CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE MZĒNAH AND BANIY WĀŞIL

INTRODUCTION

The largest tribe of the central, south and southeastern Sinai are the Mzēnah (or Muzaynah). The much smaller tribe of Baniy Wāṣil live near the town of at-Ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai, where they are neighbours of the Awlād Saʿīd and the Garārṣāh, who live to their north. The dialects of Mzēnah (MzA) and Baniy Wāṣil (BWA) share some important characteristics, and are therefore treated in one chapter. Originally, however, the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil must have been more like the dialect-type of group I, with which it still shares a number of features not found in Mzēniy. Some of these features actually occur parallel to features also heard in Mzēniy, while other characteristics are still uniquely (inside Sinai, that is) found in group I. Wāṣliy is therefore treated here together with Mzēniy, partly for contrastive purposes and partly because it must have developed towards Mzēniy.

On the location of Baniy Wāṣil, as it appears on the maps in this study, the following must be taken into account: although their territory does not directly border on the territory of the Mzēnah, in practice the Awlād Saʿīd, whose territory is indicated to lie between that of the Baniy Wāṣil and that of the Mzēnah, actually live more inland, i.e. in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf in the central mountain massif, where they are direct neighbours of the Ġbāliyyah. The coastal plain of the dīrah of the Awlād Saʿīd is in fact empty land (the sandy coastal plain al-Gāʿ), and hence the Baniy Wāṣil are—one or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

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1 Although the dīrah of Awlād Saʿīd is indicated on the map as bordering the Gulf of Suez, members of this tribe actually do not live in this deserted coastal plain (known as Gāʿ asṢārm or simply al-Gāʿ), but are found more up in the mountains to the east. In effect, the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil (who do inhabit the coastal area on the Gulf of Suez near at-Ṭūr) are direct neighbours.

2 The coordinates are aprr. 28.32.35 North and 33.43.55 East, see Google Earth.
In the following chapter a description of the characteristics of both dialects is given, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of MzA and BWA is:

| bilabial | labdent. | alveolar | intdent. | postalv. | palatal | velar | uvul. | phar. | laryng. |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| vl vd    | vl vd    | vl vd    | vl vd    | vl vd    | vl vd   | vl vd | vl vd | vl vd | vl vd    |

plosive    b  t  d  k  g  (q)  ()  
emph.       ṭ  ḳ*1 
nasal       m  n  
fricative   f  s  z  ṭ  ḳ  š (ž)  x  ġ  h  ‘  h  
emph.       ṣ (ẓ)  ḡ  
affricate   ġ  
trill        r  
emph.       (ṛ)  
lateral     l  
emph.       l  
glides       w  y

vd = voiced, vl = voiceless, emph. = emphatic/velarized
The greatest difference with the inventory of group I is the presence of both /k/ and /ḳ/, which is also a feature of group II in the north and of dialects of groups VII and VIII. A minimal pair xu/ḥt/—x/ḥd/ “pay attention (sg. masc.—sg. fem.)” isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes.

*1 See remarks in 1.1.3. below.

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

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

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

For *ḍ: nāxīd “we take” (both), migdāf “oar” (MzA), mnaḍbaḥuh “we slaughter him” (MzA), ʿidn “ear” (MzA), dīkr “mention” (BWA), dimīmih “ugly” (BWA), xuḍ bālūk “pay attention, mind you” (BWA).

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

Emphatic ḥ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of *ḍ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *ḍ in) ṱawd (pl. ṱidān) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), uḍfur, pl. uḍāfir “finger” (MzA), ḍayf “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) ẓḏall “he remains” (both) and ḏāharuḥ “his back” (BWA) and ál qaḍa a “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

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

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥa-)ḏa “this (sg. masc.)” is without velarization.

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /ɡ/

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

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

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

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

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

4 Compare MSA ka-dālīk, of which morpheme boundaries were reinterpreted as kaḍā- l-ik, after which ṭ-ik “to you (sg. fem.)” was adapted as ṭ-uk (for sg. masc.).

5 For the notion of ‘parallel forms’ as a characteristic of a transitional stage in dialect change due to dialect contact, see Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and remarks in De Jong 2000:28, 596–597.

6 ‘True’ in the sense that the two phonemes can be isolated in a minimal pair.
1.1.4. Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/

The allophone ž (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is particularly frequent in MzA. It was not recorded in BWA.

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

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

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb ask is ʾ: saʿal, yaʿal.

In *raʿs “head”, loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel > ṛās (pl. ṛūs).

1.1.7. Secondary velarization

What strikes the ear first of all when one hears MzA is the lack of velarization in positions where neighbouring group I dialects in Sinai appear to have it almost as a matter of natural fact. It is a feature of which one of my Mzēniy informants was quite aware; when asked to mention a few differences of his own dialect with that of the Taṛābīn (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned kibbǟyih “(drinking) glass”, pl. kibbǟbiy, where a Turḅāniy would say kuḅǟyih and kuḅǟbiy. MzA rikbih (pl. rkab) “knee” is pronounced ruḳbǟh (pl. rkab) in TAN, and MzA siwwǟg “driver” is sawwǟg in TAN.

The imperfects of “eat” and “take” are not (or at best only minimally) velarized, whereas the imperatives are: (imperfects) ẓay+xml and ẓakil, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) qul and xuḍ.

Compared to TAN, long ǟ in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarization, e.g. siyyǟd “fisherman”, riǧǧǟl “man”, kiššǟf “flashlight”, ḫtșän “thirsty” (ǟ is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æː] and [eː]). In TAN the long ǟ is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [aː]): siyyǟd, raŋgǟl, kaŋsǟf, ṣṭșän.

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative hāda (~ ḏāh / ḏi’ #), where TAN has hâda, and the pl. form (hâ-) ḏîl (-ih) or dîlîl (-ih) (~ hâdîl in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms
like hāḍāl (-ah) or hōḍāl (-ṭah). Another difference is (MzA) kimān(-iy) — (TAN) kumān “also”.

1.1.8. Liquids l and r

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

Uvulars followed by l or r are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature, e.g. aġlabīyyah “majority”, šugl “genitive exponent”, naxal “palm trees”, xall “let! (imperative)”, nuxrāh (pl. nxar) “nose”, baxarrif “I speak”, nugrāh (pl. ngr) “pit, pothole”, bagra “I read (i.e. study)”, garār “decision”, grayiyīb “near”, gālīb “heart”, gālat “she said”, gļoyil “few, little” (gļāḷ “few (pl.)” and aġalī “less”) and Rās Aḥwūn Gāllūm “name of a cape between Dahab and Nwēbi”.

Generally, like in group I, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. for kitūr “many”, which is ktār in MzA and BWA (with a long ā almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛ]], but velarized ktår in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized kḥār as the pl. for kibīr “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized ār, of which some are: mitmārah “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”, xyār “gherkins” (BWA), sinnārāh “fishing hook”, nār “fire”, nahār “day (-light)”. Also: sigārāh “cigarrette”, xuwwār “inferior type of camel, raised for its meat”, byār “wells”, Badārāh “name of the tribe Badārāh”.

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

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7 See De Jong 2000:170–172.
8 Combinations of a velar (g, x or ği) with l, r or b will often produce velarization, especially with u, ţi or a, ā in their vicinity.
9 The articulation of uvulars involves some raising of the back of the tongue (towards the uvula). The process of velarization also involves a degree of raising of the back of the tongue.
10 mitmārah is also used for “pit for storing grain or belongings”, see Bailey 2009:347 (glossary). The rocky mountains, more or less shaped like grain silos and located appr. at 28.51.46 North and 34.27.31 East, are also locally known as Ġabal Maṭāmīr.
Also sequences \( r\alpha \) are generally not velarized when (vanished) \( i \) precedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g. \( \text{marākīb} \) “boats”, \( \text{grāyah} \) (cf. MSA \( \text{qirā’ah} \) “studying (lit. reading)”), \( \text{frāş} \) “blanket” (cf. MSA \( \text{fīrāš} \)), \( \text{Garārṣah} \) “name of tribe” (compare with MSA \( \text{Qarārišah} \)) and \( \text{rākīb} \) “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like \( \text{ṛās} \) “head”, \( \text{bāṛṛād} \) “teapot” and \( \text{ḥaṛāṛah} \) “heat”.

1.1.9. Nasal \( n \)
No remarks.

1.1.10. Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause
Devoicing of voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause is regular in MzA and BWA.

One of my informants claimed that one feature of MzA is the type of glottalization of \( \text{ā} \) in a final sequence -\( āC \) in pause, by which the final consonant is no longer produced (compare the situation described in remarks on TyA in 1.1.10. of chapter III). I have not been able to verify his claim.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes
The inventory for vowel phonemes contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

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\begin{align*}
\text{short:} & & \text{long:} \\
& i & & ī \\
& u & & ū \\
& a & & ā
\end{align*}
\]

1.2.2. Long vowels

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

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

In MzA imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root \( y-b-s \)) monophthongization takes place, e.g. \( \text{yēbas} \) (< *\( \text{yaybas} \) “he dries (intrans.)”).
1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū
In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as ē and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through minimal pairs like:

rūḥ "go! (imperative sg. masc.)"—rōḥ "soul"
gūl "say! (imperative sg. masc.)"—gōl "speaking".

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː].

In verbs with wāw as C, the diphthong aw has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. nōgaf “we stand” and also tōgid “you light” (both in MzA and BWA). In both dialects the imperative of w- ’y "pay attention, take heed" has an initial diphthong: aw’īn rūskīn “mind (pl. fem.) your heads!”.

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel ā
Allophones of the long vowel /ā/ are ruled by the same principles as in group VII.

1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels
Like in group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a characteristic of allegro style of speech in group VI dialects as well.

1.2.3. Short vowels

1.2.3.1. Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/
Minimal pairs listed for groups VII and VIII also produce the phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/ in MzA and BWA.

1.2.3.2. Phonetic factors influencing the quality of 1
In principle, distribution of short high vowels i and u is governed by the same rules as described for group I in De Jong 2000:70–74: a short high vowel tends to be u (i.e. near I.P.A. [u]) in velarized and/or labial environment, otherwise i (i.e. near I.P.A. [ɪ]).

The pl. com. of aṣdaf “left-handed” was recorded as šidf in BWA, but as šudf in MzA. Similarly, the pl. com. of a’araǧ “lame, limping” has the high

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11 The imperative aw’a is often not inflected for number or gender, e.g. aw’a rūskuw! or aw’a rūskī! (instead of aw’aw and aw’īy respectively). Apocopated imperative forms of this verb have not been recorded, thus e.g. aw’a tans! “don’t you forget!”. 
vowel i in ‘ırğ in BWA, but u in ‘urğ in MzA and that of a’ama “blind” is ‘my in BWA, but ‘my in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern aC₁C₂C₃ used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a C₁uC₂C₃ pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. aḥṭama’r) ḥum “red”, (sg. masc. azṛag) ṣuṛ “black”,12 (sg. masc. aṣfar) ṣufr “yellow” and (sg. masc. aḥbal) huḍl “dim-witted” (where labialization of the b triggers the appearance of u), (sg. masc. agra’) guṛ “bald”, ṭur “(sg. masc. aṭram) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have i in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: yāxiṣ and yākil “he takes” and “he eats”, but u in the sg. masc. imperative: kuḷ and xuḍ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ u:4 xḏya and kḷy (sg. fem.), xḏw and kḷw (pl. masc.) and xḏl and kḷn (pl. fem.).

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

MzA: yḥuṭṭ “place”, yṛudd “answer”, yḍugg “inject (with a needle)”, yṣunn “wait”, yxuḍḍ “churn”, yxuṣṣ “enter”, ykutt “go down a wadi”, yṭubb “go on a journey to”, yṭuṣ “hit”,5 yḍurr “damage”, yṣubb “pour out”, yfykk “loosen”, ywiṣṣ “swing a fishing net over one’s head”,6 ymidd “stretch”, yṭiff “spit”, yyll “wrap”, yʿidd “count”, yʾitt “prepare fiṭṭah”.

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel
So far we have seen that often a velarized or labial environment triggers the appearance of u. Morphology, however, will over-rule this phonetic feature, as far as distribution of short high vowels is concerned. For instance, measures 2, 3 and 4 will have i in the imperfect forms, such as yC₁aC₂C₃iC₃ (measure 2), yC₁āC₂iC₃ (measure 3), yiC₁C₂iC₃ (measure 4),

12 azṛag lit. “blue” is often used euphemistically for “black”.
13 In MzA aṣfar was also recorded in the meaning of “wet”, as in iw hū yḏī ymjūr kidiyyih b i ḏāduh . . . iw ygil ḫū ṭēh, l issā aṣfar hū “and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear . . . with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was . . .”.
14 See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!
15 lagg, ylugg is listed as “snatch, grab” in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like “hit, strike”, as in [aljārrah byirikdūh eh?] fi ššams, itlugg fīha ššams “[they place the earthenware pot where?] in the sun, [where] the sun hits (i.e. shines on) it” as a method to let milk ferment to produce ṭāyib.
16 The verb wašś, ywiṣṣ is onomatopaeic.
yinC1iC2iC3 (measure n-1) and yiC1tiC2iC3 (measure 1-t) and yistaC1iC2iC3 (measure ista-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: C1āC2iC3 (measure 1), mC1aC2iC3 (measure 2), mC1āC2iC3 (measure 3) and miC1iC2iC3 (measure 4), mtaC1aC2iC3 (measure ta-2), mtaC1āC2iC3 (measure ta-3), minC1iC2iC3 (measure n-1), miC1tiC2iC3 (measure 1-t)\(^{18}\) and mistaC1iC2iC3 (measure ista-1).

An exception to such morphological conditioning is found in forms coloured by the strong velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -ḳ or -uḳ, as in tušġúḷḳ “she occupies you/keeps you busy” and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in nuxṛút“k “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxṛit“k “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels
Allophones of short vowels do not differ much from what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–77, although some allophones, notably of /a/, may appear in environments different—or are more frequent, or less frequent—from those in group I.

1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/
When in stressed and neutral positions, short high vowel /i/ will be realized near I.P.A. [ı] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes y, e.g. židd [ʒıḍd] “grandfather”, nirmiy [ˈnirmiː] “we throw” and dišbih [ˈdiʃbiː] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ı] or [i], e.g. tibb “(practicing) medicine” [tibː].

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

1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/
In neutral positions short high vowel /u/ will be realized near I.P.A. [u], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes w, e.g. yuskun [ˈyuskuː] “he lives (inhabits)”, nàmuw “they slept” [ˈnæmuw].\(^{19}\)

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. ḡumsīh [ˈɣomsɪʔ] “food dip”, ḥurmah [ˈhuraː] “woman”, xutwah [ˈxotwah] “step”.

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\(^{17}\) See following fn.

\(^{18}\) When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C₂ will be a in measures n-1 and 1-t (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. yin♂ðarbuw “they are beaten” and min♂farbah “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and yištāqlīn “they (fem.) work” and mištāqlīn “working (pl. masc.)”.

\(^{19}\) On the articulatory position of [æ] see remark in De Jong 2000:59–60, fn 10.
1.2.3.4.3. **Allophones of /a/**

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions.

The realization of short low vowel /a/ in neutral environments will be near I.P.A. [ɐ], e.g. tānām [tənəm] “you sleep”, maddat [mədət] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. harīm [haːrim] “womenfolk”, ʿarīǧy [aːrīʤi] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with h preceding, as in ʿahabīy [aːhaːbi] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.).”

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [a], e.g. bahār [bɑːhar] “sea” and nוגtah [nɔgtah] “police post” and ḥabsah [habsah] “severe cold (disease)”.

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

The short vowel /a/ is raised in a variety of positions preceding stress:

- preceding stressed Cī: kībūr “large; old”, šīḍī “strong”, ġilī “fat, thick”, xīʃī “light”, ʿirīs “bridegroom”, ḥīrīd “parrot fish”, and also ʿIlīy “male given name Ḥū”, and verb forms nīsīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found”. Instances of a preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, sabīn “seventy”.
- (preceding stressed Cē): ʿilēh “on him”, ligēn “we found”, miṣēt “I walked”, bidēn “we started”, (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, suwwēt “I did/made” and istinnēnī’(#) “we waited” (but istanna “he waited”).
- (preceding stressed Čā): ʿisākir “soldiers”, zīmān “in the old days (used as adverb)”, timānyih “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): riǧǧāl “man”, šīyād “fisherman”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”. miṛṛāt “times”, miʿnāt (ḥājih) “the meaning (of sth)”.
- (preceding stressed ū): ʿurūs “groom”, isSuʿūdīyyih “Saudi Arabia”, šuʿūr “emperor (fish species)”.
- (preceding stressed a): ǧīmāl “camels”, giʿadna “we sat down”, xuḥār “information”, nihāb “he plundered you”.
- (preceding stressed ʿ): kūbūr “he grew”, ǧuliḏ “he grew fat”.
- (preceding stressed i): šīrib “he drank”, birīy “innocent”, guwīy “strong”.

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20 Of the Lethrinidae: the longnosed emperor is Lethrinus olivaceus.
Raising of a also takes place following stressed a, as in ánwikal “it was eaten”, áttifag “he agreed”, hawḡisat “she improvised song”, ánnixal “the palmtrees”, áliwi “the wind”, ál’ishi “the dinner” and ádduwa “the medicine”.

Also when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in ýínḍirib “he is beaten”, ýittifig “he agrees”.

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ıh]. This is not only a pausal phenomenon, but occurs sentence-medial as well. Examples are kull wāḥid ‘induh xuṟāfah ḥilwih biyḡbihi “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, lamma llēlih gōṭarat “until the evening has passed”, ṭalla’ giśidih fi wihdih rāyidhi “he recited a poem on a girl with whom he was in love”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. gāmat ḥurmnah “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) biŋib lēna farxah siminīh, iw līhiy siminīh bi lmnarrah “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: bisiṭah “simple”, giḫādah “fat”, xuṭwah “step”, iğāmah “snake-like species of sea fish”, ramlah “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ‘ and h, e.g. ṭfayyīh “thin”, sāmīh “hearing (sg. fem.)”, Šuwālhih “name of a tribe”, mirḡēḥih “swing”, ṣafīḥih “cannister (of 20 litres)”.

1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels
To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short (but also long, see 1.2.4.7.) vowels. Examples are btiːglaḥ ʿala lṃayyih “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, iw biŋaṭṭiy ḥaṭab buh ku₳lîtuh “we cover all the firewood with it”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw
In positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have in most cases become monophthongal ē and ō.

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21 In verb forms like hawḡisat and ýínḍirib and ýittifig, the raised a will again surface as a when it is in closed syllables, e.g. hawḡast “I improvised song”, ýinḍirbuw “they are beaten” and ýittafguw “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
Examples for *ay are: iṯnēn “two”, bēn “between”, lēlih “evening”, sēl “flood”, ḡwēl (dim. to ḡāl) “little side” and examples for ō: mōt “death”, yōm “day”, ḡōg “above”, sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, gōmāh “(manner of) standing up”.

In some cases such monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawḡūd “present (adj.)”, awʿa “watch out!”\(^{22}\) and also taybīs “drying”.

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

In MzA (of ʿAyn Ḥuḍrah\(^{23}\) and of a family in Wādiy ʿArādah) forms like meḡūd “present” and meḡūd “born” have also been recorded.

\[\text{1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes}\]

In many dialects of group I phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments occurs. Such is not the case in MzA and BWA. Finding (near) minimal pairs to isolate these phonemes is not a problem:

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

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

\[\text{1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā}\]

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

In MzA this [ɛː] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g.
\[\text{ktār “many (pl. com.)”, ʂgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḥbāl “ropes”, ṣāḥih “screen” and also wāḥid “one”, sārḥih “out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)”, nāqṭī “my she-camel”}\].

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\(^{22}\) awʿa is often left unconjugated, and has thus developed into a general particle of warning or admonition, as in awʿa ṭans! “don’t you forget!”

\(^{23}\) Von Oppenheim 1942:159 mentions ʿAyn Ḥuḍrah as ʿLēgiy territory (in his transcription: ʿOlēḳāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.
1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-āʾ(’)
Like in the dialect of Bīli in the north, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in MzA and BWA is often -ʾ. Examples are: Wādiy Slī “Wadi Isla”, štī “winter” and verb form ġīʾ (< *ḡā) “he came”.26

Final -ʾ will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. āššīfī “the curing”, (wāḥid) mānnī “(one) of us”, tāfdī “you sacrifice” and yānsī “he forgets”.

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCaC) that come with the (sg. masc.) aCaCaC pattern for physical defects and colours, we do find raising like in group I, e.g.: šādīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ḥawlīy “cross-eyed” and hablīy “stupid”, unless such raising is prevented by phonetic factors, such as velarization, as in e.g. (colours) samrā “brown”, xaḍrā “green”, hamrā “red”, zargā “black; blue” and (physical defects) īwā “one-eyed”, girʾā “bald” and doḍā “absent minded”. The final stressed -ā may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. xaḍrʾ#. N.B. “here” is nihāʾ(’) in MzA and BWA.

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

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-āʾ(’) is not raised, while reflexes of *-āʾ have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: ḡṭāʾ “covers”, ʾaṣāʾ “stick”, fiḍāʾ “free time”, rḥāʾ “hand mill”, Wādiy ṭṬarfāʾ “name of a wadi”,28 bēḍāʾ “white (sg. fem.)”, hamrāʾ “red (sg. fem.)”, xaḍrāʾ “green (sg. fem.)”, ḡawāʾ “flirting”, ḏuwāʾ “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA diwīʾ), ragṭāʾ “speckled (sg. fem.)”, zargāʾ “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, samrāʾ “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA álmaʾ (“the water” and in MzA álmiʾ were recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent mayyih).

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24 See De Jong 2000:81.
25 My Turbāniy informant pronounced Wādiy Slīy. The name of this wadi is often spelled ‘ Isla ’ on maps (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.). The wadi is located somewhat to the south-east of at-Ṭūr, where it disappears into the south-western high mountains.
26 Like in the dialect of Bīliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:83.
27 See Blanc 1970:12 [123] and De Jong 2000:82.
28 The wadi is situated at the far high end of Wādiy Fēṛān in central Sinai and is Ībāli territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.
Final *-ā is not raised in the elative ahla "sweeter; more beautiful".
Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final -ā, although preceded by a in open syllable, does take place, e.g. duwá’ or diwí’ and verb forms like mishi’ and ligi’.
The forms with raised final *-ā (> -i’) do not only occur in pause, but also in sentence-medial positions. Such raising is therefore concluded to have led to morphological restructuring.
The—usually unreleased—glottal stop following the final vowel is not only highly regular when this vowel is stressed, but also when it is unstressed.
In MzA forms like ǧānī “he came to me” were heard, but also forms with lengthened [i], as in hū ġi:k “he came to you (sg. masc.)”: not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒi:k] “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū ǧi:k (IPA [dʒi:k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”. In BWA such lengthened [i:] was not heard.
1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ē, ī, ō, and ū
1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on ā and ū
Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ā and ū towards (resp.) I.P.A. [e] and [o]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following ū; with following ā it is less clear, but an on-glide is apparent.
Like in group I, reflexes of *ay and *aw following emphatics have remained diphthongal, which prevents homophonic clash with lowered ā and ū in positions preceded by emphatics.
1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ī
An off-glide in the realisation of ē and ī is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) gēd (I.P.A. [ge:d] “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) Fērān [fe:’rɑ:n] “Wadi Fērān”, būd (I.P.A. [bi:d]) “white (pl. com.)”, zīliṭ (I.P.A. [zi:li:t]) “young goat or gazelle” and mšēṭah [# ḥglottaləmḥvlinetḥbarcombḥalphaLatinh] “type of herb”.
Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when h or ‘ follow ē or ī, e.g. ǧinnēḥ I.P.A. [dʒi:’ne:’heb] “brown surgeonfish”, bē’ I.P.A. [be:’e] “selling”, tasrīḥ I.P.A. [tes’ri:’h] “permission”, ʃih [ʃi:h] “white.

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

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

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

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs
MzA and BWA have four diphthongs: ay, aw, iy and uw.

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

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

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

1.2.4.6.1.2.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X
Like in group I, MzA and BWA have phonologically conditioned diphthongs for *aw and *ay in positions preceded by back spirants X (i.e. x, ġ, ḥ, ’ and h. For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in sanatayn “two years” (MzA).

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

Examples with X preceding *aw are: xawf “fear”, ḥawl “year”, ’Awdih “male given name” and a Bedouin verb33 hawǧas, yhawǧis “improvise singing”, ḥawmal, yhawmil “bring a ḥamūlah34 for a feast”.

31 Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare samn šīḥiy “ghee”.
32 Perhaps the reference was to the Egyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.
33 Verbs of the type CawCaC, yCawCiC (with inserted wāw) are considered to be typically Bedouin, see Palva 1991:155.
34 A ḥamūlah is an “animal led to a party to be slaughtered as a present”.

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1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants
Examples of *ay with a velarized consonant preceding: ṣayf “summer”, ḍayf “guest”, ḥaṭṭayt “I put (perfect)”. Examples with the secondarily velarized consonants preceding are: išṭarayt “I bought”, ihmarayt “I turned red”, taharraynak “we waited for you”, kitrāyš “how much?”, ḏallayna “we remained” and also ṣannayt 35 “I kept quiet”, ḍawayt 36 “I returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and taraḥayzih “table” 37.
Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: sawm “fasting”, ṭawr (pl. tīṛān) “overhanging cliff” and rawḍ (pl. riḍān) “small wadi”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw
The diphthong in ḡayr is often reduced to a and then complementary lengthened. Examples are: ḡār annaxaḷ, mā fīh izrāʿah zamān “only palm trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and ‘āṣān law daggat wāhid minni, ḡār kān ʿyrāwwiḥ l ittaktūr 38 “because if it would sting one of us, he would have to go to the doctor”.

Diphthongs are much less regularly than in group I reduced to a or ā. ‘Systemzwang’ has preserved diphthongs in e.g. taybīs “drying (measure 2 verbal noun)” (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 yēbas “it (masc.) dries”), šawīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and mawḡūd “present (adj.)”. Another instance may be awʿā “beware, watch out!” (other imperatives of primae wāw verbs are with initial ō: ōgaf! “stand still!”, ōrid! “fetch water!”).

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

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

In verbs the ending -uw has developed as a morpheme signalling pl. masc., but also in pronominal suffixes. Examples are: (verbal perfect)

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35 In this example, velarization caused by šād is carried through the word by nn, which then causes the diphthongal realization in the final syllable.
36 ḍawā, yiḏwiy is a measure 1 verb in MzA and BWA. In several group I dialects it is measure 4 aḏwa, yiḏwiy.
37 The latter does not reflect Older Arabic ay, but is a loan—perhaps via Cairene—from Greek τράπεζα. In e.g. TAṢ the diphthong is not present: there tarabēzah.
38 taktūr “doctor” (cf. Cairene daktūr, see Hinds and Badawi 1986) was also recorded in TyA, see Shawarbah 2007:419. A comparable example there is taftar “notebook” (cf. Cairene daftar, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).
phal -uw “they wrote”, katabt-UW “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) yikitb-UW “they (pl. masc.) write”, tikib-UW “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes bēth-UW “their (pl. masc.) house” and bētk-UW “your (pl. masc.) house”. 39

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

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

In MzA and BWA an -iy ending in the 3rd p. sg. masc. of i-type perfects is rare. Instead, final y verbs nearly all have an a-type perfect e.g. nisî “he forgot”. 40 Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in (MzA) miy “water”, (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCā for physical defects) ʿarjūy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablūy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, anyūy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā) sawdūy “black”, šaḥabūy “sand-coloured”. Although a regular reflex for final *-ā in hnw “here” (in BWA only; “here” is niḥā(-niy) in MzA). Final -iy reflects final *-i in birūy “innocent”, final *-iy in sibūy “boy”, *-ayy in śiy “thing” and is of course also the nisba ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Maṣṟiy “Egyptian”.

Apoptysis may also create final (but unstressed) -iy sequences, as in e.g. ʿimiy # “(pl. com.) blind” (morphological base ʿimy) and ǧīdīy # “billy goat” (morphological base ǧidy).

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs
The first element of the diphthong ay is often lengthened, 42 e.g. ʿaỳš “bread”, ʿaỳb “disgraceful act”, xa:yṭnī “our (fishing) line”. Such lengthening of diphthongs is also heard in some of the dialects of group I (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĠrA and BdA, see chapter III) and also takes place without an apparent intention to express extra emphasis. 43

39 For further detail on the development of -uw in pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12.2.
40 Although labelling the form nisî as an a-type perfect may look like a contradiction, the interpretation of nisî < *nasā (after applying the rule described for raising of final *-ā, and subsequently the rule for raising of short a in open pre-stress syllable) is plausible (see remark 41 in 3.2.2.5.1.).
41 Final stressed -iy for *-ā is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same -i reflex was recorded for *-ā and also *-ā, see De Jong 2000:89.
42 This was not observed with the diphthong aw, but this may be due to the fact that aw occurs much less frequently than ay.
43 Lengthening of diphthongs was also reported to be a feature of the dialect of the Dawāğrah in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:420–421.
2. Stress and Phonotactics

2.1. Stress

2.1.1. Rules for word-stress

In terms of rule order, the rule for word stress follows the rule for elision, but precedes the rule for anaptyxis. Stress is of the máktabah-type. Verbal gahawah-forms of the i-type imperfect, like yáḥartuw “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

Rules for word-stress are:

1) Speech pause does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule.
2) The domain of stress is formed by:
   a.) either the last three syllables of a word, including the article al- or il- and the verbal an- prefix of measure n-1 and the syllable preceding the t-infix of measure 1-t and suffixes, if these are part of the last three syllables,
   b.) or, in the absence of an article, infix or prefix, the last four syllables.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and VC(C) (including v(h)).
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.).
6) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left if more than two syllables are available, otherwise stress the last syllable.

An exception may be made when of four syllables the first three syllables are open and contain a, and the last syllable is not heavy, i.e. CaCaCaCv(C).

In that case the sequence maybe resyllabified as CaCCiCv(C) and is stressed on the first syllable: CáCCiCv(C), e.g. dáribituḥ “she hit him” and rágbituḥ “his neck”. This type of resyllabification was recorded in MzA, but not in BWA.

Also if resyllabification is absent, the first syllable is stressed: CáCaCaCv(C), e.g. ḍárabatuh and rágabatuh.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are: mádrasih “school”, áštajal “he worked”, áttifag “he agreed”, ánġasal “he was washed”, álbuṣal...
“the onions”, átwalaḍ “the boy/son”, ʾisšṭi “the winter”, ʾilʾišṭi “the dinner”, árkab “the knees”, álīgaṃ “the Moray eels”, álībkal “the jerrycans”, álīḥšiy “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptycticus are underlined) and šawliy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šahabiy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šawlīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCv(C(v)) Stress in (C)v Cv(C)v is placed thus:
(ʾ) CvC: akál “he ate”, axád “he took”, ugúm “stand up!”, ʾiğóy “I come” CvʾC: ʾasá “stick”, ʾisšt “dinner”, mišt “he walked”, duwá “medicine” (~ dúwá).
CvʾC: ġimál “camels”, ʾiṣš “trees”, ġiṭás “he dived”; wugáf “he stood up”, warág “paper” and yiğóy “he goes”, sibiy “boy”, bīrīy “innocent”, ʾirtīy “moist; soft”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C) Examples of stress in (C)vCvCv(C) sequences are:
(C)v CvCv(C): ákalat “she ate”, (gahawah-form) áhamar “red”, xásabih “piece of firewood”, dárabuw “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms gáhawah “coffee”, náʾağih “ewe”, āḥari “I plough” and yáqatis “he dives”.
(C)v CvCv(C): ákallatuh “she ate it” (or MzA áklituh), dárábatuh “she hit him” (or MzA dáribituh), fárshatuh “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA fáršituh), rágabatuh “his neck” (or MzA rágbituh) and gahawah-forms gáhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA gáhwituh), láḥamatuh “his (piece of) meat” (or MzA láhmītuh), táʾaṛagin “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, yáʾaṛaguw “they sweat”.

alxásabih “the piece of firewood”, albádawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) annáxal “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) ibtáhafruw “they dig”, ištágal “she worked”, inbásaṭuw “they rejoiced”, ittáfaqat “they agreed”, tiǧáwwazat “she got married”, takálamu “they spoke”.

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

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

Reflexes of *-āʾ, which have not been raised (see 1.2.4.4. above), will be stressed, when they have remained long and thus form a heavy sequence, e.g. xaḍrāʾ “green (sg. fem.)”, šifrāʾ “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍāʾ “white (sg. fem.)”, girāʾ “bald (sg. fem.)”, ‘īwrāʾ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

In positions not influenced by velarization, -āʾ is raised to -īy (see 1.2.4.4.) Such raised -īy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. sōdıy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfiy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, hawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and hniy “here” (only in BWA), although more regular for “here” is niḥā.

Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -āʾ receives stress: (šaḥbāʾ >) šaḥabīy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are tanshiʾ “forget her!”, giṭ’ah minhiʾ “a piece of it (sg. fem.)”, ţūdiniʾ “our forefathers”, ba’āḏnīʾ “(we) each other” and of the sg. masc. demonstrative ālwād dīʾ “this boy”.

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

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C = y are (perfect) mištī “he walked”, ligī “he found”, sawwī “he did” and ǧī “he came”. Examples of imperfect forms are yansiʾ “he forgets”, ʾytaghaddī “he has lunch”.

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are ālga’dāʾ “type of wood (does not burn like embers)”, barraʾ “outside”, verb forms (imperfect) yarḍaʾ “he agrees happily” and ṣaḥlaʾ “he prayed”.

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

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

2.1.2.3. Stress in al/il + *CaCiY

When the article precedes a reflex of CaCiY, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. īnnibiʾy “the Prophet” and īṣṣibiʾy “the boy”.

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2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms
In forms with consonant-initial suffixes closing the syllable with the gahawah-vowel, this vowel is stressed, e.g. *baʾáḏhin* “each other (pl. fem.)”, *sahānha*47 “her plate”.

With the fem. morpheme becoming -at in construct state, stress is placed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *gahawatuh* “his coffee”.

In verb forms of i- or u-type imperfects, the gahawah-vowel is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, but stress is not placed on the gahawah-vowel, which then directly precedes the resulting consonant cluster, e.g. *yáḥar/tmacronbelowuw* “they plough”, *táʾaḡnuh* “you knead it (sg. masc.)”, *yáxabtuw* “they knock”.

Resyllabified MzA forms of the type CaCaCatv > CaCCitv are stressed on the first syllable; resyllabification of such forms cancels the high-vowel elision rule and the resulting form is stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *xášbituh*48 “his piece of wood” (contrast e.g. *wákiltuh* “eating it (sg. masc.)” and *rikibtuh* “his knee”).

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv
A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence in which the consonant preceding it is phonetically close to, or identical with the consonant following it and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *ṭḥálliluh* “you analyze it”, *ǧidditī* “my grandmother”.

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

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

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

---

47 I hear šin, rather than ṣād.
48 Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence *xášbituh*, not *xášibtuh* (contrasting with a form like *išibtuḥ* “his packet”).
49 In as far as such may be concluded; it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixing
her" (notice that the form is not léha), aḥsáš-luk “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan-luk) and aʿmil-luk “I’ll make for you”.  

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b  
Instances of enclitic suffixation of the preposition b were not recorded.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

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

The gahawah-syndrome is active in MzA and BWA; a is inserted in a sequence XC when this sequence is preceded by a. The rule is:

\[
\emptyset > a / (C)aX\_\_ \_C(V)
\]

X = any of the back spirants h, ḥ, ḫ, x, ġ

The resulting vowel may be stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2. Exceptions to these rules with regard to stress in gahawah-forms are described in 2.1.2.4. Examples of gahawah-forms are: (*naxl) naxáḷ “palm trees”, (*sahl) saḥáḷ “easy”, (* axsar) axṣaḍar “green”, (*aḥtal) ṣāḥṭal “stupid”, (*ṣḥbā) ṣḥḥābīy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (*gahlān) gahalān “ignorant”, (*mahmūl) mahamūl “neglected”, (*maxrūm) maxarūm “pierced”, (*maḥṭūṭ) maḥṭūṭ “placed”, (*maxfy) máxaṛūm “hidden” and verb forms (*yaxṭib) yaxṭib “he proposes (for marriage)”, (*yahšūh) yaḥašūh “they fill it”, (*taʿraguw) taʿraguw “you (pl. masc.) sweat”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

Although the gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where C₁ = X: maXC₂uC₃) like maxarūm “pierced”, mahamūl “neglected” and maʿaqūl “reasonable”, it was not recorded in maxṣūṣ “specialized” and maḥṣūb ʿalā “reckoned with”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂uC₃(ah): maʿrakah “battle”, maḥkamah “court of justice”, maḏrib “time of sunset”.

—

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

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

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures, e.g. (measure 4) aṭa “he gave”, (measure ista-1) istahmal, yistahmil “bear, endure”, istagraib “wonder, be amazed”, ista’mal, yista’mil “use”. Quadrilateral verbs gahwa, yigahwiy “serve coffee or tea to”, zaqrat, yzaqrīt “ululate” and a passive participle mga’tal “handicapped in the legs” and ta-quadrilateral tagahwa, ytagahwa “be served coffee or tea”.

Examples of elatives are aḥsan “better”, aḥla “more beautiful, sweetest”, axtar “most dangerous”, but ágala “thicker”.

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like mahkamah (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: rağmaʾann “although”, ajlabiyya “majority”, tahliyyih “analysis”, mâyah ma’danîyyih “mineral water”, ya niy “that is, it means”, yahṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb yaʾmal51 “he makes, does”.

The fem. morpheme in construct state becomes -at, also when it follows XaC (i.e. where a is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the CaXaCatv sequence—like any other sequence of the type CaCaCatv—tends to be resyllabified as CaXCitv in MzA.

Examples are naxḷīṭī “my palm tree” and gāhwituh “his coffee”. When such resyllabification does not take place, the resulting forms are of the type CaXaCatv, as in e.g. laḥamati “my piece of meat” and dáxanatuh “its (sg. masc.) smoke” (for further details, see 2.1.1.).

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

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

Often the ‘simple’ bukara-syndrome52 creates an intrusive vowel in a sequence Crv. The vowel created is inserted between C and r and is in phonetic quality guided by the vowel following r. A summary of the rule is:

$$\emptyset > v_b / -C\_Rv_a$$

$$v_b = v_a \text{ or } v_b = v_a$$

$$R = r \text{ or } r$$

$$C = \text{any consonant}$$

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

52 See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.
Examples of bukařa-vowels are (underlined): zaģaraṭat “she ululated”, tzaġiriṭ “she ululates”, tuṣurud “she flees”, gaṭaṛah “drop (noun)”, kuburūw “they grew old”, tufurukha “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukařa-syndrome creating vowels: mitir iw nuṣṣ “a meter and a half”, ǧamir issiyyāl “the embers of the acacia tree”.

2.2.2.2. Influence of l
Like r, l may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) tākil imn álbaḥaṛ “you eat from the sea”, yinzil išwayyih “it comes down a little”, ʿayyil iṣġayyir “a young child”, bỳhawmil alḥamāyil “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukařa-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukařa-vowels underlined): šuġul iǧdūdna “of our forefathers”, āṣil ana ġībit “because I brought”, gabīl irḏīy nafṣī “before I please myself”, gabīl il ʿUtᵐāniyyīn “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *raǧil
One of the forms for she-camels is bil, and with article ábil (BWA, not recorded in MzA). raǧil for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of yā raǧil). In MzA riǧǧāl (pl. rǧāl) is current for “man”.

2.2.2.3. Articulatory delay in the realization of n
The realization of n is often delayed, which leads to an intrusive vowel being realized with an I.P.A. value around [ə], e.g. (here indicated in superscript) fōgəna “above us”, ittafaqna “we agreed”, axādʾni “we took”, yibʾnih “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) bitḥuṭṭuh fi ssiʾin iw bitxuḍḍuh “you put it in the goat skin and you churn it”.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ’ayn following geminates
In isolated instances an articulatory delay of ’ayn following a geminate can be heard, e.g. bìnḥuṭṭ’ ʿalēḥ “we put on it”.
2.3. Anaptyxis

In terms of rule order, the anaptyxis rule follows the rules for elision and stress. The rules are:

1.) In the anaptyxis rule speech pause has the same function as a consonant.
2.) Clusters of three or four consonants are usually resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster. The rule for anaptyxis is:

\[ \emptyset > I / (C_a)C_bC_cC_d \]

I = anaptyctic vowel

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

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis

Like in other dialect groups in Sinai, word-medial clusters (in bold print below) resulting from high vowel elision are resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel (underlined below) preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

- yurbuṭ + uw \( > \) yūrbtuw “they tie”
- tuḍrub + uh \( > \) tuḍrubuh “she hits him”.

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

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

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

\[ ‘\text{ind Rğ̣m} \text{Zwayyid}^{53} > ‘\text{ind} \text{iRğ̣m} \text{iZwayyid} \text{“near Zwayyid’s rock piles”} \]

---

53 rğ̣m, sg. rğm is a pile of small rocks alongside a path or track to indicate its direction, see Bailey 1991:438 and Holes and Abu Athera 2009:246 (glossary).
Another example of (word-medial) collision of base forms is:

\[
\text{# bt}t\text{tw} + \text{h}a \ w \ bt\text{hi}\text{š} + \text{h}a \ t\text{amr} \ # > \ # \text{bt}t\text{wha} \ w \ bt\text{hi}\text{š}ha \ t\text{amr} \ # > \ # \text{ibt}t\text{y}g\text{wha} \ w \ ibt\text{i}\text{š}ha \ t\text{amir} \ # \ "you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates"}
\]
(both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved, e.g. (clusters are bold, anaptytics are underlined):

\[
\text{# + h}g\text{ār} \ k\text{irīmah} > * \ # + h\text{āgār} \ k\text{irīmah} > # \text{i}h\text{gār} \ k\text{irīmah} \ "precious stones" \text{ and } \text{Maṣr} + # > * \text{Maṣr} > # \text{Maṣr} \ "Egypt (the mainland), Cairo".
\]

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

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

\[
\text{(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)}
\text{w bt\text{i}l\text{hi}g \ iddāqīg \ w \ bt\text{a} \ āg\text{nu}h} >
\text{(after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)}
* \text{w bt\text{i}l\text{hi}g \ iddāqīg \ w \ bt\text{a} \ āg\text{nu}h} >
\text{(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctics underlined: surface forms)}
\text{w ibt\text{i}l\text{hi}g \ iddāqīg \ w \ ibt\text{a} \ āg\text{nu}h} \ "and you take the dough and knead it".
\]

Another example is:

\[
\text{(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)}
\text{y\im\text{sk} \ al\text{f}a\text{nā}qīl} >
\text{(after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)}
* \text{y\im\text{sk} \ al\text{f}a\text{nā}qīl} >
\text{(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)}
\text{y\im\text{sk} \ al\text{f}a\text{nā}qīl} \ "he takes the cups"
\]

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

The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. y\im\text{sk}t\text{bu}w) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC- CIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. y\im\text{sk} al\text{f}a\text{nā}qīl) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is a semi-vowel, a nasal or a liquid followed by a voice-
less second consonant, e.g.: ilḥalb ḥāda “this milking”, alGlāʾiyyī “location where water from šarafat ilGā’ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, ʿamalṭha “I did it (sg. fem.)”, ʿalgrab “the water skins”, tušġūḷ “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, tanshi “forget her!”, fihimt lay kēḥ? “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) mōyt kīluh “a hundred kilometres”, iṣtarayṭha “I bought it (sg. fem.)”. But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in ġildha “her skin” (where d is homorganic with l) and yinzluw “they go down”.

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: int ʿārif “you know”, yā bint! # “hey, girl!” and ʿind Biniy Wāṣil “with the Baniy Wāṣil” (see 2.3.3.3.2.) and gult lēhuw “I said to them”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (axadtha  ) axattha “I took it (sg. fem.)”.

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

2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis

2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) biddna “we want, need”, nmiddhin “we stretch them (fem.) out”, thuṭṭha “you place it (fem.)” ithammṣ ilbunn “you roast the coffeebeans”, tīsammr išwayyīh “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: nxušš Fairfield “we enter into”, nuṣṣ kīluh “half a kilo”, bi/dmacronbelowtha ṭūl yōmuq “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, sinn # “tooth” and ḥaṭṭ # “he placed”, nšīdd # “we pull tight”.

When a cluster contains a geminate and two other consonants, it is resolved, e.g. bass igrūš “but sharks”, ṭābb iNwēbi “going to (sg. masc.) Nwēbi”, sitt išhūr “six months”.

2.3.3.3.2. Preposition ʿind + C

The suffixed preposition ʿind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʿindaha “with her”, ʿinduk “with you (sg. masc.)”, ʿindik “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʿindukuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʿinduktw “with you (pl. masc.)”, ʿindikin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ʿindina “with us”.

---

54 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
55 Velarization spread through the whole word, colouring the vowels i (of measure 4, as in yišgīl) to u.
56 biḥḍall: assimilated bitḍall.
Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): ‘ind Biniy Wāsil “with the Baniy Wāsil”, la ‘ind sulbuk “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, ‘ind ǧidditi ṭḥā “my grandmother has a hand mill”.

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

Like in group II of the north (the dialects of Samā’nah and ‘Agāylah), the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. -ḳ and -ḳ (resp.), are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to decide whether an anaptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following k (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. ʾilliy yaṭla ʿmin ḍimmīṭ k ʿiṭnī yyāḥ “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: ʾuḥrmūt’k # “your wife”, awṣūf’k # “I’ll describe to you”. nāğiṭ’k “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, maṭrāḥuḳ # “your place” and nuṣrāṭ’k # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuṣrīṭ’k # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

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

When more than one consonant directly precede, the personal pronominal suffixes take allomorphs -uk (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. xalluḳ gāʾid “remain seated”, ʾinduḳ “with you”, ʾṣadrūḳ “your chest”, nafṣuḳ “yourself”, ʾumrūḳ “your age” and (doubling of n in he preposition min) minnuḳ “from you”. The latter example is actually a strong indication that we are dealing with a vowel-initial allomorph; n of the preposition min is only doubled in such cases (i.e. the suffixed form is not *mīnḳ or *mīn’ḳ).

2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics

The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [i], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [u], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.57

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

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

---

57 This is the same as what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
 irm + ha > *irmha > ʿirmha “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šuḡl + ha > *šuḡlha > šuḡlḥa “hers” (suffixed genitive exponent)

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision

The phonetic quality of the anaptyctic resolving a cluster resulting from high vowel elision is the same as (or near to) that of the vowel from whose elision the cluster resulted (anaptyctic vowels underlined).

Example with i:

| base form | elision | anaptyxis |
|-----------|---------|-----------|
| yisriguw | >yisriguw | >yisrguw >yisrguw “they steal” |

Example with u:

tuktuluw >*tuktluw >*tuktlow >tukltlow “you (pl. masc.) hit”

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of i from T

Anaptyctics eliminating clusters resulting from high vowel elision from -it (the fem. morpheme in construct state) are phonetically conditioned by the phonetic value of surrounding consonants: i in neutral environments and u in velarized environments (anaptyctic vowels are underlined) (examples of i): xiligtuh “his ugly mug”, ʿišbůtu “his packet” and (examples of u) húṛumtuh “his wife” and šuḡlṭī “mine (suffixed genitive exponent)”.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

2.3.4.2.1. Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi

Word-initial anaptyctics tend to have a phonetic value of around a lax and centralized [ı].

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics (underlined): # ʾikān ʾirfayýiḥ “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, zilīṭ ṣḡayyir “a young goat or gazelle”, # ʾymūṣ ḫswayyih “it becomes a little soft/moist”, aḥād ʾimm iṣḥābuḫ # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs axād “take” and akāl “eat” are kul, # uklī́y, # uklı̂w, # uklín and xuḍ, # uxḍ́y, # uxḍ́w, # uxḍ́n (initial u- in these forms is an anaptyctic resolving a cluster # CC).

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics

Anaptyctics resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [ʋ] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: boduw # “Bedouin”, ḥilow # “sweet, beautiful”, dalow # “pail”, ʿuḡul # “of (genitive exponent)”, ṭuḥur # “circumcision”, ḥumur “red (pl. com.)”, zurug “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”), idūk # “your (sg. masc.)
hand", bētuḳ # “your (sg. masc.) house”, min gabuḷ # (~ min gabiḷ #) “before (adv.)”, ġamur # (~ ġamīr #) “live embers”, rubu # (~ rubī #) “quarter”.

Analptics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı], e.g. šī ib # “difficult”, mitir # “metre”, giriš # “shark”, Šādir # “Ṛās Ṣadr", wagit # “time”, xašim # “long nose”.

2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctics

Instances of stressed original anaptyctics—like those found in intitial positions in other dialects such as Ĭṛḳab or āṛḳab “knees”, īhna “here” etc.—were not recorded in MzA and BWA. In BWA stress in the preposition l with a consonant-initial suffix will be on the vowel of the suffix, e.g.; # ilhā or # ilhī “to her”, # ilḳūw “to you (pl. masc.)”, # ilkīn “to you (pl. fem.)”, etc. Forms in MzA are lēha or lēhī, lēḳuw and lēkin.

In MzA and BWA the preposition m(i)’ followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed on the vowel of that suffix, e.g. mī’uh, mī’ık, mī’ık and also mī’ (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type īm’uh, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type ma’ah, ma’ık and ma’ık (~ ma’kiy) were also recorded in BWA (through direct elicitation).

2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

High short vowels i and u are dropped in open syllables. Short a in comparable positions is not dropped (with an exception, see below), which makes “BWA and MzA ‘différentiels’ in Cantineau’s terminology.” The high-vowel elision rule comes before the stress rule in terms of rule ordering. The rule is:

\[ I > \emptyset / (V)C_a(C_b)_C V \]

\( I = \) short high vowel i or u
\( C = \) any consonant
\( V = \) any vowel

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsory.

58 Such forms are, for instance, found in groups II and III of the north (see De Jong 2000:270–271 and 355, and in group VII in the south (see Chapter I, 1.1.6.).
59 The regular reflex for the pl. pattern *CiCāC in MzA and BWA is C̣CaC. Examples are: ġmān “Morray eels”, rkāb “knees” (MzA), etc. cf. 3.1.9.2.
60 See Cantineau 1936:49.
2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_bC_V \]

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): nizil + uw > *niziluw > nizlw “they descended”, simi’ + at > *simi’at > sim’at “she heard”, kubur + at > *kuburat > kubrat “she grew older”, tāxid + in > *tāxidin > tāxdin “you (pl. fem.) take”, mištīgīl (= underlying [mištāgīl]) + ah > *mištāgīlıh > mištāğlıh “working (sg. fem.)” and taḥarīt + uw > *taḥarītow > tāhartow “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_bC_C_V \]

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision: tufruš + iy > *tufruši > tufurši “you (sg. fem.) spread out”, yiktib + in > *yiktibin > yiktbin “they (pl. fem.) write”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_aC_bC_V \]

\[ VC_aC_a = \text{geminate} \]

Examples are: ynaḍdıf + uw > # iynaddífow “they clean”, tḍayif > uw + nī > # tḍayyfūnī (< itḍayyfūnī) “you receive me as a guest”.

2.4.2. I-elision in sandhi

I-elision in sandhi may take place like morphophonemic elisions described above, but such sandhi-elisions are optional, examples are (high vowels eligible for elision are in bold print): btılıhįg iddağiğ > btılıhɣ iddağiğ > # ibtılıhɣ iddağiğ “you take the dough”, byımsık issı’n > byımsık issı’n > # ibımsık issı’n “he takes the goatskin (used for churning butter)”.

2.4.3. Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi

The optional I-elision rule in sandhi may be applied after the execution of the anaptyxis rule, e.g. (the cluster is underlined and in bold print, the anaptyctics are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):
1) twakkil + ʿyālḳ > twakkil ʿyālḳ > twakkil ʿyālḳ > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # twakkil ʿyālḳ # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster ʿyālḳ is resolved, after which the high vowel preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped.

The rule for anaptyxis may also be re-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis,61 as in the example:

2) nilbis + ǧūdniʾ > nilbis ǧūdniʾ > nilbis ǧūdniʾ > nilbis ǧūdniʾ > nilbis ǧūdniʾ “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

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

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule

When C_a and C_b in C_aC_aIC_b are phonetically close or identical, I (underlined in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: ġiddiṭī “my grandmother”, tḥālliluh “you analyze it (sg. masc.)”.

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact assimilations can be identified: regressive (partial or total), progressive (partial or total) and reciprocal (total) assimilation (instances of contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization are treated in 1.1.7.).

Apart from contact assimilations of l of the article ʿil- or al- to ‘sunletters’, l is also sometimes—this is by no means regular—assimilated to following ġ or k, as in ġġibneh “the cheese”. alxayṭ b ġġlab “the line with the hooks (used for fishing)” and also īkkīs “the bag”.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
n + r & > rr & \text{birraǧǧid “we pile”} \\
t + š & > tš & \text{ššīly “you carry”} \\
t + z & > zz & \text{zzūd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
t + d & > dd & \text{ddir “you turn (fem.)”} \\
d + t & > tt & \text{axatt “I took”} \\
t + š & > šš & \text{ššidd “you pull”}
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
t + z & > dz & \text{dzūd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
t + ġ & > dġ & \text{dġib “you bring”} \\
b + n & > mn & \text{mnadbaḥuh “we slaughter him”} \\
n + g & > ŋg & \text{mangad “fireplace”}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aġlabīyyīt + hin} & > \text{aġlabīyyīttin “the majority of them (fem.)”} \\
\text{ḡimāʿat + huw} & > \text{ḡimāʿāttuw “their group of people”} \\
\text{tuṭbux + ha} & > \text{tuṭbüxxa “you cook it (sg. fem.)”} \\
\text{naftaḥ + ha} & > \text{naftāḥha “we open it (sg. fem.)”}
\end{align*}
\]

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zaġraṭ + tiy} & > \text{zaġrāṭṭiy “you (sg. fem.) ululated”}
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baraǧǧī + ha} & > \text{baraǧīḥhe “I return it (sg. fem.)”} \\
\text{mablaḡ + hin} & > \text{mibláxxin “their (fem.) price”}
\end{align*}
\]

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is siğiḥ (or sīţiḥ) > šizih “game of siğiḥ”, in MzA šāz (< šāḡ/sāḡ or šāḡ/sāž), but in BWA šāḡ “iron baking sheet”. Additional examples in MzA are šīzn (< siɣn or sižn) “prison”, mšazzil (> saγgil or sažžil) “recorder” and našz (> nasγ or nasž) “weaving”, but in BWA siɣn and tasγil “recording”.

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

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in \(CaC_iC\)\((ah)\)

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

Examples are: šiddā “intense, strong”, kitīr “many, much”, kibīr “large, old”, ġililā “fat, thick”, īfīg, īris “groom”, xīfīf “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: katīr, kabīr, āfīg, xāfīf, etc.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i

For instances of raising of a in the i-type perfect (with underlying pattern CaCiC) of verbs, see 3.2.1.1. below.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in \(CaCCiC\)\((-ah)\)

Raising of a in \(CaCCiC\)\((-ah)\) was not recorded, e.g. battīx “water melon”, xamsīn “fifty”, sab in “seventy” and a verbal noun taqlīb “throwing out (of a fishing line)”.

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in \(CaCCāC\)

Raising of a in \(CaCCāC\) is regular. Examples are: riǧǧāl “man”, šīyyād “fisherman”, šīyyāf “acacia tree”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyīf “flash-light”, zīrgha “blue (sg. fem.)”, šīfrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, himrā “red (sg. fem.)”, gir ā “bald (sg. fem.)”, mīnāt “times”, mīnāt (ḥājīh) “the meaning (of sth)”, Wādiy Wirdān “Wadi Wardān”.

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in ...CaCaC...

When not followed by l or r and not preceded by ‘, unstressed a preceding ā may be raised to i or u. Examples are: (i in) gizāyiz “bottles”, mišāyix “sheikhs”, digāyig “minutes”, dināgiy “small boats” (BWA), gibāyi “tribes”, tikātrih “doctors” and (u in) Ṣuwālḥīh “name of tribe Ṣawālḥah”, buwāṣiy

---

62 sayyāl is likely to be a folk etymology for sayāl. The connotation must be with ‘a tree growing by a sēl (“flood, watercourse”).
63 The sg. dingiy is a loan from English dingy, which must have come through one of the Egyptian dialects where the reflex for *ğ is g and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of g in Egyptian gineh (a loan from English guinea), where [g] was replaced by [dʒ] by speakers of ġim-speaking dialects, who pronounce ġ(i)nēh. Other such examples are sīḡārah “cigarette” and ġrām “gram”, which became sīḡārah and ġrām in many ġim-speaking dialects (though in MzA sīḡārah is current).
"a type of fish (pl. form)", min muwālīd Dahāb “born in Dahab” and also (as an exception) duṟāhim “money” (but see remark below) and verb forms nisāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him”.

Such raising is however optional, since there are also many instances in which it is absent, e.g. masākāhin “their dwellings”, ʿAzāzmīh “name of a tribe (living partly in Sinai and partly in the Negev)”, Ḥamādāh “name of a tribe”, zamān “in the past”, gabāyil “tribes” and also verb forms ytawāǧad “it (sg. masc.) exists” and ytāʿālaǧ “he receives medical treatment”.

When a is followed by l or r or preceded by ṣ or X, this type of raising is much less regular, e.g.: ṭalāṭīh “three”, Taṛābīn “name of a tribe”, warā’k “behind you”, marākīb “boats” and (with ṣ preceding) asāsāthūw “their origins”. ʾaẓānīb “foreigners”, ʾaṣābi “fingers” and ʾaḏāfīr “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which X precedes a are: ʾāsān “because”, ḥawāly “about, approximately”, ḥarārah “heat”, xalās “that’s it!”, ǧazāl “gazelle” and hawā’k “your desire”.

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in . . .CaCa . . .
a in open syllable preceding stressed á is often—but only optionally so—raised to I in neutral environments,64 e.g.: sināh “year”, ʂīġā “trees”, libān “milk”, ǧīmāl “camel”, fidā “free time”, Dihāb “name of the town ḥDmacronbelowahab”, a gahawah-form ʂihāṛ “month” and verb forms ligāt “she found”, kitāb “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: mà mʿук duwā’ “medicine”, wurāg “paper” (though more regularly warāg).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ṣ or X precedes, e.g.: (’)ahād “anyone” and verb forms (’)akāl “he ate” and (’)axād “he took” and (with X preceding) haṭāb “firewood”, ǧanām “small cattle”, ʿadād “number”, ʿarāg “sweat” and xalāg “He created”, but also ǧiṭās “he dived” and mà mʿuk xubāṛ “you have no clue/idea”.

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A
Both types of a-raising described in 3.1.1.5. and 3.1.1.6. can be combined in one rule (see also De Jong 2000:147):

\[
a > I / C_aC_bA \\
C_a ≠ * or X \\
C_b ≠ l. \\
A = \text{ stressed a or ã} \\
I = \text{ high short vowel i or u}
\]

64 See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: a > I / C_aC_bā, where C_a ≠ * or X and C_b ≠ l.
And like in group I, stress of A does not have to be primary for such raising to take place. Instances where stress on A is secondary are, e.g.: ǧibābil “mountains”, min muwālīd Dīhāb “born in Dahab”, mikāni “my place” and ánwikal “it was eaten”, hāwǧisat “she improvised song”, ánniṣa “the palm-trees” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -ā(’), such as āddiwi “the medicine” and ássimi “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)
Like in the pattern CaCīC(ah), a is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are lugūniḥ “a child with keen intelligence”,65 yuhūd “Jews”, Suʿūdiyyih ~ Saʿūdiyyih “Saudi Arabia”, guʿūd “young male camel”, ǧumūs “food dip”, xuṛūf “lamb”, but also ḡanūb “south”, ṣʿaġūz “old woman”, ḍarūs ~ ṣʿarūs “bridegroom”, šaʿūrūs “emperor (fish species)” and also hakūmah “government”.66

Also when (’) precedes, such raising often takes place: (’)ubūy “my father”, (’)uxūh “his brother” and also in verb forms (’)ugūm “I get up, (’)ušūf “I see”.67

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u
Like raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ʿ, a in similar positions preceding stressed ū is also raised, e.g.: kubūr “he grew”, ǧulūd “he grew fat”.

3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined
If we combine the different possibilities of raising in one rule, this rule is:

\[
\begin{align*}
 a & > I / C \_CI(C) \\
 I &= \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } \bar{I} = \bar{u} \text{ or } \bar{I}, \text{ i if } \bar{I} = \bar{i} \text{ or } \bar{I} \\
 C &= \text{any consonant}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice that the rule is more general than the (second) one formulated in De Jong 2000:150, since we do not need to make a provision here for the first C not being hamzah.

65 The word was used in reference to a child, who is recognized at an early age to have a keen intelligence, and is therefore raised to become a ḡāwīy “snake charmer”. It is related to the root l-q-n “learn; have keen intelligence” and must mean “endowed with intelligence” and/or “(to be) taught through instruction”.

66 See also fn 18, Chapter Two in De Jong 2000:149.

67 Such raising following (’) is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).
3.1.2. Reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah) are: *badw “Bedouin (pl.)”, *gady (BWA) “kid goat”, *tahát ~ *tihtát “under”, *fahám “coal”, *šikl “shape”, *šahán ~ *šiḥán “dish”, *kalb “dog”.

Also: *wiḡh “face”, *wiḥdih “one (fem.)”, *nahyih “direction”, *ši’b ~ *ša’b (the latter perhaps a K-form; notice the absence of a gahawah-vowel), *šadr “chest”, *wakl “food” and *ğiḍḍ “grandfather”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *CaCiC(ah) are: *kilmih “word”, *širkih “company”, *kiṭf “shoulder”.

3.1.4. Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are: *bunn “coffee beans”, *riżz (~ *ruzz in MzA) “rice”, *kuḷḷ “all; every”, *aṃṃ “mother” (~ *uṃṃ in BWA), *uṣṭ “sister”.

Also: *Gim’ih “male given name”, *sinnih “usage” (BWA), *middih “period”, *hinnih “they (pl. fem.)”, *zibdih “butter”.

Forms with sufficient backing show u, as in *šuggah “fishing net” (MzA), *xuṭwah “step”, *nuqṭah “police checkpoint”, *ġumsih “food dip”, *rukbah “knee” (BWA) (but *rikbih (MzA)), *ḫuṛmah “woman”.

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

Like in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel i or u in open initial syllables of the type CIC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped, resulting in initial CC clusters. Examples are: *ǧlūd “skins”, *yūnī “my eyes”, *xšēšāt “little huts”, *Ḥmēd “male given name”, *byēt ša’ār “little tent”, *blād “land”, *ḏbāl “mountains”, *snīn “years”, *gḷayyil “little; few”, *gḷāḷ “few (pl.)” and *štiy “winter”. Examples with stressed short vowels are: *gmam “Morray eels”, *rkab “knees” (MzA).

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) *ṣu’un iǧtimā’īyyih “social affairs”, *niẓām “system”.68 Another exception is *ṣayd furūṣiyyih “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of r may have prevented elision of u in furūṣiyyih (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type CIGā… or

68 Notice also Ḷ here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental ḍ.
CuCā..., CiGī... or CuCī... and CuCū... or CiCū... see 3.1.7.–3.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. ygūl “he says”, tšīl “you carry”, tnām “you sleep”, nhūṭṭ “we place”, tšiddiy “you (sg. fem.) pull tight”, ygōṭruw “they go”. Notice, however, that in the verb “come” the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, e.g. tiǧīy “you come”, yiǧīy “he comes” (contrast with forms tğiy and yğiy heard in group I).69

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

A number of diminutive forms were recorded in MzA and BWA. Apart from the usual forms such as glayyil “few”, gṣayyir “short”, ṟfayyī “thin”, ṣgāyyir “small; young”, kwāyyīs “good” and ṣwāyyīh “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: sraybih “small group (of people)”, byēt šā’ār “little tent”, xšēšāt “little huts”, bnayyih “little girl”, wlēd “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) ḥrāyyim “women”.

The hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I (especially dialects in the east like AḥA), was not heard in MzA or BWA.

3.1.7. Pattern aC1CaC2

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is aC1CaC2 and aC1CaC3 (stressed on the first syllable) where C1 = X. Examples are: abyād “white”, azṛag (euphemistically; the word aswād is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, ašhab “light coloured, pale” (and with C1 = X) ḥāmar “red”, ṣhādar “green”, šhawal “cross-eyed”, šhabal “stupid”, ā’ama “blind” and āχaras “mute”, ā’arağ “limping”.

The sg. fem. forms have a CaCCā pattern, with a final -ā that has remained long and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop, e.g. bēḏā’, ḫamrā’. There is an added a following C2 when it is X and final ā is raised (to -ŷ) when C3 is neutral, e.g. ḥarŷy and ḥāḥabŷ.

Most pl. com. forms have a C1uC2C3 pattern, e.g. zuṛg, sumr, xuṭr, ḫumr and hubl, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a C1CaC2 pattern, e.g. īṛğa, šihb. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are sūd (C2 = wāw) and bīd (C2 = yā).

69 See De Jong 2000:203–204.
3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1aC_2C_3$ and $aC_1C_2aC_3$

The elative pattern is $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. aktar “more/most”, akbar “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, ashal “easier/easiest”, as’ab “more difficult/most difficult”.

In MzA forms aḥla “sweeter/sweetest; better/best” and aḥsan “better/best” were recorded several times without a gahawah-vowel (similarly aġlabiyyih “majority”), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in axṭar “more dangerous/most dangerous” (though also axṭar). aġala “thicker” and also aḥala in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern $aC_1aC_2C_3$ (where $C_2 = C_3$), e.g. aɡaḷḷ “less/least” and aḥamm “more important/most important”.

3.1.9. Initial a

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article may be al- or il-; al- is mainly used when the following nominal has Ca as its initial sequence, but this is in no way regularly so. When the article is stressed, however, the article tends to be ál- when (underlying) Ca or CCaC follows, and il- when other sequences follow. Examples with (underlying) Ca following are: álbaḥaṛ “the sea”, álǧimal “the camel”, aḍḍiwi “the medicine”, ássimi “the sky”, ássahan “the plate”, but (when preceding sequences other than Ca) álif i “the rocks” and ilif ‘i “the viper”, išši “the winter”, but īṣṣiḥi “the boy” (underlying form is |ṣabiy|). With CCaC following: árrkab “the knees”, ánxaṛ “the noses”, ál‘af “the bait (pl.)”, áššnaṭ “the suitcases”.

When ī or īy precedes the article al-, it is dropped, as in, e.g. f- ataṭūr “in at-Ṭūr” and f- awwalha w ḥatta f- āxirha “in its (sg. fem.) beginning and even in its (sg. fem.) end”.

In some cases in BWA the possessive suffix -ī was not dropped against initial a- of a following verb, but an intrusive (voiced?) h was inserted instead, e.g. widdī-h-aṣalliy “I want / am going to pray”, widdī-h- anām “I want to (go to) sleep”. This not only occurred with following initial a-, but also in directly elicited instances like widdī-h-uṭrub “I want to hit”, widdī-h-ugūm “I want to get up”, widdī-h-ōgaf “I want to stop”, widdī-h-ākil “I want to eat” and also with initial i- following, as in widdī-h-išīl “I want to carry”.

The relative pronoun is illiy, e.g. illiy ʿāyiz luh kilu, w illiy ʿāyiz luh nuṣṣ kilu “(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want a half kilo”.

‘Specifying’ ha- was heard used only in adverbial halḥīn (often halḥīnit in MzA) “now”.

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3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Another instance of initial a is *āmān “mother” (in MzA, in BWA *umān), “we” is *ihna, “sister” is *uxt.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. *gmanām “Morry eels”, *rkabā “knees” (MzA), *rkaṣā “licences”, *ʿnabā “grapes” (BWA), *ḥgan “injections”, *šnaṭā “suitcases”, *lʾaf “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for (*ʾibrīḥ is (*ʾabār “needles”.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction

3.1.10.1. T in genitive construction preceded by a in open syllable
The feminine morpheme -ah ~ -ih in construct state becomes -at when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: *māratuh “his wife”, *sānatuh “his year”, *xašabāṭuḳ “your piece of wood”.

In the case of CaCaCT + v(C) sequences in MzA, a special provision needs to be made for a-elision in the rule for short vowel elision, which in terms of rule ordering precedes the rule for T. This should explain why T becomes -it in such cases: since a has been dropped from CaCaCTv (resulting in CaCCTv), T is no longer directly preceded by aC, but by CC. Therefore T > it, resulting in a sequence CaCCTv. Since the rule for short vowel elision has already been executed (and this rule is not cyclic!), such CaCCTv sequences will not be resyllabified to (after applying stress and anaptyxis rules) become CáCCITv, but the sequence is stressed and appears on the surface as CáCCITv. Examples of such sequences are *rāḡbituh “his neck”, *xašbituh “his piece of wood”.

Verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. fem. a-type perfect + vowel are resyllabified analogous to the suffixed nominals; the rule was generalized to cover all (including verbal) sequences: CaCaCat + v > CaCCITv, e.g. (*farašat + uh >) fāršituh “she spread it out” and *katabat + uh >) kābituh “she wrote it”.

The advantage of fitting the extra provision with regard to elision of a into the ordering of rules is that the T-rule, which holds in almost all Sinai dialects, does not have to be customized to fit the situation in MzA.

Also, an advantage of this rule-generalization is that no separate rule is needed for the sudden appearance of -it in the case of the 3rd p. sg. fem. of a-type perfects when vowel-initial suffixes are appended.70

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70 From the point of view of historical development, such a rule would be highly unlikely, since the verbal ending is -at under all other circumstances, see verbal morphology in 3.2.
The rule for $T$ not directly preceded by $aC$ or $\ddot{v}$

When not preceded by $aC$, the fem. morpheme $-\text{ah}$ becomes $-\text{it}$ (or $-t$ when a long vowel $\ddot{v}$ directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in construct state.

The $i$ of the ending $-\text{it}$ may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which often an anaptyctic vowel is inserted (underlined in following examples), e.g. $'\text{i}l\ddot{b}t\text{uh}$ “his packet”, $'\text{ilb}t\text{ik}$ “your packet”, $f\dot{\text{a}trit}\text{ arba}\text{' snin}$ (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis $>$) $f\dot{\text{a}trit}\text{ arba}\text{' isnin}$ “a period of four years”, $n\ddot{a}gtuh$ “his she-camel”, $n\ddot{a}git\text{ik}$ “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”.

In strongly velarized environments $T$ may be realized as $-\text{ut}$, as in $n\ddot{u}x\ddot{r}\text{it}k$ “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with $n\ddot{u}x\ddot{r}\text{it}k$ “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

$T$ preceded by the gahawah-vowel $a$

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel $a$ is in open syllable directly preceding $T$ are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding $a$ is ‘historical’. Almost paradoxically so, the forms $\text{gahwit}\text{ii}$ and $\text{gahwit}u$ (and similar forms like $l\ddot{a}hm\ddot{i}t\text{ii}$ and $l\ddot{a}hm\ddot{i}t\text{uh}$) show that the gahawah-syndrome has created fully-fledged syllables in these nominals, for if the gahawah-vowel $a$ would have been a mere anaptyctic vowel (i.e. more like in verb forms, cf. 2.1.2.4.), one might have expected forms like $\text{gahawt}i$ and $\text{gahawtu}$. The fact that the gahawah-vowel $a$ is dropped from (intermediate) forms like *$\text{gahawt}i$ and *$\text{gahawtu}$ thus illustrates that we are dealing with a full short vowel $a$ (produced by the gahawah-syndrome), since only $CaCaCT + v$ sequences are affected by the special provision made in the short vowel elision rule (as described above).

$T$ following $\ddot{a}$

$T$ preceded by $\ddot{a}$ yields $-\ddot{\text{ah}}$, e.g. $\text{h}\ddot{a}m\ddot{\text{at}u}$ “his mother-in-law”,

In one instance *$\text{m}a'\text{n}a$ (spelled in Arabic with $\text{al}i$f $\text{ma}q$$\ddot{s}\text{ur}ah$: $\text{متعني}$) was interpreted as $T$-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): $\text{m}i'\text{n}a't$ $\text{il}kilmih$ “the meaning of the word”.

Nominal ending $-\text{it}$ in construction vs. verbal 3rd p. sg. perf. ending $-\text{at}$

The high vowel $i$ of the nominal ending $-\text{it}$ is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. $n\ddot{a}gtuh$ “his she-camel”, $\ddot{g}a\tilde{\text{a}}t\text{yt}u$ “its (sg. masc.) cover”.

The low vowel $a$ in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. $\ddot{\text{s}}\ddot{a}f\text{atuh}$ “she saw him” and $l\ddot{a}g\text{atuh}$ “she found him”, $k\ddot{a}w\text{anatuh}$ “she fought him”.

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3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is šuḡḷ, but in more isolated areas (away from the coast) ḫagg is more current in MzA. In BWA šuḡḷ is the current form, although ḫagg may also be heard. Though not as regularly as šuḡḷ, the K-form btā’ may also be heard. The form taba’ was heard only once in MzA.

The paradigms for suffixed šuḡḷ(ah) and ḫagg(ah) are as follows:

| Case   | šuḡḷ(ah) | ḫagg(ah) |
|--------|----------|----------|
| sg.    | ṣuḡḷuḥ   | ḫagguḥ   |
| pl.    | śuḡḷhuḥ  | ḫagghuḥ  |
| sg.    | ṣuḡḷuṭḥ  | ḫaggṭḥ   |
| pl.    | śuḡḷuṭḥu   | ḫaggṭḥu   |

Pl. forms used for humans are šuḡḷīn and šuḡḷāt: e.g. iliwlād šuḡḷīn ilmādrasih “the boys of the school” and ilbanāt šuḡḷāt ilmādrasih “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: ūṭṭāṭah ḏiṅiḥāt ḏi𝑙iḥi šuḡḷāt “these three pounds are yours”.

| Case   | ḫagg(ah) |
|--------|----------|
| sg.    | ḫaggīa   |
| pl.    | ḫaggīn   |
| sg.    | ḫaggīṭ   |
| pl.    | ḫaggīṭn  |

Pl. forms for humans are ḫaggīn and ḫaggāt: e.g. iliwlād ḫaggīn ilmādrasih and ilbanāt ḫaggāt ilmādrasih. Like in the case of šuḡḷāt, the pl. fem. ḫaggāt is often used for smaller numbers: ūṭṭāṭah ḏiṅiḥāt dīlīḥi ḫaggāt “these three pounds are yours”.

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

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In MzA the following independent pronominals are used:
Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: \( māhū^* \), \( māhī^* \), \( mintah \), \( mīntiy \), \( mānī^* \), \( māhuṃma \), \( māhinnah \), \( mintuw \), \( mīntin \), \( mīhna \).

* In these forms stress is on the vowel of the first syllable.

For a likely development of the pl. masc. form \( huwwa \)—in which reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries must have played an important role—see 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter and also De Jong 2000:163.

### 3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In MzA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

| Case | 1. com. | 2. masc. | 3. masc. |
|------|---------|----------|----------|
| sg.  | \((C)C-\text{i}, \overset{\text{y}}{\overset{-}{\text{y}}-\text{k}}^*\) | \((C)\text{-}C-\text{k}, \overset{\text{h}}{\overset{-}{\text{h}}-\text{ik}}^*\) | \((C)\text{-}C-\text{u}(h)^*, \overset{\text{v}}{\overset{-}{\text{v}}-(h)}\) |
| pl.  | \(-\text{nā}^*\) | \(-\text{k}^*\) | \(-\text{huw}^*\) |

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

* Notice the \(-u(h)\) suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc., instead of \(-\text{ah}/-\text{ih}\) which we find in group I.

* The superscript vowel \( 'u \) serves to indicate a considerable degree of velarization (accompanied by lip rounding); it is not to be interpreted as a vowel, which may be concluded from stress placement and (lack of) short high vowel elisions in forms like \( hurmū\text{ṭ}"k \) “your (sg. masc.) wife” and \( nāgīṭ"k \) “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: \( '\text{ilbīṭ}^* \text{ṭ} \) “your (sg. fem.) pack”, \( nāgīṭ"k \).

When \( '-\text{k} \) is suffixed to \( \overset{\text{y}}{\overset{-}{\text{y}}} \), the long vowel colours strongly towards \( [u] \) before \( k \) is released, e.g.: \( '\overset{\text{y}}{\overset{-}{\text{y}}}\text{ṭ} \) “on you”, \( \overset{\text{v}}{\overset{-}{\text{v}}}\text{ṭ} \) “in you”, \( gīfā\text{ṭ}"k \) “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: \( '\overset{\text{y}}{\overset{-}{\text{y}}}\text{ṭ}, \overset{\text{i}}{\overset{-}{\text{i}}}\text{ṭ} \) and \( gīfā\text{ṭ}"k \).

When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of \( uβūk \) “your (sg. masc.) father” and \( uβūk \).
“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel ū preceding ƙ is more tense than ū preceding ƙ.\(^{71}\)

\(^{71}\) Like most in Bedouin dialects of Sinai\(^{72}\) we find stressed suffixes -ī and -nī for the 1st p. sg. com. Unstressed -ī and -nī also occur.

\(^{72}\) Parallel to independent pronominals, the 3rd p. pl. masc. suffix is formed with -w, rather than with -m (although a few instances with final -m were recorded).

For the development of second person pronominal suffixes -ƙ and -ƙ see NOTE in 3.12.2. in the preceding chapter.

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis

Near deixis*\(^2\):

|       | sg.     | pl.      |
|-------|---------|----------|
| masc. | (hā)daḥ*\(^1\) | (hā)dill(ih)*\(^2\) |
| fem.  | (hā)dīy  | (hā)dillh / dillē(ih)*\(^2\) |

Forms without initial hā- are much more regular than in group I.

Far deixis*\(^2\):

|       | sg.     | pl.      |
|-------|---------|----------|
| masc. | (hā)dāk(ah) | (hā)dallak(ah)*\(^2\) |
| fem.  | (hā)dīk(ah) |         |

*\(^1\) In pause often diḥ or dī.

*\(^2\) The forms listed here with initial hā are current in BWA, but occur only sporadically in MzA. Another pl. form recorded in MzA was hādēlah. For presence / absence of velarization in these forms, see remarks *\(^2\) and *\(^4\) in chapter I, 3.1.13.1.

To express “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” a prefix hē- precedes the personal pronominals, as in hēhū ǧi “there he is!”, hēhī ǧāt “there she is!”, hēhuwwa ǧaw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ǧin “there they (fem.) are!”.

\(^{71}\) These remarks are based on mere impressions, not on precise machine-aided measurements.

\(^{72}\) See De Jong (2000:3.12.2. of ch. I–III) and (2003:163).
3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-

Specifying ha-, which is especially current in group I dialects (see De Jong 2000:172–173), was heard only in halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA) “now” and once in halyōm “today” (the latter only recorded in BWA).

3.1.14. Interrogatives

min is used independently for “who?”, but another possibility to enquire after someone’s identity is min (with a short vowel) in combination with a pron. suff., as in min hā-h-intih? “who are you?”.

“What?” is ēš? (~ much less often ēh); “why?” is lēh? (both in sentence-initial, as well as sentence-final position); “where?” is wēn?; “when?” is mitēh? or waqtēš?, “how?” is kēf?, “how much?” is gaddēš?; kam + sg. is “how many?”, yāt bēt “which house?” and yāt bint “which girl?”.

3.1.15. Adverbs

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

“Here” is nihāʾ or nihāniy* in MzA and hниy in BWA (fi hāda is also used), “there” is hnuh or hnūtiy (fi hādāk is also used), ġād (with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)”. “Thus” is kidiy or often kidiyiyh (and less often kidiyyāniy), “now” is halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA), “still” is l issāʾ and “afterwards, after that” is baʿādēn.

* When min precedes nihāʾ, one syllable is haplographically dropped, e.g. īmšin mi-nhāʾ or mi-nhāniy “go away (pl. fem.) from here!”.

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

For “maybe” no forms based on the root x-w-f (for undesirable possibilities, e.g. xāfaḷḷah, see De Jong 2000:177) or k-w-d (for positive possibilities, kūd see ibid. 178) were recorded, but only yimkin.

3.1.15.3. biḥayl “very, extremely”

b ilḥayl “very, extremely” is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. īw hāliyyan fī liyyám hādiyy fi Sinah māhuw katīrin [...] miš katīrin b ilḥayl... “And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai [...] They are not very many...”. Another example is [...] īw zayy kidiy b īdēʾk, bitgaṭṭiʿ... alkāʾakīḥ w tuf “rukha w bitḥuṭṭ ʿalēha lēha... issamin iwlāha hilwih b ilḥayl... “and like this with your hands you break the cookie to pieces and crumble it. And you add, put ghee on it, and (then) it is extremely tasty...”.
3.1.15.4. bišwēş “slowly, carefully”
The adverb bišwēş was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih is current.

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

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

In BWA the pron. suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. -k co-occurs with -kiy, e.g. fik ~ fikiy “in you (sg. fem)”. and also lik ~ lkiy “to you (sg. fem.)”.

In direct elicitation, the -ak suffix was also recorded for the 2nd p. sg. masc., though in spontaneous texts only -k or -uk was heard.

Suffixed prepositions in MzA are:

| Preposition | 2nd Person Sg. Fem. | 3rd Person Sg. Fem. | 2nd Person Sg. Masc. | 3rd Person Sg. Masc. |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| li + *1 | lēha | 'ilēh | mihha | mihhin |
| luh | lēhuw | 'ilēhuw | m'uḥ | mihhuw |
| lēk | lē'kuw | 'ilē'kuw | m'uk | m'i'kuw |
| lik | lēkin | 'ilēkin | m'i'k | m'i'kin |
| lay(y)*4 | lēna | 'ilēna | m'i | mi'na |

*1 The paradigm is mixed; forms like lē'k and lēh are much less frequently used than luḥ and luḥ. A similar paradigm is used for b +. The suffixed proposition l+ may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. gāluḥ “he came to you”, gultīlhi “I said to her” (notice that the form is not lēḥa), aḥsāl-luḥ “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan + luḥ), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. gālāt luḥ “she said to him”, tfakkīr luḥ “you look at him” (i.e. these examples are not stressed gālāt-luḥ and tfakkīr-luḥ, which would be the forms in case of enclitic suffixing).

In BWA the short base instead of the forms with ē is more current: lha, lhuw, thīn, lkuw, likin and lna.

*2 Raising of short a to i in open syllables preceding stressed ē (as indicated here) is optional, but very regular.

BWA forms are the same, though raising of a in these positions is much less regular than in MzA.

As independent prepositions both 'ala and 'a (not only when preceding the article) are current.

*3 The short vowel i is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes follow (including -uk and -īk), but stressed when consonant-initial suffixes are involved and 'a and h reciprocally assimilate to become hh.

*4 For a remark on lay and 'alāy, see 1.2.4.1.
In BWA forms are the same.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{fi} & \text{fog}^{*1} & \text{min}^{*2} \\
\text{fih} & \text{fihuw} & \text{foghuw} & \text{minnuh} \\
\text{fiha} & \text{fihin} & \text{foghin} & \text{minha} \\
\text{fi’k} & \text{fi’kw} & \text{fog’k} & \text{minnuk} \\
\text{fik} & \text{fikin} & \text{fogkin} & \text{minnik} \\
\text{fay(y)}^{*3} & \text{fina} & \text{fogna} & \text{minni} \\
\end{array}
\]

\*1 Alternatively one can say \textit{min hardi “above me” min harduq “above you (sg. masc.)”}, etc. \textsuperscript{73}
\*2 Notice here that the \textit{n} is doubled preceding the short vowels in the suffixes -\textit{uq} and —\textit{ik}, which indicates that the vowels of these allomorphs are not merely anaptyctic vowels.
\*3 \textit{fay} must have developed in analogy to \textit{lay} and ‘\textit{alay}, see remark above.

The preposition \textit{min} is usually stressed in the compounds \textit{min-tahat “from below”}, \textit{min-ki\textit{d}iy “from this”}.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{wa\text{ra}a} & \text{‘ind}^{*1} & \text{‘induq}^{*2} \\
\text{warah} & \text{warahuw} & \text{‘induqhuw} \\
\text{waraha} & \text{warahan} & \text{‘induqhan} \\
\text{warak} & \text{warakuw} & \text{‘induqkuw} \\
\text{warak}^{*1} & \text{warakin}^{*1} & \text{‘indik} \\
\text{warey} & \text{warana} & \text{‘indi} \\
\end{array}
\]

\*1 In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding \textit{r} is gradually lost during articulation of the following \textit{a}. Thus an opposition between \textit{warar\text{ek}} and \textit{war\text{ak}} is maintained.
\*2 Notice that the allomorphs used with this preposition are all vowel-initial.

3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10

Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): \textit{wahid / wihidh*}, \textit{tnen / tinten*}, \textit{talatiq (t\text{alat} or t\text{alat})}, \textit{a\text{rba}’ah (a\text{rba’)}, xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt)}, \textit{sa\text{b’ih (sa’b’), t\text{am\text{a}n}yih (t\text{aman} or t\text{am\text{a}n})}, \textit{tis’ih (tis’}, \textit{a\text{sha}rah (‘a\text{sha}r}).

\textsuperscript{73} \textsuperscript{73} Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists \textit{hard} in the meaning of \textit{bi \text{g\text{a}n\text{ib} “beside”}.}
*1 wāḥid and wiḥdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walad wāḥid “one boy” and bint wiḥdih “one girl”.

*2 ṣ tên and tintên may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladên ṣ tên “two boys” and idêy ʾīṭintên or idêy tintênhin “my two hands”.

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

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10
Only three ordinals were recorded: awwil, tânîy, tâlîṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: 11 and up
ḥidâšiř, ṣînâšiř, ṣiṭaṭṭašiř, xamîsâšiř, siṭṭâšiř, saṭaṭâšiř, ṭamânîšiř, tisîṭašiř, ṭisîrîn, ṭalâṭîn, arbiârin, xamsîn, sîtîn, saṭîn, ṭâmânîn, tisîrîn, miyyîn, miyytên, ṭulṭîmîyîn, ṭubîîmîyîn, xumsîmîyîn, xutîmîyîn, suṭîmîyîn, tucîmîyîn, tisîtîmîyîn, ṭalat t-ālāf, xamîs t-ālâf, ʿašaṣ t-ālāf, tisît t-ālāf, ṭisîrîn, ʿašar t-ālāf, miyyît alf, miyyîn alf, malyûn.

3.1.18. The dual

Sufffixing -ēn or -ayn to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. šaharayn “two months”, sbûʿayn “two weeks”, nôʿayn “two kinds” and -ēn (in neutral environments) ṣarabiyytên “two cars”, miyytên “two hundred”, rikibtên “two knees”, sanatên “two years”, bintên “two girls”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. riğlêy “my (two) legs” and riğlêk “my (two) hands” and idêy “my (two) hands” and idêk “your (two) hands”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

In all vowel-types of the perfect and imperfect, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. ending is -uw, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is -in (including the a- and i- types of the tertiae infirmae) and the ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is -at (except in the verb ‘come’, see below).74

74 These are differences with group I dialects (see De Jong 2000: several paragraphs under 3.2. in chapter I.)
Perfects of measure 1 verbs come in three types: $C_aC_2aC_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

|       | $a$-type perfect$^*$ | $i$-type perfect$^*$ |
|-------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 3. masc. | kitáb | kátabu | širíb | šírbu |
| fem.    | kátabat$^*$ | kátabin | širbat$^*$ | šíribin |
| 2. masc. | kitábt | kitábu | širíbt | šíribu |
| fem.    | kitábtíy | kitábtin | širíbtíy | šíribtin |
| 1. com. | kitábt | kitába | širíbt | šíribna |

$^*$1 Notice that $a$ (in the first syllable) is raised to $i$ in pre-stress syllables. In a labial environment raising of unstressed $a$ in the first syllable tends to be towards $u$, as in wugáft “I stopped” and wugáftin “you (pl. fem.) stopped”, but wágáf “she stopped” and wágafin “they (pl. fem.) stopped”.

$^*$2 When suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix forms are: kátbitu or kátabatu “she wrote it (sg. masc.)”. The latter form may be due to influence from one of the neighbouring dialects (such as TAN), where the form is not resyllabified.

$^*$3 The short high vowel $i$ of the first syllable is actually underlying $|a|$ and is therefore not dropped in open pre-stress syllables. This underlying $|a|$ does not ‘reappear’ in closed syllables (in contrast with reappearing $|a|$ in some -not all- of the dialects of group I).

$^*$4 Notice that the ending here is -at in the $i$-type perfect, not -it (contrasting with surrounding dialect groups).

$^*$5 ‘Almost’ širíbtum: one of my informants had a tendency to almost close his lips (approximating I.P.A. [m]) when articulating w of pl. verbal endings; one had to look carefully to see that he was not actually producing $m$, because it often sounded as such, also because of the high degree of nasalisation which accompanied his realisation of such final wāw$^75$ (see also remarks on the situation in ḤmA (of group VII) and ḥalfringleftLA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect

Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Another interesting feature is that this vowel harmony has spread through the entire paradigm and that it includes the 1st. p. com. sg. This accounts for the absence of initial $a$- in

---

$^75$ This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.
the 1st. p. sg. com. of *i*- and *u*-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: \textit{yaC}_{1}^{1}Ca_{2}^{2}C_{3}^{3}, \textit{yuC}_{1}^{1}Cu_{2}^{2}C_{3}^{3} \text{ and } \textit{yiC}_{1}^{1}Ci_{2}^{2}C_{3}^{3}, all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}

\textbf{a-type imperfect}$^{*1}$ & \textbf{i-type imperfect} \\
\hline
\textbf{sg.} & \textbf{pl.} & \textbf{sg.} & \textbf{pl.} \\
3. masc. & \textit{yāšṛab} & \textit{yāšṛabuw} & \textit{yiktib} & \textit{yiktibuw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tāšṛab} & \textit{yāšṛabin} & \textit{tiktib} & \textit{yiktibin} \\
2. masc. & \textit{tāšṛab} & \textit{tāšṛabuw} & \textit{tiktib} & \textit{tiktibuw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tāšṛabiy} & \textit{tāšṛabin} & \textit{tiktibiy} & \textit{tiktibin} \\
1. com. & \textit{ūšṛab} & \textit{nāšṛab} & \textit{iktib} & \textit{niktib} \\

\textbf{u-type imperfect}$^{*2}$ \\
\hline
\textbf{sg.} & \textbf{pl.} \\
3. masc. & \textit{yuđrub} & \textit{yuđrubuw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tuđrub} & \textit{yuđrubin} \\
2. masc. & \textit{tuđrub} & \textit{tuđrubuw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tuđrubiy} & \textit{tuđrubin} \\
1. com. & \textit{uđrub} & \textit{nuđrub} \\

\end{tabular}
\end{center}

$^{*1}$ Notice the lack of vowel harmony in the endings of 2 sg. fem., 2 pl. masc. and fem. and 3 pl. masc. and fem. (in contrast with group I).$^{76}$

$^{*2}$ In the *u*-type—provided velarization is lacking—the anaptyctic vowel in the imperfect forms tends to vary, i.e. either *i* or *u*. One may hear e.g. \textit{tuğu’daw} as well as \textit{tuği’daw} for “you (pl. masc.) sit”, but in velarized forms the anaptyctic *u* is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with \textit{C}_{1} = X have the following paradigms:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}

\textbf{i-type}$^{*1}$ imperfect$^{*2}$ & \textbf{a-type imperfect}$^{*2}$ \\
\hline
\textbf{sg.} & \textbf{pl.} & \textbf{sg.} & \textbf{pl.} \\
3. masc. & \textit{yāḥarit} & \textit{yāḥartuw} & \textit{yā’arag} & \textit{yā’araguw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tāḥarit} & \textit{yāḥartin} & \textit{tā’arag} & \textit{yā’aragin} \\
2. masc. & \textit{tāḥarit} & \textit{tāḥartuw} & \textit{tā’arag} & \textit{tā’araguw} \\
 fem. & \textit{tāḥarti} & \textit{tāḥartin} & \textit{tā’aragi} & \textit{tā’aragin} \\
1. com. & \textit{āḥarit} & \textit{nāḥarit} & \textit{ā’arag} & \textit{nā’arag} \\

\end{tabular}
\end{center}

$^{*1}$ Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in *i*-type imperfects like \textit{yaharit} implies that, from a historical perspective, the gahawah-rule must be understood to ante-date the rule for vowel harmony (hence forms like e.g. \textit{yīḥrit} are not heard in these dialects).

$^{76}$ See De Jong 2000:190–191.
Perfect ḥarāṭ like katāb (see 3.2.1.1.). My BWA informant articulated sīn instead of ū’tā, e.g. yāḥaris and yāḥarsuw, etc.

Perfect ‘irīg like simū’ (see 3.2.1.1.).

Active participles are: hāriṭ, hārṭīḥ, hārṭīn, hārṭāt.

Active participles of the type C1āC2jC3 (etc.) for the verb ‘irīg, yā’arag are not really used, instead for “sweating” one may hear: ‘argān, ‘argānīh, ‘argānīn, ‘argānāt.

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *CjāCiUC3, *yaCiUC3

u-type perfect

| sg.  | pl.  |
|------|------|
| 3. masc. | kubur | kubruw |
| fem. | kubrat*2 | kubrun*3 |
| 2. masc. | kuburt | kuburtuw |
| fem. | kuburtiy | kuburtin |
| 1. com. | kuburt | kuburna |

*2 The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) CjāCiUC3a, yaCiUC3u has CuCiUC3, yuCiUC3 reflexes (imperfect paradigm like yudrub, see 3.2.1.2.). Notice that, like in reflexes of C.A. *CjāCiC3a (such as, e.g., širib), the high vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is not dropped in unstressed positions (so not e.g. • kburt for “I grew”). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of CuCiUC3 perfects, the u of the first syllable is actually underlying (i.e. like i in the first syllable of Cj1jCiC3 perfects, see *3 in 3.2.1.1.).

Other u-type perfects are: tuxunt “I became fat”, hī ġul/dmacronbelow at “she became fat”, hinnih ġul/dmacronbelow in “they (fem.) became fat”, iddinyah sux unat “the weather became hot” (for superscript u, see 2.2.2.3.) and innās ku/tmacronbelow ruw “people became many”.

*4 Notice the ending -at here, cf. remark *4 in 3.2.1.1. above.

*3 Notice that the vowel of the ending -in colours with the preceding vowels (> -un).77

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Active participles are formed with the patterns CjāCiC3 (sg. masc.) CjāCiC3 ah/-ih (sg. fem.), CjāCiC3 in (pl. masc.) CjāCiC3 āt (pl. fem.).

77 Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form yukburun, recorded in the dialect of the Rmēlāt in the north, see De Jong:2000:391.
When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: bāniytuh “having built it (sg. masc.)”, hī mīhīʿāyiztuh “she does not want/love him”.

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives
Imperatives of regular verbs have a harmonized initial vowel, while endings are like those in the imperfect paradigm, e.g. ásmaʿ, ásmaʿiy, ásmaʿuw, ásmaʿin “listen!”, ūdrub, ūdrubiyy, ūdrubuw, ūdrubin “hit!” and īktib, īkitbiyy, īkitbuw, īkitbin “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs
3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (primaе wāw)
Imperfect paradigms of verbs with wāw as C₁ are:

|   | i-type* | a-type |
|---|---------|--------|
| sg. | pl. | sg. | pl. |
| 3. masc. | yōrid | yōrduw | yōgaf | yōgafuw |
| fem. | tōrid | tōrdin | tōgaf | tōgafuw |
| 2. masc. | tōrid | tōrduw | tōgaf | tōgafuw |
| fem. | tōrdiy | tōrdin | tōgafiy | tōgafin |
| 1. com. | ōrid | nōrid | ōgaf | nōgaf |

* The ō in this paradigm reflects older a in the preformatives of i-type imperfects as well, as in e.g. *yawrid, and these are presumably older than the forms with harmonized vowels like e.g. yiktib. Diphthongal preformatives were not recorded.

The imperfect of the verb “light, kindle” was recorded as yōgid.
The perfects of primaе wāw verbs are C₁C₂C₃ or C₁aC₂aC₃ (see above). The imperatives are:

|   | sg. | pl. |
|---|-----|-----|
| masc. | ōrid | ōrduw |
| fem. | ōrdiy | ōrdin |

The imperative áwʿa was said to occur in that form only (i.e. uninflected for number or gender): “mind your head(s)!“ is thus:

|   | sg. | pl. |
|---|-----|-----|
| masc. | áwʿa rāsʿk | áwʿa rūsḳuw |
| fem. | áwʿa rāsʿk | áwʿa rūskin |

Participles:

Active participles have a CₐCᵢCᵢ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wāgif, wāgifḥ, wāgifin, wāgifāt “standing”.

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The passive participle for the root \( w-\j-d \) was recorded as \( \text{mawgūd} \) (see 1.2.4.1.).

3.2.2.2. \( \text{Verbs } C_i = y \) (primae yā’)
The only verb recorded with \( C_i = y \) is \( yibis, yēbas \) “dry (intrans.).”

3.2.2.3. \( \text{Verbs } C_i = ' \) (primae hamzah)
The two verbs “eat” and “take” have similar conjugations. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for “eat” are:

| perfect        | imperfect        |
|----------------|------------------|
| sg.            | pl.              |
| 3. masc.       | akāl            | yākil          |
|                | ākaluw           | yākluw         |
| fem.           | ākalat           | tākil          |
|                | ākalin           | yāklīn         |
| 2. masc.       | akalt            | tākil          |
|                | akaltuw          | tákluw         |
| fem.           | akaltiy          | tāklīy         |
|                | akaltin          | tāklīn         |
| 1. com.        | akalt            | ākil           |
|                | akalne           | nākil          |

Active participles are: \( mākīl, māklih, māklīn, māklāt \). Past participles are \( māxūd, -ah, -āt, -in \), which is also used meaning “daft”.

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): \( x̣u, x̣iy, x̣uw \) and \( x̣in \). Also \( kul, kliy, klūw, klin \). Notice the absence of stressed initial \( u- \) in these forms; an unstressed \( u- \) may precede in forms like (here in superscript) “\( x̣iy \)” and “\( klūw \), but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is \( wākl \) “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is \( ánwikal, yīnwikīl \).

3.2.2.4. \( \text{Verbs } C_2 = w \) or \( y \) (mediae infirmae)
A characteristic of southern dialects is the short base vowel in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms. In MzA and BWA these co-occur with forms with a long base vowel, but in BWA forms with the long base vowel are more current than those with a short vowel.

Perfect and imperfect forms of mediae infirmae are:

\[ C_2 = w \]

“get up”

| perfect        | imperfect        |
|----------------|------------------|
| sg.            | pl.              |
| 3. masc.       | gūm              | ygūm           |
|                | gūmuw            | ygūmuw         |
| fem.           | gūmat            | tgüm           |
|                | gūmin            | ygūmin         |
| 2. masc.       | gūmt             | tgüm / t(u)güm |
| fem.           | gūmtiy           | tgümiy         |
|                | gūmtin           | tgümi          |
| 1. com.        | gūmt             | ugūm           |
|                | guṃna            | ngūm           |
Participles are: ḡāyım, ḡāymih, ḡāymīn, ḡāymāt (no velarization).

The verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in MzA with short vowel u, as in šuft, as well as with i, as in šift “I saw”.

| “sleep”            | perfect* | imperfect |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|
| sg.                | nām      | nāmuw     |
| pl.                |          | ynām      |
| sg.                | ynāmuw   |           |

Participles: nāyım, nāyımih, nāyımīn, nāyımāt.

C2 = y

| “carry”          | perfect | imperfect |
|------------------|---------|-----------|
| sg.              | šāl     | yšīl      |
| pl.              | šāluw   | yšīluw    |
| sg.              |          | yšīluw    |

N.B. Where there is variation in group I dialects between the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms biyšīl and bišīl, both meaning “he carries” (see De Jong 2000:199), in group VI a form like bišīl “he carries” (after reduction of the diphthong iy > i) has become homophonous with the form for the 1st p. sg. com. “I carry”.

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels and may have a short vowel preceding, as in šīl “carry!”, ugūm “get up!”. Examples are: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin, gūm / ugūm, gūmiy, gūmuw, gūmin.

Imperatives used with the verb ḡāb, yḡīb are: hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns C1āyiC3, C1āyC3ih, C1āyC3īn and C1āyC3āt.

A passive participle is mašyūl etc.
3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect

Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of tertiae infirma verbs that are actually mixed; some forms originate from the $a$-type perfect, while other forms in the same paradigm are originally $i$-type forms:

In MzA the following paradigms were elicited:

|       | “forget”          | “go, walk”        |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
|       | $i$-type perfect  | $a$-type perfect* |
| sg.   | nisī     nisyuw*1 | mišī     mišyuw  |
| pl.   | nisyin*1 | mišyat mišyin |
| 3. masc. | nisīt  nisītuw | mišēt mišētuw |
| fem.  | nisīty nisītin  | mišēty mišētin |
| 2. masc. | nisīt  nisītuw | mišēt mišētuw |
| fem.  | nisīty nisītin  | mišēty mišētin |
| 1. com. | nisīt  nisīna    | mišēt mišēna   |

*1 Another informant, however, claimed that forms like ligyuw and ligyin are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are ligūw (< *laguw) (a suffixed example is ligūh) and ligín (< *lagin) (a suffixed example is ligín-nuh) and by analogy one would then also expect ligát for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagat). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form nisī (< *nasā)—instead of nisýy—must then have crossed over from the $a$-type perfect (compare mišī, see remark below). For the paradigm of the $i$-type elicited in BWA, see below.

*2 The verb is listed here as an $a$-type perfect, since mišī must have developed from *mašā, and endings in -ē + clearly belong to the $a$-type (for raising of the $a$ preceding the stressed ē see 1.2.3.4.3.2.), but the endings of the 3rd p. pl. and 3rd p. sg. fem. (i.e. those with $y$) are identical with the $i$-type endings. For similar $a$-type forms recorded in the dialect of Biliy of group I in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:201. The forms of the $a$-type perfect in BWA are the same as in MzA.

Suffixed forms are, e.g.: nisītuh “I forgot him” and nisīnāh “we forgot him”, which are quite straightforward $i$-type, but forms like nisāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him” point to the $a$-type. Similarly: hī nisyituh or násatuh “she forgot him” and ligyituh or (less current) lāgatuh “she found him”. Other examples (with doubling of $n$) in nisīnnuh “you (pl. fem.) forgot him” and nisyinnu or (alternatively) nisinnu “they (f.) forgot him” and alternatives like ligyuh / laguh (after raising ligūh) “they found him”.

Imperatives of tertiae $yāʾ$ verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs yirmiy “throw” and yimšiyy.
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|   | sg.       | pl.       |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| masc. | irm* / imš | irmu / imšu |
| fem.  | irmiy / imšiy | irmín / imšin |

* When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears, e.g. (underlined): írim # “throw!” and írimha “throw it (fem.) away!”.

The paradigm of the i-type perfect recorded from BWA informants is almost identical to that of group I, however (De Jong 2000:201).

“forget”

|   | perfect |
|---|---------|
| sg. |           |
| 3. masc. | nisíy nisyuw |
| fem.  | nisyat nisyín |
| 2. masc. | nisít níšítu |
| fem.  | nisítíy nístín |
| 1. com. | nisít níšína |

N.B. i in the first syllable of these verbs is not elided.

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs $C_{3} = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

|   | a-type imperfect* | “go, walk” i-type imperfect |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| sg. |                   |                             |
| 3. masc. | yansiʾ yansuw | yimšíy yimšu |
| fem.  | tansiʾ tansin | timšíy timšin |
| 2. masc. | tans tansuw | timš /-išy timšuw |
| fem.  | tansiṭy tansin | timšíy timšin |
| 1. com. | ansíʾ nansiʾ | nimšíy nimišy |

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, iʾ > ā, as in e.g. yansáhiʾ “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in *2 on treatment of final -iʾ in ǧiʾ “he came” in 3.2.2.6.1.).

N.B. Apocopated tertiae infirmae 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms are very regular in group VI. Other examples are aqlabíyāyah liy btağhuw sakanuw fi wîqîh gibîl aṣṣaʿid “the majority of those you find settled down in the south in Upper Egypt”, hatlâguh “you’ll find him”, awʾa tans! “don’t you forget!” and iw bitiğluh “and you boil it (a long time)”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs $C_{3} = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperatives

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current, e.g. írimhiʾ “throw it (sg. fem.) away!”, ansuh “forget him!”.
3.2.2.5.4. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns $C_1 āC_2 iy$, $C_1 āC_3 yih$, $C_1 āC_3 yin$ and $C_1 āC_3 yāt$. E.g. lāgyī, lāgyih, lāgyin, lāgyāt “having found”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
No instances of verbal nouns of tertiae infirmae were recorded.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

|      | perfect | imperfect |
|------|---------|-----------|
|      | sg.   | pl.     | sg. | pl. |
| 3. masc. | ġī[^*2] | ġūw    | yiġūy[^*4] | yiġūw |
| fem.    | ġāt  | ġīn[^*3] | tiġīy | yiġīn |
| 2. masc. | ġīt  | ġītuw   | tiği[^*5] | tiğiaw |
| fem.    | ġīty | ġītin[^*3] | tiġīy | tiği |
| 1. com. | ġīt  | ġīne[^*6] | iġīy | niğiy |

[^*1] Apart from stress in the imperfect paradigm, these forms are reminiscent of forms heard in the dialect of Biliy (see De Jong 2000:204).
[^*2] But when suffixed: hū ġānī “he came to me”, but both hū ġāk and hū ġīk (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒiːk]) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū ġīk (IPA [dʒiːk]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.
[^*3] n is doubled when followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix, as in tiği nnu fi dāruh and ġiti nnu fi dāruh, and also doubling of the n when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, including those of the 2nd p. sg.: ġi nnu k / ġi ni k “they (fem.) came to you sg. masc. / sg. fem.”.
[^*4] In rapid speech byičiy may be realized as biği, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. fī sṣayf biği rīḥ kiṭīr, iw fīh fī lmaṣṭī biği rīḥ kiṭīr “in summer a lot of wind comes, and there are (times also) in winter that a lot of wind comes”.
[^*5] Notice the apocopated imperfect form for the 2nd. p. sg. masc., which is in complete conformity with the treatment of tertia ya’ verbs.
[^*6] The form aği came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form iği is more logical and was indeed recorded regularly in MzA and also in BWA.

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: ta’āl, ta’āliy, ta’āluw, ta’ālin.
3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ǧāy, ǧāyih, ǧāyīn, ǧāyāt.

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

3.2.2.7.1. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect

| “stretch” | perfect | imperfect |
|-----------|---------|-----------|
|          | sg.     | pl.       | sg.     | pl.       |
| 3. masc.  | madd    | madduw   | ymidd   | ymidduw  |
| fem.      | maddat  | maddin   | tmidd   | tmiddin  |
| 2. masc.  | middēt  | middētuw | tmidd   | tmidduw  |
| fem.      | middēty | middētin | tmiddy  | tmiddin  |
| 1. com.   | middēt  | middēna  | imidd   | nmidd    |

* Raising of $a$ in closed syllable preceding stressed $ē$ is regular (like in the dialect of Bily of group I in the north and also in groups II\(^\text{78}\) and VII. See also remark to the perfect paradigm in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the $ē$ of the ending is diphthongal $ay$, as in e.g. ḥaṭṭayt “I placed”. $a$ in closed syllable preceding $ay$ is not raised. When the geminate is velarized, the imperfect usually has $u$ as a base vowel, e.g. $yhuṭṭ$ “place”.

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

Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. $šidd$, $šiddiy$, $šidduw$, $šiddin$ “pull!” and with base vowel $u$: $huṭṭ$, $huṭṭiy$, $huṭṭṭuw$, $huṭṭin$ “place!”.

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

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: $mādd$, $māddih$, $māddin$, $māddāt$.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when $C_1 = X$, e.g. $mَاḥᵃṭᵗⁱᵗ$ “placed”, but this was not heard in $mᵃˣˢᵘš$ “special”.

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure n-1

3.2.3.1.1. Measure n-1 sound roots

Measure $n-1$ is used to express the passive. The underlying patterns are $anC_aC_aC$, $yinC_aC_aC$. The vowel of the preformative (in both perfect and imperfect) may be stressed in positions eligible for stress and surface

\(^{78}\) For the dialect of Bily, see De Jong 2000:205. For group II, see ibid.:309.
forms often show raised a, e.g. ángiṭa, yíngiṭi “be cut”, ánwikal, yínwikil “be eaten”. The paradigms are:

```
“rejoice”

|   | perfect  | imperfect* |
|---|----------|------------|
|   | sg.      | pl.        | sg.      | pl.        |
| 3. masc. | ánbiṣaṭ | inbāṣaṭuw | yínbiṣiṭ | yínbāṣṭuw |
| fem.    | inbāṣaṭat | inbāṣaṭin | tīnbisiṭ | yínbāṣṭin |
| 2. masc. | inbaṣāṭt | inbaṣāṭtuw | tīnbisiṭ | tīnbaṣṭuw |
| fem.    | inbaṣāṭtiy | inbaṣāṭtin | tīnbaṣṭiy | tīnbaṣṭin |
| 1. com. | inbaṣāṭt | inbaṣāṭna | inbisiṭ | nīnbiṣiṭ |
```

* In the imperfect forms the underlying |a| ‘reappears’ in syllables closed by C₂ (here š) after elision of i preceding C₃ (here ṭ). The fact that the i preceding š is actually underlying |a| can also be concluded from the fact that it is not elided from forms like yínbiṣiṭ (i.e. the form is not yín(i)bṣiṭ; a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like yīkitbuw). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern minC₁aC₂iC₃, e.g. mīnbiṣiṭ, minbaṣṭah, minbaṣṭin, minbaṣṭāt “rejoicing”.

The inflectional base of the verb has been reinterpreted as underlying |inbaṣiṭ|, instead of |nbaṣiṭ|; verbal prefixes are then vowelless (i.e. y-, t- and n-) and for the 1st p. sg. com. the prefix is ∅ (see also below inšāl in 3.2.3.1.3.).

3.2.3.1.2. Measure n-1 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs are: inC₁aC₂C₃ and yinC₁aC₂C₃, e.g. inḥaṭṭ, yinḥaṭṭ “be placed” and inṣabb, yinṣabb “be poured”.79

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-1 C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: inC₁aC₃ and yinC₁aC₃, e.g.

```
“be carried”

|   | perfect  | imperfect* |
|---|----------|------------|
|   | sg.      | pl.        | sg.      | pl.        |
| 3. masc. | inšāl | inšāluw | yinšāl | yinšāluw |
| fem.    | inšālat | inšālin | tinšāl | yinšālin |
| 2. masc. | inšīlt | inšīltuw | tinšīl | tinšīluw |
| fem.    | inšīltiy | inšīltin | tinšīliy | tinšīlin |
| 1. com. | inšīlt | inšīlne | inšīl* | ninšāl |
```

* Notice the absence of vowel harmony, and the paradigmatically fixed intital i-.

79 It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is a- (i.e. anḥaṭṭ) or i-.
3.2.3.4. Measure n-1 \( C_2 = y \) or \( w \) (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern \( \text{min}C_1\text{ā}\text{C}_2 = \text{minšāl}, \text{minšālah}, \text{minšālin}, \text{minšālāt} \) “carried away, removed”.

3.2.3.2. Measure t-1
No instances of measure t-1 were recorded in these dialects.

3.2.3.3. Measure t-t

3.2.3.3.1. Measure t-t sound roots
Underlying patterns for measure t-t are: \( aC_1\text{t}aC_2 \text{aC}_3 \). \( yiC_1\text{t}aC_2 \text{iC}_3 \). Like in measure n-1, raised \( a \) is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: \( \text{áštiġal}, \text{yíštiġil} \) “work”, \( \text{áttifag}, \text{yíttifijig} \) “agree” and \( \text{áštawa}, \text{yístiwiy} \) “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms for \( C_3 = y \) are:

\[
\begin{array}{lcc}
\text{perfect} & \text{imperfect} \\
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{áštaṛa} & \text{áštaṛuw} & \text{yíštiriy} & \text{yíštiruw} \\
\text{fem.} & \text{áštaṛat} & \text{áštaṛin} & \text{tístiriy} & \text{yístirin} \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{ištaṛayt} & \text{ištaṛaytuw} & \text{tístiriy} & \text{tístiruw} \\
\text{fem.} & \text{ištaṛaytiy} & \text{ištaṛaytin} & \text{tístiriy} & \text{tístirin} \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{ištaṛayt} & \text{ištaṛayna} & \text{tístiriy} & \text{nístiriy} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.2.3.3.2. Measure t-t \( C_2 = w \) or \( y \) (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure t-t verb is \( \text{iḥtāḡ}, \text{yiḥtāḡ} \) “need”.

3.2.3.3.3. Measure t-t \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)
An example of a medial geminate measure t-t verb is \( \text{iʿtazz}, \text{yiʿtazz (bi)} \) “be proud (of)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure t-t participles
Patterns for measure t-t participles are \( \text{miC}_1\text{t}i\text{C}_2 \text{iC}_3 \) (underlying \( \text{miC}_1\text{t}a\text{C}_2 \text{iC}_3 \)), \( \text{miC}_1\text{t}a\text{C}_2 \text{C}_3 \text{ah/ih}, \text{miC}_1\text{t}a\text{C}_2 \text{iC}_3 \text{in}, \text{miC}_1\text{t}a\text{C}_2 \text{iāt} \).

Examples are: \( \text{mištiġil} \) “working”, \( \text{miftārsih} \) “predatory (of animals)”, \( \text{místiwiy} \) “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, \( \text{mistáwyih} \) “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”. \( \text{mítifijig} \) “agreed (sg. masc.)”, \( \text{mittafgāt} \) “agreed (pl. fem.)” and \( \text{mítiniy} \) “taking care of, providing for”.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: \( \text{miḥtāḡ} \) “in need”, \( \text{miltammīn} \) “having gathered (pl. masc.)”.

One example of a passive t-t participle is \( \text{mittahamīn} \) “accused (pl. masc.)” (cf. C.A. root \( w-h-m \)).
3.2.3.4. Measure ista-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots
Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms are:

|   | perfect | imperfect |
|---|---------|-----------|
| 3. | masc. | istafham | yistafhim |
|   | fem.  | istafhamat | yistafhim |
| 2. | masc. | istafhamt | tistaftim |
| fem. | istafhamtmin | tistaftim |
| 1. com. | istafhamt | astafhim |

“ask for information”

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 $C_2 = y$ (mediae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-1 verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, yistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, an example is (i)sta‘add, yista‘idd “prepare oneself”.

Short a in the perfect preceding stressed ê may be raised (e.g. ista‘addêt > ista‘iddêt), see also remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-1 participles
Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, e.g. mista‘gil “in a hurry”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, mista‘idd “having prepared, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
Measure 2 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The patterns are: C$_a$C$_e$C$_e$, yC$_a$C$_e$C$_e$.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are taC$_a$C$_e$C$_e$, ytaC$_a$C$_e$C$_e$.

3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots
Like in group I, the high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: yzaabbitaw “they do a proper job”, bittall‘uw ġisāyid “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems”, biybarrkuw ‘āsil “they let a throughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [bi‘barkoʔ ʔa’siːl].
Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in ṭḥammṣ ilbunn “you roast the coffee beans” and w itxaliyy tتجا‎mrm īṣwayyih “and you let it (burn) a little (to) become glowing embers”.

r or l following the high vowel i may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. itfassiruh “you explain it” and biy’assirin īm’ūk īṣwayyih “they (pl. fem.) have some influence on you”.

When C₂ = C₃, the elision of i does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. ṭhālliyyu “you analyze it” (I.P.A. [ɑθhɑliy])).

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae
Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

|   | perfect*₁ |   | imperfect |
|---|-----------|---|-----------|
|   | sg. pl. | sg. pl. | sg. pl. |
| 3. masc. | sawwi sawwuw | yswawwi yswawwu |   |   |
| fem. | sawwat sawwin | tsawwiy tsawwin |   |   |
| 2. masc. | suwwēt suwwētuw | tsaww-/yy tsawwu |   |   |
| fem. | suwwētiy suwwētin | tsawwiy tsawwin |   |   |
| 1. com. | suwwēt suwwēni’ | asawwiy nsawwiy |   |   |

*₁ For raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.
*₂ Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final -i’ > -ā when suffixed, e.g. sawwāh “he did it”.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
The verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil, e.g. ḥatta mā ywakkīlu # “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, gi’adna šaharayn, fi lḏbāl ḥādiy binḥūm. innās kānāt bitxāf itwakkīlu “we stayed two months in these mountains as we moved around. People were afraid to give us food”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC₃aC₂C₂aC₃, ytaC₃aC₂C₂aC₃.

Unlike the situation in group I dialects (especially so in those of the Rmēlāt and Sawārkah, see De Jong 2000:212), the ta- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure t-2 is stable and is hardly ever reduced to (i)t-.

When the imperfect preformative t- of the 3rd p. sg. fem. and of the 2nd. p. sg. and pl. masc. and fem. precedes, the resulting sequence tta- is reduced to ta-.*₈ For tertiae infirmae t-2 verbs the paradigms are:

*₈ I have referred to this before as a haplological drop of the verbal prefix ta- (from an initial sequence *tata-). This interpretation however pre-supposes verbal imperfect pre-
“have lunch”

|   | perfect* |   | imperfect* |
|---|----------|---|------------|
|   | sg.      | pl.    | sg.        | pl.        |
| 3. masc. | taġaddi’ | taġadduw | ytaġaddi’ | ytaġadduw |
| fem.    | taġaddat | taġaddin | taġaddi’  | taġaddin   |
| 2. masc. | taġaddēt | taġaddētw | taġadd*2  | taġadduw   |
| fem.    | taġaddētiy | taġaddētin | taġaddiy | taġaddin   |
| 1. com. | taġaddēt | taġaddēni’ | ataġaddi’ | ntaġaddi’ |

*1 With a verb like ta‘ašša, yta‘ašša “have dinner” raising of a in the ta- prefix is regular, e.g. (perfect) ti‘aššat, ti‘aššēt and (imperfect) 2nd p. sg. masc. ti‘ašš.

Notice that the 3rd. p. pl. masc. and fem. of the perfect have become homophonic with the 2nd p. pl. masc. and fem. (respectively) of the imperfect. And the 3rd p. sg. masc. of the perfect is homophonic with the 3rd p. sg. fem. of the imperfect.

Raising of final *-ā is indicated here as -’ī, but phonetic values may also be slightly lower (i.e. nearer to I.P.A. [eʔ]).

*2 Notice also apocopeation.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC C iC pattern, e.g. taġlīb “throwing out (of a fish line)”, taybīs “drying (trans.)”, tadrīb “training (trans.)” and a gahawah-form tahadīr “coming down”.

A C₃ = ے verbal noun is found in tirbāt álǧimal “training the camel”.

Verbal nouns for measure t-2 were not recorded. For the quadrilateral verb ta‘aknan, yta‘aknan “be annoyed”, however, the verbal noun t‘iknin was recorded.

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles

Active participles of measure 2 have a mC aC C iC (-ih/-ah, -în, -āt) pattern, e.g. mṭaggid “travelling”, mṭallig “keeping suspended”, for C₃ = ے msawwiy, msawwyih etc., “making, doing” and for C₂ = C, mḡaddid, mḡaddidih (without elision of the short vowel i), etc. “renewing”.

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is mC aC C aC C (-ih/-ah, -în, -āt), e.g.: mlawwan “coloured”, mnaššaf “dried, hardened” and mtallal “piled up”, for C₃ = ے msawwa, msawwayih etc., “made, done” and for C₂ = C, mḡaddad, mḡaddadih etc. “renewed”.

fixes like ta-, ya-, and na-, whereas these are actually t-, y- and n- (the latter two implying the first). The interpretation of reduction of the initial geminate is therefore preferred here.
The pattern for measure t-2 active participles is mtaC aC aC yC (-ih/-ah, -in, -ät), but in participles often the ta- prefix has been reduced to t- (pattern mitC aC aC yC (-ih/-ah, -in, -ät), e.g. mit‘āssil “deep-rooted”, mithaddir (min) “originating (from)”, mitgawwiz “married” and for C₃ = y mtağaddiy, mtağaddiyih etc. “having eaten lunch” and also mitharrijy, mitharrijyih etc. “striving for, aspiring”.

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3
Like measure 2, measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels: ī in the imperfect and a in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C₁ āC₂ aC₃, yC₁ āC₂ iC₃.

Measure t-3 has morphologically fixed a in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure t-2, the ta-preformative is not often reduced to t-. Patterns for measure t-3 are: taC₁ āC₂ aC₃, ytaC₁ āC₂ iC₃.

Also like in measure t-2, the ta- preformative of measure t-3 in the perfect is usually not reduced to (i)t-.

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3
Paradigms for measure 3 are:

|   | perfect  | imperfect |
|---|----------|-----------|
|   | sg.      | sg.       | pl.      | pl.       |
| 3. masc. | kāwan    | ykāwin    | kāwanuw  | ykāwnuw  |
| fem.   | kāwanat  | tkāwin    | kāwanin  | ykāwnin  |
| 2. masc. | kāwant   | tkāwin    | kāwantin | tkāwnuw  |
| fem.   | kāwantiy | tkāwniy   | kāwantuw | tkāwnuw  |
| 1. com. | kāwant   | akāwin    | kāwanna  | nkāwin   |

Some suffixed examples are: suffixed: kāwanatuh (stressed on first syllable) “she quarrelled with him”, kāwannāh “we quarrelled with him”, kāwantinnuh “you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him” and (imperfect) tkāwnīh “you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwninnuh “they (fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwnūh “they (masc.) quarrel with him”.

A C₃ = y verb has the following paradigms:

|   | perfect  | imperfect |
|---|----------|-----------|
|   | sg.      | sg.       | pl.      | pl.       |
| 3. masc. | lāga     | ylāgiy    | lāguw    | ylāguw   |
| fem.   | lāgat    | tlāgiy    | lāgin    | ylāgin    |
| 2. masc. | lāget    | tlāgiy    | lāgetuw  | ylāguw   |
| fem.   | lāgetiy  | tlāgiy    | lāgin    | ylāgiy    |
| 1. com. | lāget    | alāgiy    | lāgēna   | nāgiy    |
Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.

Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms also occur in measure 3.

Some examples of suffixed forms are: hū lāgāh “he met/found him”, hī lāgātēk “she met/found you (sg. masc.)”, hī lāgātuh “she met/found him” (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and hinnah biylāginnuk /-innik “they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.).”

Examples for measure t-3 are: [kān] bintarāfag īw bintasābag “we used to travel together and race together” and (for C₃ = y) bukrāh hantālāga “tomorrow we’ll meet”, huwwa ytalāguw “they meet”, intin talāgin (like in measure t-2, initial tta- is reduced to ta-, cf. 3.2.3.5.4.) “you (pl. fem.) meet”. The vowel a preceding stress may be raised, as in the example ytiʿālaǧ “he receives medical treatment” and the perfect tihālafuw “they became allies”.

Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. and sg.: -uw and -in, contrasting with -aw or -ow and -an in group I.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mḡāḥdīn “fighting (pl. masc.) in a ġihād”, mkāfʾih “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC₁āC₂aC₃) is mtāradīn “having been pushed back (in a fight)”.

Active participles of measure t-3 have the pattern mtaC₁āC₂iC₃ or mitC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt); like in participles of measure t-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.6.), the ta- preformative is often reduced to (i)t-. Both mtawāǧdih and mitwāǧdih “present (sg. fem.)” were recorded and also mithāyīg lay “it seems to me” (cf. MSA root h-y-).

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns
A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is ġihād “war against unbelievers” and another is msaʿādah “help, assistance”. Verbal nouns of the type tC₁ēC₂iC₃ were not recorded.⁸¹

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect
Like in many Bedouin dialects of Sinai, verbal measure 4 is found in group VI as well.

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⁸¹ Such as they have been reported for the dialect of the Aḥaywāt of group I, see Stewart 1990: 186 (text 69) and 118 (text 37).
The patterns are $a_C^1 a_C^2 a_C^3$ for the perfect and $y_C^2 i_C^3$. The paradigms are:

```
|          | perfect | imperfect*2 |
|----------|---------|-------------|
|          | sg.     | pl.         | sg.     | pl.     |
| 3. masc. | āfṭār   | āfṭaruw*1   | yifṭir  | yifṭiruw|
| fem.     | āfṭarat | āfṭarin*1   | tiftir  | yiftirin|
| 2. masc. | ifṭart  | ifṭartuw    | tiftir  | tiftiruw|
| fem.     | ifṭartiyy | ifṭartin | tiftiriy | tiftirin |
| 1. com.  | ifṭart  | ifṭarna     | ifṭir   | nifṭir  |
```

*1 Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings
*2 The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) $tiftiru_w$ and $yifṭirin$ is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_y = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmiae) perfect and imperfect

Patterns for measure 4 mediae infirmiae are: $C_y a_C^1 (C_1 i_C^3 t) y_C^2 i_C^3$, e.g. rād "he wanted", rīdt (I.P.A. [rıtː]) “I wanted”, yrid "he wants". The paradigms are like those of šāl, yšīl (see 3.2.2.4.).

Some examples of suffixed forms are: rādatih “she wanted him”, rīdnāh “we wanted him”, intuw rīdtih “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, intin rīdtin-nuh “you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and rādīn-nuh “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_y = y$ (tertiae infirmiae) perfect and imperfect

The patterns for measure 4 $C_y = y$ (tertiae infirmiae) are $a_C^1 a_C^2 a_C^3$ (perfect) and $y_C^2 i_C^3 y$ (imperfect). The paradigms are:

```
|          | perfect | imperfect |
|----------|---------|-----------|
|          | sg.     | pl.       | sg.     | pl.  |
| 3. masc. | āṭā    | āṭaw*1    | yīṭaw   | yīṭaw|
| fem.     | āṭat   | āṭin*1    | yīṭin   | yīṭin|
| 2. masc. | āṭayt  | āṭaytuw   | tīṭ*2/-iy | tīṭuww |
| fem.     | āṭaytiyy | āṭaytin   | tīṭiy   | tīṭini |
| 1. com.  | āṭayt  | āṭayyna   | īṭiy   | nīṭiy |
```

*1 Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings in tertiae $yā$ perfects as well: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.
*2 Notice the presence of the apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in measure 4 as well.

Some suffixed examples are: hinnah āṭīnnuh “they (fem.) gave him” and hinnah āṭīnnuh iyyāḥ “they (fem.) gave it to him”.

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3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_i = w$ (primaewāw) perfect and imperfect
An example of a measure 4 $C_i = w$ (primaewāw) verb is $aw̄ga`, ūgī` “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. $iβtūȝ uh` “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and `i̇dī` $aw̄ga` atnī` “my ear hurt me”.

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

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

Imperatives of $C_3 = y$ roots are: $i't$ (apocopated), $i'tiy$, $i'tuw$, $i'tin$. Suffixed examples are: $i'th-īyyāha` “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, $i'tuh luh` “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles
The participles for sound roots have a miCCiC pattern, e.g. $mištār$, $mištārh$, $mištārīn$, $mištārāt` “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type $mṛid$, -$ih$, -$īn$, -$āt` “wanting”.

Another example is $mģir` “running”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 are:

|          | perfect | imperfect |
|----------|---------|-----------|
|          | sg.     | pl.       | sg.     |
| 3. masc. | $iḥmarr$ | $iḥmarraw$| $yihmarr$|
| fem.     | $iḥmarrat$| $iḥmarrin$| $tihmarr$|
| 2. masc. | $iḥmarrayt$| $iḥmarraytuw$| $tihmarrayt$|
| fem.     | $iḥmarrayty$| $iḥmarraytín$| $tihmarraytý$|
| 1. com.  | $iḥmarrayt$| $iḥmarrayne$| $āhmarr$|

Participles are: $miḥmarr$, -$ah$, -$īn$, -$āt`.

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect ($i$) and perfect ($a$).
“ululate”

|       | perfect*¹ | imperfect*² |
|-------|-----------|-------------|
| sg.   | zāqrat    | yzaqrīt     |
| pl.   | zāqratuw  | yzaqrītuw   |
| 3. masc. | zaqrat    | zaqrat      |
| fem.  | zaqrat    | zaqrat      |
|      | yaqrīt    | yaqrītuw    |
| 2. masc. | zaqratt   | zaqrat      |
| fem.  | zaqratt   | zaqrat      |
|      | zaqrīt    | zaqrītuw    |
| 1. com. | zaqrattt | zaqrat      |
|       | zaqrattt  | zaqrat      |
|       | zaqrītt   | zaqrīttu    |

*¹ ṭṭ is assimilated to ṭṭ, e.g. zaqrattiy.

*² Initial tz is assimilated to dz or zz, e.g. (partially) # idzaqrīt or (totally) # izzaqrīt.

“improvise rhymed song”

|       | perfect* | imperfect |
|-------|----------|-----------|
| sg.   | hawqas   | yhawqis    |
| pl.   | hawqisuw | yhawqisuw  |
| 3. masc. | hawqas    | hawqas      |
| fem.  | hawqas    | hawqas      |
|      | thawqis   | thawqis     |
| 2. masc. | hawqasat  | hawqasat    |
| fem.  | hawqasat  | hawqasat    |
|      | thawqisat | thawqisat   |
| 1. com. | hawqastiy | hawqastin   |
|       | hawqastiy | hawqastin   |
|       | thawqis   | thawqis     |

* Forms like hawqisat and hawqisuw show raising of a > i (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is hĝēsiy or thīǧis. Similarly, the verb hawqan, yhawqin “improvise rhymed song in public” has verbal nouns hĝēniy or thīǧin.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. Nunation

Tanwīn is not a feature of MzA or BWA.

Of course, there are the loans from MSA, which may have come via other dialects, such as masalan “for instance”; the s for *ṭ (in a ṭā-speaking dialect!) is a clue that this loan came via a dialect in which interdentals are not part of the phoneme inventory, such as Cairene.

Other examples of such MSA loans with nunation are: tab’an “of course”, tagriban “approximately”, ʔaṣlan “in origin”, filan “indeed, actually” and hāliyyan “currently”.

4.2. Negation

Negating a verb is done with mā preceding the verb form, although bi-partite mā + verb form + thresh is also used. Of my informants, one speaker
used $mā$ + verb form for more emphatic negation (almost always in combination with $xālīs$ “at all”) and the compound negation for ‘normal’ negation. Another informant, who actually speaks the ‘original’ dialect better, used the single negation, and only the compound negation by way of exception.

Examples are $iw$ $biytaraǧǧuw$ lmašāyix $illy$ kān $ḥīnha$ mawǰūdīn $mā$ $ywaddūhuw$ Falaṣṭīn $iywaddūhuw$ Māṣir $“$ and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…$”$ and $ḥād$-$illyy$ $ya$-$niy$ $btākluh$, $law$ $mā$ $liḥāg$ $daktūr$ $aw$ $hāwi$ $bīmūt$ “and this (person) that he (i.e. a snake) bites, if he doesn’t (quickly) get to a doctor or a snake charmer, he dies”.

4.3. The $b$-imperfect

The originally sedentary feature of the $b$-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is widespread in Sinai.83

Some examples are $iw$ $biddugg$ $bi$ $‘id$ $ilhōn$ $ingūl$ $‘alēh$ $‘id$ $ilhōn$, $iw$ $ba$‘ad $kiḍiyiḥ$ $…ilbaṛṛād$ $hū$ $ibyiġḷiy$ $binḥuṭṭ$ $ēḥ$ “and you pound it with the pestle, we call it the pestle, and after that…(when the water in) the teapot is boiling and we put what?” and $hū$ $mūḥū$ $fāḥim$ $kiḍiy$, $hū$ $mūḥū$ $‘ārif$ $…innha$ $mā$ $bitrīduh”$ “he did not understand this, he did not know…that she did not want him” $w$ $Allah$ $btug$‘ud $kiḍiyiy$ $w$ $bitgahwi$ $nnās$84 $iw$ $btaxa$‘raf $iw$ $bitɡīb$ $…bithawģis$ $iškalām$ $illyy$ $zimān$ “By God, you sit down like this and you give the people coffee (or tea)”85 and you talk and you get…you improvise the type of talk of old times”.

See also remark in 3.2.2.4. on reduction of the diphthong in a form like $biyšīl > bišīl$.

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” MzA uses $bidd$ + pron. suffix (see also 4.11.).86

Often not only volition or need is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb. Examples are: (futurity)

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83 It is current in all dialects of Sinai, except in that of the Dawāġrah, see De Jong 2000:224–226, 318–319, 394, 478, 527 and 691 (map 69).

84 $bitgahwi$ $nnās$ or $bitgahw$ $innās$ (the latter with apocopeation); these two sequences are homophonous.

85 The verb $gahwa$, $ygahwiy$ is used for “serve a hot drink”, i.e. either coffee or tea.

86 In contrast, $widd$ is current in group I, see De Jong 2000:238–239.
halḥīnit bidd-āx dīššuggah w uxus...w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread it”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g. ya’niy halḥīnit ālwad il’āsīl illiy hū ’inda nihā...hālaguh iblyasma’ kilām uḥāh “that is, the true son that we have here with us, you will find that he listens to what his father says”. In the instances recorded, this ha-was invariably used to express inevitability connected to stating a general truth. law istagduw ’a lḥikāyah dīy, hayagța’-aššiǧar; hayagța’uḥ “if they would seek to imitate this (story), they would cut down the trees, they would cut them down”.

In the many cases, however, the future is expressed with the simple imperfect, as in intah law ga’att bukrāh hinih, aššiļuk wāḥid iygūłluk ēh? ’al-ēh? ’ala ttadrīb. “If you stay here tomorrow, I’ll get you someone who will tell you what? About what? About this training (of camels)”. 4.5. fiḥ “there is / are”

fiḥ is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. iw fiḥ iśāb fi lbaṛṛ bitdāwiy ssukkar “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually mà fiḥ (or K-form ma fiš), e.g. ġār ānnaxal, mà fiḥ izrā’ah zamān “there were only palm trees, in the old times there was no agriculture”.

Also màš may be used for negation (but was only heard in BWA): gabl ilfasil kān ya’niy hwēl alfejn ittala...ya’niy màš kafir “before the separation there was, that is, around two thousand, three...that is, there was not much” and w Allahīy màš isdūd fihe...iblādna hàdiy “By God, there are no dams in it...in (this) our land”.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

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

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87 hayagța’uḥ + aššiǧar.
88 fiḥ “functions as a prepositional predicate of a nominal sentence”, cf. Grotzfeld 1964:87.
89 For use of yōm in dialects of northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:692 (map 71).
4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. yōm liḥguw war-ālbil, šār īlkōn . . . yōm šār īlkōn gāmuw gasamuw mi’ iZwayyid innuṣṣ “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then90 divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”. Another example is ya’niy kilu . . . itnēn kilu yōm ma fīš hawa xālis “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and fīh mayyih, halḥīn ilğbāl yōm tīḡhi’, subhān A’llāh rabbna mī tiniy kull šiy “there is water. If you come to the mountains now—God be praised—our Lord takes care of everything”.

4.6.1.1.2. yōm in combination with in

4.6.1.1.2.1. yōmin used independently

yōmin may also be used for “when”, like in the following example: ya’niy kunna šabāb ’ala zzamil w intasābag w insābag yōmin nǧ-āl-ārab,91 fīhīn lay kēf? “that is, we were young lads riding camels, and we’d race each other and we’d race and when we’d come to the village, you see what I mean?”

yōmin was only recorded in BWA.

4.6.1.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause

There were no instances of direct suffixing of yōmin.

4.6.1.1.2.3. min yōm

min yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. kunt fi Maṭariyyih sākin, bass bašūf ilğbālāt hādqōlah ’ala ’yuṇī w anā fī Maṭariyyih law-ddūnī min yōmin fakkat Sinīh, law kull yōm alf iğnēh mānī gā’id “I was living in Maṭariyya,92 but I kept seeing these mountains on my retina (lit. my eyes) while I was in Maṭariyya. (even) If they, ever since Sinai was liberated, would have given me a thousand pounds for every day, I would not have stayed (in Maṭariyya)”.

Another example is min yōm addā’k gasālatha hūrnūt“k “from the moment that they have given you her twig,93 she’s your wife”.

90 gāmuw (lit. “the stood up”) is here translated as “then”, i.e. like unconjugated gām, which is often used in narrating a chain of events that took place in the past, see De Jong 2000:231.
91 nǧiy + āl-ārab.
92 Many members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai (following the 1967 war) as refugees in the Egyptian Nile Delta.
93 A twig is traditionally given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies as a token of the girl’s engagement to him.
4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma

Both lamma and its variant lumma (probably a hybrid form of lamma and yōm ma) are often used for “when” and “until”.

4.6.1.2.1. lamma and lumma “when” used independently

Examples of lamma used for “when”: alḥīnit lamma bigūl luḳ intah min wēn? bitgūl luḥ ana Mzēniy “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him ‘I am a Mzēniy’”, inhuṃ gōṭaruw hnúḥ aṣil lamma ṭfakkir Sīna zamān alblād hē/dmacronbelowiy maḥál “they went there because when you would see (as it was) before this land was dry”.

An example of lumma (current in MzA, but not in BWA) inta ḫūn aḍḍayf lumma bīyīʾk, lumma bīyīʾy ḍḍayf, taʿmal luḥ gahwah94 “Now when the guest comes to you, when the guest comes, you make coffee for him”.

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in. lamma or lumma + in was not recorded

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”

lumma (see also remark below in 4.6.1.3.) or lamma may be used in combination with laḡāyit for “until”, e.g. (prosodically lengthened a in the first syllable) laḡāyit lumma ddaxanah btabga bē/dmacronbelowiy “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without laḡāyit, as in iw byinḥatt luḥ šwawayh sayy ma tgūl fi ššamis lamma yṛūb “and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles” and bitḥuṭṭ . . ḡamir issiyāl nāṛ lamma tāḥaḡam “you put . . coal of the acacia tree in the fire (and wait) until it becomes coal”95.

4.6.1.3. lōm (+ in)

An example of lōm + ma was recorded in MzA: iw ḡīna ḏīḥāb nihāniy lōmma midāris fāṭaḥin . . “and we came to ḏīḥāb here when schools (were) opened”. lumma of the preceding paragraph is to be interpreted as shortened lōm+ma.

lōm was not heard in BWA.

94 The last part of the sentence shows Koine influences; instead of taʿmal luḥ gahwah, proper MzA would be more something like itsaww luḥ gahwah or tgahwīh.

95 “Become coal” is a gloss from my informant. I could not find a dictionary which lists this verb, but I suppose that the root h-ḡ-m is in some way related to the root ḡ-m-r, as in ḡamrūyyīḥ “glowing ember”.
4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta “until”, “so that”

ḥatta “until” was recorded in bitdugguh ḳw bitiḡluḥ ṣála ḫmayyih aw mā ḥatta ṭiḡluḥ ‘a ḫmayyih “you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water”.

ḥatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: ya’nīy ḫalḥīnit álwalad il’āṣīl īlliṣ hū ‘īndina nīḥa’...ḥatlāguh ḫibasma’ kilām ʿabūh. ḫibarḍa’...ya’nīy ḥatta ‘āḇūk ḫibarḍa ‘ālēk w ṣaṃmuk ḫibarḍa ‘ālēk “that is, the decent son that we have here (in our community)…you’ll find that he listens to (the words of) his father. He is pleased…. that is, so that your father is pleased with you and your mother is pleased with you”.

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. gām

Unconjugated gām used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects. In only one instance (but conjugated) gāṃuw was used in a narration of events: yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw yōm liḥguw waṛ-ʿābil, sār ilkōn...yōm šār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw mi’ iZwayyid innuṣṣ “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”.

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

ราว was not recorded as an auxiliary or particle in MzA or BWA.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of in + kān “if”: min zilīṭ iṣġayyir zayy zilīṭ ša:yd aw zilīṭ ǧanām mā yḍurr bass inkān min zilīṭ iṣṣa:yd aḥala l ʾiʾukkah...“(skin) from a young animal like a young gazelle or a young goat, it is not bad, but if it is from the young gazelle, it is better for the ʾukkah”.

96 Prosodic lengthening is here used to express long duration of time, see also 1.2.3.5.

97 A ʾukkah is like a watersack (girbih) made from animal skin, but smaller and made from the skin of a young animal, making the leather smoother.
4.7.3.1.2. Suffixixed inkān
Instances of suffixixed kān were not recorded.

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

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza
An example of kān preceded by iz or iza meaning “if”: (a line of poetry) w izkān intuw bitlīfūh ‘ala miyyih “and if you’re going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and ra‘ānīy[ yih]…alimsimmiḥ diyyih. diy iz kān nilgāha fi šgāgni’…gār nagta‘ aššuggah kidiy …w intuššhi “a scorpion fish, this venomous one. If we find this in our nets, we have to cut the net like this…and throw it away”.

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: iḥna bnīftixir bēḥa ḥatta kān biygūluw waddiy w hātiy “we are proud of it (sg. fem.) even if they treat us like slaves (lit. they say “bring (this), get (that)!”)”.

Another example is: law Žin ib tafkīr, kān iddaṛāhim /dmacronbelowillih. . .masalan alḥīnit ‘ašaṛ t-ālāf. . .ixlāl aṛba ‘t-ušhur xamis t-ušhur. . .il ‘ašaṛ t-alāf /dmacronbelowillih talghin ‘išrīn alf “if it (i.e. the money) came (to you) by brainwork, if this money…for instance it is ten thousand now…over four or five months…you’ll find that these ten thousand pounds have become twenty thousand”.

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in ḥakamuw ‘alēhuw b sinih ṭarid…min Sīnih b ilmaṛṛah ḥatta mā ywakkīne…kān wālidtī w uxtī w ya‘niy nāsī. . .“they sentenced them to a year of total exile…from Sinai, so that they would not (be able to) feed us, be it my mother and my sister and my brother and…(all) my family, that is”.

Another example is: w inḥuṭṭuh fiha. kān ġilī/dmacronbelow ʿaw irfayyi ‘lāzm iykūn miš yaʿniy nō‘ayn “and we put it in there. Be it thick or thin, it shouldn’t be two kinds (mixed), that is”.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Often conditional sentences are not introduced by a particle, e.g. il …alḥin ākalat ib sinnaḥa, hū yatīf kidiy f-īdu, iw yaxabaṭha kidiy “the…now if it has bitten with its tooth, he (i.e. the snake charmer) spits in his hand, like this, and slaps it (sg. fem. i.e. the place of the bite)” and liqātnāh fi lxēt. iw mnā…mnimšiy swayyah zayy ‘ašaḥah mitir, iw binunṣur ūniy “if we have
caught it in the net, (and) then we what? We walk a little farther, like ten metres, and we throw out (our net) again”. 98

4.8. PresentativeParticles

4.8.1. ʿir or arʿ

Presentatives ʿir or arʿ were not recorded.

4.8.2. ḥē + suffix

To draw the listener’s attention to something or someone, a presentative particle ḥē may be used followed by a personal pronominal, e.g. ḥēhū ʾgi! “there he is!”, ḥēhī ʾgāt “there she is!”, ḥēhuwwa ʾguw “there they (masc.) are!”, ḥēhinnah ʾgin “there they (fem.) are!” (lit. “has/have come”).

4.8.3. Particle wlin ~ wilin, win

The particle wlin is used mainly to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration,99 but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: ʿašār dagāyig iwjūlibha ma fiš dig . . . kām digīḥ ḫū tigībhā ʿa līḫān ittānīy w ʾlīnnī ʾyīm āstuwat . . . bitṭallīḥī “ten minutes and you flip it over after less than a min . . . a few minutes and you turn it on its other side and there it is, when it has become cooked . . . you take it out”.

Another example is with the variant particle ilin + suffix: w fi lxaṛṛāfah dīyyih . . . ilīnnīḥ irmāb ʾgin100 “and in this story . . . there they were, the riding animals came” (recorded in MzA).

4.8.4. Particle wlā +

An example of the presentative particle wlā (used more or less like wlin): w ʾibtalḥagha ʿa šṣāq gašībtēn ṭalāṭīḥ wlmāha mistawwīyī “and you put it on the šṣāq and flip it two or three times, and there it is: cooked!” (recorded in BWA).

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98 The fishing technique described is with nets (sg. ṣuggah, pl. ṣgāg) on a line (xayt; here xēṭ) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (ʿala ḥarf ilbāb) and throw out their nets on the deep side.

99 See Blanc 1970:34 (145).

100 rmāb is pl. (of small numbers) of rmābih. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see ‘concord’ in 4.16.
4.9. ḡayr

ḡār (< ḡayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. ḥilīmḥilliy ḡār iyxaddim ‘a ḍdayf “the host should serve the guest” and ṭaʁwawḥna ṭuh, ana gult ēh? ḡār aʁawwiḥ ṭuh. avwaddīh l alḥurmah ḍiy, yimkin āssīf “al-idhīh “we went to him, [and] I said what? I need to go to him. I’ll take him to this woman, maybe she can cure him (lit. the cure is by her hand)”.

4.10. Intensifying Particle la

The particle la intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded.

4.11. bidd or widd + pron. suffix

To express “want” or “need” speakers of BWA use bidd and widd side by side (the latter is heard more inland, the former nearer to the coast). In MzA only suffixed bidd is common. Examples for “need” or “want” are: widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Sli “we want to go to Wadiy Islah” (BWA), ēš bidduḳ? “what do you want?”, bidduḥ yāxisd šiǧär mi-nhāniy iyḥālluh “he wants to take plants from here to analyze them (sg. masc.)”.

Like in other dialects as well, often not only volition is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb, e.g. halḥīnit bidd-āx/dmacronbelow iššuggah w uxušš. . . w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread (it) out”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express ”so, thus, then”. Examples are: ‘ād yōm tišrif ‘ala šarafat ilGāḥ ibīyānsabb ġād fi sēl Wādiy Fēṛān “so when you look out at the highest point of alGāḥ it flows there into the flood course of Wadi Fēṛān” and ‘ād wēn lagga? “so where did he go?”.

4.13. yabga

yabga is not very current, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in yabga ta’āmhin ḥīlūw “so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet”.

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101 In group I widd is current.
102 Wādiy Isla (as it is usually indicated on maps) runs from almost due east of aṭ-Ṭūr into the mountains. In group I the name of this wadi is pronounced Sli (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

The narrative imperative is one of the characteristics of the narrative style. An example is *w asḥabuw syūf, zimān ġār b isyūf*. [*...* *iw ṭaxx ṭaxx ṭaxx w asla ‘uw kitif wāḥid, ih ġu ūṣurud, uṣurduw rawwḥuv tTaṛābin “and they drew (their) swords. In the old days it was only with swords [*...*] And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody’s shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛābin”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) *innās ǧuw ‘ilēh dammuw kulluh fī ḍagāḥ, nāzīl...* *zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuw, ih ġu ḥuṭṭuw ‘a lbi ‘ir iw yīmśuw “people came to him, all his blood had run on the ground ... like a flood. They gathered it together and buried his blood and put him on a camel and they went away”.*

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

As another characteristic of the narrative style, unconjugated *kān* can be used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *bass zimān fī sSuʾūdiyyah hnūtiy kān innās mā btalga tākil “but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat”, *ilṃayyah kān bitganniy fī lwādiy hāda “water used to flow through (narrow) canals in this wadi”. In most cases, however, *kān* is conjugated for number and gender.*

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Several instances of the ethical dative were recorded. Examples are: *kān ʿindin-ayw-marākib...* *marākib bass isgāyyrāt yaʾniy...* *isgāyyrāt...* *tālāṭah mitir aw arbāʾah mitir yaʾniy timšiy bēhīn mīn ba ad āššaʿab timš luḵ ṭenēn bēḥa “yes, we used to have boats...boats, but small, that is...small ones...three or four meters (in length), that is, you go with them beyond the reef, you go for yourself two (kilometers) with them”. Another example is: *mīn yōm itxušš luḵ talāṭ arbaʾ mitir baʾid ʿan iššaʿab ma biyğiʾk xāliṣ. lākin law mišēt ʿa-ššaʿab byimšiy warāʾk “when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Mor-ray eel) will not come to you at all. But if you walk on the (edge of the) reef, it will come after you”.*
4.15. Pluralis paucitatis

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: *tamān faṭīrāt ‘ašar faṭīrāt* “eight loaves, ten loaves”. Another pl. form, used for greater or unspecified numbers is the broken pl. *faṭāyir*.

Similarly, a pl. is used in designations of quantity like *w itḥuṭ ‘alēhin ēh? gadd ‘ašar iǧrāmāt minhin* “and you put what on them? About (the quantity of) ten grams of these (lit. them (pl. fem.)” (see remark in fn 63, p. 148) and *‘ašar kilāt (~ ‘ašaṛah kilu)* “ten kilos”.

4.16. Concord

Limited or countable numbers of things are referred to in the pl. fem. and so are plurals of animals. Examples are: *binǧīb arruğfān iw birraǧǧidhin f-āss̱aḥan* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *i’l ‘ašar t-alāf dillih talghin ‘išrīn alf* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halḥīn ilwidyan…aǧlabyt tin la Biniy Wāṣil…ka milkiyyih, tawǧad lēhin warāq fi ddēr, tawǧad lēhin warāg kidiy…ya’niy…aǧlabyt ilwidyan inNabīg…išŠarim…”nowadays most of the wadis belong to the Baniy Wāṣil…as property, you’ll find a piece of paper on them in the monastery, you’ll find a piece of paper on them like that…that is…most of the wadis near Nabg, Šarm…”. Also plurals of animals are referred to in pl. fem., e.g. *iw fīh ḥūt ki/tmīr f-álbiḥař iw fīh igrūš, bass igrūš diy mā-ḥadd ya’niy mā-ḥadd ibyākilhin.bass ya’niy ibništāḏhin barḏuḥ b ilxayt bīygin fi ilxayt barḏuḥ* “and there is a lot of fish in the sea, and there are sharks, but these sharks, that is, nobody eats them. But, that is, we fish for them also with a line, they also come on a line”.

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch often heard in the speech of (predominantly older) men of group I was not heard in MzA or BWA.\(^\text{103}\)

\(^{103}\) I merely conclude the absence of this feature in my material. I do not exclude the possibility of its existence in this group.