \), and in the same line \( n\!\ddot{h}\!a\!r\!a\!g \) "it (m. sg.) was burnt" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6). The vowel \( \alpha \) is dropped in \( n\!\ddot{k}\!s\!r\!a\!t \) "it (f. sg.) broke" (1979, text X, l. 5, p. 13), in (sandhi elision) \( i\!n\!x\!a\!l\!i \) "it became mixed" (1979, text I, l. 9, p. 5), but not in \( w\!x\!a\!l\!a\!\ddot{t}\!u \) "they became mixed" (ibid., l. 11).

A \( \hat{G}A \) form which does not conform to the system described for 'AA is: \( m\!\ddot{a}\! y\!i\!n\!'a\!r\!a\!f\!u\!\ddot{s} \) "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 \( b\!t\!i\!n\!h\!a\!t \) "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 \( i\!n\!d\!\ddot{a}\!r \) "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 \((i)b\!z\!C_1t\!a\!C_2\!a\!C_3\) for the perfect, and \( y\!i\!C_1t\!i\!C_2\!i\!C_3 \) 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.
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(imperfect): bōntgel "he is transferred" (1979, text V, l. 15, p. 9), aštrēlku "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: mnīširi (< bniširi) "we buy" (1979, text IX, l. 6, p. 12), āftāhim "I understand" (1980, text VII, l. 12, p. 8), tiṭṭihim "she understands" (1980, text I, l. 2, p. 6), tištārik "you take part" (1980, text X, l. 31, p. 11), btiḥṭārimu "you (m. pl.) respect" (1980, text XVI, l. 21, p. 16).

An example of the perfect: āftakarat "she thought" (1980, text I, l. 14, p. 6).

Notice that, unlike in ‘AA, the final radical y of tertiae infirmæ 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: byiḥṭāgu "they need" (1979, text VII, l. 38, p. 11).

ad. 3.2.3.3.4.

An example of a tertiae infirmæ participle in GA is: mištari "having (m. sg.) bought" (1980, text XIII, l. l. 4, p. 14).

ad. 3.2.3.4.1.

A few instances show that measure (i)sta-1, 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 yiṣtaCiC2CiC3: byiṣtaμml "they use" (1979, text I, l. 5, p. 5), and byiṣtaμmlūha "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 mnīstāmelš (< mā bnīstāmelš) "we do not use" (1979, text V, l. 23, p. 9), but a contradictory example is yiṣtānẓaru "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-1 verb, where C2 = C3 (mediae geminatae) recorded in GA is stahallu "they occupied" (1980, text IV, l. 9, p. 7).
ad. 3.2.3.4.5.

A measure (i)sta-1 active participle in GA is (mediae geminatae): mistahi "bashful, shy" (1980, text XII, l. 9, p. 14). Another example is (sound root) masta’mrin "colonizing (m. pl.)" (1980, text XV, ll. 2-3, p. 15).

ad. 3.2.3.5.

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 $yitC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

ad. 3.2.3.5.1.

Examples of measure 2 sound roots are: walladat, twallid "give birth" (1980, text XII, ll. 4 and 13, p. 14), rawwah, yrwwleh "go home" (1980, text XVII, ll. 165 and 172). Exceptions have been recorded as well, e.g.: (imperfect) barawwah (with a base vowel a instead of i as in an expected brawwih)925 "he goes home".

The morphophonemic elision of i of the imperfect is regular, e.g.: yfattu "they open (repeatedly)" (1980, text XVII, l. 94, p. 20), yğimm‘ūhum "they collect them" (1979, text IX, l. 6, p. 12).

ad. 3.2.3.5.4.

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: tbatḥah "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), tḥawwaz "he married" (1979, text VII, l. 23, p. 11).

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.
ad. 3.2.3.5.6.

Like in ‘AA, active participles of measure 2 in GA are formed with the pattern $mC_1aC_2C_3$ and $C_2aC_3$, 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), *mrâwwahîn* (instead of expected *mrâwwîn*) "going home (m. pl.)" (1979, text XII, l. 13, p. 16), but *mrâwweh* "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 $mC_4aC_2C_3$ and $C_2aC_3$, 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 $mC_1aC_2C_3$, 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.

ad. 3.2.3.6.

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 $C_1aC_2C_3$ for the perfect, and $yC_1aC_2C_3$ for the imperfect. The patterns for $t$-3 are $(i)tC_2aC_3$ for the perfect, and $yiC_2aC_3$ for the imperfect.

ad. 3.2.3.6.1.

Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) *nsâfir* "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: *läga* "he found" (1980, text VI, l. 3, p. 8).

An example of measure $t$-3 is: *’otgâda* "I am taken to court" (1980, text XIII, l. 18, p. 14), and a doubtful (since neither $a$ nor $i$ is written) example is *adâyeg* (instead of a more expected *adâyag*, assimilated < *atdâyag*) "I am irritated" (91980, text IV, l. 11, p. 15).

ad. 3.2.3.7.

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), *’atla‘* "he took out" (1979, text XIV, l. 25, p. 18), *’atâ‘* "he gave" (1979, text III, l. 10, p. 7), but also (measure 1) *’atâ‘* "he gave him" (1979, text II, l. 36, p. 6), *’atâ‘hîn* "he gave them (f.)" (1980, text XVII, ll. 18-9, p. 18).
An active participle of measure IV is *ma'ṭiha* "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 quadrilateral verbs conjugate like in ‘AA with the patterns (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$, and (imperfect) $yC_1aC_2C_3iC_4$. Examples are: *tibāhdelnā* "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: *mtōfye* "empty (f. sg.) (of a house)" (1980, text XVII, l. 91, p. 20), and with a (*i*)- prefix: *titūleh* "it (f. sg.) swings" (1980, text XVII, l. 87, p. 20) (on phonetic overlapping of ō and ŏ, cf. V, ad. 1.2.2.1.). Significantly, however, verbs considered to be more typically bedouin like *gōjar*, *ygōjīr* "go" and *sōlaf*, *ysōlīf"tell" do not occur in the GA texts.

A quadrilateral with the (*i*)- prefix was also recorded in GA, e.g.: *titmarḡāhi* "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 *lā ... w lā* "neither ... nor"). In addition, quite a number of negations formed with the bi-partite *mā* ...ś appear in the texts, of which the first element (*mā*) may be dropped, e.g. *bostamarrēś* "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, l. 4 and 9, p. 6). Another example is (adverbially) *'awwal ʿāšī bɔxtbo* "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 *'awwališ xawātu bādāʾin yišarmten* "at first his sisters started working as whores" (1979, text II, l. 8-9, p. 6). Other examples are: *kull ʿišī nḥarag kulliš* "everything burned down, everything" (1980, text I, l. 9, p. 6).
An example of și used in a negation is mā beʿrif și "he does not know a thing" (1979, text XIV, l. 4, p. 17).

Negating nominals and participles, can be done with preceding mîš, and also with mā hū 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 rah preceding the simple imperfect, e.g.: mā rah ʿanām maʿkī hessā "I am not going to sleep with you (f. sg.) now" (1980, text I, ll. 16-7, p. 6), and ʿelləlī hād rah yākulna, ʿelgūl "tonight he will eat us, the ʿul" (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.

fîh "there is/are" is used in GA (cf. 1979, p. 49) like in ‘AA, e.g. fā kān fī wāḥad lāḥhām ʿanna fī Gazza "so there was a butcher with us in Gaza" (1979, text III, l. 1, p. 7). The negation was recorded as mā fīšš, e.g.: garib mā fīšš "there is not a stranger (present)" (1979, text VI, l. 26, p. 10), and also without the first element, e.g. fīšš ḥāda fī ddār "there was nobody in the house" (1980, text XVII, l. 91, p. 20).

An instance of fīšši (although transcribed as fīšš și⁹²⁹) is: fīšši ḥāda fī ddār "there was nobody in the house" (1980, text XVII, l. 107, p. 20), and also (transcribed as such) fišši 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".

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⁹²⁷ Cf. SALONEN (1979), p. 59, also for additional examples.
⁹²⁸ Cf. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915), map 21.
⁹²⁹ The interpretation of fīšši instead of fīšš și is preferred here, since it makes better sense in the context.
lamman used in the sense of "so that": birkiz 'ala 'idê ëttintën lamman byigdar 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: mi'l lamma bo'yayihi barnêta wâhad "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 særna kwayysin xâlis "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 râba' sâ'a lammâ yxallis "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.

hetta and also hetta li occur in GA in the sense of "so that", e.g.: hetta-t'alläm "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.

gâm used as a "marker of consequent action" was recorded in GA, e.g. gâm tîli' fög addâr "he then climbed on top of the house" (1979, text II, l. 10, p. 6), and unconjugated in the example gâm miskû w ḥattû fi ssgi'n "they then arrested him and put him in jail" (1979, text II, l. 14, p. 6).

ad. 4.7.2.

An example of râh used as an unconjugated particle in GA is fû râh hiyya gâletlu "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 râh ra'fa' 'ašba'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.: râh ǧâb haigwâsat w haîhâqât "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 iža (~ iđa) occur in the texts. Examples are: 'in mä wgifți "if you (f. sg.) do not stop" (1980, text XVII, l. 113, p. 21) p. 12), law mät hâda, biddak txarrib dyârna fïh? "if this (man) dies, are you going to destroy our house through this (or: him)?" (1980, text X, l. 67), iža hû miš 'ārejha "if he does not know her" (1979, text VI, l. 6, p. 9), 'ida mä lagëťš "if you do not find" (1979, text XII, l. 17, p. 16).

kân introducing conditional sentences, either with or without preceding iz, was not recorded in ĠA.

ad. 4.7.3.2.

Examples of conditional sentences without a conditional particle in ĠA are: gâri ddars, mîš gâri ddars, yiţla yâkol gâtlî "if he had studied the lesson, (or) if he had not studied the lesson, he would get a beating" (1979, text XIV, ll. 5-6, p. 17), and mä hâfed oddâres, byiği l'ustâz yis'alni 'akûn kîslän b ilmâdrâse "if I had not memorized the lesson, the teacher would come and ask me whether I was lazy in school" (1980, text VII, ll. 6-7, p. 8). 930

ad. 4.8.1.

A presentative particle *ir'(a) or *ar'(a) was not recorded in ĠA.

ad. 4.8.2.

Presentative particles hây and hayy were also recorded in ĠA, although Salonen (cf. 1980, p. 48) interprets them as demonstratives: algûl hayy gâ "here the gûl has come", and haslet ma'ï hây "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 *wilin, *wilin (w + lin), or *win (w + in) was not recorded in ĠA.

930 Salonen's translations of these examples do not reflect conditional sentences, but it was felt that this fits in better with the context.
ad. 4.8.4.

The particle *illa* denoting a sudden turn in the narration\(^{931}\) was recorded in GA. Several examples may be found in 1980, p. 61. One of these examples is: *b ness əṭṭarīg 'illa halgalī šāfatlak iyyā "half-way this gūlah suddenly saw him (lit. for you)".*

ad. 4.9.

An example of *gër* in GA (like in ‘AA): *iza mā btākulha, gër aṭṭaxak "if you don't eat it (f. sg.), I shall (certainly) shoot you".*

ad. 4.10.

The intensifying particle *la* appears in the GA example *walla, la-ḥaṭṭik bi hōd ḥaṭṭāḥûne "by God, I shall put you in the basin of this grinder"* (1980, text XVII, ll. 7-8, p. 17).

ad. 4.11.

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 ṭaqb sā'ī lamnā yyallîs "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 əl'abāye "an every time he wanted to sleep with her he would spread out the robe".*

*bidd* expresses futurity in the examples: *ṭayyīb yā 'Awād Gabr, ēš biddna nāxud? "Okay 'Awād Gabr, what shall we bring along?"* (1980, text X, l. 34, p. 11), and *kān 'əhna binnā nmūt "we were (almost) going to die"* (1980, text XVII, l. 123, p. 21).

An example of *bidd* expressing purpose: *ʔağā biddu ḡīb əṣṣīnīyye tāltā "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 tīm əšb'ān min dāri "you are going to eat and leave my house satiated"* (1980, text X, l. 61, p. 12).

\(^{931}\) Like the use of *illa uhal* (i.e. *illa w hal* in the transcription used in this study) in the dialect of *Bīr Zêt*, 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, dwalad "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 hawāli ‘ašrīn xēl btiğri "about twenty horses were running" (1979, text VII, ll. 24-5, p. 11). But kān may also appear conjugated as in: kunna mingib əsslāh "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: mällātlak hadīset "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).