

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 Wāşil live near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai, where they are neighbours of the Awlād Saʿīd¹ and the Garārşah, who live to their north. The dialects of Mzēnah (MzA) and Baniy Wāşil (BWA) share some important characteristics, and are therefore treated in one chapter. Originally, however, the dialect of the Baniy Wāşil 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. Wāşliy 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 Wāşil, 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 Wāşil and that of the Mzēnah, actually live more inland, i.e. in and around Wādiy Şlāf in the central mountain massif,² where they are direct neighbours of the Ğbāliyyah. 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 Wāşil are—more or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

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

² The coordinates are appr. 28.32.35 North and 33.43.55 East, see Google Earth.

In the following chapter a description of the characteristics of both dialects is given, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of MzA and BWA is:

	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)					(ʔ)
emph.					ṭ								ḳ*							
nasal		m				n														
fricative			f		s	z	ṭ	ḍ	š	(ž)			x	ġ			ħ	ʕ		h
emph.					ṣ	(z)		ḍ												
affricate													ǧ							
trill						r														
emph.						(r)														
lateral						l														
emph.						l̥														
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 *xuḍ bāluḳ*—*xḍiy bālik* (though ~ *bālikiy* in BWA) “pay attention (sg. masc.—sg. fem.)” isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes.

*: See remarks in 1.1.3. below.

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /ṭ/, /ḍ/ and /ǧ/

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

Examples for *ṭ are: *naḥariṭ* “we plough” (MzA), *tānīy* “second” (both), *ṭyāb* “clothes” (BWA), (ʔ)*aṭarhuw* “their tracks” (BWA).

For *ḍ: *nāxiḍ* “we take” (both), *mīgdāf̣* “oar” (MzA), *mnaḍbaḥuh* “we slaughter him” (MzA), *iḍn* “ear” (MzA), *ḍikr* “mention” (BWA), *ḍimīmih* “ugly” (BWA), *xuḍ bāluḳ* “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 *ṭ 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 *kizāluk*⁴ “as well”.

Emphatic ḍ (I.P.A. velarized [ð̣]) is the interdental reflex of *ḍ and *ḍ̣, e.g. (as reflex of *ḍ in) *ṛawḍ* (pl. *rīḍān*) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), *uḍfur*, pl. *aḍāfir* “finger” (MzA), *ḍayf* “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḍ in) *yḍall* “he remains” (both) and *ḍāharuh* “his back” (BWA) and *ālgāḍa* “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

In a number of lexemes *z* (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in *mwazzafīn* “civil servants”, *zubbāt* “officers” (both BWA), *b-iẓẓabt* “precisely” (both), *binẓabbīt* “we do a proper job”, *nīẓām* “system” (both MzA), etc.

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (*hā-*)*da* “this (sg. masc.)” is without velarization.

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

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

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

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

In MzA “cigarette” is *siḡārah* (not like in many other dialects *siḡārah*).

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

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

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

⁶ ‘True’ in the sense that the two phonemes can be isolated in a minimal pair.

1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/*

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

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop /t̤/*

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

1.1.6. *Glottal stop (hamzah)*

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the reflex for *ʔ in the verb ask is ʔ: *saʔal, yasʔal*.

In **raʔs* “head”, loss of ʔ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel > *rās* (pl. *rūs*).

1.1.7. *Secondary velarization*

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

The imperfects of “eat” and “take” are not (or at best only minimally) velarized, whereas the imperatives are: (imperfects) *yāxiḏ* and *yākil*, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) *kuḏ* and *xuḏ*.

Compared to TAN, long *ā* in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarization, e.g. *ṣiyyād* “fisherman”, *riǧǧāl* “man”, *kiššāf* “flashlight”, *ʔišān* “thirsty” (*ā* is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æ:] and [ɛ:]). In TAN the long *ā* is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [a:]): *ṣiyyād*, *raǧǧāl*, *kaššāf*, *ʔišān*.

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative *hāḏa* (~ *dah* / *dī* #), where TAN has *hāḏa*, and the pl. form (*hā-*) *dil* (-*ih*) or *dillēl* (-*ih*) (~ *hāḏōl* in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms

like *hādōl* (-ah) or *hōdāl* (-lah).⁷ Another difference is (MzA) *kimān* (-iy)—(TAN) *ḵumān* “also”.

1.1.8. Liquids *l* and *r*

On the other hand, MzA and BWA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TAN), have strong velarization⁸ in *xāf* “he feared” (and also *xāyif* “afraid” in MzA), *ḡāb* “he was absent”, *ruḡfān* “loaves (of bread)”, (in the first syllable of) *xḡyyif* “light”, *nār* “fire”, *xyār* “gherkins” and (*i*)*nfār* “persons” and *ḥimrā* “red (sg. fem.)”, *‘iwrā* “one eyed (sg. fem.)”, *biḡrān* “camels” and *rās* “head” (but no velarization in *frāš* “blanket”).

Uvulars followed by *l* or *r* are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature,⁹ e.g. *aḡlabiyah* “majority”, *šujl* “genitive exponent”, *naxal* “palm trees”, *xal!* “let! (imperative)”, *nuxrah* (pl. *nxar*) “nose”, *baxarriḡ* “I speak”, *nugrah* (pl. *ngar*) “pit, pothole”, *bagra* “I read (i.e. study)”, *garār* “decision”, *grayyib* “near”, *galb* “heart”, *gālat* “she said”, *glayyil* “few, little” (*glāl* “few (pl.)” and *agall* “less”) and *Rās Aḡuw Gaḡlūm* “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 *kitīr* “many”, which is *ktār* in MzA and BWA (with a long *ā* almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛː]), but velarized *ktār* in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized *kbār* as the pl. for *kibūr* “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized *ār*, of which some are: *miḡmārah* “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”,¹⁰ *xyār* “gherkins” (BWA), *sinnārah* “fishing hook”, *nār* “fire”, *nahār* “day (-light)”. Also: *sigārah* “cigarette”, *xuwwār* “inferior type of camel, raised for its meat”, *byār* “wells”, *Badārah* “name of the tribe Badārah”.

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

⁷ See De Jong 2000:170–172.

⁸ Combinations of a velar (*g*, *x* or *ḡ*) with *l*, *r* or *b* will often produce velarization, especially with *u*, *ū* or *a*, *ā* in their vicinity.

⁹ The articulation of uvulars involves some raising of the back of the tongue (towards the uvula). The process of velarization also involves a degree of raising of the back of the tongue.

¹⁰ *miḡmārah* 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 *Ḡabal Maḡāmūr*.

Also sequences *rā* are generally not velarized when (vanished) *i* precedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g. *marākib* “boats”, *grāyah* (cf. MSA *qirā’ah*) “studying (lit. reading)”, *frāš* “blanket” (cf. MSA *firāš*), *Garāršah* “name of tribe” (compare with MSA *Qarārišah*) and *rākib* “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like *rās* “head”, *barrād* “teapot” and *ḥarārah* “heat”.

1.1.9. *Nasal n*

No remarks.

1.1.10. *Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause*

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

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

1.2. *Vowels*

1.2.1. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

The inventory for vowel phonemes contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	long:	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
				<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
	<i>a</i>				<i>ā</i>

1.2.2. *Long vowels*

1.2.2.1. *Allophones of long vowels ē and ī*

Unlike in group I dialects, phonetic overlapping of /*ē*/ and /*ī*/ is rare in group VI dialects.

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

In MzA imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root *y-b-s*) monophthongization takes place, e.g. *yēbas* (< **yaybas*) “he dries (intrans.)”.

1.2.2.2. *Allophones of long vowels \bar{o} and \bar{u}*

In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs **ay* and **aw* have been monophthongized as \bar{e} and \bar{o} . As long vowels, the phonemic status of / \bar{u} / and / \bar{o} / 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, / \bar{u} / is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [o:].

In verbs with *wāw* as C_1 the diphthong *aw* has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. *nōgaf* “we stand” and also *tōgid* “you light” (both in MzA and BWA). In both dialects the imperative of *w-ʿy* “pay attention, take heed” has an initial diphthong: *awʿin rūskin* “mind (pl. fem.) your heads!”.¹¹

1.2.2.3. *Allophones of long vowel \bar{a}*

Allophones of the long vowel / \bar{a} / are ruled by the same principles as in group VII.

1.2.2.4. *Shortening of long vowels*

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

1.2.3. *Short vowels*

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

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

1.2.3.2. *Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I*

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

The pl. com. of *ašdaf* “left-handed” was recorded as *šidf* in BWA, but as *šudf* in MzA. Similarly, the pl. com. of *aʿaraġ* “lame, limping” has the high

¹¹ The imperative *awʿa* is often not inflected for number or gender, e.g. *awʿa rūskuw!* or *awʿa rāsik!* (instead of *awʿuw* and *awʿiy* respectively). Apocopated imperative forms of this verb have not been recorded, thus e.g. *awʿa tans!* “don’t you forget!”.

vowel *i* in *ʿirġ* in BWA, but *u* in *ʿurġ* in MzA and that of *aʿama* “blind” is *ʿimy* in BWA, but *ʿumy* in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$, used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a $C_1uC_2C_3$ pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. *aḥamaṛ*) *ḥumṛ* “red”, (sg. masc. *azrag*) *zurg* “black”,¹² (sg. masc. *axaḍar*)¹³ *xuḍr* “green”, (sg. masc. *ašfar*) *šufr* “yellow” and (sg. masc. *ahabal*) *hubl* “dim-witted” (where labialization of the *b* triggers the appearance of *u*), (sg. masc. *agraʿ*) *guṛʿ* “bald”, *ṭurm* (sg. masc. *aṭram*) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have *i* in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: *yāxid* and *yākil* “he takes” and “he eats”, but *u* in the sg. masc. imperative: *kuḷ* and *xuḍ* “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ *u*:¹⁴ *xḍiy* and *kḍiy* (sg. fem.), *xḍuw* and *kḍuw* (pl. masc.) and *xḍin* and *kḍin* (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: *yḥutt* “place”, *yrudd* “answer”, *ydugg* “inject (with a needle)”, *yšunn* “wait”, *yxuḍḍ* “churn”, *yxušš* “enter”, *ykutt* “go down a wadi”, *yṭubb* “go on a journey to”, *ylugg* “hit”,¹⁵ *yḍurr* “damage”, *yšubb* “pour out”, *yfikk* “loosen”, *ywišš* “swing a fishing net over one’s head”,¹⁶ *ymidd* “stretch”, *yṭiff* “spit”, *yḷiff* “wrap”, *yʿidd* “count”, *yfitt* “prepare *fatītah*”.

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

So far we have seen that often a velarized or labial environment triggers the appearance of *u*. Morphology, however, will over-rule this phonetic feature, as far as distribution of short high vowels is concerned. For instance, measures 2, 3 and 4 will have *i* in the imperfect forms, such as $yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure 2), $yC_1āC_2iC_3$ (measure 3), $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure 4),

¹² *azrag* lit. “blue” is often used euphemistically for “black”.

¹³ In MzA *axaḍar* was also recorded in the meaning of “wet”, as in *iw hū yġġy mġir kiḍiyiyih b i dāduh ... iw ḡilduh i lēh, l issāʿ axaḍar hū* “and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear ... with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was ...”.

¹⁴ See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!

¹⁵ *lagg*, *ylugg* is listed as “snatch, grab” in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like “hit, strike”, as in [*alġarrah byirikdūha eh?*] *fi ššamš, itlugg fīha ššams* “[they place the earthenware pot where?] in the sun, [where] the sun hits (i.e. shines on) it” as a method to let milk ferment to produce *rāyib*.

¹⁶ The verb *wašš*, *ywišš* is onomatopaeic.

$yinC_1iC_2iC_3$ (measure $n-1$) and $yiC_1tiC_2iC_3$ ¹⁷ (measure $1-t$) and $yistaC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure $ista-1$). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure 1), $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure 2), $mC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure 3) and $miC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure 4), $mtaC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (measure $ta-2$), $mtaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (measure $ta-3$), $minC_1iC_2iC_3$ (measure $n-1$), $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$ (measure $1-t$)¹⁸ and $mistaC_1C_2iC_3$ (measure $ista-1$).

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

1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels

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

1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/

When in stressed and neutral positions, short high vowel /i/ will be realized near I.P.A. [ɪ] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes *y*, e.g. *židd* [ʒɪd:] “grandfather”, *nirmiy* [ˈnɪrmiy] “we throw” and *dišbih* [ˈdɪʃbi^h] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ɨ], e.g. *ṭibb* “(practicing) medicine” [tɨb:].

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

1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/

In neutral positions short high vowel /u/ will be realized near I.P.A. [ʊ], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes *w*, e.g. *yuskun* [ˈjʊskʊn] “he lives (inhabits)”, *nāmuw* “they slept” [ˈnæ:mu^w].¹⁹

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. *ğumsih* [ˈɣʊmsɪ^h] “food dip”, *ḥurmah* [ˈħʊrma^h] “woman”, *xuṭwah* [ˈxʊtwa^h] “step”.

¹⁷ See following fn.

¹⁸ When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C_2 will be *a* in measures $n-1$ and $1-t$ (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. *yindarbuw* “they are beaten” and *mindarbah* “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and *yıştağlin* “they (fem.) work” and *mištağlin* “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. *tānam* [ˈtənəm] “you sleep”, *maddat* [ˈmɛdːɛt] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. *ḥarīm* [ħaˈri:m] “womenfolk”, *arǧy* [ʕarˈdʒiy] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with *h* preceding, as in *šahabíy* [ʃahaˈbiy] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [ɑ], e.g. *baḥar* [ˈbaħɑr] “sea” and *nugṭah* [ˈnogṭɑh] “police post” and *ḥabṣah* [ˈħabʂɑh] “severe cold (disease)”.

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

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

- preceding stressed Cī: *kibūr* “large; old”, *šidīd* “strong”, *ǧilīd* “fat, thick”, *xifif* “light”, *irīs* “bridegroom”, *ḥirīd* “parrot fish”, and also *ʾIlly* “male given name *ʾAlī” and verb forms *nisīt* “I forgot”, *ligīt* “I found”. Instances of *a* preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: *baṭṭīx* “watermelon”, *sabʿīn* “seventy”.
- (preceding stressed Cē): *ʾilēh* “on him”, *ligēna* “we found”, *mišēt* “I walked”, *bidēna* “we started”, (preceding CCē) *middēt* “I stretched”, *suwwēt* “I did/made” and *istinnēni*(#) “we waited” (but *istanna* “he waited”).
- (preceding stressed Cā): *ʾisākīr* “soldiers”, *zimān* “in the old days (used as adverb)”, *timānyih* “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): *riǧǧāl* “man”, *šyyād* “fisherman”, *kiššāf* “search light”, *biṭṭāriyyih* “flashlight”, *zīrgā* “blue (sg. fem.)”. *miṣṣāt* “times”, *miʿnāt* (*ḥāǧih*) “the meaning (of sth)”.
- (preceding stressed ū): *urūs* “groom”, *isSuʾūdiyyih* “Saudi Arabia”, *šuʾūr* “emperor (fish species)”.²⁰
- (preceding stressed a): *ǧimāl* “camels”, *ǧiʾadna* “we sat down”, *xuḅār* “information”, *niháb“k*, “he plundered you”.
- (preceding stressed u): *kubūr* “he grew”, *ǧulūd* “he grew fat”.
- (preceding stressed i): *šīrib* “he drank”, *biriy* “innocent”, *ǧuwíy* “strong”.

²⁰ Of the Lethrinidae: the longnosed emperor is *Lethrinus olivaceus*.

Raising of *a* also takes place following stressed *a*, as in *ánwikal* “it was eaten”, *áttifag* “he agreed”, *háwǵisat* “she improvised song”, *ánnixal* “the palmtrees”, *álhíwi* “the wind”, *ál’iši* “the dinner” and *ádduwa* “the medicine”.

Also when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is raised, as in *yínđirib* “he is beaten”, *yíttifig* “he agrees”.²¹

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)

The *a* of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ɪh]. This is not only a pausal phenomenon, but occurs sentence-medial as well. Examples are *kull wāhid* ‘*induh xurṛāfah hibwih biyǵibhi*’ “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, *lamma llēlih gōṭarat* “until the evening has passed”, *ṭalla* ‘*gišīdih fi wiḥdih 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 ḥurṛmah* # “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) *binǵīb lēna farxah simīnih, iw līhiy simīnih bi lmarṛah* “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: *bisīṭah* “simple”, *ǵilīdah* “fat”, *xuṭwah* “step”, *igāmah* “snake-like species of sea fish”, *ramlah* “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ‘ and *ħ*, e.g. *řfayy’ih* “thin”, *sām’ih* “hearing (sg. fem.)”, *Ṣuwālḥih* “name of a tribe”, *mirǵēḥih* “swing”, *ṣafīḥih* “cannister (of 20 litres)”.

1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels

To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short (but also long, see 1.2.4.7.) vowels. Examples are *bti:ǵluh* ‘*ala lmayyih*’ “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, *iw binǵaṭṭiy lḥaṭab buh ku:llī:tuh* “we cover a:ll the firewood with it”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw

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

²¹ In verb forms like *hawǵisat* and *yínđirib* and *yíttifig*, the raised *a* will again surface as *a* when it is in closed syllables, e.g. *hawǵast* “I improvised song”, *yinđarbuw* “they are beaten” and *yittafguw* “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).

Examples for **ay* are: *itnēn* “two”, *bēn* “between”, *lēlih* “evening”, *sēl* “flood”, *ǧwēl* (dim. to *ǧāl*) “little side” and examples for *ō*: *mōt* “death”, *yōm* “day”, *fōg* “above”, *sōdīy* “black (sg. fem.)”, *gōmah* “(manner of) standing up”.

In some cases such monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, *mawǧūd* “present (adj.)”, *aw’a* “watch out!”²² and also *taybīs* “drying”.

In forms like *b’aytarān* velarization has also spread backwards, preserving *ay* as a diphthong. Diphtongal **aw* is preserved by spread of velarization as *aw* or *ow* in e.g. *gowtaruw* “they went”.

In MzA (of ‘Ayn Ḥuḍrah²³ and of a family in Wādiy ‘Arādah) forms like *mēǧūd* “present” and *mēlūd* “born” have also been recorded.

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

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

dēr “monastery”—*dūr* “turn (trans.)!”—*dūr* “turn (intrans.)!”—*dōr* “floor (in a building)”—*dār* “house”
ǧībīh “bringing”—*ǧēbuh* “his pocket”—*ǧābuh* “he brought it”
gōm “enemy tribe”—*gūm* “get up!”

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

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

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

In MzA this [ɛ:] for *ā* is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. *ktār* “many (pl. com.)”, *šgāg* “compartments of the tent”, *hbāl* “ropes”, *šāšīh* “screen” and also *wāhid* “one”, *sārḥīh* “out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)”, *nāgtī* “my she-camel”.

²² *aw’a* is often left unconjugated, and has thus developed into a general particle of warning or admonition, as in *aw’a tans!* “don’t you forget!”

²³ Von Oppenheim 1942:159 mentions ‘Ayn Ḥuḍrah as ‘Lēgiy territory (in his transcription: ‘Olēkāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.

1.2.4.4. *Reflexes of final *-ā(ʾ)*

Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north,²⁴ the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in MzA and BWA is often -*l̥*. Examples are: *Wādīy Slīʾ* “Wadi Isla”,²⁵ *štiʾ* “winter” and verb form *ǧīʾ* (< *ǧā) “he came”.²⁶

Final -*l̥* will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. *áššīfīʾ* “the curing”, (*wāḥid*) *mīnnīʾ* “(one) of us”, *táfdīʾ* “you sacrifice” and *yánsīʾ* “he forgets”.

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCCāʾ) that come with the (sg. masc.) aCCaC pattern for physical defects and colours, we do find raising like in group I, e.g.: *šadfīy* “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, *ḥawlīy* “cross-eyed” and *ḥablīy* “stupid”, unless such raising is prevented by phonetic factors, such as velarization, as in e.g. (colours) *samrā* “brown”, *xadrā* “green”, *ḥamrā* “red”, *zargā* “black; blue” and (physical defects) *iwrā* “one-eyed”, *girā* “bald” and *doṛā* “absent minded”. The final stressed -ā may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. *xadrāʾ* #.

N.B. “here” is *nihā(ʾ)* in MzA and BWA.

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

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-ā(ʾ) is not raised, while reflexes of *-ā have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: *ǧtáʾ* “covers”, *ašáʾ* “stick”, *fiḏáʾ* “free time”, *ṛḥāʾ* “hand mill”, *Wādīy ṭṬarfāʾ* “name of a wadi”,²⁸ *bēḏāʾ* “white (sg. fem.)”, *ḥamrāʾ* “red (sg. fem.)”, *xadrāʾ* “green (sg. fem.)”, *ǧawáʾ* “flirting”, *duwáʾ* “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA *diwīʾ*), *ragtāʾ* “speckled (sg. fem.)”, *zargāʾ* “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, *samrāʾ* “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA *álma(ʾ)* “the water” and in MzA *álmiʾ* were recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent *ṣayyih*).

²⁴ See De Jong 2000:81.

²⁵ My Turbāniy informant pronounced *Wādīy 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 aṭ-Ṭūr, where it disappears into the south-western high mountains.

²⁶ Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:83.

²⁷ See Blanc 1970:12 [123] and De Jong 2000:82.

²⁸ The wadi is situated at the far high end of Wādīy Fērān in central Sinai and is Ġbāliy territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.

Final **-ā* is not raised in the elative *aḥla* “sweeter; more beautiful”.

Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final *-ā*, although preceded by *a* in open syllable, does take place,²⁹ e.g. *duwá'* or *diwí'* and verb forms like *mišl'* and *liġl'*.

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 *ġānī* “he came to me” were heard, but also forms with lengthened [ɪ], as in *hū ġi:ˈk* “he came to you (sg. masc.)”: not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [ɪ]: [dʒɪ:ˈk] “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also *hū ġi:k* (IPA [dʒɪ:k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”. In BWA such lengthened [ɪ:] was not heard.

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

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on *ī* and *ū*

Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following *ī* and *ū* towards (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following *ū*; with following *ī* it is less clear, but an on-glide is apparent.

Like in group I, reflexes of **ay* and **aw* following emphatics have remained diphthongal, which prevents homophonic clash with lowered *ī* and *ū* in positions preceded by emphatics.

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in *ē* and *ī*

An off-glide in the realisation of *ē* and *ī* is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) *gēġ* (I.P.A. [ge:ˈə]) “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) *Fērān* [fe:ˈrɑ:n] “Wadi Fērān”, *bīġ* (I.P.A. [bi:ˈə]) “white (pl. com.)”, *ziliġ* (I.P.A. [ziˈli:ˈt]) “young goat or gazelle” and *mšēṭah* [# ʔəmˈʃe:ˈtɑːh] “type of herb”.

Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when *ħ* or *ʿ* follow *ē* or *ī*, e.g. *ġinnēħih* I.P.A. [dʒɪˈne:ˈaħeːh] “brown surgeonfish”,³⁰ *bēʿ* I.P.A. [be:ˈʿ] “selling”, *tasriħ* I.P.A. [tesˈri:ˈaħ] “permission”, *ših* [ʃi:ˈħ] “white

²⁹ Which is also the case in the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:82 (1.2.4.4.3.2.).

³⁰ Lat. *Acanthurus nigrofuscus*.

wormwood”³¹ and *itbī* I.P.A. [ʃʔətˈbiːʔɪ] “you sell”, but less clearly audible in *Nfēʿāt* [ʃʔənfeːʔɪt] “name of a family of Banyi Wāšil”.

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* [ˈgoːʔarət] “she went”.

Off-glides in *ō* and *ū* towards I.P.A. [a] are clear when ʿ or *h* follow, e.g. *nō*ʿ [noːʔɪ] “type, sort”, *ǧū*ʿ I.P.A. [dʒuːʔɪ] “famine”, *misūh* [mɛːsuːʔɪ] “milk camel” (there were no instances recorded with *ō* followed by *h*, but e.g. *lōh* “(wooden) board, panel” would thus be [loːʔɪ]).

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*, *ǧ*, *h*, ʿ and *h*. For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in *sanatayn* “two years” (MzA).

Examples with *X* preceding **ay* are: *xayt* “thread”, *ǧayrī* “(someone) other than I”, *b ilhayl* “very”, ʿ*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”, *hawl* “year”, ʿ*Awdih* “male given name” and a Bedouin verb³³ *hawǧas*, *yhawǧis* “improvise singing”, *hawmal*, *yhawmil* “bring a *hamūlah*³⁴ for a feast”.

³¹ Lat. *Artemisia herba-alba*, used to prepare *samn šūhīy* “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 *hamūlah* is an “animal led to a party to be slaughtered as a present”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants
 Examples of *ay with a velarized consonant preceding: *ṣayf* “summer”,
ḍayf “guest”, *ḥaṭṭayt* “I put (perfect)”. Examples with the secondarily
 velarized consonants preceding are: *īṣṭarayt* “I bought”, *iḥmaṛrayt* “I
 turned red”, *taḥaṛṛaynā* “we waited for you”, *kitrayš?* “how much?”,
ḍallaṣayna “we remained” and also *ṣannayt*³⁵ “I kept quiet”, *ḍawayt*³⁶ “I
 returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and *ṭaraḇayzih* “table”.³⁷

Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: *ṣawm*
 “fasting”, *ṭawr* (pl. *ṭūrān*) “overhanging cliff” and *ṛawḍ* (pl. *ṛiḍān*) “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 ānnaxal*, *mā fiḥ izrā’ah zamān* “only palm
 trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and *’aṣān law daggat wāḥid*
minni’, *ḡār kān iyṛawwiḥ l ittaktūr*³⁸ “because if it would sting one of us, he
 would have to go to the doctor”.

Diphthongs are much less regularly than in group I reduced to *a* or *ā*.

‘Systemzwang’ has preserved diphthongs in e.g. *taybīs* “drying (measure 2
 verbal noun)” (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 *yēbas* “it (masc.)
 dries”), *ṣawlīy* “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and *mawḡūd* “present (adj.)”. Another
 instance may be *aw’a* “beware, watch out!” (other imperatives
 of primae *wāw* verbs are with initial *ō*: *ōḡaf!* “stand still!”, *ōrid!* “fetch water!”).

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

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

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

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

³⁵ In this example, velarization caused by *ṣād* is carried through the word by *nn*, which
 then causes the diphthongal realization in the final syllable.

³⁶ *ḍawā*, *yīḍwīy* is a measure 1 verb in MzA and BWA. In several group I dialects it is
 measure 4 *aḍwa*, *yīḍwīy*.

³⁷ The latter does not reflect Older Arabic *ay*, but is a loan—perhaps via Cairene—from
 Greek *τράπεζα*. In e.g. TAŞ the diphthong is not present: there *ṭarabēzah*.

³⁸ *taktūr* “doctor” (cf. Cairene *daktūr*, see Hinds and Badawi 1986) was also recorded in
 TyA, see Shawarbah 2007:419. A comparable example there is *taftar* “notebook” (cf. Cairene
daftar, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).

katab-uw “they wrote”, *katabt-uw* “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) *yikitb-uw* “they (pl. masc.) write”, *tikitb-uw* “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes *bēth-uw* “their (pl. masc.) house” and *bētk-uw* “your (pl. masc.) house”.³⁹

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

Instances of final *-iy* are much more numerous. Examples of verbal endings are (perfect) *katabt-iy* “you (sg. fem.) wrote” and (imperfect) *tikitb-iy* “you (sg. fem.) write”. In verbs where $C_3 = y$ (imperfect) *yimšiy* “he walks”, *yawwiy* “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. *nisi* “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) *arǧiy* “limping (sg. fem.)”, *hablīy* “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, *amyīy* “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also **CaCCā*) *sawdīy* “black”, *ṣaḥabīy* “sand-coloured”. Although a regular reflex for final **-ā* is stressed *-i*, *-iy* reflects **-ā* in *hniy*⁴¹ “here” (in BWA only; “here” is *nihā(-niy)* in MzA). Final *-iy* reflects final **-ī* in *birīy* “innocent”, final **-īy* in *šibīy* “boy”, **-ay* in *šīy* “thing” and is of course also the nisba ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *Mašriy* “Egyptian”.

Anaptyxis may also create final (but unstressed) *-iy* sequences, as in e.g. *imiy* # “(pl. com.) blind” (morphological base *imy*) and *ǧidīy* # “billy goat” (morphological base *ǧidy*).

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

The first element of the diphthong *ay* is often lengthened,⁴² e.g. *ʿa:yš* “bread”, *ʿa:yb* “disgraceful act”, *xa:yṭni* “our (fishing) line”. Such lengthening of diphthongs is also heard in some of the dialects of group I (TAN, TAŞ, ḤwA, ĞrA 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 *nisi* as an *a*-type perfect may look like a contradiction, the interpretation of *nisi* < **nasā* (after applying the rule described for raising of final **-ā*, and subsequently the rule for raising of short *a* in open pre-stress syllable) is plausible (see remark *1 in 3.2.2.5.1.).

⁴¹ Final stressed *-īy* for **-ā* is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same *-ī* reflex was recorded for **-ā* and also **-ā*, see De Jong 2000:89.

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 Dawāḡrah 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 $\bar{v}C(C)$ (including $\bar{v}(h)$).
- 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. *ḍárbituh* “she hit him” and *rágbituh* “his neck”. This type of resyllabification was recorded in MzA, but not in BWA.

Also if resyllabification is absent, the first syllable is stressed: $CáCaCaCv(C)$, 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”, *áštaja!* “he worked”, *áttifag* “he agreed”, *ánjasal* “he was washed”, *álbuṣal*

“the onions”, *álwalad* “the boy/son”, *íššti* “the winter”, *íl’iši* “the dinner”,⁴⁴ *árrkab* “the knees”, *áliḡmaḡ* “the Moray eels”, *áliḡkal*⁴⁵ “the jerrycans”, *íliḡšiy* “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and *šawlíy* “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, *šahabíy* “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, *tilí’na* “we rose”, *waládḡ* “your (sg. masc.) son”, *waládḡ* “your (sg. fem.) son”, *ámḡnuḡ* “your mother” (MzA), *šti* “winter”, *zēn* “good”, *zēnih* “good (sg. fem.)”, *zēnīn* “good (pl. masc.)”.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Stress in (C)_vCv(C)⁴⁶ is placed thus:

(_v)_vCvC: *akál* “he ate”, *axád* “he took”, *ugúm* “stand up!”, *iḡy* “I come”
CvC(_v): *ašá* “stick”, *iší* “dinner”, *miší* “he walked”, *duwá* “medicine”
(~ *díwí*).

C_vCvC: *ḡimál* “camels”, *šiḡár* “trees”, *ḡiḡás* “he dived”; *wuḡáf* “he stood up”,
waḡráḡ “paper” and *yḡḡy* “he goes”, *šibíy* “boy”, *biríy* “innocent”, *ḡiríy* “moist;
soft”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)

Examples of stress in (C)vCvCv(C) sequences are:

(C)vCvCv(C): *ákalat* “she ate”, (gahawah-form) *áḡamar* “red”, *xášabih*
“piece of firewood”, *ḡárabuw* “they hit (perfect)”, *báladuh* “his country”,
násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms *ḡáhawah* “coffee”, *ná’aḡih*
“ewe”, *áḡarīt* “I plough” and *yáḡatis* “he dives”.

(C)vCvCvCv(C): *ákalatuh* “she ate it” (or MzA *áklituh*), *ḡárabatuh* “she hit
him” (or MzA *ḡárbituh*), *fárašatuh* “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA
fáršituh), *ráḡabatuh* “his neck” (or MzA *ráḡbituh*) and gahawah-forms
ḡáhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA *ḡáhwituh*), *láḡamatuh* “his (piece of)
meat” (or MzA *láḡmituh*), *tá’aragin* “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, *yá’araguw* “they
sweat”.

alxášabih “the piece of firewood”, *albádawiy* “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-
form) *annáxaḡah* “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) *ibtáḡaḡruw* “they dig”,
ištáḡalat “she worked”, *inbášaḡuw* “they rejoiced”, *ittáḡaḡat* “she agreed”,
tiḡáwizat “she got married”, *takállamuw* “they spoke”.

⁴⁴ But notice *a* in the article in *áššifí* “the healing”.

⁴⁵ The word *buklah* (pl. *bkal*) is used for a plastic jerrycan in MzA.

⁴⁶ When _v in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlyingly |a|.

2.1.2. *Exceptions to the stress rule*

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

Reflexes of *-ā', 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. *xaḏrā* "green (sg. fem.)", *şifrā* "yellow (sg. fem.)", *bēḏā* "white (sg. fem.)", *gir'ā* "bald (sg. fem.)", *iwrā* "one-eyed (sg. fem.)".

In positions not influenced by velarization, -ā' is raised to -iy (see 1.2.4.4.) Such raised -iy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. *sōdīy* "black (sg. fem.)", *şadfiy* "left-handed (sg. fem.)", *ḥawlīy* "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 -ā' receives stress: (*şahbā' >*) *şahabīy* "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 *şti'* "winter; rain", *mi'* "water", *wādīy Slī'* "wadi Isla", *simi'* "sky", *diwi'* "medicine", *işī'* "lunch", *siŋi'* "healing", *māşti'* "winter".

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are *tanshi'* "forget her!", *giṭ'ah minhi'* "a piece of it (sg. fem.)", *ğdūdni'* "our forefathers", *ba'aḏni'* "(we) each other" and of the sg. masc. demonstrative *ālwalad di'* "this boy". When velarization has spread, *a* in pronominal suffixes is not raised, e.g. *uxūha'* "her brother", *binzabbīḥa'* "we do it (sg. fem.) properly".

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C₃ = y are (perfect) *mişī'* "he walked", *ligi'* "he found", *sawwi'* "he did" and *ğī³'* "he came". Examples of imperfect forms are *yansi'* "he forgets", *ytağaddi'* "he has lunch".

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are *ālğaḏa'* "type of wood (does not burn like embers)", *baṛra'* "outside", verb forms (imperfect) *yarḏa'* "he agrees happily" and *şalla'* "he prayed".

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

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

2.1.2.3. *Stress in al/il + *CaCīy*

When the article precedes a reflex of CaCīy, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. *innibiy* "the Prophet" and *işşibiy* "the boy".

2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms*

In forms with consonant-initial suffixes closing the syllable with the gahawah-vowel, this vowel is stressed, e.g. *ba'áđhin* “each other (pl. fem.)”, *saḥánha*⁴⁷ “her plate”.

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

In verb forms of *i-* or *u-*type imperfects, the gahawah-vowel is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, but stress is not placed on the gahawah-vowel, which then directly precedes the resulting consonant cluster, e.g. *yáhartuw* “they plough”, *tá'ađnuh* “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 *ríkibtuh* “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. *ṭhálliluh* “you analyze it”, *đidditī* “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 suffixation of the preposition *l* occurs only sporadically.⁴⁹ The examples (all from MzA) are *đā-luḵ* “he came to you”, *gult-ilhi* “I said to

⁴⁷ I hear *sīn*, rather than *šād*.

⁴⁸ Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence *xášbituh*, not *xášibtuh* (contrasting with a form like *ilibtuh* “his packet”).

⁴⁹ In as far as such may be concluded; it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixing

her” (notice that the form is not *lēha*), *aḥsál-luḵ* “it is best for you” (assimilated *aḥsan+luḵ*) and *a‘míl-luḵ* “I’ll make for you”.⁵⁰

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition *b*

Instances of enclitic suffixation of the preposition *b* were not recorded.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

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

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

$$\emptyset > a / (C)aX_C(V)$$

X = any of the back spirants *h, ḥ, ‘, 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*) *naxál* “palm trees”, (**sahl*) *sahál* “easy”, (**axḍar*) *áxaḍar* “green”, (**aḥṭal*) *áḥaṭal* “stupid”, (**šahbā’*) *šahabáy* “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (**ğahlān*) *ğahalān* “ignorant”, (**mahmūl*) *mahamūl* “neglected”, (**maxrūm*) *maxarūm* “pierced”, (**maḥtūt*) *maḥatūt* “placed”, (**maxfy*) *máxafy* “hidden” and verb forms (**yaxṭib*) *yáxaṭib* “he proposes (for marriage)”, (**yaḥšūh*) *yaḥašūh* “they fill it”, (**ta‘raguw*) *ta‘araguw* “you (pl. masc.) sweat”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

Although the gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where $C_1 = X$: $maXC_2\bar{u}C_3$) like *maxarūm* “pierced”, *mahamūl* “neglected” and *ma‘agūl* “reasonable”, it was not recorded in *maxšūš* “specialized” and *maḥsūb ‘ala* “reckoned with”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern $maXC_2aC_3(ah)$: *ma‘rakah* “battle”, *maḥkamah* “court of justice”, *mağrib* “time of sunset”.

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

⁵⁰ The verb form must be a loan (an indication is also the initial vowel: *a‘míl* instead of *i‘míl*), see also remark in following fn.

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

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures, e.g. (measure 4) *a'ṭa* “he gave”, (measure *ista*-1) *istaḥmal*, *yistaḥmil* “bear, endure”, *istaḡrab*, *yistaḡrib* “wonder, be amazed”, *ista'mal*, *yista'mil* “use”. Quadriliteral verbs *gahwa*, *yigahwiy* “serve coffee or tea to”, *zaḡraṭ*, *yzāḡriṭ* “ululate” and a passive participle *mga'tal* “handicapped in the legs” and *ta*-quadriliteral *tagahwa*, *ytagahwa* “be served coffee or tea”.

Examples of elatives are *aḥsan* “better”, *aḥla* “more beautiful, sweetest”, *aḫṭar* “most dangerous”, but *āḡalaḏ* “thicker”.

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like *maḥkamah* (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: *raḡma 'ann* “although”, *aḡlabiyya* “majority”, *taḥliyyih* “analysis”, *ṃayyah ma'daniyyih* “mineral water”, *ya'niy* “that is, it means”, *yaḥṣal* “it happens” and another measure 1 verb *ya'mal*⁵¹ “he makes, does”.

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

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

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

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

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

$$\emptyset > v_b / -C_Rv_a$$

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

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

C = any consonant

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

⁵² See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.

Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): *zajarat* “she ululated”, *tzagir*it “she ululates”, *tušurud* “she flees”, *gaṭarah* “drop (noun)”, *kuburuw* “they grew old”, *tufurukha* “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: *mitir iw nuṣṣ* “a meter and a half”, *ḡamir issiyāl* “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 ālbaḥar* “you eat from the sea”, *yinzil išwayyih* “it comes down a little”, ‘*ayyil išḡayyir* “a young child”, *biyḥawmil alḥamāyil* “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukaṛa-vowels preceding *l* in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukaṛa-vowels underlined): *šuḡul iḡdūdna* “of our forefathers”, *āṣil ana ḡibit* “because I brought”, *gaḥil irḍiy nafsi* “before I please myself”, *gaḥil il’Uṭmāniyyin* “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *raḡil

One of the forms for she-camels is *bil*, and with article *ālbil* (BWA, not recorded in MzA). *raḡil* for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of *yā rāḡil*). In MzA *riḡḡāl* (pl. *rḡāl*) 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) *fōḡ^əna* “above us”, *ittafag^əna* “we agreed”, *axād^əni* “we took”, *yib^ənih* “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) *biḥuṭṭuh fi ssiin iw bitxuḍduh* “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. *binḥuṭṭ^əa* ‘*alēh* “we put on it”.

2.3. *Anaptyxis*

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

The rules are:

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

$$\emptyset > I / (C_a)C_b\text{---}C_cC_d$$

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.

<i>yurbuṭ + uw</i>	> * <i>yurbṭuw</i>	> <i>yúr<u>ub</u>tuw</i> “they tie”
<i>tuḍrub + uh</i>	> * <i>tuḍr<u>ub</u>uh</i>	> <i>tú<u>ḍr</u>ubuh</i> “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):

‘*ind Rǧūm Zwayyid*’⁵³ > ‘*ind iRǧūm iZwayyid*’ “near Zwayyid’s rock piles”.

⁵³ *rǧūm*, sg. *rǧīm* 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:

btiṭw + *ha w btiḥš* + *ha tamr* # > # *btiṭw* *ha w btiḥš* *ha tamr* # > # *ibtīṭw* *ha w ibtiḥš* *ha tamr* # “you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates” (both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved, e.g. (clusters are bold, anaptyctics are underlined): # + *ḥġār kirīmah* > * # *ḥġār kirīmah* > # *ḥġār kirīmah* “precious stones” and *Maṣr* + # > * *Maṣr* # > # *Maṣir* # “Egypt (the mainland), Cairo”.

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

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

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
w btiḥg iddagīg w bta'aġnuh >
 (after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)
 * *w btiḥg iddagīg w bta'aġnuh* >
 (after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctics underlined: surface forms)
w ibtiḥg iddagīg w ibta'aġnuh “and you take the dough and knead it”.

Another example is:

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)
yimsik alfanāġil >
 (after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)
 * *yimsk alfanāġil* >
 (after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
yimisk alfanāġil “he takes the cups”

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

The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. *yikitbuw*) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC-CIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. *yimisk alfanāġil*) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is a semi-vowel, a nasal or a liquid followed by a voice-

less second consonant,⁵⁴ e.g.: *ilħalb hāda* “this milking”, *alGlā‘iyiyih* “location where water from šarafat ilGā‘ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, *‘amaltha* “I did it (sg. fem.)”, *ālgrab* “the water skins”, *tušgūlk* #⁵⁵ “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, *tanshi* “forget her!”, *fiħimt lay kēh?* “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) *mīyt kiluh* “a hundred kilometres”, *ištaraṯtha* “I bought it (sg. fem.)”. But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in *ğildha* “her skin” (where *d* is homorganic with *l*) and *yinzluw* “they go down”.

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: *int ‘ārif* “you know”, *yā bint!* # “hey, girl!” and *‘ind Binīy Wāšil* “with the Baniy Wāšil” (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”, *thuṯṯha* “you place it (fem.)” *ithammṣ ilbunn* “you roast the coffeebeans”, *tğammr išwayyih* “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: *nxušš fi* “we enter into”, *nuṣṣ kiluh* “half a kilo”, *biḍḍall*⁵⁶ *ṯul yōmuḵ* “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, *šinn* # “tooth” and *ħaṯṯ #* “he placed”, *nšidd* # “we pull tight”.

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

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ‘ind + C*

The suffixed preposition *‘ind* takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *‘indaha* “with her”, *‘induk* “with you (sg. masc.)”, *‘indik* “with you (sg. fem.)”, *‘induhuw* “with them (pl. masc.)”, *‘indihin* “with them (pl. fem.)”, *‘indukuw* “with you (pl. masc.)”, *‘indikin* “with you (pl. fem.)” and *‘indina* “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 *biḍḍall*: assimilated *biḍḍall*.

Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): *'ind Biniy Wāşil* “with the Baniy Wāşil”, *la 'ind şulbuk* “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, *'ind ğidditī rhā* “my grandmother has a hand mill”.

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

Like in group II of the north (the dialects of Samā'nah and 'Agāyilah), the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. *-k* and *-k* (resp.), are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to decide whether an anptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following *k* (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. *illiy yaṭla' min ḍimmūt k i'itnī yyāh* “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: *ḥurmit k* # “your wife”, *awşuf k* # “I'll describe to you”. *nāġit k* “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, *maṭrah k* # “your place” and *nuxrūt k* # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with *nuxrit k* # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

When assimilation takes place, an anptyctic is absent, e.g. *sarāk k* (< *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. *xalluk gā'id* “remain seated”, *'induk* “with you”, *şadruk* “your chest”, *naşuk* “yourself”, *'umruk* “your age” and (doubling of *n* in the preposition *min*) *minnu k* “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 **min k* or **min k*).

2.3.4. *Phonetic quality of the anptyctic*

2.3.4.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anptyctics*

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

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

Examples of the phonetic quality of word-medial anptyxis 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* > *írinha* “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šujl + *ha* > **šujlha* > *šúǰulha* “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	
<i>yisrig+uw</i>	>* <i>yisriguw</i>	>* <i>yisrguw</i>	> <i>yí<u>ir</u>guw</i>	“they steal”

Example with *u*:

tuktul+uw >**tuktuluw* >**tuktluw* >*túkutluw* “you (pl. masc.) hit”

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

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

2.3.4.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi*

2.3.4.2.1. *Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi*

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

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics (underlined): # *itkūn írfayy'ih* “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, *zilit íšjayyir* “a young goat or gazelle”, # *iymūš íšwayyih* “it becomes a little soft/moist”, *aḥád imn íšḥābuk* # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs *axád* “take” and *akál* “eat” are *kul*, # *uklíy*, # *uklíw*, # *uklín* and *xuḍ*, # *uxḍíy*, # *uxḍíw*, # *uxḍín* (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. [u] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: *baduw* # “Bedouin”, *ḥiluw* # “sweet, beautiful”, *daluw* # “pail”, *šujl* # “of (genitive exponent)”, *tuhur* # “circumcision”, *ḥumur* “red (pl. com.)”, *zurug* “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”)”, *íduḵ* # “your (sg. masc.)”

2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision

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

$$I > \emptyset / VC_a_C_bV$$

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): *nizil* + *uw* > **niziluw* > *nizluw* “they descended”, *simi'* + *at* > **simi'at* > *sim'at* “she heard”, *kubur* + *at* > **kuburat* > *kubrat* “she grew older”, *tāxid* + *in* > **tāxidīn* > *tāxdīn* “you (pl. fem.) take”, *mištaġil* (= underlying |mištaġil|) + *ah* > **mištaġilih* > *mištaġlih* “working (sg. fem.)” and *taħariṭ* + *uw* > **taħariṭuw* > *tāħarṭuw* “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

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

$$I > \emptyset / VC_aC_b_C_cV$$

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

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

$$I > \emptyset / VC_aC_a_C_bV$$

VC_aC_a = geminate

Examples are: *ynadḍif* + *uw* > # *ynadḍifuw* “they clean”, *tḍayyif* > *uw* + *nī* > # *iḍḍayyifūnī* (< *iḍḍayyifūnī*) “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): *btílħig iddagīg* > *btílħg iddagīg* > # *ibtílħg iddagīg* “you take the dough”, *byúmsik issi'n* > *byúmsk issi'n* > # *ibyúmsk issi'in* # “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* + *ʿyālk* > *twakkil* ʿyālk > *twakkil* *iʿyālk* > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # *itwakkl* *iʿyāluḵ* # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster *lʿy* 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) *nīlbis* + *ḡlūdniʿ* > *nīlbis* ḡlūdniʿ > *nīlbis* *iḡlūdniʿ* > *nīlbs* *iḡlūdniʿ* > *nīlbis* *iḡlūdniʿ* “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

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

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule

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

2.5. Assimilation

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

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

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

Instances of regressive total assimilation are:

<i>n + r</i>	> <i>rr</i>	<i>birrağǧid</i> “we pile”
<i>t + š</i>	> <i>tš</i>	<i>ššily</i> “you carry”
<i>t + z</i>	> <i>zz</i>	<i>zzīd</i> “it (sg. fem.) increases”
<i>t + d</i>	> <i>dd</i>	<i>ddīr</i> “you turn (fem.)”
<i>ǧ + t</i>	> <i>tt</i>	<i>axatt</i> “I took”
<i>t + š</i>	> <i>šš</i>	<i>ššidd</i> “you pull”

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

<i>t + z</i>	> <i>dz</i>	<i>dzīd</i> “it (sg. fem.) increases”
<i>t + ǧ</i>	> <i>dǧ</i>	<i>dǧīb</i> “you bring”
<i>b + n</i>	> <i>mn</i>	<i>mnaǧbaḥuh</i> “we slaughter him”
<i>n + ǧ</i>	> <i>ŋǧ</i>	<i>maŋǧad</i> “fireplace”

progressive total:

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

<i>aǧlabiyit + hin</i>	> <i>aǧlabiyittin</i> “the majority of them (fem.)”
<i>ǧimāʿat + huw</i>	> <i>ǧimāʿattuw</i> “their group of people”
<i>tuḥbux + ha</i>	> <i>tuḥbuxxa</i> “you cook it (sg. fem.)”
<i>naftaḥ + ha</i>	> <i>naftaḥḥa</i> “we open it (sg. fem.)”

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

<i>zaǧraṭ + tīy</i>	> <i>zaǧraṭtīy</i> “you (sg. fem.) ululated”
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Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

<i>baraǧǧiʿ + ha</i>	> <i>baraǧiḥḥe</i> “I return it (sg. fem.)”
<i>mablaǧ + hin</i>	> <i>miblāxxin</i> “their (fem.) price”

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is *sīǧih* (or *sīžih*) > *šizih* “game of *sīǧah*”, in MzA *šāz* (< *šāǧ/sāǧ* or *šāǧ/sāž*), but in BWA *šāǧ* “iron baking sheet”. Additional examples in MzA are *šizn* (< *siǧn* or *sīžn*) “prison”, *mšazzil* (> *saǧǧil* or *sažžil*) “recorder” and *našz* (> *našǧ* or *našž*) “weaving”, but in BWA *siǧn* and *tasǧil* “recording”.

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

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of *a*3.1.1.1. Raising of *a* in $C_1aC_2iC_3$ (ah)

Raising of *a* in the nominal pattern $C_1aC_2iC_3$ (ah) occurs regularly, but is optional. Such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors.

Examples are: *šidīd* “intense, strong”, *kiṭīr* “many, much”, *kibīr* “large, old”, *ǧilīd* “fat, thick”, *ʿifǧ*, *ʿirīs* “groom”, *xifǧ* “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: *kaṭīr*, *kaḅīr*, *ʿafǧ*, *xafǧ*, 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. *baṭṭīx* “water melon”, *xamsīn* “fifty”, *sabʿīn* “seventy” and a verbal noun *taǧlib* “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”, *šīyyāl*⁶² “acacia tree”, *kiššāf* “search light”, *biṭṭāriyyih* “flashlight”, *zīrgā* “blue (sg. fem.)”, *šīfrā* “yellow (sg. fem.)”, *ḥimrā* “red (sg. fem.)”, *ǧirʿā* “bald (sg. fem.)”, *miṣrāt* “times”, *miʿnāt* (*ḥāǧih*) “the meaning (of sth)”, *Wādīy Wirdān* “Wadi Wardān”.

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

When not followed by *l* or *r* and not preceded by ʾ, unstressed *a* preceding *ā* may be raised to *i* or *u*. Examples are: (*i* in) *ǧizāyiz* “bottles”, *mišāyix* “sheikhs”, *diǧāyig* “minutes”, *dināǧiy*⁶³ “small boats” (BWA), *ǧibāyil* “tribes”, *tikātrih* “doctors” and (*u* in) *Šuwālḥih* “name of tribe *Šawālḥah*”, *buwāšiy*

⁶² *sayyāl* is likely to be a folk etymology for *sayāl*. The connotation must be with ‘a tree growing by a *sēl* (“flood, watercourse”).

⁶³ The sg. *dingiy* is a loan from English dingy, which must have come through one of the Egyptian dialects where the reflex for *ǧ is *g* and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of *g* in Egyptian *ǧinēh* (a loan from English guinea), where [g] was replaced by [dʒ] by speakers of *ǧīm*-speaking dialects, who pronounce *ǧ(i)nēh*. Other such examples are *siǧārah* “cigarette” and *ǧrām* “gram”, which became *siǧārah* and *ǧrām* in many *ǧīm*-speaking dialects (though in MzA *siǧārah* is current).

“a type of fish (pl. form)”, *min muwālīd Ḍaháb* “born in Ḍahab” and also (as an exception) *duṛāhim* “money” (but see remark below) and verb forms *nisāh* “he forgot him” and *ligāh* “he found him”.

Such raising is however optional, since there are also many instances in which it is absent, e.g. *masākinhuw* “their dwellings”, ‘*Azāzmih* “name of a tribe (living partly in Sinai and partly in the Negev)”, *Ḥamāḍah* “name of a tribe”, *zamān* “in the past”, *gabāyil* “tribes” and also verb forms *ytawāḡad* “it (sg. masc.) exists” and *yta’ālaḡ* “he receives medical treatment”.

When *a* is followed by *l* or *r* or preceded by ‘ or X, this type of raising is much less regular, e.g.: *talāṭih* “three”, *Tarābīn* “name of a tribe”, *warā’k* “behind you”, *marākīb* “boats” and (with ‘ preceding) ‘*asāsāthuw* “their origins”. ‘*ažānib* “foreigners”, ‘*ašābī* “fingers” and ‘*aḍāfir̄k* “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which X precedes *a* are: ‘*ašān* “because”, ‘*ḥawāliy* “about, approximately”, ‘*ḥarārah* “heat”, *xalāš* “that’s it!”, *ḡazāl* “gazelle” and *hawā’k* “your desire”.

3.1.1.6. Raising of *a* in ...CaCá...

a in open syllable preceding stressed *á* is often—but only optionally so—raised to *I* in neutral environments,⁶⁴ e.g.: *sináh* “year”, *šīḡár* “trees”, *libán* “milk”, *ḡimál* “camel”, *fīḍá* “free time”, *Ḍiháb* “name of the town Ḍahab”, a gahawah-form *šihár* “month” and verb forms *ligát* “she found”, *kitáb* “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: *mā m’uḡ duwá* “medicine”, *wurág* “paper” (though more regularly *warág*).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ‘ or X precedes, e.g.: (‘)*aḥád* “anyone” and verb forms (‘)*akál* “he ate” and (‘)*axáḍ* “he took” and (with X preceding) *ḥaṭáb* “firewood”, *ḡanáṃ* “small cattle”, *adád* “number”, ‘*aṛáḡ* “sweat” and *xalág* “He created”, but also *ḡiṭás* “he dived” and *mā m’uḡ xubár* “you have no clue/idea”.

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

Both types of *a*-raising described in 3.1.1.5. and 3.1.1.6. can be combined in one rule (see also De Jong 2000:147):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 C_a \neq *' \text{ or } X \\
 C_b \neq l.
 \end{array}
 \quad
 a > I / C_a _ C_b A
 \quad
 \begin{array}{l}
 A = \text{stressed } a \text{ or } \bar{a} \\
 I = \text{high short vowel } i \text{ or } u
 \end{array}$$

⁶⁴ See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: $a > I / C_a _ C_b \acute{a}$, where $C_a \neq *'$ or X and $C_b \neq l$.

And like in group I, stress of A does not have to be primary for such raising to take place. Instances where stress on A is secondary are, e.g.: *ǧibābīl* “mountains”, *min muwālīd Dīhāb* “born in Dīhāb”, *mikānī* “my place” and *ānwīkal* “it was eaten”, *hāwǧīsat* “she improvised song”, *ānīxal* “the palmtrees” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of *-ā(ʾ)*, such as *āddīwī* “the medicine” and *āssīmī* “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)

Like in the pattern CaCīC(ah), *a* is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are *lugūnih* “a child with keen intelligence”,⁶⁵ *yuhūd* “Jews”, *Suʿūdiyyih* ~ *Saʿūdiyyih* “Saudi Arabia”, *guʿūd* “young male camel”, *ǧumūs* “food dip”, *xurūf* “lamb”, but also *ǧanūb* “south”, *aǧūz* “old woman”, *ʿarūs* ~ *ʿurūs* “bridegroom”, *šāʿūr* ~ *šūʿūr* “emperor (fish species)” and also *ḥakūmah* “government”.⁶⁶

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

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u

Like raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *í*, *a* in similar positions preceding stressed *ú* is also raised, e.g.: *kubūr* “he grew”, *ǧulúḍ* “he grew fat”.

3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined

If we combine the different possibilities of raising in one rule, this rule is:

$$a > I / C_Cí(C)$$

I = short high vowel *u* if $\acute{I} = \acute{u}$ or \bar{u} , *i* if $\acute{I} = \acute{i}$ or \bar{i}
 C = any consonant

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

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

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

⁶⁷ Such raising following ʾ is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).

3.1.2. Reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah) are: *badw* “Bedouin (pl.)”, *ǧady* (BWA) “kid goat”, *taḥát* ~ *tihát* “under”, *fahám* “coal”, *šikl* “shape”, *šahán* ~ *šihán* “dish”, *kalb* “dog”.

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

3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

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

3.1.4. Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are: *bunn* “coffee beans”, *rizz* (~ *ruzz* in Mza) “rice”, *kull* “all; every”, *amḥ* “mother” (~ *uḥ* in BWA), *uxt* “sister”.

Also: *ǧim‘ih* “male given name”, *sinnih* “usage” (BWA), *middih* “period”, *hinnih* “they (pl. fem.)”, *zibdiḥ* “butter”.

Forms with sufficient backing show *u*, as in *šuggah* “fishing net” (Mza), *xuṭwah* “step”, *nuḡtah* “police checkpoint”, *ǧumsih* “food dip”, *rukbah* “knee” (BWA) (but *rikbih* (Mza)), *ḥurmah* “woman”.

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

Like in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel *i* or *u* in open initial syllables of the type CiC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped, resulting in initial CC clusters. Examples are: *ǧlūd* “skins”, *ǧūnī* “my eyes”, *xšēšāt* “little huts”, *Ḥmēd* “male given name”, *byēt ša‘ár* “little tent”, *blād* “land”, *ǧbāl* “mountains”, *snīn* “years”, *ǧlayyil* “little; few”, *ǧlāl* “few (pl.)” and *štīy* “winter”. Examples with stressed short vowels are: *gmam* “Morrays eels”, *rkab* “knees” (Mza).

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) *šu‘ūn iǧtimā‘iyiyih* “social affairs”, *nizām* “system”.⁶⁸ Another exception is *šayd furūsiyyih* “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of *r* may have prevented elision of *u* in *furūsiyyih* (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type CiCā... or

⁶⁸ Notice also *z* here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental *ǧ*.

CuCā..., CiCī... or CuCī... and CuCū... or CiCū... see 3.1.1.7.–3.1.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. *ygūl* “he says”, *tšil* “you carry”, *tnām* “you sleep”, *nhuṭṭ* “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. *tiġiy* “you come”, *yigīy* “he comes” (contrast with forms *tġiy* and *yġiy* 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”, *gšayyir* “short”, *rfayyī* “thin”, *šġayyir* “small; young”, *kwayyis* “good” and *šwayyih* “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: *sraybih* “small group (of people)”, *byēt ša’ār* “little tent”, *xšēšāt* “little huts”, *bnayyih* “little girl”, *wlēd* “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) *hṛayyim* “women”.

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

3.1.7. Pattern $aC_1C_2aC_3$

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is $aC_1C_2aC_3$ and $aC_1aC_2aC_3$ (stressed on the first syllable) where $C_1 = X$. Examples are: *abyad* “white”, *azrag* (euphemistically; the word *aswad* is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, *ašhab* “light coloured, pale” (and with $C_1 = X$) *áhamar* “red”, *áxadar* “green”, *áhawal* “cross-eyed”, *áhabal* “stupid”, *á’ama* “blind” and *áxaraš* “mute”, *á’araġ* “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. *bēḍā*, *hamrā*. There is an added *a* following C_2 when it is X and final *ā* is raised (to *-íy*) when C_3 is neutral, e.g. *arġíy* and *šahabíy*.

Most pl. com. forms have a $C_1uC_2C_3$ pattern, e.g. *zurg*, *sumr*, *xuḍr*, *humr* and *hubl*, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a $C_1iC_2C_3$ pattern, e.g. *irġ*, *šihb*. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are *sūd* ($C_2 = wāw$) and *bīḍ* ($C_2 = yā$).

⁶⁹ See De Jong 2000:203–204.

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

The elative pattern is aC₁C₂aC₃, e.g. *akṭar* “more/most”, *akbar* “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, *ashal* “easier/easiest”, *aṣ‘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 *ağlabiyyih* “majority”), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in *axaṭar* “more dangerous/most dangerous” (though also *axṭar*). *ajalad* “thicker” and also *aḥala* in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern aC₁aC₂C₃ (where C₂ = C₃), e.g. *agaḥ* “less/least” and *ahamm* “more important/most important”.

3.1.9. *Initial a*3.1.9.1. *The article and the relative pronoun*

The article may be *al-* or *il-*; *al-* is mainly used when the following nominal has Ca as its initial sequence, but this is in no way regularly so. When the article is stressed, however, the article tends to be *ál-* when (underlying) Ca or CCaC follows, and *íl-* when other sequences follow. Examples with (underlying) Ca following are: *álbaḥar* “the sea”, *álǧimal* “the camel”, *áddiwī* “the medicine”, *ássimi* “the sky”, *áṣṣaḥan* “the plate”, but (when preceding sequences other than Ca) *íliḥṣiy* “the rocks” and *ílif‘i* “the viper”, *íšṣṭi* “the winter”, but *íšṣibiy* “the boy” (underlying form is |ṣabiy|). With CCaC following: *árrkab* “the knees”, *ánnxar* “the noses”, *áll‘af* “the bait (pl.)”, *áṣṣnaṭ* “the suitcases”.

When *ī* or *iy* precedes the article *al-*, it is dropped, as in, e.g. *f-aṭṭūr* “in aṭ-ṭūr” and *f-awwalha w ḥatta f-āxirha* “in its (sg. fem.) beginning and even in its (sg. fem.) end”.

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

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

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

3.1.9.2. *Other instances of initial a*

Another instance of initial *a* is *aṃṃ* “mother” (in MzA, in BWA *uṃṃ*), “we” is *iḥna*, “sister” is *uxt*.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. *gṃaṃ* “Murray eels”, *rkab* “knees” (MzA), *rxas* “licences”, *ʿnab* “grapes” (BWA), *ḥgan* “injections”, *šnaṭ* “suitcases”, *lʿaf* “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for (ʿ)*ibrih* is (ʿ)*abár* “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: *máratuh* “his wife”, *sánatuh* “his year”, *xašabátuk* “your piece of wood”.

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

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

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

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

⁷⁰ From the point of view of historical development, such a rule would be highly unlikely, since the verbal ending is *-at* under all other circumstances, see verbal morphology in 3.2.

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

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

The *i* of the ending *-it* may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which often an anaptyctic vowel is inserted (underlined in following examples), e.g.: *‘ilb̄tuh* “his packet”, *‘ilb̄it^uḵ* “your packet”, *fātirt arba‘ sn̄n* (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) *fātirt arba‘ isn̄n* “a period of four years”, *nāgtuh* “his she-camel”, *nāgít^uḵ* “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as *-ut*, as in *nuxrūt^uḵ* “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with *nuxrít^uḵ* “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

3.1.10.3. *T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a*

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel *a* is in open syllable directly preceding T are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding *a* is ‘historical’. Almost paradoxically so, the forms *gahwitī* and *gāhwitu* (and similar forms like *lahmitī* and *lāhmituh*) show that the gahawah-syndrome has created fully-fledged syllables in these nominals, for if the gahawah-vowel *a* would have been a mere anaptyctic vowel (i.e. more like in verb forms, cf. 2.1.2.4.), one might have expected forms like *gahawtī* and *gāhawtu*. The fact that the gahawah-vowel *a* is dropped from (intermediate) forms like **gahawatī* and **gahawatuh* thus illustrates that we are dealing with a full short vowel *a* (produced by the gahawah-syndrome), since only CaCaCT + v sequences are affected by the special provision made in the short vowel elision rule (as described above).

3.1.10.4. *T following ā*

T preceded by \bar{a} yields *-āh*, e.g. *hamātuh* “his mother-in-law”,

In one instance **ma‘nā* (spelled in Arabic with *‘alif maqṣūrah*: معنی) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): *mi‘nāt ilkiḵmih* “the meaning of the word”.

3.1.10.5. *Nominal ending -it in construction vs. verbal 3rd p. sg. perf. ending -at*

The high vowel *i* of the nominal ending *-it* is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. *nāgtuh* “his she-camel”, *gattāytuh* “its (sg. masc.) cover”.

The low vowel *a* in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. *šāfatuh* “she saw him” and *lāgatuh* “she found him”, *kāwanatuh* “she fought him”.

3.1.11. *Genitive marker*

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

The paradigms for suffixed *šūġl*(*ah*) and *ħagg*(*ah*) are as follows:

e.g.	<i>ilbēt</i> +		<i>il' ilbih</i> +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>šūġluh</i>	<i>šūġluħuw</i>	<i>šūġultuh</i>	<i>šūġlithuw</i>
fem.	<i>šūġluħa</i>	<i>šūġluħin</i>	<i>šūġliħa</i>	<i>šūġliħin</i>
2. masc.	<i>šūġluħ</i>	<i>šūġluħuw</i>	<i>šūġlit^mħ</i>	<i>šūġlitħuw</i>
fem.	<i>šūġlik</i>	<i>šūġlukin</i>	<i>šūġlit^mk</i>	<i>šūġlitkin</i>
1. com.	<i>šūġlī</i>	<i>šūġlūna</i>	<i>šūġlūtī</i>	<i>šūġlītna</i>

Pl. forms used for humans are *šūġlīn* and *šūġlāt*: e.g. *iliwlād šūġlīn ilmádrasih* “the boys of the school” and *ilbanāt šūġlāt ilmádrasih* “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: *ittalātah ġinēhāt dillih šūġlāt^mħ* “these three pounds are yours”.

e.g.	<i>ilbēt</i> +		<i>il' ilbih</i> +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>ħagghuw</i>	<i>ħagghuw</i>	<i>ħaggtuh</i>	<i>ħaggithuw</i>
fem.	<i>ħaggha</i>	<i>ħagghin</i>	<i>ħaggitha</i>	<i>ħaggithin</i>
2. masc.	<i>ħagguħ</i>	<i>ħagguħuw</i>	<i>ħaggit^mħ</i>	<i>ħaggitħuw</i>
fem.	<i>ħaggik</i>	<i>ħaggkin</i>	<i>ħaggit^mk</i>	<i>ħaggitkin</i>
1. com.	<i>ħaggī</i>	<i>ħaggna</i>	<i>ħaggitī</i>	<i>ħaggitna</i>

Pl. forms for humans are *ħaggīn* and *ħaggāt*: e.g. *iliwlād ħaggīn ilmádrasih* and *ilbanāt ħaggāt ilmádrasih*. Like in the case of *šūġlāt*, the pl. fem. *ħaggāt* is often used for smaller numbers: *ittalātah ġinēhāt dillih ħaggāt^mħ*.

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:

			negated:	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>hū</i>	<i>huwwa(h)</i>	<i>mūhū*</i>	<i>mūhuwwa(h)</i>
fem.	<i>hī</i>	<i>hinnah</i>	<i>mīhī*</i>	<i>mīhinnih</i>
2. masc.	<i>int(ah)</i>	<i>intuw</i>	<i>mīnt(ah)</i>	<i>mintuw</i>
fem.	<i>intiy</i>	<i>intin</i>	<i>mīntiy</i>	<i>mintin</i>
1. com.	<i>ana</i>	<i>iḥna</i>	<i>mānī*</i>	<i>mīḥna</i>

Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: *māhū**, *māhī**, *mīntah*, *mintiy*, *mānī**, *māhuḥma*, *māhinnah*, *mintuw*, *mintin*, *mīḥna*.

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

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

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In MzA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	(C)C- <i>u(h)</i> * ₁ , <i>v̄-(h)</i>	- <i>huw</i> * ₄
fem.	- <i>ha</i>	- <i>hin</i>
2. masc.	C- ^u <i>k</i> , CC- <i>uk</i> , <i>v̄-^uk</i> * ₂	- <i>kuw</i>
fem.	C- ⁱ <i>k</i> , CC- <i>ik</i> , <i>v̄-ⁱk</i> * ₂	- <i>kin</i>
1. com.	(C)C- <i>ī</i> , <i>v̄-y</i> (poss.)	- <i>na</i>
	- <i>nī</i> (obj.)* ₃	

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

*₁ Notice the *-u(h)* suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc., instead of *-ah/ -ih* which we find in group I.

*₂ The superscript vowel ^u serves to indicate a considerable degree of velarization (accompanied by lip rounding); it is not to be interpreted as a vowel, which may be concluded from stress placement and (lack of) short high vowel elisions in forms like *ḥurmít^uk* “your (sg. masc.) wife” and *nāgít^uk* “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: *ilbítⁱk* “your (sg. fem.) pack”, *nāgítⁱk*.

When ^u*k* is suffixed to *v̄*, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before *k* is released, e.g.: *ilē^uk* “on you”, *fī^uk* “in you”, *gīfā^uk* “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: *ilēk*, *fīk* and *gīfāk*.

When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of *uḥūk* “your (sg. masc.) father” and *uḥūk*

“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel *ū* preceding *k* is more tense than *ū* preceding *k*.⁷¹

*³ Like most in Bedouin dialects of Sinai⁷² we find stressed suffixes *-ī* and *-nī* for the 1st p. sg. com. Unstressed *-i* and *-ni* also occur.

*⁴ Parallel to independent pronominals, the 3rd p. pl. masc. suffix is formed with *-w*, rather than with *-m* (although a few instances with final *-m* were recorded).

For the development of second person pronominal suffixes *-k̄* and *-k* see NOTE in 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter.

3.1.13. *Demonstratives*

3.1.13.1. *Near and far deixis*

Near deixis*²:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dāh</i> * ¹	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dill(ih)</i> * ²
fem.	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dīy</i>	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dillih</i> / <i>dillēl(ih)</i> * ²

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

Far deixis*²:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dāk(ah)</i>	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dállak(ah)</i> * ²
fem.	(<i>hā</i>) <i>dīk(ah)</i>	

*¹ In pause often *dih* 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 ġi!* “there he is!”, *hēhī ġāt* “there she is!”, *hēhuwwa ġuw* “there they (masc.) are!”, *hēhinnah ġin* “there they (fem.) are!”.

⁷¹ These remarks are based on mere impressions, not on precise machine-aided measurements.

⁷² See De Jong (2000:3.1.12.2. of ch. I–III) and (2003:163).

3.1.13.2. *Specifying ha-*

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

3.1.14. *Interrogatives*

mîn 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 hû-h-intih?* “who are you?”.

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

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

“Here” is *nihā*(‘) or *nihāniy** in MzA and *hniy* in BWA (*fi hāda* is also used), “there” is *hnuh* or *hnūtiy* (*fi hādāk* is also used), *gād* (with open *ā*) is used for “over there (far away)”. “Thus” is *kidiy* or often *kidiyyih* (and less often *kidiyyāniy*), “now” is *halhîn* (~ *halhînit* in MzA), “still” is *l issā* and “afterwards, after that” is *ba’adēn*.

* When *min* precedes *nihā*’, one syllable is haplogically dropped, e.g. *imšin mi-nhā*’ 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. *xāfallah*, 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. *billhayl “very, extremely”*

b ilhayl “very, extremely” is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. *iw hāliyyan fi liyyām hādīy fi Sīnah māhuw kaṭīrīn* [...] *miš kaṭīrīn b ilhayl*... “And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai [...] They are not very many...”. Another example is [...] *iw zayy kidiy b idēk, bitgaṭṭi*’... *alkā’akih w tufurukha w biṭhuṭṭ ālēha lēha... issamin iw lāha ḥilwih b ilhayl*... “and like this with your hands you break the cookie to pieces and crumble it. And you add, put ghee on it, and (then) it is extremely tasty...”.

3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”

The adverb *bišwēš* was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like *šwayyih šwayyih* is current.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”

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

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

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

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

Suffixed prepositions in MzA are:

<i>li</i> + * ¹		ʿ <i>ala</i> + * ²		<i>m(i)</i> ʿ + * ³	
<i>luh</i>	<i>lēhuw</i>	ʿ <i>ilēh</i>	ʿ <i>ilēhuw</i>	<i>mʿuh</i>	<i>miḥhuw</i>
<i>lēha</i>	<i>lēhin</i>	ʿ <i>ilēha</i>	ʿ <i>ilēhin</i>	<i>miḥha</i>	<i>miḥhin</i>
<i>luḵ</i>	<i>lēʔkuw</i>	ʿ <i>ilēʔk</i>	ʿ <i>ilēʔkuw</i>	<i>mʿuk</i>	<i>miʿkuw</i>
<i>lik</i>	<i>lēkin</i>	ʿ <i>ilēk</i>	ʿ <i>ilēkin</i>	<i>mʿik</i>	<i>miʿkin</i>
<i>lay(y)</i> * ⁴	<i>lēna</i>	ʿ <i>alay(y)</i> * ⁴	ʿ <i>ilēna</i>	<i>mʿi</i>	<i>miʿna</i>

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

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

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

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

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

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

*⁴ For a remark on *lay* and ʿ*aláy*, see 1.2.4.1.

In BWA forms are the same.

<i>fi</i> +		<i>fōg</i> +* ¹		<i>min</i> +* ²	
<i>fih</i>	<i>fihuw</i>	<i>fōguh</i>	<i>fōghuw</i>	<i>minnuh</i>	<i>minhuw</i>
<i>fihā</i>	<i>fihin</i>	<i>fōgha</i>	<i>fōghin</i>	<i>minha</i>	<i>minhin</i>
<i>fī^uḵ</i>	<i>fī^uḵuw</i>	<i>fōg^uḵ</i>	<i>fōgḵuw</i>	<i>minnuḵ</i>	<i>minḵuw</i>
<i>fīk</i>	<i>fīkin</i>	<i>fōgⁱk</i>	<i>fōgkin</i>	<i>minnik</i>	<i>minkin</i>
<i>fay(y)</i> * ³	<i>fina</i>	<i>fōgī</i>	<i>fōgna</i>	<i>minnī</i>	<i>minna</i>

*¹ Alternatively one can say *min ḥardī* “above me” *min ḥarduḵ* “above you (sg. masc.)”, etc.⁷³

*² Notice here that the *n* is doubled preceding the short vowels in the suffixes *-uḵ* and *-ik*, which indicates that the vowels of these allomorphs are not merely anaptyctic vowels.

*³ *fay* must have developed in analogy to *lay* and *‘aláy*, see remark above.

The preposition *min* is usually stressed in the compounds *mín-taḥat* “from below”, *mín-kidīy* “from this”.

<i>warā</i> +		<i>‘ind</i> +	
<i>warāh</i>	<i>warāhuw</i>	<i>‘induh</i>	<i>‘induhuw</i> * ²
<i>warāha</i>	<i>warāhin</i>	<i>‘indaha</i> * ²	<i>‘indihin</i> * ²
<i>warā^uḵ</i>	<i>warāḵuw</i>	<i>‘induḵ</i>	<i>‘induḵuw</i> * ²
<i>warāk</i> * ¹	<i>warākin</i> * ¹	<i>‘indik</i>	<i>‘indikin</i> * ²
<i>warāy</i>	<i>warāna</i>	<i>‘indī</i>	<i>‘indina</i> * ²

*¹ In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding *r* is gradually lost during articulation of the following *ā*. Thus an opposition between *warā^uḵ* and *warāk* 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): *wāhid* / *wiḥdih**¹, *tnēn* / *tintēn**², *ṭalāṭih* (*ṭalāt* or *ṭalāt*), *aṛba‘ah* (*aṛba‘*), *xamsih* (*xams*), *sittih* (*sitt*), *sab‘ih* (*sab‘*), *ṭamānyih* (*ṭamān* or *ṭamān*), *tis‘ih* (*tis‘*), *‘aṣaṛah* (*‘aṣaṛ*).

⁷³ Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists *ḥard* in the meaning of *bi ḡānib* “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 *tnēn* and *ṭintēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn itnēn* “two boys” and *īdēy ittintēn* or *īdēy ṭintēnhin* “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ‘*ašar t-infār* “ten people”, *ṭalat t-īyyām* “three days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded: *awwil*, *tāniy*, *tālīt*.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: *n* and up

ḥidāšir, *itnāšir*, *ṭalattāšir*, *aṛbaṭāšir*, *xamištāšir*, *sittāšir*, *sabaṭāšir*, *ṭamanāṭāšir*, *tisiṭāšir*, *isrīn*, *ṭalātīn*, *aṛbīn*, *xamsīn*, *sittīn*, *sabīn*, *ṭamanīn*, *tisīn*, *miyyih*, *miyytēn*, *ṭultmiyyih*, *ṛubiṣmiyyih*, *xumsmiyyih*, *suttmiyyih*, *subiṣmiyyih*, *ṭuminmiyyih*, *tusiṣmiyyih*, *alf*, *alfēn*, *ṭalat t-ālāf*, *xamis t-ālāf*, *aṛbaṭ t-ālāf*, *sitt t-ālāf*, *sabiṣ t-ālāf*, *ṭaman t-ālāf*, *tisiṣ t-ālāf*, *ašar t-ālāf*, *miyyit alf*, *miyytēn alf*, *malyūn*.

3.1.18. The dual

Suffixing *-ēn* or *-ayn* to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *šahaṛayn* “two months”, *sbūayn* “two weeks”, *nōayn* “two kinds” and *-ēn* (in neutral environments) *aṛabiyytēn* “two cars”, *miyytēn* “two hundred”, *rikibtēn* “two knees”, *sanatēn* “two years”, *bintēn* “two girls”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. *riḡlēy* “my (two) legs” and *riḡlē^uk* “my (two) hands” and *īdēy* “my (two) hands” and *īdē^uk* “your (two) hands”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

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

⁷⁴ These are differences with group I dialects (see De Jong 2000: several paragraphs under 3.2. in chapter I.

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

		<i>a</i> -type perfect* ¹		<i>i</i> -type perfect* ³	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>kitáb</i>	<i>kátabuw</i>	<i>šírīb</i>	<i>šírībuw</i>
	fem.	<i>kátabat</i> * ²	<i>kátabin</i>	<i>šírībat</i> * ⁴	<i>šírībin</i>
2. masc.		<i>kitábt</i>	<i>kitábtuw</i>	<i>šírībt</i>	<i>šírībtuw</i> * ⁵
	fem.	<i>kitábtīy</i>	<i>kitábtin</i>	<i>šírībtīy</i>	<i>šírībtin</i>
1. com.		<i>kitábt</i>	<i>kitábna</i>	<i>šírībt</i>	<i>šírībna</i>

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

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

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

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

*⁵ ‘Almost’ *šírībtum*: 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 ‘LA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. *Regular verbs imperfect*

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

⁷⁵ This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.

the 1st. p. sg. com. of *i*- and *u*-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: $yaC_1C_2CaC_3$, $yuC_1C_2CuC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$, all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

		<i>a</i> -type imperfect* ¹		<i>i</i> -type imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>yáṣṣrab</i>	<i>yáṣṣrabuw</i>	<i>yiktib</i>	<i>yíkitbuw</i>
	fem.	<i>táṣṣrab</i>	<i>yáṣṣrabin</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>yíkitbin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>táṣṣrab</i>	<i>táṣṣrabuw</i>	<i>tiktib</i>	<i>tíkitbuw</i>
	fem.	<i>táṣṣrabiy</i>	<i>táṣṣrabin</i>	<i>tíkitbiy</i>	<i>tíkitbin</i>
1.	com.	<i>áṣṣrab</i>	<i>náṣṣrab</i>	<i>iktib</i>	<i>niktib</i>
		<i>u</i> -type imperfect* ²			
		sg.	pl.		
3.	masc.	<i>yúḍrub</i>	<i>yúḍrubuw</i>		
	fem.	<i>tuḍrub</i>	<i>yúḍrubin</i>		
2.	masc.	<i>tuḍrub</i>	<i>túḍrubuw</i>		
	fem.	<i>túḍrubiy</i>	<i>túḍrubin</i>		
1.	com.	<i>uḍrub</i>	<i>nuḍrub</i>		

*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. *túgu' duw* as well as *túgi' duw* for “you (pl. masc.) sit”, but in velarized forms the anaptyctic *u* is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with $C_1 = X$ have the following paradigms:

		<i>i</i> -type* ¹ imperfect* ²		<i>a</i> -type imperfect* ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>yáḥarīt</i>	<i>yáḥartuw</i>	<i>yá'arag</i>	<i>yá'araguw</i>
	fem.	<i>táḥarīt</i>	<i>yáḥartīn</i>	<i>tá'arag</i>	<i>yá'aragin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>táḥarīt</i>	<i>táḥartuw</i>	<i>tá'arag</i>	<i>tá'araguw</i>
	fem.	<i>táḥarīty</i>	<i>táḥartīn</i>	<i>tá'aragiy</i>	<i>tá'aragin</i>
1.	com.	<i>áḥarīt</i>	<i>náḥarīt</i>	<i>á'arag</i>	<i>ná'arag</i>

*¹ Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in *i*-type imperfects like *yáḥarīt* 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. *yíḥrīt* are not heard in these dialects).

⁷⁶ See De Jong 2000:190–191.

*₂ Perfect *ḥarát* like *katáb* (see 3.2.1.1.). My BWA informant articulated *sīn* instead of *tā'*, e.g. *yáḥaris* and *yáḥarsuw*, etc.

*₃ Perfect *'iríg* like *simí'* (see 3.2.1.1.).

Active participles are: *hārit*, *hārtih*, *hārtīn*, *hārtāt*.

Active participles of the type $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (etc.) for the verb *'iríg*, *yá'arag* are not really used, instead for "sweating" one may hear: *'argān*, *'argānih*, *'argānīn*, *'argānāt*.

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

		u-type perfect* ₁	
		sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>kubur</i>	<i>kubruw</i>
	fem.	<i>kubrat</i> * ₂	<i>kubrun</i> * ₃
2. masc.		<i>kuburt</i>	<i>kuburtuw</i>
	fem.	<i>kuburtiy</i>	<i>kuburtin</i>
1. com.		<i>kuburt</i>	<i>kuburna</i>

*₁ The Classical Arabic 'Eigenschaften' verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) $C_1aC_2uC_3a$, $yaC_1C_2uC_3u$ has $C_1uC_2uC_3$, $yuC_1C_2uC_3$ reflexes (imperfect paradigm like *yudrub*, see 3.2.1.2.). Notice that, like in reflexes of C.A. * $C_1aC_2iC_3a$ (such as, e.g., *širib*), the high vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is not dropped in unstressed positions (so not e.g. *·kuburt* for "I grew"). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of $C_1uC_2uC_3$ perfects, the *u* of the first syllable is actually underlying |a| (i.e. like *i* in the first syllable of $C_1iC_2iC_3$ perfects, see *₃ in 3.2.1.1.).

Other *u*-type perfects are: *tuxunt* "I became fat", *hī ḡulḡat* "she became fat", *hinnih ḡulḡin* "they (fem.) became fat", *iddinyah sux^unat* "the weather became hot" (for superscript ^u, see 2.2.2.3.) and *innās kuṭruw* "people became many".

*₂ Notice the ending *-at* here, cf. remark *₄ in 3.2.1.1. above.

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

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Active participles are formed with the patterns $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (sg. masc.) $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3ah/-ih$ (sg. fem.), $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3īn$ (pl. masc.) $C_1\bar{a}C_2C_3āt$ (pl. fem.).

⁷⁷ Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form *yukburun*, recorded in the dialect of the Rmēlāt in the north, see De Jong:2000:191.

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *bānīytuh* “having built it (sg. masc.)”, *hī mīhī ‘āyīztuh* “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. *ásma‘*, *ásma‘iy*, *ásma‘uw*, *ásma‘in* “listen!”, *úḍrub*, *úḍrubīy*, *úḍrubuw*, *úḍrubin* “hit!” and *íktib*, *íktibīy*, *íktibuw*, *íktibin* “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs $C_1 = w$ (*primae wāw*)

Imperfect paradigms of verbs with *wāw* as C_1 are:

		<i>i</i> -type*		<i>a</i> -type	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>yōrid</i>	<i>yōrduw</i>	<i>yōgaf</i>	<i>yōgafuw</i>
	fem.	<i>tōrid</i>	<i>yōrdin</i>	<i>tōgaf</i>	<i>yōgafin</i>
2. masc.		<i>tōrid</i>	<i>tōrduw</i>	<i>tōgaf</i>	<i>tōgafuw</i>
	fem.	<i>tōrdīy</i>	<i>tōrdin</i>	<i>tōgafiy</i>	<i>tōgafin</i>
1. com.		<i>ōrid</i>	<i>nōrid</i>	<i>ōgaf</i>	<i>nōgaf</i>

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

The imperfect of the verb “light, kindle” was recorded as *yōgid*.

The perfects of *prima wāw* verbs are $C_1iC_2iC_3$ or $C_1aC_2aC_3$ (see above).

The imperatives are:

		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.		<i>ōrid</i>	<i>ōrduw</i>	<i>ōgaf</i>	<i>ōgafuw</i>
	fem.	<i>ōrdīy</i>	<i>ōrdin</i>	<i>ōgafiy</i>	<i>ōgafin</i>

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

		sg.	pl.
masc.		<i>áw‘a rās‘k</i>	<i>áw‘a rūskuw</i>
	fem.	<i>áw‘a rās‘k</i>	<i>áw‘a rūskin</i>

Participles:

Active participles have a $C_1āC_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) *wāgīf*, *wāgīfh*, *wāgīfn*, *wāgīfāt* “standing”.

The passive participle for the root *w-ǧ-d* was recorded as *mawǧūd* (see 1.2.4.1.).

3.2.2.2. Verbs $C_1 = y$ (*primae yā'*)

The only verb recorded with $C_1 = y$ is *yibis, yēbas* “dry (intrans.)”.

3.2.2.3. Verbs $C_1 = '$ (*primae hamzah*)

The two verbs “eat” and “take” have similar conjugations. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for “eat” are:

	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>akál</i>	<i>ákaluw</i>	<i>yākil</i>	<i>yākluw</i>
fem.	<i>ákalat</i>	<i>ákalin</i>	<i>tākil</i>	<i>yāklin</i>
2. masc.	<i>akalt</i>	<i>akaltuw</i>	<i>tākil</i>	<i>tākluw</i>
fem.	<i>akaltiy</i>	<i>akaltin</i>	<i>tākliy</i>	<i>tāklin</i>
1. com.	<i>akalt</i>	<i>akalne</i>	<i>ākil</i>	<i>nākil</i>

Active participles are: *mākil, māklīh, māklīn, māklāt*. Past participles are *māxūd, -ah, -āt, -īn*, which is also used meaning “daft”.

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): *ḫud, ḫdīy, ḫduw* and *ḫdīn*. Also *ḫul, ḫliy, ḫluw, ḫlīn*. Notice the absence of stressed initial *u-* in these forms; an unstressed *u-* may precede in forms like (here in superscript) “*ḫ^udīy* and “*ḫ^uluw*, but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is *wakl* “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is *ānwikal, yīnwīkil*.

3.2.2.4. Verbs $C_2 = w$ or y (*mediae infirmae*)

A characteristic of southern dialects is the short base vowel in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms. In MzA and BWA these co-occur with forms with a long base vowel, but in BWA forms with the long base vowel are more current than those with a short vowel.

Perfect and imperfect forms of *mediae infirmae* are:

	$C_2 = w$ “get up”		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>gāṇ</i>	<i>gāṇuw</i>	<i>ygūṇ</i>	<i>ygūṇuw</i>
fem.	<i>gāṇat</i>	<i>gāṇin</i>	<i>tgūṇ</i>	<i>ygūṇin</i>
2. masc.	<i>gumt</i>	<i>gumtuw</i>	<i>tgūṇ / t(u)gūṇ</i>	<i>tgūṇuw</i>
fem.	<i>gumtiy</i>	<i>gumtin</i>	<i>tgūṇiy</i>	<i>tgūṇin</i>
1. com.	<i>gumt</i>	<i>gumna</i>	<i>ugūṇ</i>	<i>ngūṇ</i>

Participles are: *gāyim*, *gāymih*, *gāymīn*, *gāymāt* (no velarization).

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

		“sleep”			
		perfect*		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>nām</i>	<i>nāmuw</i>	<i>ynām</i>	<i>ynāmuw</i>
	fem.	<i>nāmat</i>	<i>nāmin</i>	<i>tnām</i>	<i>tnāmin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>nimt</i>	<i>nimtuw</i>	<i>tnām / t(a)nām</i>	<i>tnāmuw</i>
	fem.	<i>nimtiy</i>	<i>nimtin</i>	<i>tnāmīy</i>	<i>tnāmin</i>
1.	com.	<i>nimt</i>	<i>nimne</i>	<i>anām</i>	<i>nnām</i>

Participles: *nāyim*, *nāymih*, *nāymīn*, *nāymāt*.

		C ₂ = y			
		“carry”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>šāl</i>	<i>šāluw</i>	<i>yšīl</i>	<i>yšīluw</i>
	fem.	<i>šālat</i>	<i>šālin</i>	<i>tšīl</i>	<i>yšīlin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>šilt</i>	<i>šiltuw</i>	<i>tšīl / t(i)šīl</i>	<i>tšīluw</i>
	fem.	<i>šiltiy</i>	<i>šiltin</i>	<i>tšīliy</i>	<i>tšīlin</i>
1.	com.	<i>šilt</i>	<i>šilna</i>	<i>išīl</i>	<i>nšīl</i>

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!”, *ugūṃ* “get up!”. Examples are: *nām*, *nāmīy*, *nāmuw*, *nāmin*, *gūṃ* / *ugūṃ*, *gūṃīy*, *gūṃuw*, *gūṃin*.

Imperatives used with the verb *ǧāb*, *yǧīb* are: *hāt*, *hātiy*, *hātuw*, *hātin*.

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

Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns C₁āyC₃, C₁āyC₃ih, C₁āyC₃īn and C₁āyC₃āt.

A passive partiple is *mašyūl* etc.

3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertiaef infirmae*)3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertiaef infirmae*) perfect

Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of *tertiaef 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>i</i> -type perfect		<i>a</i> -type perfect* ²	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>nisiʕ</i>	<i>nisyuw</i> * ¹	<i>mišʕ</i>	<i>mišyuw</i>
fem.	<i>nisyat</i> * ¹	<i>nisyin</i> * ¹	<i>mišyat</i>	<i>mišyin</i>
2. masc.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisītuw</i>	<i>mišēt</i>	<i>mišētuw</i>
fem.	<i>nisītiy</i>	<i>nisītin</i>	<i>mišētiy</i>	<i>mišētīn</i>
1. com.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisīna</i>	<i>mišēt</i>	<i>mišēna</i>

*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 *ligīn* (< **lagin*) (a suffixed example is *ligīn-nuh*) and by analogy one would then also expect *ligāt* for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< **lagat*). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form *nisiʕ* (< **nasā*)—instead of *nisiy*—must then have crossed over from the *a*-type perfect (compare *mišʕ*, 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 *mišʕ* must have developed from **mašā*, and endings in *-ē* + clearly belong to the *a*-type (for raising of the *a* preceding the stressed *ē* see 1.2.3.4.3.2.), but the endings of the 3rd p. pl. and 3rd p. sg. fem. (i.e. those with *y*) are identical with the *i*-type endings. For similar *a*-type forms recorded in the dialect of Biliy of group I in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:201. The forms of the *a*-type perfect in BWA are the same as in MzA.

Suffixed forms are, e.g.: *nisītuh* “I forgot him” and *nisīnāh* “we forgot him”, which are quite straight forward *i*-type, but forms like *nisāh* “he forgot him” and *ligāh* “he found him” point to the *a*-type. Similarly: *hī nisiyituh* or *násatuh* “she forgot him” and *ligyituh* or (less current) *lágatuh* “she found him”. Other examples (with doubling of *n*) in *nisītinnuh* “you (pl. fem.) forgot him” and *nisyinnuh* or (alternatively) *nisinnuh* “they (f.) forgot him” and alternatives like *ligyūh* / *lagūh* (after raising *ligūh*) “they found him”.

Imperatives of *tertiaef yāʕ* verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs *yirmiy* “throw” and *yimšiy*:

	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>irm*</i> / <i>imš</i>	<i>irmuw</i> / <i>imšuw</i>
fem.	<i>irmiy</i> / <i>imšiy</i>	<i>irmin</i> / <i>imšin</i>

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

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

	“forget”	
	perfect	
	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>nisíy</i>	<i>nisyuw</i>
fem.	<i>nisyat</i>	<i>nisyin</i>
2. masc.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisītuw</i>
fem.	<i>nisītiy</i>	<i>nisītin</i>
1. com.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisīna</i>

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

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertiaef infirmae*) imperfect

	“forget”		“go, walk”	
	<i>a</i> -type imperfect*		<i>i</i> -type imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	SG	PL
3. masc.	<i>yansi'</i>	<i>yansuw</i>	<i>yimšiy</i>	<i>yimšuw</i>
fem.	<i>tansi'</i>	<i>yansin</i>	<i>timšiy</i>	<i>yimšin</i>
2. masc.	<i>tans</i>	<i>tansuw</i>	<i>timš /-iy</i>	<i>timšuw</i>
fem.	<i>tansiy</i>	<i>tansin</i>	<i>timšiy</i>	<i>timšin</i>
1. com.	<i>ansi'</i>	<i>nansi'</i>	<i>imšiy</i>	<i>nimšiy</i>

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

N.B. Apocopated *tertiaef infirmae* 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms are very regular in group VI. Other examples are *aǧ!abiyyah lliy btalghuw sakanuw fi wiǧih gibil ašŠa'id* “the majority of those you find settled down in the south in Upper Egypt”, *hatlāguh* “you’ll find him”, *aw'a tans!* “don’t you forget!” and *iw biti:ǧluh* “and you boil it (a long time)”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertiaef infirmae*) imperatives

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current, e.g. *irimhi'* “throw it (sg. fem.) away!”, *ansuh* “forget him!”.

3.2.2.5.4. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiaie infirmae) participles*

Active participles have the patterns C₁āC₂iy, C₁āC₂yih, C₁āC₂yīn and C₁āC₂yāt. E.g. *lāgyīy, lāgyih, lāgyīn, lāgyāt* “having found”.

3.2.2.5.5. *Verbs C₃ = y (tertiaie infirmae) verbal nouns*

No instances of verbal nouns of tertiaie infirmae were recorded.

3.2.2.6. *The verb “come”*3.2.2.6.1. *The verb “come” perfect and imperfect*

		“come”			
		perfect* ¹		imperfect* ¹	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>ǧī</i> * ²	<i>ǧuw</i>	<i>yǧǧy</i> * ⁴	<i>yǧǧw</i>
	fem.	<i>ǧāt</i>	<i>ǧīn</i> * ³	<i>tǧǧy</i>	<i>yǧǧīn</i>
2. masc.		<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧītuw</i>	<i>tǧǧ</i> * ⁵	<i>tǧǧw</i>
	fem.	<i>ǧītiy</i>	<i>ǧītin</i> * ³	<i>tǧǧy</i>	<i>tǧǧīn</i>
1. com.		<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧīne</i> ⁷	<i>iǧǧy</i> * ⁶	<i>niǧǧy</i>

*¹ Apart from stress in the imperfect paradigm, these forms are reminiscent of forms heard in the dialect of Biliy (see De Jong 2000:204).

*² But when suffixed: *hū ǧānī* “he came to me”, but both *hū ǧā^uk* and *hū ǧī^uk* (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [ɪ]: [dʒɪ:ˈk]) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also *hū ǧi:k* (IPA [dʒɪ:k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.

*³ *n* is doubled when followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix, as in *tǧǧīnnu fi dāruh* and *ǧītīnnu fi dāruh*, and also doubling of the *n* when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, including those of the 2nd p. sg.: *ǧīnnuḵ / ǧīnnik* “they (fem.) came to you sg. masc. / sg. fem.”.

*⁴ In rapid speech *byǧǧy* may be realized as *biǧǧy*, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. *fi ṣṣayf biǧǧy riḥ kiṭūr, iw fiḥ fi lmašti⁷ byǧǧy riḥ kiṭūr* “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 yā⁷ verbs.

*⁶ The form *aǧǧy* came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form *iǧǧy* 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: *ta⁷āl, ta⁷āliy, ta⁷āluw, ta⁷ālin*.

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb “come” participles*

Participles of the verb “come” are: *ġāy*, *ġāyih*, *ġāyīn*, *ġāyāt*.

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.	<i>madd</i>	<i>madduw</i>	<i>ymidd</i>	<i>ymidduw</i>
	fem.	<i>maddat</i>	<i>maddin</i>	<i>tmidd</i>	<i>ymiddin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>middēt</i>	<i>middētuw</i>	<i>tmidd</i>	<i>tmidduw</i>
	fem.	<i>middētīy</i>	<i>middētīn</i>	<i>tmiddiy</i>	<i>tmiddin</i>
1.	com.	<i>middēt</i>	<i>middēna</i>	<i>imidd</i>	<i>nmidd</i>

* Raising of *a* in closed syllable preceding stressed *ē* is regular (like in the dialect of Biliy of group I in the north and also in groups II⁷⁸ and VII. See also remark to the perfect paradigm in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the *ē* of the ending is diphthongal *ay*, as in e.g. *ħaṭṭayt* “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. *yħuṭṭ* “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*: *ħuṭṭ*, *ħuṭṭiy*, *ħuṭṭuw*, *ħuṭṭin* “place!”.

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

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *mādd*, *māddih*, *māddīn*, *māddāt*.

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

3.2.3. *Derived measures*3.2.3.1. *Measure n-1*3.2.3.1.1. *Measure n-1 sound roots*

Measure *n-1* is used to express the passive. The underlying patterns are $anC_1aC_2aC_3$, $ynC_1aC_2iC_3$. The vowel of the preformative (in both perfect and imperfect) may be stressed in positions eligible for stress and surface

⁷⁸ For the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:205. For group II, see *ibid.*:309.

forms often show raised *a*, e.g. *ángiṭa'*, *yíngiṭi'* “be cut”, *ánwikal*, *yínwikil* “be eaten”. The paradigms are:

		“rejoice”			
		perfect		imperfect*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>ánbiṣat</i>	<i>inbáṣatuw</i>	<i>yínbiṣit</i>	<i>yinbáṣtūw</i>
	fem.	<i>inbáṣatāt</i>	<i>inbáṣatīn</i>	<i>tínbiṣit</i>	<i>yinbáṣtīn</i>
2. masc.		<i>inbaṣátt</i>	<i>inbaṣáttuw</i>	<i>tínbiṣit</i>	<i>tinbáṣtūw</i>
	fem.	<i>inbaṣáttiy</i>	<i>inbaṣáttin</i>	<i>tinbáṣtīy</i>	<i>tinbáṣtīn</i>
1. com.		<i>inbaṣátt</i>	<i>inbaṣátna</i>	<i>ínbiṣit</i>	<i>nínbiṣit</i>

* In the imperfect forms the underlying |a| ‘reappears’ in syllables closed by C_2 (here *ṣ*) after elision of *i* preceding C_3 (here *t*). The fact that the *i* preceding *ṣ* is actually underlying |a| can also be concluded from the fact that it is not elided from forms like *yínbiṣit* (i.e. the form is not *yín(i)bṣit*; a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like *yíkitbuw*). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern $\text{min}C_1aC_2iC_3$, e.g. *múnbiṣit*, *minbaṣtah*, *minbaṣtīn*, *minbaṣtāt* “rejoicing”.

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

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

Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure $n-1$ of medial geminate verbs are: $\text{in}C_1aC_2C_3$ and $\text{yin}C_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. *inḥaṭṭ*, *yinḥaṭṭ* “be placed” and *inṣabb*, *yinṣabb* “be poured”.⁷⁹

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

The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure $n-1$ of medial weak verbs are: $\text{in}C_1āC_3$ and $\text{yin}C_1āC_3$, e.g.

		“be carried”			
		perfect		imperfect*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>inšāl</i>	<i>inšāluw</i>	<i>yinšāl</i>	<i>yinšāluw</i>
	fem.	<i>inšālat</i>	<i>inšālin</i>	<i>tinšāl</i>	<i>yinšālin</i>
2. masc.		<i>inšilt</i>	<i>inšiltuw</i>	<i>tinšāl</i>	<i>tinšāluw</i>
	fem.	<i>inšiltiy</i>	<i>inšiltin</i>	<i>tinšālty</i>	<i>tinšālin</i>
1. com.		<i>inšilt</i>	<i>inšilne</i>	<i>inšāl*</i>	<i>ninšāl</i>

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

⁷⁹ It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is *a-* (i.e. *anḥaṭṭ*) or *i-*.

3.2.3.1.4. *Measure n-1 C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles*

Participles are shaped on the pattern $miC_1\bar{a}C_3$: *minšāl, minšālah, minšālīn, minšālāt* “carried away, removed”.

3.2.3.2. *Measure t-1*

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

3.2.3.3. *Measure 1-t*3.2.3.3.1. *Measure 1-t sound roots*

Underlying patterns for measure *1-t* are: $aC_1taC_2aC_3$ $yiC_1taC_2iC_3$. Like in measure *n-1*, raised *a* is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: *áštīǧal, yíštīǧil* “work”, *áttifag, yúttifig* “agree” and *ástuwa, yístiwiy* “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms for $C_3 = y$ are:

		“buy”				
			perfect		imperfect	
			sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.		<i>áštara</i>	<i>áštaruw</i>	<i>yíštiry</i>	<i>yíštiruw</i>
	fem.		<i>ášarat</i>	<i>ášarin</i>	<i>tíštiry</i>	<i>yíštirin</i>
2.	masc.		<i>išarayt</i>	<i>išaraytuw</i>	<i>tíštiry</i>	<i>tíštiruw</i>
	fem.		<i>išaraytiy</i>	<i>išaraytin</i>	<i>tíštiry</i>	<i>tíštirin</i>
1.	com.		<i>išarayt</i>	<i>išarayna</i>	<i>ištiry</i>	<i>níštiry</i>

3.2.3.3.2. *Measure 1-t C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae)*

An example of a medial weak measure *1-t* verb is *ihtāǧ, yihtāǧ* “need”.

3.2.3.3.3. *Measure 1-t C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

An example of a medial geminate measure *1-t* verb is *i‘tazz, yi‘tazz (bi)* “be proud (of)”.

3.2.3.3.4. *Measure 1-t participles*

Patterns for measure *1-t* participles are $miC_1tiC_2iC_3$ (underlying $miC_1taC_2iC_3$), $miC_1taC_2C_3$ *ah/ih*, $miC_1taC_2C_3in$, $miC_1taC_2C_3āt$.

Examples are: *míštīǧil* “working”, *miftársih* “predatory (of animals)”, *místiwiy* “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, *mistáwyih* “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”. *mítifig* “agreed (sg. masc.)”, *mittafǧāt* “agreed (pl. fem.)” and *mítiniy* “taking care of, providing for”.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: *mihṭāǧ* “in need”, *miltammīn* “having gathered (pl. masc.)”.

One example of a passive *1-t* participle is *mittahamīn* “accused (pl. masc.)” (cf. C.A. root *w-h-m*).

3.2.3.4. *Measure ista-1*3.2.3.4.1. *Measure ista-1 sound roots*

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

		“ask for information”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>istafham</i>	<i>istafhamuw</i>	<i>yistafhim</i>	<i>yistáfihmuw</i>
	fem.	<i>istafhamat</i>	<i>istafhamin</i>	<i>tistafhim</i>	<i>yistáfihmin</i>
2. masc.		<i>istafhamt</i>	<i>istafhamtuw</i>	<i>tistafhim</i>	<i>tistáfihmuw</i>
	fem.	<i>istafhamtÿ</i>	<i>istafhamtin</i>	<i>tistáfihmiy</i>	<i>tistáfihmin</i>
1. com.		<i>istafhamt</i>	<i>istafhamna</i>	<i>astafhim</i>	<i>nistafhim</i>

3.2.3.4.2. *Measure ista-1 C₂ = y (mediae infirmae)*

Measure *ista-1* verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. *Measure ista-1 C₃ = y (tertia infirmae)*

Measure *ista-1* verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. *Measure ista-1 verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

Patterns for medial geminate measure *ista-1* verbs are: $istaC_1aC_2C_3$, $yistaC_1iC_2C_3$, an example is (*i*)*sta'add*, *yista'idd* “prepare oneself”.

Short *a* in the perfect preceding stressed \bar{e} may be raised (e.g. *ista'addēt* > *ista'iddēt*), see also remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

3.2.3.4.5. *Measure ista-1 participles*

Participles of measure *ista-1* verbs have the pattern $mistaC_1C_2iC_3$, e.g. *mista'ġil* “in a hurry”.

For *mediae geminatae* the pattern is $mistaC_1iC_2C_3$: *mista'idd* “having prepared, ready”.

3.2.3.5. *Measures 2 and t-2*

Measure 2 has morphologically alternating short vowels: *a* in the perfect and *i* in the imperfect. The patterns are: $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, $yC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$.

Measure *t-2* has morphologically fixed *a*. The patterns are $taC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

3.2.3.5.1. *Examples of measure 2 sound roots*

Like in group I, the high vowel *i* of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: *yžabb'uw* “they do a proper job”, *bittall'uw gišāyid* “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems”, *bīybarrkuw 'ašil* “they let a throughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [bⁱːbarkoʷ ʔaˈsɛi:l].

Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in *ṭammṣ ilbunn* “you roast the coffee beans” and *w itxalliy ṭḡammr išwayyih* “and you let it (burn) a little (to) become glowing embers”.

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

When $C_2 = C_3$, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *ṭhálliluh* “you analyze it” (I.P.A. [ət’ħalilo^h]).

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae

Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

	perfect* ¹		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>sawwi</i> * ²	<i>sawwuw</i>	<i>ysawwīy</i>	<i>ysawwuw</i>
fem.	<i>sawwat</i>	<i>sawwin</i>	<i>tsawwīy</i>	<i>ysawwin</i>
2. masc.	<i>suwwēt</i>	<i>suwwētuw</i>	<i>tsaww/-iy</i>	<i>tsawwuw</i>
fem.	<i>suwwētīy</i>	<i>suwwētīn</i>	<i>tsawwīy</i>	<i>tsawwin</i>
1. com.	<i>suwwēt</i>	<i>suwwēni</i>	<i>asawwīy</i>	<i>nsawwīy</i>

*¹ For raising of *a* in closed syllable preceding stressed \bar{e} see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

*² Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final $-i > -\bar{a}$ 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 ywakkilūne #* “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, *gi’adna šahaṣayn, fi lḡbāl hādīy binḥūm. innās kānat bitxāf itwakkilne* “we stayed two months in these mountains as we moved around. People were afraid to give us food”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect

In measure *t-2* the vowel *a* is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are $taC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

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

When the imperfect preformative *t-* of the 3rd p. sg. fem. and of the 2nd. p. sg. and pl. masc. and fem. precedes, the resulting sequence *tta-* is reduced to *ta-*.⁸⁰ For tertiae infirmae *t-2* verbs the paradigms are:

⁸⁰ I have referred to this before as a haplological drop of the verbal prefix *ta-* (from an initial sequence **tata-*). This interpretation however pre-supposes verbal imperfect pre-

		perfect* ¹		imperfect* ¹	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>taǧaddi'</i>	<i>taǧadduw</i>	<i>taǧaddi'</i>	<i>ytaǧadduw</i>	
	fem. <i>taǧaddat</i>	<i>taǧaddin</i>	<i>taǧaddi'</i>	<i>ytaǧaddin</i>	
2. masc.	<i>taǧaddēt</i>	<i>taǧaddētuw</i>	<i>taǧaddi'</i>	<i>taǧadduw</i>	
	fem. <i>taǧaddētiy</i>	<i>taǧaddētin</i>	<i>taǧaddi'</i>	<i>taǧaddin</i>	
1. com.	<i>taǧaddēt</i>	<i>taǧaddēni'</i>	<i>ataǧaddi'</i>	<i>ntaǧaddi'</i>	

*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 -i', but phonetic values may also be slightly lower (i.e. nearer to I.P.A. [e']).

*² Notice also apocopation.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a $taC_1C_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g. *taǧlib* "throwing out (of a fish line)", *taybīs* "drying (trans.)", *tadrīb* "training (trans.)" and a gahawah-form *taḥadīr* "coming down".

A $C_3 = y$ verbal noun is found in *tirbāt alǧīmal* "training the camel".

Verbal nouns for measure t-2 were not recorded. For the quadriliteral 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 $mC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern, e.g. *m'aggid* "travelling", *m'allig* "keeping suspended", for $C_3 = y$ *msawwiy*, *msawwyih* etc., "making, doing" and for $C_2 = C_3$ *mǧaddid*, *mǧaddidih* (without elision of the short vowel *i*), etc. "renewing".

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is $mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g.: *mlawwan* "coloured", *mnaššaf* "dried, hardened" and *mtallal* "piled up", for $C_3 = y$ *msawwa*, *msawwayih* etc., "made, done" and for $C_2 = C_3$ *mǧaddad*, *mǧaddadih* etc. "renewed".

fixes like *ta-*, *ya-*, and *na-*, whereas these are actually *t-*, *y-* and *n-* (the latter two implying the first). The interpretation of reduction of the initial geminate is therefore preferred here.

The pattern for measure *t*-2 active participles is $mtaC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), but in participles often the *ta*- prefix has been reduced to *t*- (pattern $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mit'aşşil* "deep-rooted", *mithāddir* (*min*) "originating (from)", *mitġawwiz* "married" and for $C_3 = y$) *mtaġaddiy*, *mtaġaddyih* etc. "having eaten lunch" and also *mitharriy*, *mitharriyh* etc. "striving for, aspiring".

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and *t*-3

Like measure 2, measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels: *i* in the imperfect and *a* in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: $C_1āC_2aC_3$, $yC_1āC_2iC_3$.

Measure *t*-3 has morphologically fixed *a* in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure *t*-2, the *ta*-preformative is not often reduced to *t*-. Patterns for measure *t*-3 are: $taC_1āC_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1āC_2iC_3$.

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

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and *t*-3

Paradigms for measure 3 are:

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

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

A $C_3 = y$ verb has the following paradigms:

		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>lāga</i>	<i>lāguw*₁</i>	<i>ylāgiy</i>	<i>ylāguw</i>
	fem.	<i>lāgat</i>	<i>lāgin*₁</i>	<i>tlāgiy</i>	<i>ylāgin</i>
2. masc.		<i>lāgēt</i>	<i>lāgētuw</i>	<i>tlāg*₂/-iy</i>	<i>tlāguw</i>
	fem.	<i>lāgētiy</i>	<i>lāgētin</i>	<i>tlāgiy</i>	<i>tlāgin</i>
1. com.		<i>lāgēt</i>	<i>lāgēna</i>	<i>alāgiy</i>	<i>nlāgiy</i>

*¹ Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings: *-uw* and *-in* instead of *-aw* and *-an* current in group I.

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

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

Examples for measure *t*-3 are: [*kān*] *bintarāfag iw bintasābag* “we used to travel together and race together” and (for $C_3 = y$) *bukrah hantalāga* “tomorrow we’ll meet”, *huwwa ytalāguw* “they meet”, *intin talāgin* (like in measure *t*-2, initial *tta-* is reduced to *ta-*, cf. 3.2.3.5.4.) “you (pl. fem.) meet”. The vowel *a* preceding stress may be raised, as in the example *yti’ālağ* “he receives medical treatment” and the perfect *tihālafiw* “they became allies”.

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

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and *t*-3 participles

Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern $mC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mğāhdīn* “fighting (pl. masc.) in a *ğihād*”, *mkāf’ih* “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern $mC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$) is *mṭāradīn* “having been pushed back (in a fight)”.

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern $mtaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ or $mitC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt); like in participles of measure *t*-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.6.), the *ta-* preformative is often reduced to (*i*)*t-*. Both *mtawāğdih* and *mitwāğdih* “present (sg. fem.)” were recorded and also *mithāyig lay* “it seems to me” (cf. MSA root h-y-’).

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and *t*-3 verbal nouns

A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is *ğihād* “war against unbelievers” and another is *msā’adah* “help, assistance”. Verbal nouns of the type $tC_1\bar{e}C_2iC_3$ were not recorded.⁸¹

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect

Like in many Bedouin dialects of Sinai, verbal measure 4 is found in group VI as well.

⁸¹ Such as they have been reported for the dialect of the Aḥaywāt of group I, see Stewart 1990: 186 (text 69) and 118 (text 37).

The patterns are $aC_1C_2aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. The paradigms are:

		“have breakfast”			
		perfect		imperfect*2	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>áḥtar</i>	<i>áḥtaruw</i> *1	<i>yíḥtir</i>	<i>yíḥtiruw</i>
	fem.	<i>áḥtarat</i>	<i>áḥtarin</i> *1	<i>tíḥtir</i>	<i>yíḥtirin</i>
2. masc.		<i>ifḥtart</i>	<i>ifḥtartuw</i>	<i>tíḥtir</i>	<i>tíḥtiruw</i>
	fem.	<i>ifḥtartiy</i>	<i>ifḥtartin</i>	<i>tíḥtiriy</i>	<i>tíḥtirin</i>
1. com.		<i>ifḥtart</i>	<i>ifḥtarna</i>	<i>ifḥtir</i>	<i>níḥtir</i>

*1 Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings

*2 The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) *tíḥtiruw* and *yíḥtirin* is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_2 = w$ or y (*mediae infirmae*) perfect and imperfect

Patterns for measure 4 *mediae infirmae* are: $C_1\bar{a}C_3$ ($C_1iC_3\bar{t}$) $yC_1\bar{i}C_3$, e.g. *rād* “he wanted”, *ridt* (I.P.A. [rɪt:]) “I wanted”, *yrād* “he wants”. The paradigms are like those of *šāl*, *yšil* (see 3.2.2.4.).

Some examples of suffixed forms are: *rādatih* “she wanted him”, *ridnāh* “we wanted him”, *intuw ridtūh* “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, *intin ridtin-nuh* “you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and *rādinnuh* “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (*tertia infirmae*) perfect and imperfect

The patterns for measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (*tertia infirmae*) are aC_1C_2a (perfect) and yiC_1C_2iy (imperfect). The paradigms are:

		“give”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>áḥta</i>	<i>áḥtuw</i> *1	<i>yíḥtuw</i>	<i>yíḥtuw</i>
	fem.	<i>áḥtat</i>	<i>áḥtin</i> *1	<i>yíḥtin</i>	<i>yíḥtin</i>
2. masc.		<i>aḥtáy</i>	<i>aḥtáytuw</i>	<i>tíḥt[*]iy</i>	<i>tíḥtuw</i>
	fem.	<i>aḥtáytiy</i>	<i>aḥtáytin</i>	<i>tíḥtiy</i>	<i>tíḥtin</i>
1. com.		<i>aḥtáy</i>	<i>aḥtáyna</i>	<i>íḥtiy</i>	<i>níḥtiy</i>

*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 aḥtinnuh* “they (fem.) gave him” and *hinnah aḥtinnuh iyyāh* “they (fem.) gave it to him”.

3.2.3.7.4. *Measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect*

An example of a measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) verb is *awǧaʿ, yūǧiʿ* “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. *ibtūǧʿuh* “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and *ʿidnī awǧaʿatnī* “my ear hurt me”.

3.2.3.7.5. *Measure 4 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect*

Verb forms of measure 4 C₂ = C₃ (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 C₃ = *y* roots are: *iʿt* (apocopated), *iʿtiy*, *iʿtuw*, *iʿtin*. Suffixed examples are: *iʿiḥ-iyyāha* “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, *iʿtuh luh* “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. *Measure 4 participles*

The participles for sound roots have a miCCiC pattern, e.g. *miftīr*, *miftīriḥ*, *miftīrīn*, *miftīrāt* “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type *mriḍ*, *-ih*, *-īn*, *-āt* “wanting”.⁸² Another example is *mǧīr* “running”.

3.2.3.8. *Measure 9*

Paradigms for measure 9 are:

		“turn red”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>iḥmaṛṛ</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛuw</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛuw</i>
	fem.	<i>iḥmaṛṛat</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛin</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛin</i>
2. masc.		<i>iḥmaṛṛayt</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytuw</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛuw</i>
	fem.	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytiy</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytin</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛiy</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛin</i>
1. com.		<i>iḥmaṛṛayt</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛayne</i>	<i>aḥmaṛṛ</i>	<i>niḥmaṛṛ</i>

Participles are: *miḥmaṛṛ*, *-ah*, *-īn*, *āt*.

3.2.3.9. *Quadriliteral verbs*

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (*i*) and perfect (*a*).

⁸² Though for the verb *rād*, *yrīd* measure 1 participles *rāyīd*, *-ih* etc. were also accepted by my informants.

		“ululate”			
		perfect* ¹		imperfect* ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>zagrāt</i>	<i>zagrātuw</i>	<i>yzagrīt</i>	<i>yzágrirtuw</i>
	fem.	<i>zagrātat</i>	<i>zagrātin</i>	<i>tzagrīt</i>	<i>yzágrirtin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>zagratt</i>	<i>zagrattuw</i>	<i>tzagrīt</i>	<i>tzágrirtuw</i>
	fem.	<i>zagrattiy</i>	<i>zagrattin</i>	<i>tzágrirtiy</i>	<i>tzágrirtin</i>
1.	com.	<i>zagratt</i>	<i>zagrattne</i>	<i>azagrīt</i>	<i>nzagrīt</i>

*¹ *tt* is assimilated to *tt*, e.g. *zagrattiy*.

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

		“improvise rhymed song”			
		perfect*		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>hawġas</i>	<i>hawġisuw</i>	<i>yhawġis</i>	<i>yhawġisuw</i>
	fem.	<i>hawġisat</i>	<i>hawġasin</i>	<i>thawġis</i>	<i>yhawġisin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>hawġast</i>	<i>hawġastuw</i>	<i>thawġis</i>	<i>thawġisuw</i>
	fem.	<i>hawġastiy</i>	<i>hawġastin</i>	<i>thawġisiy</i>	<i>thawġisin</i>
1.	com.	<i>hawġast</i>	<i>hawġasna</i>	<i>ahawġis</i>	<i>nhawġis</i>

* Forms like *hawġisat* and *hawġisuw* show raising of *a > i* (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is *hġēsiy* or *thīġis*. Similarly, the verb *hawġan*, *yhawġin* “improvise rhymed song in public” has verbal nouns *hġēniy* or *thīġin*.

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 *tā*’-speaking dialect!) is a clue that this loan came via a dialect in which interdental sibilants 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”, *’aşlan* “in origin”, *fi’lan* “indeed, actually” and *hālīyyan* “currently”.

4.2. Negation

Negating a verb is done with *mā* preceding the verb form, although bipartite *mā* + verb form + *š* is also used. Of my informants, one speaker

used *mā* + verb form for more emphatic negation (almost always in combination with *xālīṣ* “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 biytarağğuw lmašāyix illiy kân hînha mawğūdîn mā ywaddūhuw Falaṣṭîn iywaddūhuw Maṣīr* # “and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt...” and *hād-illiy ya’niy btākluh, law mā lihág daktūr aw ḥāwiy biymūt* “and this (person) that he (i.e. a snake) bites, if he doesn’t (quickly) get to a doctor or a snake charmer, he dies”.

4.3. *The b-imperfect*

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

Some examples are *iw biddugg bi’id ilhōn ingūl’alēh’id ilhōn, iw ba’ad kidiyih... ilbarṛād hū ibyigly binhuṭṭ ēh?* “and you pound it with the pestle, we call it the pestle, and after that... (when the water in) the teapot is boiling and we put what?” and *hū mūhū fāhim kidiy, hū mūhū ‘arīf... innha mā bitrīduh* “he did not understand this, he did not know... that she did not want him” *w Aḷḷah btug’ud kidiyih w bitgahwiy nnās*⁸⁴ *iw btaxarraf iw bitğīb... bithawğis ilkalām illiy zimān* “By God, you sit down like this and you give the people coffee (or tea)⁸⁵ and you talk and you get... you improvise the type of talk of old times”.

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

4.4. *Future Marker*

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

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

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

⁸⁴ *bitgahwiy nnās* or *bitgahw innās* (the latter with apocopation); these two sequences are homophonous.

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

⁸⁶ In contrast, *widd* is current in group I, see De Jong 2000:238–239.

halhīnit bidd-āxd iššuggah w uxušš... w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread it”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed *ha-*, e.g. *ya'niy halhīnit áwalad il'ašil illiy hū 'indina nihá'... hatlāguh ibyasma' kilām uḫūh* “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 lhikāyah diy, hayagṭa' -áššigār,*⁸⁷ *hayagṭa' ūh* “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 bukraḥ hinih, ašūfluḥ wāḥid iygūlluḥ ēh? 'al-ēh? 'ala ttadrīb diḥ.* “If you stay here tomorrow, I'll get you someone who will tell you what? About what? About this training (of camels)”.

4.5. *fih* “there is / are”

fih is used to express existence or availability of something,⁸⁸ e.g. *iw fih i'šāb fi lbaṛṛ bitdāwiy ssukkaṛ* “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually *mā fih* (or K-form *ma fiš*), e.g. *gār ánnaxaḷ, mā fih izrā'ah zamān* “there were only palm trees, in the old times there was no agriculture”.

Also *māš* may be used for negation (but was only heard in BWA): *gaḅ! ilfašil kān ya'niy ḥwēl alfēn ittālā... ya'niy māš kaṭīr* “before the separation there was, that is, around two thousand, three... that is, there was not much” and *w Aḷḷāhiy māš isdūd fihe... iblādna hāḍiy* “By God, there are no dams in it... (in) (this) our land”.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions *lamma* and *yōm*

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions *lamma* and *yōm*, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *hayagṭa'uw + aššigār.*

⁸⁸ *fih* ‘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 lihguw waṛ-ábil, šār ilkōn...yōm šār ilkōn gāmuw gasamuw mí' 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 fš hawa xāliṣ* “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and *fih mayyih, halhīn ilǧbāl yōm tiǧhi', subḥān Allāh ṛabbna mí'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 insābig yōmin nǧ-ál'arab,*⁹¹ *fihimt lay kēf?* “that is, we were young lads riding camels, and we'd race each other and we'd race and when we'd come to the village, you see what I mean?”

yōmin was only recorded in BWA.

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

There were no instances of direct suffixing of *yōmin*.

4.6.1.1.2.3. *min yōm*

min yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. *kunt fi Maṭariyyih sākīn, bass bašūf ilǧbālāt hāḍōlah 'ala 'yūnī w aná fi Maṭariyyih law-ddūnī min yōmin fakkat Sīnih, law kull yōm alf iǧnēh 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 gaṣalatha ḥurmit'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 + ál'arab*.

⁹² Many members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai (following the 1967 war) as refugees in the Egyptian Nile Delta.

⁹³ A twig is traditionally given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies as a token of the girl's engagement to him.

4.6.1.1.2.4. *min yōm* in combination with *ma*4.6.1.2. *lamma* and *lumma*

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

4.6.1.2.1. *lamma* and *lumma* “when” used independently

Examples of *lamma* used for “when”: *alḥīnit lamma bigūl luḵ intah min wēn?* *bitgūl luh ana Mzēniy* “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him ‘I am a Mzēniy’”, *inhuḡ gōṭaruw hnūh aṣil lamma tḡakkir Sīna zamān alblād hēdiy maḡál* “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 lhīn aḡḡayf lumma biyǧīk, lumma byǧīy ḡḡayf, ta‘mal luh gahwah*⁹⁴ “Now when the guest comes to you, when the guest comes, you make coffee for him”.

4.6.1.2.2. *lamma* + *in*. *lamma* or *lumma* + *in* was not recorded4.6.1.2.3. *lamma* and *lumma* “until”

lumma (see also remark below in 4.6.1.3.) or *lamma* may be used in combination with *laǧāyit* for “until”, e.g. (prosodically lengthened *a* in the first syllable) *la:ǧāyit lumma ddaxanah btabga bēḡā’* “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without *laǧāyit*, as in *iw byinḡaṭṭ luh šwayyih zayy ma tgūl fi ššamis lamma yṛūb* “and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles” and *bithuṭṭ... ḡamir issiyyāl nār lamma táhaḡam* “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 Dīháb nihāniy lōmma midāris fátaḡin...* “and we came to Dahab 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 *ta‘mal luh gahwah*, proper MzA would be more something like *itsaww luh gāhawah* or *tḡahwih*.

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

4.6.2. *ḥatta*4.6.2.1. *ḥatta* “until”, “so that”

ḥatta “until” was recorded in *bitdugguh iw biti:ḡluh*⁹⁶ ‘*ala lḡayyih aw mā ḥatta tiḡluh* ‘*a lḡayyih* “you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water”.

ḥatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: *ya’niy halḥīnit álwalad il’aṣil illiy hū ‘ūdina nihā’... hatlāḡuh ibyasma’ kilām aḡūh. ibyarḡa’... ya’niy ḥatta ‘aḡūḡ ibyarḡa’ alē’k w aḡḡuḡ ibtarḡa’ alē’k... “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. *ḡām*

Unconjugated *ḡām* used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects. In only one instance (but conjugated) *ḡāḡuw* was used in a narration of events: *yōm ṣār ilkōn ḡāḡuw yōm liḡuw war-álbil, ṣār ilkōn... yōm ṣār ilkōn ḡāḡuw ḡasamuw 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. *ṙāḡ*

ṙāḡ 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 zilīṡ iṣḡayyir zayy zilīṡ ṣa:yḡ aw zilīṡ ḡanáḡ mā yḡurr bass inkān min zilīṡ iṣṣa:yḡ aḡala l il’ukkah... “(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 ‘ukkah”.*⁹⁷

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

⁹⁷ A ‘*ukkah* is like a watersack (*ḡirbih*) made from animal skin, but smaller and made from the skin of a young animal, making the leather smoother.

4.7.3.1.2. *Suffixed inkān*

Instances of suffixed *kān* were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.3. *il + kān*

Instances of *il + kān* were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. *kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza*

An example of *kān* preceded by *iz* or *iza* meaning “if”: (a line of poetry) *w izkān intuw bitliffūh ‘ala miyyih* “and if you’re going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and *ra‘ānī[yih]...alimsimmih diyyih. dīy iz kān nilgāha fi šgāgni’...gār naqta‘ aššuggah kidīy...w intušši’* “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 bniftixir bēha ḥatta kān biygūluw waddīy w hātīy* “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 iddaḥāhim dīllih...masalan alḥnīt ‘ašar t-ālāf...ixlāl arba‘ t-ušhur xamis t-ušhur...i‘ ašar t-ālāf dīllih talghin ‘iśrīn 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 ilmaḥrah ḥatta mā ywakkūne...kān wālidī w uxtī w uxūy 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 gīlīd aw irfayyī‘ lāzm iykūn miš ya‘niy nō‘ayn* “and we put it in there. Be it thick or thin, it shouldn’t be two kinds (mixed), that is”.

4.7.3.2. *Absence of a conditional particle*

Often conditional sentences are not introduced by a particle, e.g. *il... alḥīn ákalat ib símaha, hū ytiḥf kidīy f-īdu, iw yaxabaṭha kidīy* “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 *ligatnāh fi lxēt. iw mnā...mnimšiy šwayyah zayy ‘ašarah mitir, iw binunšur tānīy* “if we have

caught it in the net, (and) then we what? We walk a little farther, like ten metres, and we throw out (our net) again”.⁹⁸

4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. *ir* or *ar*

Presentatives *ir* or *ar* were not recorded.

4.8.2. *hē* + suffix

To draw the listener’s attention to something or someone, a presentative particle *hē* may be used followed by a personal pronominal, e.g. *hēhū ġi!* “there he is!”, *hēhī ġāt* “there she is!”, *hēhuwwa ġuw* “there they (masc.) are!”, *hēhinnah ġin* “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: *‘ašar dagāyig iw tiglibha ma fiš dig . . . kam digiġih w tiglibha ‘a lġāl ittāny w linnhī yōm āstuwat . . . bittallihha* “ten minutes and you flip it over after less than a min . . . a few minutes and you turn it on its other side and there it is, when it has become cooked . . . you take it out”.

Another example is with the variant particle *ilin* + suffix: *w fi lxaṛṛāfah diyyih . . . ilinnih irkāb ġin*¹⁰⁰ “and in this story . . . there they were, the riding animals came” (recorded in MzA).

4.8.4. Particle *wlā* +

An example of the presentative particle *wlā* (used more or less like *wlin*): *w ibtalħagħa ‘a ššāġ ġalibtēn talātih wlāha mistawjih* “and you put it on the šāġ and flip it two or three times, and there it is: cooked!” (recorded in BWA).

⁹⁸ The fishing technique described is with nets (sg. *šuggah*, pl. *šgāg*) on a line (*xayt*; here *xēt*) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (*‘ala ħarf ilbāħah*) and throw out their nets on the deep side.

⁹⁹ See Blanc 1970:34 (145).

¹⁰⁰ *rkāb* is pl. (of small numbers) of *irkābih*. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see ‘concord’ in 4.16.

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *ilimħilliy ġār iyxaddim* ‘a *ḍḍayf* “the host should serve the guest” and *rawwaḥna luh, ana gult ēh? ġār arawwiḥ luh. awaddih l alḥurmah dīy, yimkin áššifi’ al-īdhi^h* “we went to him, [and] I said what? I need to go to him. I’ll take him to this woman, maybe she can cure him (lit. the cure is by her hand)”.

4.10. Intensifying Particle *la*

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

4.11. *bidd* or *widd* + *pron. suffix*

To express “want” or “need” speakers of BWA use *bidd* and *widd* side by side (the latter is heard more inland, the former nearer to the coast). In MzA only suffixed *bidd* is common.¹⁰¹ Examples for “need” or “want” are: *widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Sli¹⁰²* “we want to go to Wādiy Islah” (BWA), *ēš bidduk?* “what do you want?”, *bidduh yāxid šīġār mi-nḥānīy iyḥálliluh* “he wants to take plants from here to analyze them (sg. masc.)”.

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

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘*ād* is current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: ‘*ād yōm tišrif ‘ala šarafat ilGā’ ibyīnšabb ġād fi sēl Wādiy Fērān* “so when you look out at the highest point of alGā’ it flows there into the flood course of Wadi Fērān” 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 ‘ámhin ḥiluw* “so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet”.

¹⁰¹ In group I *widd* is current.

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

4.14. *Characteristics of the Narrative Style*4.14.1. *Imperative of narration*

The narrative imperative is one of the characteristics of the narrative style. An example is *w ašhabuw syūf. zimān ġār b isyūf. [...] iw taxx taxx taxx w asla'uw kitif wāhid, iw hū yušurud, úšurduw řawwħuw tTařābīn...* “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 Tařābīn”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) *innās ġuw ‘ilēh dammuh kulluh fi ddaġ‘ah, nāzil... zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuh, iw huṭṭuw ‘a lbi‘ir iw yimšuw* “people came to him, all his blood had run on the ground... like a flood. They gathered it together and buried his blood and put him on a camel and they went away”.

4.14.2. *kān as a temporal marker*

As another characteristic of the narrative style, unconjugated *kān* can be used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *bass zimān fi sSu‘ūdīyyah hnūtiy kān innās mā btalga tākil* “but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat”, *ilmayyah kān bitganniy fi lwādiy 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 ‘indīn-ayw-marākib... marākib bass iṣġayyrāt ya‘niy... iṣġayyrāt... tálātah mitir aw arbá‘ah mitir ya‘niy timšiy bēhin min ba‘ad ášša‘ab timš luḡ iṭnēn bēha* “yes, we used to have boats... boats, but small, that is... small ones... three or four meters (in length), that is, you go with them beyond the reef, you go for yourself two (kilometers) with them”. Another example is: *min yōm itxuš luḡ talāt arba‘ mitir ba‘id ‘an išša‘ab ma biyġi‘k xālīš. lākin law mišēt ‘á-šša‘ab byimšiy wařā‘k* “when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Morray eel) will not come to you at all. But if you walk on the (edge of the) reef, it will come after you”.

4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

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

Similarly, a pl. is used in designations of quantity like *w ithuṭṭ* ‘*alēhin ēh?* *gadd* ‘*ašar iḡrāmāt 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* (~ ‘*ašarah 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: *bingīb arṣuḡfān iw birraḡḡidhin f-áššahan* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *il’ ašar t-alāf dillih talghin išrīn alf* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halhīn ihwidyān... aḡlabīyttin la Biniy Wāšil... ka milkiyyih, tawḡad lēhin waṣāg fi ddēr, tawḡad lēhin waṣāg kiḏiy... ya’niy... aḡlabīyt ihwidyān inNabig... išŠarim...* “nowadays most of the wadis belong to the Baniy Wāšil... 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 fih hūt kūtīr f-álbiḡar iw fih iḡrūš, bass iḡrūš diy mā-ḡadd ya’niy mā-ḡadd ibyākilhin. bass ya’niy ibnišādhin barḡuh b ilxayṭ biyḡīn fi lxayṭ barḡuh* “and there is a lot of fish in the sea, and there are sharks, but these sharks, that is, nobody eats them. But, that is, we fish for them also with a line, they also come on a line”.

5. A SKETCHY REMARK ON PITCH

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

¹⁰³ I merely conclude the absence of this feature in my material. I do not exclude the possibility of its existence in this group.