

CHAPTER THREE

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE TAṚĀBĪN, ḤWĒṬĀT, ĞARĀĞRAH, TAYĀHA, BADĀRAH, DBŪR AND MALĀLḤAH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the Bedouin dialects of the Taṛābīn¹ (of Rās Ṣadr on the Gulf of Suez, abbreviated as TAṢ, and of Nwēbi‘ on the Gulf of ‘Aqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ğidy in Sinai,² abbreviated as ḤwA), Ğarāğrah (of Malbad, some 40 km to the southeast of Rās Ṣadr,³ abbreviated as ĞrA), Tayāha (on the Tih plateau of central Sinai, abbreviated as TyA), Badārah (in aṛ-Ṛamlah,⁴ abbreviated as BdA), Dbūr (some kilometres south of Qal‘at al-Ğindiy,⁵ abbreviated as DbA) and MalālḤah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,⁶ abbreviated as MIA) are described as forming the southern continuation of group I.⁷ This is also the dialect type spoken in the northern Sinai by the tribes Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Masā‘īd, ‘Ayāydaḥ, (farther into eastern central Sinai) Aḥaywāt (as it appears in Stewart 1987 and 1990) and the Taṛābīn of the north. This type, which was earlier described in De Jong 2000:Chapter 1, links up to the dialect spoken by the Ḍullām in the Negev Desert, described in Blanc:1970. The same dialect type is spoken by branches of the Bedouin

¹ The Taṛābīn claim descent from the Bugūm of the southern Ḥiğāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).

² Geographical coordinates of Ğabal al-Ğidy are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddī).

³ Geographical coordinates of nearby Ğabal al-Malbad are appr. 29.29.41 North and 33.05.55 East, see Google Earth.

⁴ Badārah were recorded in a small settlement located at appr. 29.02.50 North and 33.33.39 East, see Google Earth. Another recording session was conducted farther towards the east a few kilometres south of Ğabal Fōgah or Fawga, coordinates appr. 29.01.26 North and 33.40.22 East. and 29.02.35 North and 33.34.18 East, see Google Earth.

⁵ Geographical coordinates of Qal‘at al-Ğindy are appr. 29.51.00 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth. If my memory serves me well, it is the settlement visible on Google Earth around the coordinates 29.48.30 North and 33.07.30 East.

⁶ Al-Gṣaymah is at appr. 30.40.08 North and 34.22.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Quseima).

⁷ The MalālḤah are actually on the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. They were included here, since their dialect was not discussed in De Jong 2000.

tribes Tayāha, Taṛābīn and ‘Azāzmah living in the Negev Desert, and has been succinctly described in Henkin 2008. The dialects of the same group I (or Negev-) type, but spoken more toward the central parts of Sinai (ḤwA,⁸ DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA)⁹ will be collectively referred to here as ‘southern group I dialects’.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA (in the northeast) is identical to that of group I in De Jong 2000:¹⁰

	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)					(ʾ)
emph.					ṭ															
nasal		m				n														
fricative			f		s	z	ṭ	ḍ	š	(ž)			x	ġ			ħ	ʿ	h	
emph.					ṣ	(z)		ḍ												
affricate												ġ								
trill						r														
emph.						(r)														
lateral						l														
emph.						l														
glides		w										y								

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

Of consonants listed here, those in brackets are heard in loans, such as q and ʾ in the word *qurʾān* “Koran”. They are marginal as a phoneme, such as z in *zabbat*, *yzabbīṭ* “do properly”, or are allophone, such as ž for ġ; in

⁸ The triangular area in the central north of Sinai which is indicated on the map as Ḥwēṭiy territory (between the dīrahs of ‘AyA, nTA and AḥA) was not visited during this research. For the maps in the appendix I have simply followed the findings for ḤwA as spoken by Ḥwēṭāt to the southwest of this area to colour in this area as well.

⁹ See remark in fn 7, p. 193.

¹⁰ Cf. De Jong 2000:59.

some of the dialects *ž* is highly regular, while in other dialects it is rare. The phonemic status of *ɾ* is sometimes disputed, and therefore *ɾ* is bracketed in this inventory.¹¹

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t̪/, /d̪/ and /d̪/

Reflexes of *t̪ and *d̪ are interdentals t̪ and d̪ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively. Emphatic d̪ (I.P.A. velarized [ð̤]) is the interdental reflex of both *d̪ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *d̪ in) *rawḏ* (pl. *riḏān*) “small watercourse between low mountains” (DbA), *ḥāmīḏ* “sour” (BdA), *ḏayf* “guest” (TyA) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) *yḏall* “he remains” (TAN) and *ḏaharah* “his back” and *ḏimy* “thirst” (both ĞrA).

In a number of lexemes *z* (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in *zābit* “officer”, *b azzabt* “precisely”, *mazbūt* “correct”, *muḥāfiḏ* “governor”, *nizām* “system”, *zurūf* “circumstances” (TyA) (notice that in the latter three examples short high vowels have not been dropped from the open initial syllables, which is another indication of their status as loans), *naẓẓam*, *ynaẓẓim* “organize”, *ḥāwūz* (pl. *ḥawāwīz*) “large storage tank for oil” (in ḤwA and TAŞ), *ḥāḡih fiḏī'ah* “a disgusting thing” (DbA), etc.¹²

In all dialects both *hāḏa* and velarized *hāḏa* “this (sg. masc.)” may be heard, except in ḤwA, where such velarization as in the latter form is not current.

The reflexes for *t̪ and *d̪ are interdentals t̪ and d̪. Examples for *t̪ are: *naḥarīt* “we plough” (ĞrA), *tillāḡah* “refrigerator” (BdA and *tallāḡah* and *talḡ* “ice, snow” in TAŞ),¹³ *biḡtannuw lha* “they come back to her” (ḤwA).

For *d̪: *nubḏur* “we sow” (ḤwA), *kiḏb* “lying” (BdA) and *adbaḥah* “I slaughter it (masc.)” and *miḏrāh*¹⁴ “winnowing fork” (both ĞrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA *t̪ in “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” has a reflex *t*:¹⁵ *tillāḡah*, *talḡ* and also *ḥaddūtih* “story; fairy tale” (BdA, TAŞ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *t̪ is *s*, e.g. *ta'sīr* “influence” (TAN), *bit'assir 'alēh* “it (fem.) has an

¹¹ For remarks on the notation of *r* or *ɾ*, see De Jong 2000:65–67.

¹² Additional examples may be found in De Jong 2000:60. In TAN *mḥāfiḏ* with emphatic interdental as final consonant was also recorded.

¹³ In winter temperatures below zero are not uncommon in the higher parts of the mountainous region of southern Sinai.

¹⁴ I was told that the ‘older’ word for “winnowing fork” in ĞrA is actually *digrān*, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.

¹⁵ *t* for *t̪ in lexemes *talḡ* and *tillāḡah* is also regular in dialects of groups VI and VII in 1.1.2. of chapters I and II.

influence on him” (TyA), *tuṛās* “legacy” (ḤwA), *ḥādsih* “accident”, *bi ḥays* (cf. MSA *bi ḥaytu*) “so as to...” (TAŞ) and *masalan* “for instance” (all dialects), and for *ḏ it is z, as in *zakālak*¹⁶ “likewise” (DbA) or *kazālak* (TAŞ), *bala m’āxza* “no offense intended” (DbA) and *bizr* “seed” and *bizrih* “seed (n.u.)”, but *hū byubḏur ibḏār* “he sows seeds” (TAŞ).

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

Like in other group I dialects *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes *k* (I.P.A. [k]) and *g* (I.P.A. [g]). These group I dialects do not have a separate phoneme /ḳ/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4. Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/

A regular realisation of /ǧ/ in southern group I dialects is [dʒ] (with varying degrees of the plosive onset [d] of this affricate; also [dʒ̥]). The fricative allophone ʒ (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is more regular in southern group I dialects than in those of the north and it is particularly frequent in ḤwA.

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

In all southern dialects of group I a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the *ṭ*, is not very clear. Much more clearly audible is the complete lack of aspiration in the release of *ṭ*—resulting from the total closure of the vocal cords—and the immediate onset of voicing for the following vowel, which coincides with the release of *ṭ*.

In one case the reflex for *ṭ was *ṭ*: *ti‘mih* “bait”, which must be related to the root *ṭ-‘-m* (DbA). The form *tal‘ah* “(a usually rocky) watercourse between two mountains used to climb through (i.e. a pass)” is presumably related to the root *ṭ-l-‘* “ascend” (TAŞ).

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)

Like in many other groups in Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb “ask” is ʾ: *sa‘al*, *yas‘al*. Also the presentative *arʾ* or *irʾ* “behold!” shows ʾ for *ʾ (< root *r-ʾ-y).¹⁷

¹⁶ Compare MSA *ka-dālik*, after metathesis > *ḏakālik*, and after reinterpreting morpheme boundaries of *ḏa-kālik* as *ḏakā-lik*, after which *-lik* could be interpreted as the suffixed preposition *l* used as a presentative. See also remark on *kizāluḏ* in fn 4, p. 117.

¹⁷ Also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:418.

In **ra*'s "head", loss of ' is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel *rās* in all dialects. The pl. is *rūs* in TyA, ḤwA, DbA, BdA, ĞrA, but pl. *ryūs* in TAŞ and TAN.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern *CiCaC (or *CuCaC) are often CCaC in these group I dialects, e.g. *rkaḥ* "knees", *šnaḥ* "suitcases", *ḥgan* "injections", *nxaḥ* "noses", etc.

1.1.7. Secondary velarization

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:63–65), secondary velarization is a feature typical of southern group I dialects as well. In many cases a combination of a velar (*g*, *x* or *ǧ*) with *l*, *r* or *b* will produce velarization, especially with *u*, *ū* or *a*, *ā* in its vicinity. Some of many examples are: *xuḷḷah*, (pl.) *xḷaḷ* "screened off private section of a tent" (TAŞ), *mxallaḷ* "pickled" (ĞrA), *ānnaxaḷ* "the palm tree" (ĞrA), *ǧrāb* "crow" (ĞrA), *ǧallaḥ* "grain, cereals" (ĞrA), *ǧūlah* "desert giant" (ĞrA), *šūǧl albaḥr* "of the desert" (ĞrA), *uǧḥah* "after him" (DbA), *ǧaḷḥ* "heart" (DbA), *ǧāḥiḷha* "before her" (ĞrA), *xallaḥum* "he let them" and *xallaḥ ytaǧalla* "let him go free" (both BdA), *ǧlayyil* "little", *agalla* "less; least" (both TAŞ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between *gullaḥ*, pl. *ǧlaḷ* "pitcher, jug" and *gillaḥ* "lack, paucity".¹⁸

1.1.8. Liquids *l* and *r*

In ḤwA there is a phonemic opposition between /*r*/ and /*ṛ*/ in the minimal pair *drās* "threshing" and *drās* "the hard remains of the stems after threshing (thrown away as refuse)". In TyA a near minimal pair *dāriy* "knowing (sg. masc.)"—*dārī* "my house" (though stress differs) may be used to isolate /*r*/ and /*ṛ*/ as phonemes as well.

Generally, the combination *ār* will be velarized, unless *i* follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). There are many examples, of which some are: *miṭmārah* "storage for grain", *škārah* "sack

¹⁸ There is a phonemic difference, but to identify the different phonemes causing this difference in meaning is problematic.

A *gullaḥ* "waterjar" (pl. *ǧlaḷ*) is referred to as *bittiyih* (pl. *batātīy*) in TAŞ, while older people refer to the waterjug as *zimzimiyih* (which reflects underlying *a* in the second syllable, hence not *zimzimiyih*), cf. the well *Zamzam* in Mecca. The word *gullaḥ* is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. *karniffah* (pl. *karānīf*), originally refers to the thick part of the palm leaf where it attaches to the stem, but is now also used metaphorically for the head of a tank-fired shell.

for grain” (ḤwA), *faxxār* “pottery”, *nār* “fire”, *nahār* “day(-light)”, *ġrār* “jar (pl.)” and *ktār* “many (pl. com.)”, *kbār* “old (pl. com.)”. Also: *mixšār* “large wooden fork used to stir food”, *zwārah* “visit to (the tomb of) a saint” (DbA), *xuwwār* “inferior type of camel, bred for meat”, *byār* “wells”, *Badārah* “name of the tribe Badārah”, *ḥwār* “one-year-old camel” (all TyA).

Notice, however, how following (either present or elided) *i* within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g.: *albāriḥ* “yesterday”, *šārib* “lip; having drunk (sg. masc.)”, *‘aqārib* “scorpions”, *sāriḥ* “taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)” and (elided) *‘ārfin* “knowing (pl.)”, *Bšāriy* “of the tribe *Bišāriyyah* (referring to a type of camel)”, *šāri* “street”, *xarārīf* “stories” and *tārīx* “history”.

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in *bindārġiḥ mdāraġiḥ* “we take it (in travel) in stages” and in the plural form in *Sēl liXbār* “the Wādiy (lit. Stream) of the fields”, but the other pl. form *xibāriy* “agricultural (plots of) land fed by rainwater”.

1.1.9. *Nasal n*

No remarks.

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

A feature noticed in TyA is the glottalization of (especially) the *ā* in an ending *-āC* in pause > *-āʔ*, after which the C (in all recorded instances this was an alveolar) is no longer pronounced. Examples are (the dropped final consonant is indicated in square brackets): *Fērāʔ* # [n] “Wādiy Fērān”, *kattāʔ* # [t] “killer”, *Nṣayrāʔ* # [t] “(a sub tribe) Nṣayrāt”, *blāʔ* # [d] “land”.

1.2. *Vowels*

1.2.1. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

Like northern group I dialects, southern group I dialects have three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:	<i>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*

Like in group I dialects of the north, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ occurs in most southern group I dialects as well. However, in TAŞ, ĞrA and TAN this feature was found to be less regular than in the other group I dialects. Examples are *sīf* “sword” (TyA), *zīn* “good” (TyA).

Notwithstanding such phonetic overlapping, the phonemic status of phonemes /ē/ and /ī/ can be established with a minimal pair like *šēn* “bad”—*šīn* “name of letter š”.

In several dialects of group I imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root *y-b-s*) monophthongization has remained absent, keeping the morphological pattern transparent, e.g. *yaybas* “he dries (intrans.)” (recorded in ḤwA, ĞrA, TyA, TAŞ).

1.2.2.2. *Allophones of long vowels ō and ū*

In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs **ay* and **aw* have been monophthongized as *ē* and *ō*. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through a minimal pair like: *rūḥ* “go! (imperative sg. masc.)”—*rōḥ* “soul”.

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [o:], but phonemic clash with reflexes of **aw* is avoided, since **aw* tends to be realized as a diphthong *aw* in such positions.

In verbs with *wāw* as their first radical, the diphthong *aw* has often not been monophthongized, which keeps verb forms morphologically transparent, e.g. *nawgaf* “we stand” as opposed to monophthongization in *tōgid* “you light” (both in DbA and ḤwA) and *tawṣafnī* “you describe to me” and *tōzin* “you weigh” (both in TAŞ). But in TyA both *yawṣal* “he arrives” and *yawrid* “he gives water” have diphthongs. In ĞrA there appears to be a tendency to monophthongize *aw* in closed syllables, e.g. *yawrid* “he waters”, but *yōrduw* “they water”. Examples in BdA: *yowgaf* “he stands” and *yōkiha* “he ties it (fem.) closed”.

Some $C_1 = w$ verbs in ḤwA also have imperfect forms occurring without incorporated *wāw*,¹⁹ e.g. *tigīf* “she stands”, *tagfīn* “they (pl. fem.) stand”, *yirīd* “he waters” and *tardiy* “you (sg. fem.) water”, but a form like *tizīn* for “you weigh” was not accepted during direct elicitation.

¹⁹ Shawarbah 2007:432 also reports *yūr(i)d* and *yīsil* for TyA.

Notice that in the forms *tigif* and *yirid* the vowel of the first syllable is actually underlying *a*, hence it is not dropped in open unstressed syllable (which would have resulted in forms like *•tigif* and *•yirid*) and ‘reappears’ as *a* in closed syllables (cf. the sg. fem. forms quoted).

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel *ā*

The long vowel *ā* may have a realization as high as I.P.A. [ɛ:], mainly in neutral positions and when followed by *i* or *ī* in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), as in *nāsīy* ‘having forgotten (act. part. sg. masc.)’, *nāyim* ‘asleep (act. part. sg. masc.)’, *rāsīy* ‘anchored (act. part. sg. masc.)’, *dārīy* ‘knowing (act. part. sg. masc.)’ and *ġārīy* ‘running (act. part. sg. masc.)’.

But *ā* is realized nearer to I.P.A. [a:] in positions like *nās* ‘people’, and also in *nāsī* ‘my people’ (contrast *nāsīy* above).

Also in ḤwA the phonetic difference between *ā* in *mākīl* ‘having (sg. masc.) eaten’ and *nāyim* ‘sleeping (sg. masc.)’ (both near I.P.A. [ɛ:]) and in *nākīl* ‘we eat’ and *nām* ‘he slept’ (both nearer to I.P.A. [a:]) is clear. Another example is /ā/ (near I.P.A. [a:]) in *šāl* ‘he carried’ and *šāyil* ‘carrying’, where /ā/ is nearer to I.P.A. [ɛ:].

In velarized environments, *ā* is realized near I.P.A. [ɑ:], as in *rāsī* ‘my head’, *dārī* ‘my house’ and *ġārī* ‘my neighbour’.

The difference in realizations of *ā* in *rāsī* and *rāsīy* may be explained by recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ạ̄/, or /r/ and velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. In the case of differences in a near minimal pair like *nāsīy* and *nāsī*, absence or presence of velarization is irrelevant. We could isolate /ɛ:/ and /ā/ as separate phonemes.²⁰

However, since *nāsī* is stressed on the final syllable, whereas *nāsīy* is stressed on the first, concluding stress as being phonemic would be equally justified, if we would choose to regard [ɛ:] and [ɑ:] as allomorphs of /ā/.

1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels

Like in northern group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a feature of allegro style in southern group I dialects as well.²¹

²⁰ The problem of identifying phonemes in cases such as described here was discussed before in De Jong 2000:65–67.

²¹ Shawarbah 2007:421 reports for TyA of the Negev that shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions only occurs in open syllables; in closed syllables their length is retained.

1.2.3. *Short vowels*1.2.3.1. *Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/*

In a number of minimal pairs short high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be isolated as phonemes:

<i>Xiḍr</i> “male given name”	– <i>xuḍr</i> “green (pl. com.)”
<i>xirm</i> “elongated species of fish”	– <i>xuṛm</i> “hole”
<i>‘igb</i> “offspring”	– <i>‘ugb</i> “after”
<i>girbih</i> “watersack”	– <i>gurb</i> “nearness”
<i>hibb</i> “kiss!”	– <i>hubb</i> “love”
<i>ṣifr</i> “zero”	– <i>ṣufr</i> “yellow (pl. com.)”
<i>šiggah</i> “his guest section of the tent”	– <i>šuggah</i> “fishing net”

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

<i>habb</i> “grain”	– <i>hubb</i> “love”
<i>haṭṭ</i> “he placed”	– <i>huṭṭ!</i> “place!”
<i>šadd</i> “he pulled”	– <i>šidd!</i> “pull!”

1.2.3.2. *Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I*

The subject of phonetic factors influencing the phonetic quality of *I* has been discussed at some length in De Jong 2000:70–74.

In the pl. com. form for colours or physical defects *i* tends to show up in neutral environments, and *u* in velarized or labial environments, but different dialects show different short vowels. Forms recorded are:

šidf in ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but *šudf* in TAŞ “left-handed (pl. com.)”; *‘imy* in ĞrA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but *‘umy* in TyA and TAŞ “blind (pl. com.)”; *‘irġ* in ĞrA and BdA, but *‘urġ* in TyA, ḤwA and TAŞ “limping (pl. com.)”; *zirġ* in ĞrA, TyA and ḤwA, but *zurġ* in TAŞ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”; *hibl* in BdA, but *hubl* in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.)”.

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, *u* is regular in *humr* “red (pl. com.)”, *xuḍr* “green (pl. com.)” and *ṣufr* “yellow (pl. com.)” in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are *turš* “deaf” (TyA), *humg* “stupid, silly” and *xurš* “dumb” (both ḤwA and TyA).

The short vowel in the imperfect of the verbs “eat” and “take” is *i* in all dialects discussed here: *yākil* and *yāxid*. Imperatives of these verbs tend to have *u* in the velarized forms of the sg. masc.: *xuḍ* and *kuḷ* (velarization is

indicated here with a subscript dot in *ḍ* and *l*).²² In the other forms *u* is dropped, but velarization remains, as in (sg. fem.) *xḍiy*, *kḍiy*, (pl. masc.) *xḍuw*, *kḍuw* and (pl. fem.) *xḍin kḍin*. When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near I.P.A. [u] is regular: *yā nās ukḍúw* “eat, people!” and *yā ḥrayym ukḍín* “eat, women!” (examples from TAŞ).

Like in other dialects of Sinai, medial geminate verbs tend to show *i* in neutral environments, and *u* elsewhere. Some of many examples are (for all dialects, unless indicated otherwise), *u* in: *ydugg* “hit, pound”, *yḍurr* “be harmful to”, *yxuḍḍ* “churn”, *ykuḍḍ* “bite”, *ymuşş* “suck”, *yşubb* “pour”, *yṭubb* “find, encounter; go to”, *yxuşş* “enter”, *yṭuşş* “throw”, *yḥuṭṭ* “place”, *yrudd* “be related to; answer”, *yṭuxx* “shoot, fire”, *yluxx* “be soaked in”, *yruşş* “sprinkle”, *yġukk* “churn, shake” and *ykutt* ~ *ykitt* “go downstream in a wadi” (ḤwA, BdA, but ~ *ykitt* in TAŞ).²³

i is heard in: *yšidd* “pull, tighten”, *yfik* “loosen”, *yliḥ* “go around, turn”, *ymidd* “stretch out”, *ytiḥ* “spit”, *yširr* “let dry (of dates) in a *maşarrah*”, *yriḥ* “flutter (of tent cloth)”, *yġiḥ* “dry”, *ytim* “take place”, *yhim* “be important for”.

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

Since a separate phoneme /k/ is not found in group I, exceptions like those noted for groups VI–VIII (and in group II)²⁴ are not found in group I.

1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels

Allophones of short vowels *i*, *u* and *a* are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–76, which are in turn also like those in group VI.

1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/

Allophones of /i/ are like those described for group VI.

1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/

Allophones of /u/ are like those described for group VI.

²² A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in *x* or *k*, e.g. *xuḍ* and *kuḍ*, or throughout, e.g. *xuḍ* and *kuḍ*, but since velarization spreads, marking it in one location may be sufficient.

²³ Again we see variation of the high vowel in the contiguity of *k*, see remark in fn 18, p. 30 above.

²⁴ See De Jong 2000:253.

1.2.3.4.3. *Allophones of /a/*1.2.3.4.3.1. */a/ in non-raised positions*

Allophones of /a/ in non-raised positions are like those described for group VI.

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

Although raising of *a* in the pattern CaCīC has been characterized as regular and therefore morphophonemic in dialects of group I of the north, such raising is optional in most southern group I dialects, except in ḤwA, where it is also concluded to be morphophonemic. In DbA raising of *a* tends to be inhibited by preceding *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *x* or *ǧ* (with preceding *h* was not recorded in DbA).

Except when *a* is preceded by *ʿ*, such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors in the other southern group I dialects. Examples recorded are (illustrating all dialects, except ḤwA and DbA): *ṣarīmih* ~ *ṣirūnih* “bridle”, *alʿArīš* ~ *alʿIrīš* “name of the town al-Arish”, *xalīǧ* ~ *xilīǧ* “gulf”, *ʿarīs* ~ *ʿirīs* “bridegroom”, *raḥīl* “travelers”, *daǧīǧ* ~ *diǧīǧ* “flour”, *rafiǧ* ~ *rifiǧ* “companion”, *raḥīf* “thin”, *ǧalīd* ~ *ǧulīd* “thick”, *raǧīǧ* “thin”, *xafīf* ~ *xifīf* “light” and also *ǧanīy* “rich”.

Forms only recorded with raised *a* are: *gibīlah* “tribe”, *kitīr* “much, many”, *ǧimīʿ* “all”, *biʿīr* “camel”, *kibīr* “big; old”, *ṣiǧīr* “small; young”, *gidīm* “old”, *ʿirīs* “bridegroom”, *iǧīn* “dough”, *ḥizīn* “sad”, *dixīl* “guest taking refuge”, *ṣiǧīǧ* “brother”, *širīf* “honourable”, *riǧīf* “loaf of flat round bread”, *bixīl* “stingy”, *ʿIlīy* “male given name ‘Aliy” and *ṭirīy* “moist, soft”.

In most group I dialects of central and southern Sinai preceding hamzah blocks such raising, e.g. *ʿaṣīl* “thoroughbred” and *ʿatīm* “orphan” and also in verb forms (*ʿ*)*aǧīb* “I bring”, (*ʿ*)*aṣīl* “I carry”, (*ʿ*)*aǧīk* “I come to you”, (*ʿ*)*arīd* “I want” and (*ʿ*)*abīʿ* “I sell” (see however remarks in 3.1.1.8. and 3.2.1.2.). Forms with the *b*-imperfect are treated similarly, e.g. *babīʿ*, *barīd* (raising of *a* in mediae *yāʿ* verbs of the type (*b*)*ibīʿ* or (*b*)*irīd* for the 1st p. com. sg. is rare in the dialects discussed here, see also remarks in 3.2.1.2.).

- No instances were recorded of raised *a* preceding stressed CCī, examples are: *baṭṭīx* “watermelon”, *baddīʿ* “improvisor of rhyme”, *xarriǧ* “alumnus”, *sakkīnah* “knife”, *ǧarnūṭ* “octopus”, *sabīn* “seventy”, *xamsīn* “fifty”, *Katrīn* “(St.) Catherine”, *kabrūt* “matches”, *xanzīr* “extra growth of twigs (to be removed) on lower stem of the grafted almond plant (lit. pig)”, *ǧarǧīriḥ* “watercress (n.u.) (?)” and many more.
- Instances of raising of *a* preceding stressed Cē: in TyA, ḤwA and DbA one will hear e.g. *ʿilēha* ~ *ʿalēha* “on him”). Such raising in the suffixed

preposition *‘ala* (e.g. *‘alēh* > *‘ilēh*) was not observed in TAŞ, TAN, ĞrA, MlA or BdA.

In verb forms we find optional raising in ḤwA, TyA, ĞrA like *mašēt* ~ *mišēt* “I walked” (~ *mišit* in ḤwA), *laġēt* ~ *liġēt* “I found” (~ *liġit* in ḤwA, TyA), *fadēt* ~ *fidēt* “I sacrificed”, though in MlA, TAŞ and BdA such raising was absent; forms there are e.g. *mašēt*, *fadēt* (*liġit* only appears as *i*-type). Notice that in verb forms of the *a*-type imperfect raising of *a* may take place when it precedes *ē*, but not in forms with diphthongs (i.e. when it precedes *ay*), so e.g. *ṛamayt* “I threw”, *ḏawayt* “I went home before sunset”.

- raising of *a* preceding CCē is not current in MlA, TAŞ, TAN (though once *suwwēt*), BdA or TyA. Forms with raised *a*, though optionally so, like *middēt*, *šiddēt* etc. are however current in ĞrA, ḤwA and somewhat less so in DbA.
- raising of *a* preceding stressed Cā is regular in all dialects discussed here, but optional, e.g.: *Tayāha* ~ *Tiyāha* “name of tribe Tayāha”, *Ġamāl* ~ *Ġimāl* “Ġamāl (‘Abd anNāšir)”, *ribā’* “camel in its sixth year”,²⁵ *ġināh* “small irrigation canal”, *ġarādil* ~ *ġirādil* “buckets”, *bahāyim* ~ *bihāyim* “cattle (pl.)”, *gazāzih* ~ *gizāzih* “bottle”, *Sawārkih* ~ *Suwārkih* “name of tribe Sawārakah”.
- raising of *a* preceding stressed CCā is optional: *fissāy* “expert farter”, *ġiṣṣāš* “tracker”, *billāš* “thief; extortionist”, *biṛrād* “teapot”, *tillāġih* “fridge” and *wiġ‘ān* “suffering pain”, *milyān* “full”, *hiġġān* “camel rider”. Such raising was heard mainly in BdA, ḤwA, ĞrA and TyA, but was found to be much less current in MlA, TAN, TAŞ and DbA.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final *-á(‘)* (if not raised).

- raising of *a* preceding stressed *ū* is optional: *ġumūs* ~ *ġamūs* “food dip”, *xurūf* ~ *xarūf* “lamb”, *ġunūb* ~ *ġanūb* “south” and *yuhūd* ~ *yahūd* “Jews”. With initial hamzah such raising remains absent (contrast with groups VI–VIII): (‘)*abūy* “my father” and (‘)*axūy* “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae *wāw* verbs (‘)*aġūm* “I get up”, (‘)*aġūl* “I say” (see remark * below).
- raising of *a* preceding stressed *a*: (all dialects have a CaCÁc stress-type) *ġimāl* “camel”, *libán* “milk”, *šġár* “trees”, (a gahawah-form) *šihár* “month”, *sibág* “race”, *mi‘áh* “with him” and verb forms *mišá’* “he walked”, *kitáb* “he wrote” and (gahawah-form) *yixázín* “he stores”. Here

²⁵ See Stewart 1990:255 (glossary).

too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (ʾ)*adáb* “good manners”, a verb form (ʾ)*axád* “he took” (TyA) and gahawah-forms like (ʾ)*ahál* “people”, (ʾ)*a’áma* “blind”, (ʾ)*a’áraġ* “limping, lame” and (ʾ)*axáđar* “green”.

- raising of *a* preceding stressed *u* does not occur when *hamzah precedes the *a*: (ʾ)*axušš* “I enter”, (ʾ)*aħutt* “I place” (in contrast to such forms as *uxušš* etc., heard mainly in groups VI–VIII).
- raising of *a* preceding stressed *i* does not occur when hamzah precedes the *a*: (ʾ)*ašidd* “I pull tight”, (ʾ)*amidd* “I stretch out” (in contrast to such forms as *išidd* and *imidd* etc. heard in groups VI–VIII).

Stress in perfect forms of verbal measures *n*-1 and 1-*t* is *ánwikal*, *áttifag*, etc. (see 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.3.3.). The article is stressed in a sequence *áCvCv(+)* (see 2.1.1.1.), e.g. *álġimal* “the camel”, *álbuṣal* “the onions”.

Like in groups VI–VIII, when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is raised, as in *yinqdirib* “he is beaten”, *yittifig* “he agrees”.²⁶

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. [i^h].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: *ġibál al’Iġmih ba’ád atTih* “The Iġmah mountain lies behind the Tih”, (first word in) *kilmih magyūlah* “a spoken word”, *ba’ád kiđiy aġaṭṭiha b almallih xāliṣ* “after that I cover it completely with hot sand”,²⁷ *tītil’ allibbih w lannha eh? mistawiyih tamām attamām* “you take out the libbih and there it is what? Perfectly cooked”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. *šurṭah* “police”, *ġilīđah šwayyih* “a little thick”, (second word in) *kilmih magyūlah* “a spoken word”, *alġiṣṣah* “the story”, *baxūrah* “incense”, *xūxah* (velarized throughout) “peach”, *ađmah* “bone”, *māsk alxūṣah f-īdi* “holding the knife in my hand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and ħ, e.g. *mā tukfurha ʿašān mā tíʿaffan itxallha fāṭħih* “don’t close it (i.e. the bottle), so that it doesn’t spoil, you leave it open”.

²⁶ And also like in groups VI–VIII, in the verb forms *yinqdirib* and *yittifig*, the raised *a* will again ‘reappear’ as *a* when in closed syllables, e.g. *yinqđarbuw* and *yittáfguw*, see also 3.2.3.1.1.

²⁷ *mallih* is the hot sand under the glowing embers in which the loaf of bread (*libbih*) is baked. A *libbih* is a thick round of dough baked in hot sand and embers. This type of bread is also prepared by men when they are travelling.

1.2.3.5. *Prosodic lengthening of short vowels*

To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short vowels. Examples are: *iw minnih āh? iysawwlūh yōm yabrā:d fi mā'un naḍīf* “and after that what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container”, *maḥāl mā biyǧǧy maṭār wala kān ligīt alḥamād hāda axaḍar* “barren, no rain comes (to it) nor did I ever see (lit. find) this flat stony land²⁸ green”.

1.2.4. *Long vowels and diphthongs*1.2.4.1. *Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw*

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

Examples listed for group VI for *ay may also be heard in group I. Some additional examples are: *ǧēšna* “our army”, *šēn* “bad, ugly”, *swēkin* “(dim. of) living”, *asSwēs* “Suez”, *zēt* “oil” and examples for ō listed for group VI may also be heard in group I, *nō* “type, sort”, *ǧōz* “husband”, *ǧōltak* “what you said (lit. your saying)”, *lōnah* “its (sg. masc.) colour”, *ǧōm* “enemy tribe”, *ǧōz* “sandy hill, dune”, and *lōz* “almonds”.

When *ay and *aw are preceded by X or velarized consonants, they have not been monophthongized, but have remained diphthongal.

Examples are (for ay) *ʿayn* “eye”, *ʿayš* “food”, *xayr* “goodness”, *xayl* “horses”, *ḥayṭ* “walls”, *ṣayd* “hunting”, *ḍayf* “guest”, and examples of verbs are *ḥaṭṭayna* “we placed”, *xadḍayna* “we churned”, *išṭarayna* “we bought”, *ḍaḷḷayt* “I stayed” and (for aw) *ḥawl* “year”, *ʿAwdih* “given name ‘Awdah”, *xawf* “fear”, *ṣawt* “sound; voice”.²⁹

There is a tendency to prosodically lengthen the first element of the diphthong ay (which has an I.P.A. value between [a] and [ɛ]), especially in positions with primary stress. Forms with such lengthened diphthongs were heard mainly in TAŞ, TAN, ĞrA and BdA. Examples are *ʿa:yš* “food”, *ʿa:y:n* “eye”, *ʿa:y:b* “disgrace”, *xa:yṭ* “thread”, *xa:y:nih* “severe cold (as a disease)”, *ḥa:y:l* “strength”, *ṣa:y:f* “summer”, *ṣa:y:d* “hunting”, *Fra:yǧ* “male given

²⁸ Stewart 1990:232 (glossary) lists *ḥamādih* “flat barren stony land”. For further references, see *ibid.*

²⁹ Shawarbah 2007:422–423 describes a situation for TyA of the Negev where monophthongization of *ay (as ē or ī) and *aw (as ō) is general and not conditioned by phonetic environment.

name *Frayğ*. Similar lengthening of *aw* was heard in *tga:wɫir* “you go” and *bya:wɫuw* “they travel (on foot?)”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, *mawğūd* “present (adj.)”, *aw'a* “watch out!”³⁰ and also *šawlly* “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and also verb forms like *awrid* “I water” and *awgaf* “I stand up” and *ğawna* “they came to us”. The advantage is that the arrangement of root consonants in a morphological pattern like $aC_1C_2aC_3$ (as in *awgaf* instead of *ōgaf*, compare e.g. *ašrab* “I drink”) has remained transparent.

The suffixed preposition *lay* “to me”, *bay* “with me” are better interpreted as *lay + y* and *bay + y*. In analogy to these forms, one will also hear *fay* “in me” in all dialects (~ *fini* in ĞrA).

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

In many dialects of group I the phonetic difference between /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments is often minimal, and in some lexemes the phonemes overlap. Such overlapping results from the higher realisation of /ē/, rather than from a lower realisation of /ī/. Examples are *sīf* “sword”, *šīx* “sheikh”, *bīt* “house”, *itnīn* “two”, *sanatīn* “two years”, *zīn* “good”, *ḏ'ayfīn* *iftītāt* (< *ftētāt*) “tiny children”. In such examples the *ē* is not quite full *ī*, but it is very near [i:].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MlA, TyA, HwA, DbA and ĞrA but none were heard in TAN, TAŞ and BdA.³¹ Possible minimal pairs to isolate the five long vowels are (see also De Jong 2000:79):

dēr “monastery”—*dīr* “turn (trans.)”—*dūr* “turn (intrans.)”—*dōr* “floor (in a building)”—*dār* “house”
ğābih/-ah “bring it!”—*ğēbih/-ah* “his pocket”—*ğābih/-ah* “he brought it”, *gōm* “enemy tribe”—*gūm* “get up!”

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

In the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, *ā* in neutral surroundings is realized near I.P.A. [ɛ:], but this is the case usually only when *i* follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. *ārīf* “knowing” and *mizārī* “fields for agriculture”, but *rāyīb* “curdled (of milk)”, or ‘vanished’ *i* disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. *drās* “threshing”. In other

³⁰ In HwA, ASA and HnA *aw'a* is conjugated: *aw'a tans!*, *aw'iy tansiy!*, etc. “don't you forget!”. In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. *aw'a tansin* “don't you (pl. fem.) forget”.

³¹ My Turbāniy informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmēlāt and Sawārkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).

(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æ:],³² as in for instance in *šāyī* “my tea”. Thus also the phonetic difference in /ā/ in the examples *šāl* (near I.P.A. [æ:]) “he carried” and *šāyil* (nearer to I.P.A. [ε:]) “carrying”.³³

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ɑ:] as in *dār* “house”, *xalāš* “and that’s it!”, *ḍārūbah* “thoroughbred (fem.) camel”, etc.

Minimal pairs, or near minimal pairs like *ḡārī* “my neighbour” and *ḡārīy* “running” thus become possible. Similarly *dārī* “my house” and *dārīy* “knowing” (both with [ɑ:] and [ε:] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.³⁴

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(ʾ)

Like in dialects of group I in the north, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments is often *-īy*.³⁵ Some examples found in all dialects discussed here are: *štīy* / *āšštīy* “(the) winter”, *šīy* / *ālīšīy* “(the) evening”, *hniy* “here”, *grīy* “villages”,³⁶ *mīy* / *ālmīy* “(the) water”. Colours are: *sawḍīy* or *sōḍīy* “black (sg. fem.)”, (a gahawah-form) *šahabīy* “sand-coloured”, *ḥamšīy* “a darker shade than *šahabīy* (sg. fem.)”. Physical defects: *arḡīy* “limping (sg. fem.)”, *ḥamḡīy* “stupid (sg. fem.)”, *xarsīy* “dumb, mute (sg. fem.)”, *ḥawlīy* “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”, *šadfīy* “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, *amyīy* “blind (sg. fem.)” and a diminutive form *ḡarīy* “little bald (dim., sg. fem.)”.

Raising was also heard in the forms *īlyiy* (compare CA *‘ulyā*) “upper grinding stone of a hand mill” and *dinyiy* “world”, *atTrayyīy* “the Pleiades” (in TAŠ, but in BdA *atTrayyih*), *Ġawzīy* “Gemini” in BdA and *ḡniy* “singing” in TyA.

In the perfect verb form *ḡaʾ* “he came” such raising is absent (contrast the DWA form *ḡīy*, see De Jong 2000:416). Raising is also absent in the pron. suffix of the 1st p. pl. com. *-na* “our; us”, e.g. *w im‘aggid f-alwāḍīy w aššāyib, Allāh yarḥamih, [mā] ‘indina ḥmār nāgl iḡrayyibih fi ḍahāriḥ ilnā* “and he was going in the wadi, and the old man—God rest his soul—

³² Similar remarks on the phonetic quality of /ā/ were made for nTA in De Jong 2000:69 (there abbreviated as TA).

³³ Shawarbah 2007:423–424 reports a high degree of *imālah* for medial *ā* in specified neutral environments in the speech of the Qdīrāt sub-confederation of the Tiyāha of the Negev, e.g. *wēḍīy* “wadi”, *Sēlim* “male name *Sālim*”, *‘eyiš* “alive” and *ḥēmīy* “hot”, etc.

³⁴ See also remarks in De Jong 2000:65–66.

³⁵ Such extreme *imālah* is also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

³⁶ *grīy* (as a pl. of *garyih*) was recorded in ḤWA. However, Blanc 1970:125 [14] gives *ḡrīy* as a pl. for *garyih* and glosses *grīy* as “hospitality”. If the ancestral form would be **qurā* (i.e. like in Classical Arabic), the pl. reflex *grīy* instead of *ḡrīy* makes better sense. See also fn 144, p. 111 for *grīy* in the meaning of “proper food served to a respected guest”.

(and) we did not have a donkey, was carrying a small waterskin on his back to us” (TyA).

In MIA and TyA final **-ā* of the pron. suffix of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is raised, e.g. *ṛabbayttī³⁷ w māt abūhiy w hī mā ṛabʿanat, wala ḥatt-āddriy ḡāʿ alēhiy. iw fi ḡizittiy...maʿit...yamʿatawhiy mn ihnīy min-hāda. w iykāwnūhiy lā tḡiy ʿindī* “I raised her and her father died before she was (even) 40 days old, and I even stopped breast feeding her (lit. ‘nor did the milk come to her’, i.e. because of the shock suffered by the mother caused by her husband’s death). And after her wedding...snatched (lit. snatching)...they snatched (lit. imperfect: they snatch) her away from here, from here. And they had to fight her so she would not come (back) to me” (TyA) and *itgūm itṭa ʿimhiy³⁸ b xūxah...itḡib min ḡuṣn alxūxah w itraggidhiy fihiy...* “you then go and graft it with a peach tree...you get one of the twigs of the peach tree and you tuck it (sg. fem.) into it (sg. fem.)”³⁹ (MIA). The form *ykāwnūhiy* in the former example also shows that preceding *ū* does not inhibit raising of the final *a* in *-ha*.⁴⁰

In the other dialects (TAN, TAŞ, ḤWA, ĞRA, DbA and BdA) raising of **-ā* in this pronominal suffix is absent. Instead, a glottal catch, especially in pause, often accompanies the final (short) *-a*, e.g. *b addastah baḡībhaʿ #* “by the dozen I get it (sg. fem.)” (TAŞ), *yaʿniy kān aḡna mnazzmīnhaʿ...ifwāḡ ʿa talaṭ t-iyyām..* “that is, we used to organize it (sg. fem.)...in heats over three days...” (talking about camel racing) (ḤWA).

When back spirants *ḡ, x, ḡ* or velarized consonants directly precede final **-ā*, it is not raised, but in most cases has a *-aʿ* (with glottal stop, also in sandhi, and usually stressed) reflex. Examples are: *mīn-ihniy bnáxaṭir⁴¹ ašṣaṭṭ...ʿala zzamil [...]* *iw binḡīb ʿalēhin idrāʿ* “from here we go to the market on the coast...on camels [...] and we bring sorghum on them (i.e. on their backs)” (ḤWA), *kān ʿindak ṣafrāʿ...áṣṣafrāʿ hēdiy mānī ʿarīfha biyḡūluw ʿalēha ēš...* “if you have jaundice...this jaundice I don’t know (it) what they call it...”. Other examples are: *bēḡá⁴²* “white (sg. fem.)”,

³⁷ Assimilated *ṛabbayt + hiy*, see 2.5. of this chapter.

³⁸ Assimilated *t + ṭaʿimhiy*, see 2.5. of this chapter.

³⁹ *raggad, yraggid* would literally mean “cause to lie down/sleep”, but here it refers to inserting (i.e. grafting) the twig into the incision in the stem and then cover it (usually with tape). Compare to “abdecken (bei Tomatenanbau, d.h. die Pflanze in eine Grube drücken und mit Erde überdecken)” in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:168.

⁴⁰ Contrast with remarks on group I dialects in northern Sinai in De Jong 2000:166.

⁴¹ For the verb *xatar, yaxaṭir* see Stewart 1990:283 (glossary): “to go to get supplies of corn and the like”.

⁴² In ḤWA and DbA reduction of *ē* in this form was observed: *biḡáʿ*.

zargá' ~ zirgá' “blue” (in all dialects)⁴³ (often as a euphemism for “black”), *xadrá'* “green (sg. fem.)”, *awrá'* “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, *gará'* “bald (sg. fem.)” (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by *y*—in the diminutive form *gray'íy*).⁴⁴

N.B. In MLA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final *-ā*, *ṣafrā*, *zargā*, *xadrā* and also *ḍaḥā* “morning”.

When historical *a* in open syllable directly precedes, raising of final **-ā(')* remains absent, e.g. *gīfá'* “neck”, *aná'* “I”, *ḡaṭá'* “cover, lid”, *ḡadá'* “lunch”, *ašá'* “dinner”, *dawá'* “medicine”, *samá'* “sky”, *sawá'* “together”, *ṭaná'* “young boy”.

In a form like *raxá'* “abundance”, *ḍaḥá'* “morning” there is a combination of inhibiting factors preventing such raising (historical *a* in open syllable preceding and *X* preceding in combination with the spread of velarization).

When *a* in preceding open syllable is not historical, but a gahawah-vowel, such raising of final **-ā(')* is not inhibited, e.g. *ṣaḥabíy* “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, *kaḥalíy* “variety of blueweed”.

In TAŞ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives *ḥawlíy* and *ḥáwlíy*: *saxaḥ ḥawlíy* “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—*ḡídíy ḥáwlíy* “a one-year-old billy goat”.

Like in other dialects of group I (see De Jong 2000:82), a short (underlying) *a* in open syllable directly preceding will prevent such raising (provided this *a* is not a gahawah-vowel), e.g. *ašá'* “dinner”, *ḡadá'* “lunch”, *nidá'* “moistness, dew”, *gīfá'* “nape of the neck”,⁴⁵ *aná'* “I” and also in velarized forms like *ṭará'* “moist ground”, *waṛá'* “behind”, *ḍará'* “windscreen”, *gaḍá'* “law”.

Final *-a* in verb forms of the perfect of *tertiaef infirmae* is not raised, e.g. *fadá'* “he sacrificed”, *mašá'* “he walked” and also velarized forms like *ramá'* “he threw”, *waṭá'* “he went to buy”.

When the preceding *a* is a gahawah-vowel, raising in neutral environments is not prevented, e.g. *ṣaḥabíy* “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, *kaḥalíy* “variety of blueweed”.

These reflexes of final **-ā*, whether raised or not, are usually stressed, even when a heavy sequence precedes within morpheme boundaries, e.g.

⁴³ Contrast *zargíy* in ḌA, see Blanc 1970:124 [13].

⁴⁴ In TyA of the Negev the un-raised stressed endings are also short and are cut off with a glottal stop, e.g. *biḡá'* “white (fem.)” and *orá'* “one-eyed (fem.)”, see Shawarbah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.

⁴⁵ The vowel *i* in the forms *nidá'* and *gīfá'* is raised (underlying) *a*.

sōdīy or *sawdīy* “black (sg. fem.)”, ‘*arǧīy* “limping (sg. fem.)” and *xadṛá* “green (sg. fem.)”, *ṭarmá* “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. *ásštiy* “the winter”, *álfīy* (*al + fīy*) “the viper”, *álgada* “the lunch”, *ánnida* “the moistness, dew” and *gillt álḥaya* “impudence”.

N.B. “here” is *hniy* in all dialects (although in MIA ~ *hāna*) and K-form *hina* may be heard in all dialects.

The forms with final *-iy* also occur sentence-medial. When suffixed, however, long *ā* will ‘reappear’. An illustrative example is in Bailey 2004:173 (entries 449 and 450, in my own transcription) *wāǧib al-ḥisnīy ‘ala griy wa dīy* (3 instances of raising) “he who’s received benefaction must feed and shelter”, but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in *man ad’a li ḥisnāh yāxid garāh* “he who’s invited his benefactor will feed him”.⁴⁶

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

Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following *ī* and *ū* towards (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:].

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ī

Off-glides in /ē/ and /ī/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:85–86.

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in ō and ū

Off-glides in /ō/ and /ū/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:86.

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs

Dialects of group I have four diphthongs: *ay*, *aw*, *iy* and *uw*. Although the transcription of poems recorded from the Tīhiy poet “Tayāhā” (Ḥusayn bin ‘Īd bin Ḥamad bin Mišliḥ bin ‘Āmir at-Tayāhā) and the Turbāniy poet “Unayz” (‘Unayz Aḅuw Sālīm Swaylim al-‘Urḏī) in Holes and Abu Athera 2009⁴⁷ does not reflect diphthongal reflexes of **ay* and **aw* when preceded

⁴⁶ Such reappearance of *ā* in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. *mī zīy*, but *mī zāna* “our goats”, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

⁴⁷ See pp. 47–62 for “Unayz” and pp. 67–81 for “Tayāhā”. Examples in ‘Unayz’s poetry are: *ǧēr* (p. 53, l. 6), *‘ēbin* (p. 53, l. 8), *raḏēna* (p. 56, l. 10), *‘ēn* (p. 57, l. 21), *ḥōl* (p. 60, l. 19), *ḥēt* (p. 61, l. 4), *ǧēbat* (p. 61, l. 9) though *gaḏḏaynāhin* (p. 54). In Tayāhā’s poetry: *al-guṣēma* (p. 69, l. 5), *fīr ōn* (p. 69, l. 13), *xēš* (p. 72, l. 11), *ōn* (p. 77, l. 5), *‘ēnah* (p. 79, l. 3), *ḏēf* (p. 79, l. 10), *xēr* (ibid.), *ǧēnah* (p. 80, l. 11), but also *ḏallaw* (p. 80, l. 21).

by X or in velarized environments,⁴⁸ my own findings for the dialects TyA and TAN described here are quite conclusive: in such positions reflexes tend to be diphthongal in these dialects of group I.⁴⁹

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments

In positions not preceded by X (i.e. back spirants *h*, *ʕ*, *x*, *ġ* or *h*) or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become *ē* and *ō*, cf. 1.2.4.1.

In final positions, verbal endings *ay* and *aw* have also remained diphthongal, as in e.g. *tansay* “you (sg. fem.) forget”, *yansaw* “they forget”, *ḥaraṭaw* “they ploughed” and also *ġaw* “they came”.⁵⁰

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, which has preserved morphological transparency, e.g. *taybīs* “drying (transitive verbal noun of measure 2 verb root *y-b-s*)”, *sawdīy* (~ *sōdīy*) “black (sg. fem.)”, *mawġūd* “present”, and also initial sequences of prima *wāw* verbs often show diphthongs, e.g. *awġaf* “I stand up”, *nawrid* “we give water”, although such forms co-occur with monophthongized forms (in this case *ōġaf* and *nōrid*). The prima *yāʾ* verb (perfect) *yibis* “dry (intrans.)” also shows a diphthong in the imperfect *yaybas*, although the form with the monophthong *yēbas* also occurs.

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

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

Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X have remained diphthongal. Phonetic values range between [ai] and [ei] for *ay and between [au] and [ou] for *aw. Some examples are: (for *ay*) *xayl* “horses”, *ġayl* “rain”, *Aḥaywāt* “name of tribe (dim.)”, *ʿayb* “disgrace” and *min yōm ṭulūʿ iShayl*, *iḡxall-attamir hayl* “when the rising of Canopus⁵¹ (is there), it causes the dates to fall” (recorded in BdA), (for *aw*) *hawġal* “wooden threshing board”, *ḥawlīy* “cross-eyed”, *ḥawl* “year”, *ʿawrāʾ* “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, *xawf* “fear” (an

⁴⁸ Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of *ay and *aw (> *ē* or *ī* and *ō* resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.

⁴⁹ One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late ʿNēz.

⁵⁰ Although I recorded a few instances of endings *-iy* and *-uw* in TAN and TyA in *a*-type imperfects (as in e.g. *tāšrabiy* and *yāšrabuw*), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. *tāšrabay* and *yāšrabaw*.

⁵¹ Canopus (Ar. *Suhayl*) is visible just above the horizon in the southern sky around mid-October. See also the proverb in Bailey 2004:75: *suhayl yixallī ar-ruṭab hayl* (in my own transcription this would be *iShayl iḡxall-árṭab hayl*) “Canopus makes the ripe dates fall”. Dates are said to be ripe for harvest as early as July in Nwēbīʿ, then two months later in Fērān, another month later in Rās Šadr and again a month later in the Delta.

example of *ġ* preceding *aw* was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are *yadbaħaw* [ˈyɛðbɛħau] “they slaughter”, *tázra‘aw* [ˈtɛzrɛʔau] “you (pl. masc.) grow (crops)”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs **ay* and **aw* preceded by velarized consonants
 Reflexes of **ay* and **aw* preceded by velarized consonants have remained diphthongal. The phonetic value of the first element of the diphthongs tends to be slightly raised and is higher than when preceded by X: [ɛi] and [ou]. Examples listed in De Jong 2000:87–88 may serve to illustrate the situation in the group I dialects discussed here as well: (for *ay*) *ʔayr* IPA [ʔɛir] “birds”, *ɖayf* [ðɛif] “guest”, *ʂayf* [ʂɛif] “summer” and (for *aw*) *ʂawm* [sɔum] “fasting”, *tawr* [ʔɔur] “overhanging cliff”.

Other diphthongs were heard in *tawr* “bull” and *tawb* “garment”, where velarization has spread backwards (i.e. from right to left) through the word.

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

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

Like in other dialects of Sinai, the diphthongs *iy* and *uw* occur in a variety of positions.

Unlike the situation in group VI, *i*-type perfect forms of the tertia *yā* verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CiCiy (underlying |CaCiy|) commonly occur in group I. Examples are: *liġý* “he found”, *fiħý* “he was surprised”, *dirý* (*b*) “he became aware (of)”, *nišý* “he forgot”, *ġilý* “it became expensive”.

Final -*iy* may also reflect older final *-ā', as in *miy* “water”, in the saying *alħisniy tnazzl alġidir ‘an alġidir*, lit. “benefaction removes one cooking pot (over a fire) (to make place) for another”,⁵² (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCā' for physical defects) *arġý* “limping (sg. fem.)”, *ħablý* “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, *amyý* “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā') *sawdíy* “black”, *šħabý* “sand-coloured”. -*iy* may also reflect *-ā, as in *ħniy*⁵³ “here”, *mi'ziy* “goats”.⁵⁴ In groups VI–VIII the reflex for *-ā(') is often -*i'*, except in patterns for sg. fem. forms for colour or physical defects. The regular reflex then, like in group I, is -*ý*.

⁵² A saying expressing the right of a host to come to someone else who has a fire, to cook food there for his guests; the man with the fire then as a deed of benefaction will remove his own pot to make place for the pot of the man acting as a host. See also Bailey 2004:164 (saying 419). In a more general sense the saying may also call for a special favour for those who have special obligations (like having to receive a guest).

⁵³ Final stressed -*ý* for *-ā is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same -*i'* reflex was recorded for *-ā and also *-ā', see De Jong 2000:89.

⁵⁴ See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root *m'-z*.

Like in group VI, final *-iy* may reflect final **-ī* in *biríy* “innocent”, final **-īy* in *šibíy* “boy”, *ġaníy* “rich”, *ṭiríy* “moist; soft”, **-ay* in *šíy* “thing” and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *‘Abbādiy* “(member) of the ‘Abābdah”.⁵⁵

Instances of final (but unstressed) *-iy* sequences created by anaptyxis are: *ḥákíy* # “telling” and *ġídíy* # “billy goat” (the morphological bases are *ḥaky* and *ġidy* resp.).

Instances of final *-uw* or *-iw* sequences created by word-final anaptyxis are: *baduw* # “Bedouin (pl.)”, *ḥiluw* # “sweet; beautiful”.

Examples of diphthongs created by word-medial anaptyxis are: *biyšūf* “he sees”, *káwiyha* “its (sg. fem.) cauterization” and *aliwlād* “the boys”.

For remarks on diphthongal endings in *a-* and *i-*type perfects of *tertia infirmae* see 3.2.2.5.1.

The adverb “here” is in most dialects *hniy*, which may derive directly from *hunā(‘)* or *hinā(‘)*.

Final *-iy* reflects final **-ī* in *biríy* “innocent”, final **-īy* in *nibíy* “Prophet”, *šibíy* “boy”, *ġiwíy* “strong”, final **-ay* in *šíy* “thing” and the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. *Su‘ūdíy* “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels may be lengthened: (expressing a long duration of time) *w iytaxālaṭaw w yal‘aba:w lamma yítifw* “and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired”, (expressing an extreme degree) *alihṛayyim haḍallāk ib‘ā:d* “those women faaar away”, *ṣayyitta bā:rdih* “its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold”.

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, TAŞ, ḤwA, ĞrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. *‘a:yš* “bread; food”, *ḥa:yṭ* “walls”, *‘a:yn* “eye”, *xa:yṭ* “thread”. Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

⁵⁵ The ‘Abābdah are an Arabic speaking (though originally speakers of Beja, a Cushitic language) African tribe living in the eastern desert of Egypt (and across the border in northeastern Sudan), to the south of the Ma‘āzah.

2. STRESS AND PHONOTACTICS

2.1. *Stress*2.1.1. *Rules for word-stress*

Stress in group I is of the máktabah-type. Rule order is the same as in group VI: elision—stress—anaptyxis.⁵⁶

Verbal gahawah-forms of the *i*-type imperfect, like *yáḥalbuw* “they milk”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The stress rules for central and southern group I dialects are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:91–92. The rules can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (contrast # for anaptyxis rule below in 2.3.)
- 2) The domain of stress is formed by
 - a.) the last three syllables of a word, including the article *al-* and the verbal *an-* prefix (and the suffixes), the vowel preceding the *t*-infix (of measure 1-*t*) if these are part of the last three syllables.
 - b.) or the last four syllables, when there are no heavy sequences
- 3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
- 4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: $vCC(C)$ 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) a) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left (all dialects except TAŞ), or
 - b) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left (TAŞ).

⁵⁶ The same rule order is reported for TyA of Negev in Shawarbah 2007:425. Stress in Negev TyA can be characterized as: *fa'ál*, *fi'úl/fi'úl/fa'il* or *fa'úl*, *fa'alah/-ih*, *fa'álatih*, *fa'á(')/fi'iy*, *yífi'iy/yáf'a* (tertia inf.), *álfa'al* (stressed article), *ánfa'al*, *yínfa'il* (surface form *yínfi'il*), *ánfa'álat* (verb measure *n-1*), *áfta'al*, *yífta'il* (surface form *yífti'il*), *áfta'álat* (verb measure 1-*t*).

2.1.1.1. *Stress in words with heavy sequences*

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are:

ásštiy “the winter”, *ál’aša* ‘the dinner, *álfīy* “the viper” (first *i* is anaptyctic), *šalāt álíšiy* (first *i* is anaptyctic) “evening prayer”, *áli’lab* (first *i* is anaptyctic) “the tins”, *mádrasah* “school”, *ásštaǵa!* “he worked”, *áttafag* “he agreed”, *ánǵasal* “he was washed”, *álbašal* “the onions”, *ábwalad* “the boy/son”, *ḍarábt* “I hit (perfect)”, *ṭíl’na* “we rose”, *ḍarábtih* “I hit (perfect) him”, *waládkiy* “your (sg. fem.) son”, *zēnīn* (*ī* stressed) “good (pl.masc.)”.

For forms like *líbsitih* “she wore it”, *libístih* “I wore it” and *šírbitih* “she drank it”, *širíbtih* “I drank it” recorded in ĞRA, see remarks in 2.4.4.

2.1.1.2. *Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences*2.1.1.2.1. *Stress in CvCvC(v)*

Examples of stress in (C)v₁Cv(C)⁵⁷ are:

(¹)v₁CvC: in all dialects: *abár* “needles”, *ahál* “people, family”, *akál* “he ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; *kal* in TAŞ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞRA), (“I come” is *aǵíy* in all dialects of group I).

CvCv(‘): *ašá* “dinner”, *mašá* “he walked”, *dawá* “medicine”, *ḥayá* “shame, bashfulness”.

Cv₁CvC: *ḥanáš* “spider”, *malág* “hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)”, *ǵatás* “he dived”; *wagáf* “he stood up”, *warág* “paper” and *šibíy* “boy”, *biríy* “innocent”, *ṭiríy* “moist; soft” (“he comes” is *yǵíy*) and gahawah-forms *šahán* “plate”, *šahár* “month” and *ba’ád* “after”.

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

In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

(C)v₁CvCv(C): stress in TAŞ is only on the initial syllable: *xášabah* “piece of firewood”, *fárašat* “she spread out”, (and gahawah-forms) *ǵáhawah* “coffee”, *áxaḍar* “green”, *áharit* “I plough”, *á’arag* “I sweat”, *táharit* “he ploughs”, *yá’arag* “he sweats”, *ḍárabaw* “they beat (perf.)”. Also when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v₁CvCv(C) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: *inwákalat* “she was eaten”, *ištáǵaḷat* “she worked”, *ittáfagaw* “they

⁵⁷ When v₁ in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|.

agreed”, *al’arabiy* “Arabic”, *albadawiy* “the Bedouin”, and also (*i*)*byāhafraw* “they dig” (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) and *alāḥamar* “the red” and *alāxaḍar* “the green”.⁵⁸

Stress in TAN, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MIA see *¹ below) is on the second syllable: *xašābah*, *farāšat*, *ḍarābaw*, *Tawārah* or (with raised pre-stress *a*) *Tuwārah* “Tawārah (tribes)”, *akālat* “she ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA) and (gahawah-forms) *gahāwah*, *axāḍar*, *aḥārit*, *a’ārag*, *tahārit*, *ya’ārag*

When (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v₁CvC(C) in these dialects (but see remark *² on TyA below) stress is also on the second open syllable from the left: *algahāwah* “the coffee”, *annaḥāšal* “the (big black) ant”, *ingalābat* “she overturned”, *ixtalāfat* “she was different”, *ištaḡālat* “she worked”, *aššāḡārah* “the tree; bush”, *alwaḡārah* “the paper (n.u.)”, *azza’atar* “the thyme”, *annaxālah* “the palm tree”, *ištaḡālaw* “they worked”, *inḍarāban* “they (fem.) were beaten”, *azzalāmah* “the man”, *inḍarābat* “she was beaten”, *assabārah* “the race”, *a’ḡabātih* “she pleased him”, but also (gahawah-forms) *alaxāḍar* “the green” and *alahāmar* “the red”⁵⁹ and also *azZaḡārah* “Wādiy Zaḡarah (a tributary of Wādiy Dahab)”.

When the heavy sequence preceding (C)vCvC(C) is created by a long vowel, stress is usually also on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *kāwanātih* “she fought him” (recorded in TyA, ḤwA, BdA, ĞrA), but *kāwanatih* in DbA and also *mgāḡalatak* “the meeting with you” (the latter two stressed on long *ā*) in BdA.

(C)vCvCvC(C): stress in TAN, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA is on the third syllable from the right: *raḡābatih*, *naxālatih*, *ya’āragaw*, *ya’āragan*, *yahārtuw*, etc.

Stress in such sequences in TAŞ and MIA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *raḡabatah*, *naxalatah*, *yā’aragaw*, *yā’aragan*, *yāhartuw*, etc. (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) (for a remark on ĞrA see *³ below).

In forms which become like a CvCvCvC(C) (‘surface’) sequence as a result of bukaḡa-insertion (see 2.2.2.1.), the bukaḡa-vowel is ignored for the placement of stress, e.g. (bukaḡa-vowel underlined) *zāḡaraḡat* “she ululated”.

⁵⁸ The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *al’axaḍar* and *al’ahamar*.

⁵⁹ See preceding fn.

*¹ In MIA stress varies in ((C)(v)C) (C)vCvCv(C); both (*al*)*gaṣálah* and (*al*)*gáṣalah*, (*al*)*gaháwah* and (*al*)*gáhawah*, *sákanaw* and *sakánaw* “they settled”, etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v₁CvCv(C): *aššáğarah* “the tree; bush” *algáṣalah* “the twig”, *minṭá’amah* “grafted (sg. fem.)”, but also *mašlahátak* “your interest”.⁶⁰

*² TyA however shows variation, since also forms with stress on the first open syllable from the left were recorded, like *azzálamah* “the man”, *ingálabat* “she overturned”, *ingáta’an* “they (pl. fem.) were cut off”, *inhášaraw* “they were crammed together”.

*³ Stress in ĞrA is placed thus: *ragábatih*, *farášatih*, *naxálatak*, *naxálatih*, but in elicited verb forms the gahawah-vowel was ignored and stress was placed accordingly: *yá’aragaw* “they sweat”, *tá’aragan* “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, *tá’aragay* “you (sg. fem. sweat)” (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are *ya’ragaw*, *ta’ragan*, *ta’ragay* resp., which are therefore concluded to be the underlying base forms).

2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule

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

Reflexes of *-ā’ in the sg. fem. of colours and physical defects, whether raised or not, will be stressed, although they have been reduced to short vowels, e.g. *xadrá(’)* “green (sg. fem.)”, *ṣafrá(’)* “yellow (sg. fem.)”, *bēdá(’)* “white (sg. fem.)”, *gará(’)* “bald (sg. fem.)”, *awrá(’)* “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final -iy, see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. *sōdíy* ~ *sawdíy* “black (sg. fem.)”, *šadfīy* “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, *hawlíy* “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and also with a gahawah-form *šahabíy* “sand-coloured (sg. fem.) (i.e. yellowish light brown)”.

Notice that stress in forms like *ašá’*, *dawá’*, pronominal *aná’* and also a verb form *mašá’* etc. is in conformity with the stress rules, and also when the article precedes and receives stress, this is according to stress rules, e.g. *ál’aša’*, *áddawa’* and also *míy* “water”, *štíy* “winter”, *šíy* “evening” and *álmíy* “the water”, *ášštíy* “the winter” and *šalāt álíšiy* (where the first *i* is anaptyctic) “the evening prayer”.

Reflexes of -ā in pronominal suffixes, whether raised or not, will not be stressed (unless they are part of the only syllable available for stress, e.g.

⁶⁰ Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Tarābīn, Sawārkah and Rmēlāt, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).

lná' “to us”), e.g. *‘indina(‘)* “with us”, *yǧīna(‘)* “he comes to us” and *mínha(‘)* or *mínhiy* “from her”.

The pair *saxaḷah ḥawlíy* “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—*ǧídíy ḥáwlíy* “one-year-old billy goat” could be used to show phonemicity of stress (recorded in TAŞ).

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

In group I, reflexes of the pattern *CaCīy are CaCiy or (after raising the short vowel *a*) CiCiy and are stressed on the ultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *wilíy* “holy man”, *nabíy* ~ *nibíy* “prophet”, *ṣibíy* “boy”.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCīy

When the article precedes a CaCiy sequence it is stressed, e.g. *ánnibiy* or *ánnibiy* “the Prophet”, *áṣṣabiy* or *áṣṣibiy* “the boy” and *áwilyy* “the holy man”.

2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms

Examples of stress in gahawah-forms (see also 2.1.1.2.2.) are: *ba‘áḏhum* “each other”, *naxáḷha* “her datepalm”.

For assignment of stress in *i*- and *u*-type gahawah-imperfects the elision of the high vowel, made possible by the insertion of a gahawah-vowel, is ignored, e.g. *yáḥalbin* “they (fem.) milk”, *táḥartuw* “you (pl. masc.) plough”, *táxabṭah* “you beat it” (these latter three in TAŞ and MIA) or *yaháḷbin*, *tahártuw*, *taxáḃtah* (other dialects).

Resyllabication of sequences CaCaCatv > CaCCitv is not a characteristic of group I dialects.

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv

A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC_aC_aIC_aV and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *biyḥálliluw* “they make heaps” and *biyǧaffifūhin* “they dry them (fem.)” and *sadditī* “my dam”. The geminate is in these cases reduced.⁶¹

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAŞ is sg. fem. *m‘ayyyih*, pl. masc. *m‘ayyyīn* and pl. fem. *m‘ayyyāt* (sg. masc. *m‘ayyiy*) (i.e. the forms are not *•m‘ayyiyih*, *•m‘ayyiyīn* and *•m‘ayyiyāt*) for “feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)”.

For active participles of the verb *ta‘aknan* “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

⁶¹ The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.

2.1.3. *Stress units*2.1.3.1. *Stress in combinations with preposition min and negated personal pronominals*

Like in group VI, the preposition *min* may form one stress unit with the following word, as in *mín-taḥat* “from below”, *mín-kidīy* “from this”, *mín-ihniy* “from here”, *mín-ihnuh* “from there”, *mín-waraʿ* “from behind”.

In negated pronominals stress is on the first syllable: *mānī*, *minta*, *mintiy*, *mihna*, *mintuw*, *mintin mūhū*, *mīha* (also *mīhī*), *mūhum*, *mihin* or *māhin* (in forms like *mūhūmma* and *mihinna* stress is on the second syllable).

2.1.3.2. *Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b*2.1.3.2.1. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l*

Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition *l* is less regular than in group VII, but does occur. An example (in ĞrA) is ‘*ala ḥittah ygūl-ilháʿ, iygūl-ilh-Aḥmḥ Saʿīd*’ “to an area he calls, he calls (it) Aḥmḥ Saʿīd”. Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form *lha* is used instead of the independent form *lēha*.

2.1.3.2.2. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b*

Enclitic suffixing of suffixed preposition *b* was not recorded.

2.2. *Phonotactics*2.2.1. *The gahawah-syndrome*2.2.1.1. *The gahawah-syndrome: a-insertion in *aXC sequences*

The gahawah-syndrome is active in all dialects discussed here. Some of many examples are: *ḍahár* “back”, *saxálah* “lamb”, *šaharayn* “two months”, *yahalbūha* “they milk her”, *Zaġárah* “name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy Ḍahab some 10 km northwest of the town Ḍahab”, *aḥáwal* “cross-eyed”, *šahabíy* “sand-coloured”, *taḥát* “under”.

2.2.1.2. *Morphological categories showing variation*

The gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where $C_1 = X$: $maXC_2\bar{u}C_3$) like *maʿarūf* “known”, *maʿazūl* “separated, isolated”, *maʿagūl* “reasonable”, *maḥarūt* “ploughed”, *maḥarūg* “burnt”, *maḥaṭūt* “placed” and *maxarūm* “pierced”, but also *maxlūt* “mixed”, *maxšūš* “special”, *mahyūn* “insulted”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern $maXC_2vC_3(ah)$: *maġarib* “time of sunset”, *maḥawíy* “treated by a ḥawíy (i.e. a snake charmer)”, *maxazan* “storage place”, but also (a loan) *mahraġān* “festival”.

Although derived measures are usually unaffected by the gahawah-syndrome, some verbal nouns of measure 2 do show gahawah-vowels, like in DbA *taḥagīg* (< *taḥgīg*) “allotment of shares of food (*ḥiggih*) during the annual visit to a sheikh’s tomb (*zwārah*)” was recorded, in MIA *taǧarīb* “going north”,⁶² in ĞrA *taḥawīš* “collecting”, *taʿašīb* “removing weeds”, *taḥabiš faḥám* “making (by controlled burning) of charcoal”. But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. *taḥwilna* “our transfer”, *taʿdīb* “punishment” and *taḥbiš faḥám* (in TAŞ).

2.2.1.3. *Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active*
The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures (for exceptions in verbal nouns of measure 2, see remark in the preceding paragraph 2.2.1.2. above). Examples are like those listed for group VI.

The examples of elatives listed for ṬwA, HnA and ʿLA are also found in our group I dialects discussed here: *aḥsan* “better/best”, *aḥla* “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, *aǧlab* “more/most” (and also a loan *aǧlabiyyah* “majority”) and *aǧla* “more/most expensive”.

In loans (from Standard Arabic or Cairene) the gahawah-syndrome is usually absent, e.g. *baḥs* “research”⁶³ and *aḥlan!* “welcome!” and also *yaʿniy* “that is; it means”, and *yaʿmal*⁶⁴ “he makes”.

Like in group VII, the fem. morpheme in construct state becomes *-at* when it follows XaC (also where *a* is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the resulting CaXaCatv sequence is not resyllabified (contrast MzA of group VI). Examples are *naxaḥlatī* “my palm tree” and *gáhawatak* (TAŞ and MIA) or *gaháwatak* “your coffee” (other southern group I dialects).

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

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

Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): *ḥiǧḥirih* “his lap”, *yašaraban* “they (fem.) drink”, *zaǧaraṭat* “she ululated”, *katuruw*⁶⁵ “they became many”.

⁶² On the system of orientation of tribes in the north of Sinai, see De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.

⁶³ *baḥs* instead of MSA *baḥt*: s for ṭ is an indication that the loan came via a sedentary dialect such as Cairene, which lacks interdental s in its phoneme inventory.

⁶⁴ See remark in fn 51, p. 137.

⁶⁵ Since *a* of the first syllable only appears in closed syllables (e.g. *kuṭur*, but *katrit*), the underlined *u* is here interpreted as a vowel created by the bukaṛa-syndrome, rather than a vowel whose elision is inhibited by it.

Examples of the bukaṛa-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are *alīkbār tafātīr alişjār* “old people are the records of young people”⁶⁶ and *ykasīr albikāriġ* “he smashes the coffee pots”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: *Şadir alḤayṭān* “Şadr al-Ḥayṭān; name of the mountain range between Rās Şadr and Nixl”.

The form *nūbuḍur al’ays* “we sow the (seeds for making) bread” is comparable to the form *yūḍukur ānnibiy* discussed in De Jong 2000:114. The application of rules is as follows (here the high vowel eligible for elision is in bold print; the anaptyctic is underlined; the bukaṛa-vowel is bold and underlined):

	base form	sandi elision	anaptyxis	bukaṛa-insertion
<i>yudkur + v</i>	<i>yudkur v</i>	<i>yudkr v</i>	<i>y<u>u</u>ḍukr v</i>	<i>y<u>u</u>ḍ<u>u</u>kur v</i>
<i>nubḍur + v</i>	<i>nubḍur v</i>	<i>nubḍr v</i>	<i>n<u>u</u>b<u>u</u>ḍr v</i>	<i>n<u>u</u>b<u>u</u>ḍ<u>u</u>r v</i>

N.B. Since the bukaṛa-rule is a late phonetic surface rule, the vowels produced by it are inconsequential for the placement of stress (i.e. the stress rule is applied before the bukaṛa-rule), e.g. *záġaraṭan* “they (fem.) ululated”, also in dialects that would otherwise stress CaváCaCv(C), as in e.g. *raġábatak* “your neck” (see remark in 2.1.1.2.2.).

2.2.2.2. Influence of l

Like *r*, *l* may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) *min aġdam gibāyil alliy hin-nih ... alliy humṃma Badārah* “of the oldest tribes, which are ... who are Badārah”, *nizil alxawāġih* “the foreigner got out (of the car)” and *min awwīl al’umr* “from the beginning of (his) life”.

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): *aşil abwādiy fih imlūhih barḍak* “because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi”, *aṛṛamīl assāxin* “the hot sand”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *’ibil and *raġil

The forms *bil* “camels” and *álbil* “the camels” and *bilha* “her camels” were recorded several times in ḤwA (not in the other dialects).

⁶⁶ *tafātīr*, cf. MSA *daftar*, *daḤātīr*. The saying stresses the importance of oral tradition: young people should use the experience of older people by consulting them. More or less like the African (Senegalese?) saying “when an old man dies, a library burns down”.

Like in group VII, *ṛāḡil*, mainly in in the exclamation *yā ṛāḡil* can be heard regularly. In one instance (in TAS) a woman was addressed with the fem. form *ṛāḡlih*: *ṭab w Allāhiy yā ṛāḡlih, úgu'diy 'indihin* “okay, by God, woman, (go) stay with them (i.e. your children)”.

ṛāḡil for was recorded a few times, but the current word for “man” is *raḡḡāl* (or, with a raised vowel *a*, *riḡḡāl*, pl. *rḡāl*).

2.2.2.3. Articulatory delay in the realization of *n*

A short high vowel *i* in open syllable in sandhi is often not elided, due to a delay in the realization of *n*, e.g. *ba'aḡin aná* “I knead”, *biyšūfin al'ayš* “they (fem.) see the bread”. The (relatively) high sonority of *n* may also create a preceding vowel as in *assamin aššihy* “the white wormwood ghee”.

Articulatory delay in (*fōgna >*) *fōgəna* “above us” was also recorded several times.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of 'ayn following geminates

Instances of articulatory delay of 'ayn following geminates were not noticed.

2.3. Anaptyxis

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for group I dialects.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis

Word-medial anaptyxis takes place like in group VI.

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

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

In group I dialects sandhi clusters of four consonants caused by the collision of morphological base forms are resolved through anaptyxis like in group VI.

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved like in group VI.

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

One example of clusters in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis (the intermediate form with cluster is marked here with a preceding *):

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)

mihnit alḥurmah >

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

* *mihnt alḥurmah* >

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

mihnt alḥurmah “the woman’s job”.

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

Like in group VI, the resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. *yiktibuw* > *yikitbuw*) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. *mihnit alḥurmah* > *mihnt alḥurmah*) is optional (see 2.3.2.3.).

2.3.3. *Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule*

2.3.3.1. *Unresolved consonant clusters*

Not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is nasal or a liquid followed by a voiceless second consonant are left intact,⁶⁷ e.g.: *sa’altha* “I asked her”, *ta’allamtha* “I learned them (pl. fem.)”, *bintha* “her daughter”, *aftakart* # “I thought”.

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *ištaḡalt fi Šarm aššēx* “I worked in Šarm aššēx”, *gult ‘anha* “I said about her” and *‘ind ba’adḥum* “with each other”, *gāmat albint maḥḥa* “the girl got up with her”, *širt baxlaṭ* “I started to be confused”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (in sandhi) *istafatt kitīr* “I gained a lot” (< *istafadt*).

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) *widdna* “we want, need”, *gillt al’ilm* “lack of science” and *lih aḍḍwēw ‘ād* “so it (sg. masc.) had the little light”. Examples of such reduction listed for group VI may be heard in group I as well.

⁶⁷ For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.

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”, *'indak* “with you (sg. masc.)”, *'indikiy* “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”.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: *'ind 'ammih* “with his uncle”.

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

The 2nd p. sg. masc. pronominal suffixes *C-ak* / *ṽ-k* behave predictably in group I.

2.3.4. *Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic*

2.3.4.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics*

The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [ɪ], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [ʊ], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.⁶⁸

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

The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:128).

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

The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:129).

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

The situation is like in group VI.

2.3.4.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi*

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

Word-initial anaptyctic vowels tend to have a phonetic value near a lax and centralized [ɪ].

Examples listed for group VI (and also for group I in De Jong 2000:130) also illustrate the situation in ṬwA and HnA.

Imperatives of the verbs (*a*)*xad* “take” and (*a*)*kal* “eat” are *ṣud*, *ṣḍiy*, *ṣḍuw*, *ṣḍin* and *ḵul*, *ḵl̥iy*, *ḵl̥uw*, *ḵl̥in*.⁶⁹ When a speech pause precedes, the

⁶⁸ This is the same as described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.

⁶⁹ All these imperative forms show considerable velarization.

anaptyctic vowel resolving an initial cluster will be near I.P.A. [v], e.g. # *uklīy*, # *uklūw*, # *uklīn* (not recorded in MLA).

2.3.4.2.2. *Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics*

Anaptyctic vowels resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [v] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ɨ]. Examples for group VI (and those listed for group I in De Jong 2000:130–131) can also be heard in group I dialects discussed here.

2.3.5. *Stressed original anaptyctics*

The reflex of the pattern CICA (i.e. *CuCaC or *CiCaC) is CCA. Stress is then placed in conformity with rules described in 2.1.1. When a consonant or speech pause precedes, the cluster # CC or C CC will often be resolved by an anaptyctic (indicated here as ə): # *əgráb*, *áləgráb* “waterskins”, # *əḡgán*, *áləḡgan* “injections”, # *əwrás*, *áləwrás* “workshops”. But when assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis will not take place, e.g. # *əṣwar*, *áṣṣwar* (pronounced *áṣwar*) “pictures”, # *ənxár*, *ánnxar* (pronounced *ánxar*) “noses”. These anaptyctic vowels are not stressed in the group I dialects discussed here.

Plurals include: *ʿšiy*, *áləʿšiy* “sticks”, *ḥšiy*, *áləḥšiy* “stones”, but there are no anaptyctic vowels in forms with an assimilated preceding article like (*al* + *rḥiy* >) *árrḥiy* “hand mills”, and also (*al* + *lḥiy* >) *állḥiy* “beards”.

N.B. Of these dialects some have short forms like *lha*’ or *lhya*, *lná*’ etc., or longer forms like *lēha*, *lēna* etc. Forms of the suffixed preposition *l* with initial stressed *l*- were not recorded in these group I dialects in the centre and south of Sinai (for more remarks on suffixed prepositions see 3.1.16.).

2.4. *Elision of Short Vowels*

All group I dialects are ‘différentiels’ in terms of short vowel elision.⁷⁰ The rule for elision is like that given for group VI.

The rules of morphophonemic elision are compulsory.

2.4.1. *Morphophonemic I-elision*

Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

⁷⁰ The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.

2.4.2. *I-elision in sandhi*

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

2.4.3. *Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi*

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

yrawwih + *lhin* > *yrawwih* **lhin** > *yrawwih* **ilhin** > *yrawwih* **ilhin** “he goes to them (fem.)”.

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

Like in group VI, the I-elision rule may also be *re*-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example: *túḍrub* **ḍúḍfak** > *túḍrub* **id**úḍfak > *túḍrb* **id**úḍfak > *túḍurb* **id**úḍfak “you beat your children”.

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

2.4.4. *Exceptions to the I-elision rule*

When C_a and C_b in $C_a C_a C_b$ are phonetically close or identical, the short high vowel *I* is not dropped. Examples are (a suffixed noun) *sadditī* “my dam (where crops are grown)”, (a verb form) *yhálliluw* “they make heaps” and (participles) *mballilih*, *mballilīn* and *mballilāt* “having made wet”.

Also in sandhi this type of elision does not take place, e.g. *šiddit alḥarārah* “the intensity of the heat” (with clearly audible reduction of the geminate *dd*).

Like in ṬwA, ḤmA and HnA of group VI, elision of the high vowel does not take place in the act. participles (sg. fem.) *mta'ákninīh*, (pl. masc.) *mta'ákninīn* and (pl. fem.) *mta'áknināt* “irritated”. This was the case in TAŞ, ḤwA, DbA, but in ĞrA direct elicitation produced the forms *mta'áknin*, *mta'ákinīh*, *mta'ákinīn*, *mta'ákinīnāt* (the forms were not recorded in the other dialects).

As another exception to this I-elision rule, forms recorded in ĞrA like (preserved high vowel is underlined) *l**ī**sītih* or *l**ā**bsītih* “she wore it” and *š**ī**r**ī**tih* or *š**ā**r**ī**tih* “she drank it” should be mentioned; the forms recorded were *not* (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyctics in bold print) *l**ī**bistih* or *l**ā**bistih* and *š**ī**r**ī**btih* or *š**ā**r**ī**btih*, which one might have expected.

Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: *š**ī**r**ī**tah* “she drank it” as opposed to *š**ī**r**ī**tah* “I drank it” (see remarks in 3.2.1.1.).

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact assimilations of consonants can be identified:

- regressive partial or total,
- progressive partial or total and
- reciprocal total.

The *l* of the article only rarely assimilates to a following *ǧ*, as in e.g. *aǧǧamr* “the live embers”. Assimilation of *l* to initial *k* was not recorded. For examples of these types of assimilation, see De Jong 2000:136–137. In addition to examples listed there, an example of progressive total assimilation recorded in TyA is:

t + h > tt as in *bnaharittiy* (< *bnaharithiy*) “we plough it”.

The type of metathesis of hissing sounds recorded in groups VI and VII (see 2.5. in the relevant chapters) was not heard in these southern and central group I dialects. Instead, forms like *šāǧ* “iron baking sheet”, *sǧih* “game of *sǧah*”, *siǧn* “prison” and *tasǧul* “recording”, etc. are current.

In these central and southern group I dialects *šams* is current for “sun” and *šāǧar* for “trees”.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of *a*

3.1.1.1. Raising of *a* in $C_1aC_2\bar{i}C_3(ah)$

Raising of *a* in the nominal pattern $C_1aC_2\bar{i}C_3(ah)$ occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in ḤwA, see remark below). Such raising is only inhibited by preceding ’ and is less regular when X

precedes or follows *a*, although it may take place in such positions (especially when following *ʿ*, see examples below). The resulting high ‘surface’ vowel *i* is not elided.⁷¹ In HwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when *ʿ*, *ġ*, *h* or *x* precedes, e.g. *ʿaḏīm* “enormous”, *ġalīḏ* “fat, bulky”, *ġarīb* “strange”, *xalīṭah* “mixture”, *ḥaġīġiy* “real” (instances with preceding *h* were not recorded). For examples see 1.2.3.4.3.2. of this chapter.

3.1.1.1.2. Raising of *a* in *CaCīy ($C_3 = y$)

Raising of *a* preceding *CaCīy ($C_3 = y$) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. *birīy* “innocent”, (reflecting final **-īy*) in *šibīy* “boy”, *ġanīy* “rich”, *ṭirīy* “moist; soft”, *nibīy* ~ *nábīy* “Prophet”, *guwīy* “strong”, *wilīy* ~ *walīy* “saint”, *Ilīy* ~ *ʿAlīy* “male given name”.

3.1.1.2. Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *i*

For raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *i* in verb forms (with underlying $C_1aC_2iC_3$ pattern for the *i*-type perfect), see 3.2.2.1.

3.1.1.3. Raising of *a* in CaCCīC(-ah)

The short vowel *a* preceding stressed CCi is not raised. Examples are: *baṭṭīx* “watermelon”, *baddī* “improviser of rhyme”, *xarriġ* “alumnus”, *sakkīnah* “knife”, *ġarnīṭ* “octopus”, *sabīn* “seventy”, *xamsīn* “fifty”, *Katrīn* “(St.) Catherine”, *kabrīt* “matches”. Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. *targī* “grafting”, *tašġīl* “putting in operation” and also in a gahawah-form like *taġarīb* “going north” (see for other examples 2.2.1.2. above).

3.1.1.4. Raising of *a* in CaCCāC

Raising of *a* preceding stressed CCā is optional: *ġiṣṣāṣ* “tracker”, *billāṣ* “thief; extortionist”, *fissāy* “expert farter”, *biṭṭād* “teapot”, *ṭillāġih* “fridge” and *wiġʿān* “suffering pain”, *milyān* ~ *malyān* “full”, *ġaltān* ~ *ġiltān* “mistaken”, *Silmān* “male given name Salmān”, *mirḏān* “ill”, *fiḥyān* “surprised”, *kislān* “lazy”, *hiġġān* “camel rider”, *siyyāl* ~ *sayyāl* “acacia trees (coll.)”, but also *ʿaṭṣān* “thirsty”, *ʿaṭlān* “broken, not functioning” and *bakkākah* “lighter”.⁷² Although such raising was heard in all dialects, it is less current in TAN and TAŞ.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final *-á(ʿ)* (if not raised) (except in MIA, where long final *-ā* is also heard).

⁷¹ This situation is the same as what has been described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273.

⁷² The word *bakkākah* is used in TyA; in most dialects of Sinai the word for “lighter” is *giddāḥah*.

The *a* in closed syllable may then be raised, but this is optional, e.g. *ḥimrā'* "red (sg. fem.)", *ḥimgá'* "stupid (sg. fem.)", but also *zargá'* "black; blue (sg. fem.)", *ṣafrá'* "yellow", etc.

Like in group VI, raising of *a* in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final *-ā(')* has *not* been raised to *-íy*.

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

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

Some of many examples are: *matān* ~ *mītān*, "when?" (in ḤwA), *gibāyil* "tribes", *zimān* "before in olden times", *gizāyiz* "bottles", *bikāriġ* "coffee pots", *Tiyāha* "name of a tribe Tayāha", *ġināyin* "gardens".

In labial environments, raising may also be towards [u], as in *muwārik* "cushions supporting the camel rider's leg" (pl. of *mēraḥah* or *mōraḥah*, see also remarks in 1.2.4.1. and in fn 101, p. 83) and *zuwāyir* "annual visits to sheikhs' tombs (pl. of *zwāraḥ*)", *Ṣuwālḥih* "name of the tribe Ṣawālḥah".

Examples without raising are: *talātīn* "thirty", *nahār* "day", *tamām* "excellent", *Badāraḥ* "name of a tribe", *tafātir* "records", *ganāt asSwēs* "Suez Canal", *šamāl* "north".

Also in group I, raising is less regular when *l* or *r* follows *a*, or X precedes, e.g. *kalām* "speaking", *talātāh* "three", *xalāš* "ready", *salām* "peace", *Garārših* "name of a tribe", *farāših* "thin loaves of bread baked on a *šāġ*", *marāġih* "swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)", *ḥalāl* "small cattle", *axawāt* "sisters", *ʿašān* "because", *ḥayātak* "your life", *ḥamādih* "flat barren land", *ġarāyir* "large sack (pl. of *ġarāraḥ*)",⁷³ Also when *ʿ* precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. *(')asāyil* "thoroughbreds", *(')asāsih* "his origin".

3.1.1.6. Raising of *a* in ... CaCá...

a in open syllable preceding stressed *á* is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [I]) *ġimál* "camel", *risán* "halter", *libán* "milk", *sibáġah* "race" (*sábagah* in TAṢ), *šġárah* "tree" (*šáġarah* in TAṢ), a verb form *misák* "he took" and (towards [v] in labial and/or velarized environment) *muṭár* "rain", *duwá'* "medicine". And also in gahawah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. *tihát* "under", *šihár* "month" and in verb forms like *yí'árif* "he knows".

⁷³ *ġarāyir*: see *ġarāra* in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:334–335 (glossary).

Such raising is generally absent when the *a* is preceded by *', e.g. (')*abār* "needles" and (')*axād* "he took".

Also, when *a* is followed by *l*, such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. *gaḷám* "pen", *malág* "hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)", *zalámah* "man", or when X precedes, e.g. *haǧǧár* "rock, stone", *ǧanáam* "goats and sheep", *xašáb* "firewood", etc. (see De Jong 2000:145–147).

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

To summarize the *a*-raising rules in one optional rule we can write:⁷⁴

$$a > I / C_a _ C_b A$$

$C_a \neq *'$ or X
 $C_b \neq l$

A = stressed *a* or \bar{a}
I = high vowel *i* or *u*

N.B. Raising of *a* may also take place when stress on *A* is secondary, e.g. *fássibag* "in the race", verb forms *ánkital* "he was beaten", *ástuwat* "it (sg. fem.) became ripe/cooked" and *muwālīd* "births", *muwāzīn* "weighing scales (pl. of *mīzān*)".

3.1.1.8. Raising of *a* in *CaCūC(ah)*

Raising of *a* preceding \bar{u} is optional, e.g. *ǧumūs* ~ *ǧamūs* "food dip", *xurūf* ~ *xarūf* "lamb", *ǧunūb* ~ *ǧanūb* "south" and *yuhūd* ~ *yahūd* "Jews", *ḍurūbah* ~ *ḍarūbah* "beautiful young camel",⁷⁵ *urūs* ~ *arūs* "bride", *uǧūz* ~ *aǧūz* "old lady". With initial *hamzah* such raising is absent in most dialects (contrast with groups VI–VIII): *abūy* "my father" and *axūy* "my brother", and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae *wāw* verbs *agūm* "I get up", *agūl* "I say" (see remark * below). However, in dialects indicated below, isolated instances of such raising were heard when *hamzah preceded, as in *ubūh* ~ *abūh* "father" (TAN), *uxūk* ~ *axūk* "your brother", *ugūm* ~ *agūm* "I rise" (both ḤwA), Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in TAŞ, ĞrA, BdA, DbA or MIA.

Underlying *CāCūC* with reduced \bar{a} ; *ma'ūn* "container", *babūr* "tractor", *ganūn* "law", *ba'ūḍah* "mosquitos". In one instance in TyA raising in *babūr* yielded *bubūr*.

The gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding *Cū* is not raised, e.g. *maḥatūṭ* "placed", *ma'agūd* "tied", *maḥabūs* "locked up", *maxanūg* "constricted; suffocated".

⁷⁴ See also De Jong 2000:147.

⁷⁵ *ḍarūbah* ~ *ḍurūbah* is used to refer to a recently acquired beautiful camel or car. It can also be used to refer to one's recent bride, e.g. *ḍurūbtī*.

3.1.1.9. *Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u*

Unstressed *a* in open syllable preceding stressed *u* (in the following syllable) is regularly raised, e.g. *kubūr* “he grew”, *kuṭūr* “he became many”, *tuxún* “he became thick”, *ġulúḍ* “he became fat”.

The raised *a* has remained underlying |a| however. It (as a surface *u*) is therefore not dropped in unstressed open syllables. In addition, in many dialects the vowel ‘re-surfaces’ as *a* in closed syllables, e.g. *kabrit* “she grew”, *ġaldit* “she became fat”.⁷⁶

3.1.1.10. *a-raising rules combined*

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:150), we can combine the rules for raising of *a* preceding a long stressed high vowel:

$$a > I / C_a _ C_b \bar{I}C$$

\bar{I} = long vowel \bar{u} or \bar{i}

I = short high vowel *u* if \bar{I} is \bar{u} ; short high vowel *i* if \bar{I} is \bar{i}

$C_a \neq *$ (hamzah)

C_b = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to *u*

Notice that, like in group I dialects of the north (see De Jong 2000:150), the provision of $C_a \neq *$ is made for the group I dialects described here, i.e. preceding “*hamzah” inhibits such raising. However, in TAN and ḤWA a few forms were recorded which did show such raising: *uḅūh* ~ *aḅūh* and *ugūl* ~ *agūl* “I say”.

3.1.2. *Reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah)*

For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *badw* “Bedouin”, *taḥát* “under”, *fahám* “charcoal”, *waḥdih* (but ~ *wiḥdih* in ĞRA) “one (sg. fem.)”, *naḥyih* “direction”, *ša’áb* “difficult”, *šakl* “shape”, *šaḥan* “dish, plate”, *ġidy* “billy goat” (TAŞ, ḤWA, DbA, MIA, ĞRA), *ġady* (BdA), *šadr* “chest”, (*’*)*akl* (TAŞ, TAN, DbA, MIA), *wakl* “food” (BdA), *kirš* (TAŞ) “(fat) belly”, *kalb* “dog”, *ġidd* “grandfather” and *ġifn* “eyelid” (TAŞ).

⁷⁶ Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like *tuxnit* “she became thick” in ĞRA, *ġulḍin* “they (f.) became fat”; here the *a* did not ‘resurface’, although the vowel is still to be regarded as underlying |a|, since it is not dropped in open unstressed syllables, e.g. also in these dialects the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms are *tuxún* (not *•tuxun*) and *ġulúḍ* (not *•ġluḍ*).

3.1.3. *Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)*

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: *wirk* “thigh” (TAŞ), *kitf* “shoulder” (ḤwA, ĞrA, TAŞ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), *kilmih* “word”, *širkih* “company”.

xāšīn in TyA, *xīšīn* in TAŞ

3.1.4. *Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)*

Some reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *bunn* “coffee beans”, *rizz* “rice”, *kull* “all; every”, *aṃṃ* (all except BdA;⁷⁷ ~ *uṃṃ* in ĞrA), *uṃṃ* “mother” (BdA), *uxt* “sister”, *Ġim‘ih* “male given name” (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), *muddih* “period”, *ḥurmah* “woman”, *zibdih* “butter”, *rukbah* “knee” (ḤwA, TyA, TAŞ, ĞrA, TAN, not recorded in other dialects), *hinnih* “they (fem.)”, *šuggah* “a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)” (TAŞ, MIA, BdA, TyA, ḤwA, not recorded in other dialects).

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

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

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: *snūn* “years”, *‘yūn* “eyes” and *ġnēh* “pound (money)”, *ġbāl* “mountains”, *drās* “threshing”.

Also when V is a short vowel, an initial cluster CC will result, e.g. *rkab* “knees”, *šnaṭ* “suitcases”, *grab* “watersacks (goat skins)” and also in diminutives (see 3.1.6. below) like *gšayyir* “short” (**gušayyir*), *bwēt* “little house/tent” (**buwayt*).

Exceptions to such elisions are (often loans from MSA, probably via a dialect such as Cairene Arabic), e.g.: *niṣām* “system” (all dialects), *šinā‘iy* “artificial” (TAŞ), *tiġārah* “trade” (MIA), *ġirāḥah* “surgery” (MIA), (2 instances in) *zurūf ḥukūmiyyah* “government circumstances” (TyA), *bidāyt albaṭṭīx* “the beginning of the watermelon (i.e. the season for growing watermelon)” (TyA), *‘umūman* “in general” (TyA) and *turās* “legacy” (ḤwA).

Notice that in the instances *niṣām* and *zurūf* the sibilant *z* is heard instead of more typically Bedouin *ḏ*. In the example *turās* we have sibilant

⁷⁷ Also *aṃṃ* in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.

s instead of more typically Bedouin *t* (compare MSA *turāt*). These are additional indications that we are dealing with loans.

Other instances of non-elision include: *tulūḥḥin* “their (fem.) rising (of stars)” (BdA) and all dialects have *gizāzih* (after raising of *a* in the first syllable of *gazāzah*) for “bottle”.

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in our group I dialects and the verb “come” has the imperfect form *yġiy* “he comes”.

3.1.6. *Diminutive patterns*

The usual diminutives expressing ‘littleness’, ‘shortness’, ‘narrowness’ etc. were also recorded in our group I dialects (see examples listed in 3.1.6. for group VI) and also *ḥṛayyim* is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāha, e.g. *ḏʿayfin iftētāt* “tiny children”, *swēkin* “living (more or less)”, *wlēdi* “my little son”, *grayʿiy* “bald (sg. fem.)”.

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is $C_1C_2ayC_3\bar{u}C_3$ (i.e. C_3 is reduplicated) in *baṭṭix iṣḡayrūr* “small watermelons”.⁷⁸ The same pattern is used in TAŞ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) *şġarūrah*, *şġarūrīn*, *şġarūrāt* and also *graybūb* “nearish”. Another diminutive heard in TAŞ is *ōḏah ḡantūtah* is a “tiny house/room”,⁷⁹ *iʿlēġān*, *iḡaṣiḡsūh ḡṣayḡṣāt iṣḡayyrāt* “they cut it up into little pieces”.

A lexical item coined on the CaCCūC(-ah) pattern in *kaṛṛūsah* “wheel chair” (TyA).

The hypochoresic *-ān* suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I in the north,⁸⁰ was also heard in TAN, but not in the other dialects. Examples in TAN are: *hniyyān* “here” and *kidīyyān* “thus” and alternatively *hniyyāniy* and *kidīyyāniy* (see 3.1.15.1).⁸¹

3.1.7. *Pattern aC₁C₂aC₃*

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is (for sg. masc.) $aC_1C_2aC_3$ (e.g. *abyaḏ*) and $aC_1aC_2aC_3$ (e.g. *āḥamaṛ*, stressed

⁷⁸ Diminutive patterns are reported to be very common in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427.

⁷⁹ *ōḏah* is also used for “small (stone) house”.

⁸⁰ See De Jong 2000:153. It thus appears to be mainly in use among tribes of the eastern central and northern Sinai.

⁸¹ The *-ān* suffix is also heard in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427–428.

on the first syllable) where $C_1 = X$. Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a $C_1 a C_2 C_3 a$ pattern, with a final $*-ā$ that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. *bēḏáʿ*, *ḥamrāʿ*; in MLA some forms were recorded with long final $-ā$).⁸² There is an additional a following C_2 when it is X and final $*-ā$ is raised to $-íy$ when C_3 is neutral (e.g. *ṣaḥabíy*). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1 C_2 C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. $C_1 i C_2 C_3$ or $C_1 u C_2 C_3$ (see 1.2.3.2.). Plural forms for “black” and “white” are *sūd* ($C_2 = wāw$) and *bīḏ* ($C_2 = yāʿ$).

3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1 C_2 aC_3$, $aC_1 aC_2 C_3$ and $aC_1 C_2 a$

Elative patterns in group I are like in group VI: $aC_1 C_2 aC_3$, e.g. *akṭar* “more; most”, $aC_1 aC_2 C_3$, e.g. *aqall* “less; least” and $aC_1 C_2 a$ (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. *aḥla* “sweeter; sweetest”.

3.1.9. Initial a

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is $al-$ in all dialects of group I and the relative pronoun is *alliy*.⁸³ The article is a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.).

Examples are: *yōm iyṭīḥ álmaṭar* [...] *biyḥuṭṭuw bdārḥum* “when the rain falls, they plant their seeds”.

The relative pronoun is *alliy*. Examples are: *alliy byaṣṣrab immn aḥḥāmiḏ ḥāda w alliy biyfitt minnih* “there are those⁸⁴ who drink from this sour (milk) and there are those who make fattah with it”.

The vowel in the preposition *fi* is often dropped when it collides with $a-$ of the article, as in e.g. *f-áṣṣṭiy* “in the winter” and *f-álǧibal* “in the desert (lit. the mountains)” and also with unstressed a of the article, as in *f-atwādiy* “in the wadi”.

Prepositioned $ha-$ was heard used predominantly in adverbial *halḥīn* “now”.

⁸² Like in the dialect of the Dawāḡrah, see De Jong 2000:446 and 661 (map 9).

⁸³ Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214 also report $al-$ and *alliy* as the current forms in their corpus of Bedouin poetry; the exception is their poet Šbaylāt (of Baniy Ḥasan in northern Jordan), who uses *il-* and *illi* thus “aligning himself [...] with the ‘sedentary’ dialects”.

⁸⁴ *alliy* is often elliptically used for something like *fīh (min an-)nās alliy*...

Only in a few instances *ha-* was used in its ‘specifying’ function: *fi ha-ddikmiḥ ‘a ṭūl lā šilēhāt wala ġayriḥ f-áddkam* “there are no chalets in (i.e. near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills” (ḤwA), *šuft miy . . . tāfiḥ fi ha-lġiddāf* “I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat” (TyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned *ha*, e.g. *alliy ‘āwiz iy . . . iynawwi‘ f-álbil ássibag immn ássibag ha biywaddih immn álġimal ha* “there are those who want to vary in (sending) camels from one race to this other race (and) who will send from these camels” (for more detail, see 3.1.13.2.).

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial *a*

Other instances of initial *a-* are: *aḥḥ* (except *uḥḥ* in BdA and *aḥḥ* ~ *uḥḥ* in ĞrA) “mother”, *uxt* “sister” in all dialects, *aḥna* is “we” in ḤwA and *aḥna* ~ *iḥna* in ĞrA (in the other dialects only *iḥna*) and the pl. for (‘) *ibrah* “needles is (‘) *abár*. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCaC are current, e.g. *šwar* “pictures” and *grab* “waterskins”.

yā yuḥḥna is used in many group I dialects (also those that have *aḥḥ* for “mother”) for “oh mother”.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (*T*) in genitive construction

T in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samā‘nah of group II in the north;⁸⁵ the vowel of T in construct state will be *a*, whenever *a* precedes in open syllable. Otherwise, the T-vowel will be *i* in construct state when a consonant precedes, or absent when a long vowel precedes.⁸⁶

3.1.10.1. *T* in genitive construction preceded by *a* in open syllable

Like in group VI, the feminine morpheme *-ah* ~ *-ih* in construct state becomes *-at* when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: (dual) *sanatēn* “two years” and *ṛagabatih* “his neck” (for stress, see 2.1.1.2.2.).

Notice that resyllabication of a (nominal or verbal) CaCaCTv sequence does not take place in group I dialects (contrast MzA of group VI), e.g. *ḍarabatih* “she hit him” and *ṛagabatih* “his neck”.

⁸⁵ See De Jong 2000:279–281.

⁸⁶ In TyA of the Negev T > *-at* when historical aC directly precedes, otherwise > *-t* or *-it*, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

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

Like in group VI 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 resulting clusters are often eliminated by insertion of an anaptyctic. Examples listed for group VI may also illustrate the situation in our southern group I dialects discussed here.

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

Forms in which a gawahah-vowel *a* directly precedes T in open syllable are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding *a* is 'historical'. Examples are: *gahawati* "my coffee", *gahawatah* "his coffee" and *gahawatak* "your coffee" (for stress in these forms see 2.1.1.2.2.) (treatment of T preceded by the gawahah-vowel *a* could not be checked in MIA).⁸⁷

3.1.10.4. *T following ā*

T preceded by \bar{a} yields $\bar{a}h$, e.g. *ḥamāh* "mother-in-law" and when in construction, T > *-t*, as in *ḥamātak* "your mother-in-law".

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

The high vowel *i* of the nominal ending *-it* is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. *nāqtah* "his she-camel".

The low vowel *a* in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. *lāgatah* "she found him".

3.1.11. *Genitive marker*

The genitive marker is *šūǵl* for sg. masc., *šūǵlah* (sg. fem.), *šūǵlīn* (pl. masc.) and *šūǵlāt* (pl. fem.) in our group I dialects discussed here; *ḥagg(ah)* is not used. Sometimes the K-form *btā'* is used.

Paradigms in these dialects are:

e.g.	<i>ilbēt</i> +		<i>il' ilbih</i> +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>šūǵlah</i>	<i>šūǵluḥuḥ/-w</i> ^{*2}	<i>šūǵultah</i>	<i>šūǵlithuḥ/-w</i> ^{*1*2}
fem.	<i>šūǵluḥa</i>	<i>šūǵluḥin</i>	<i>šūǵlitha</i> ^{*1}	<i>šūǵlithin</i> ^{*1}
2. masc.	<i>šūǵlak</i>	<i>šūǵluḥkuw</i>	<i>šūǵultak</i>	<i>šūǵlithkuw</i>
fem.	<i>šūǵluḥkiy</i>	<i>šūǵluḥkin</i>	<i>šūǵlithkiy</i>	<i>šūǵlithkin</i>
1. com.	<i>šūǵlī</i>	<i>šūǵluḥna</i>	<i>šūǵultī</i>	<i>šūǵlithna</i>

⁸⁷ In TyA of the Negev T preceded by gawahah-vowel *a* > *-it*, e.g. *ra'awit janām* "grazing small cattle", see Shawarbah 2007:244.

*¹ *t + h* will often assimilate to *tt*, e.g. *šuglittuw*, see 2.5.

*² For a remark on the suffix *-huw*, see 3.1.12.2.

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

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In group I dialects of the central and southern Sinai the following independent pronominals are used:⁸⁸

	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>hū</i>	<i>hum(ṃa) / huwwa</i> * ¹
fem.	<i>hī</i>	<i>hin(na)</i>
2. masc.	<i>int(ih)</i>	<i>intuw</i>
fem.	<i>intiy</i>	<i>intin</i>
1. com.	<i>anā</i>	<i>iḥna</i> * ²

*¹ *huwwa* was also heard used for the pl. masc. in TAN, MIA, but not in the other dialects of group I discussed here.⁸⁹

*² In ḤWA *aḥna*; in ĠRA *iḥna ~ aḥna*.

Negated⁹⁰ (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in *mūhūṃma* and *mihinna*)*¹:

	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>mūhū</i> * ²	<i>mūhum(ṃa)</i> * ⁴
fem.	<i>mihī</i>	<i>mihin(na)</i> * ⁵
2. masc.	<i>mint(ih)</i>	<i>mintuw</i>
fem.	<i>mintiy</i>	<i>mintin</i>
1. com.	<i>māni</i> * ³	<i>maḥna</i> * ⁶

*¹ In ĠRA direct elicitation yielded ‘double’ forms like *anā mānī*, *int(ih) mint(ih)*, *intiy mintiy*, *hū mūhū*. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.

*² *mūhū ~ māhū* in ḤWA

⁸⁸ Independent pronominals in TyA of the Negev are: *anā(h)*, *intih (int)*, *intiy*, *hū(h)*, *hī (h)*, *aḥna*, *intuw*, *intin*, *hūm(ṃah)* and *hin(nih)*, see Shawarbah 2007:426.

⁸⁹ For possible origins of the forms (possessive/object) *-huw* and the subj. (independent) pronominal *huwwa*, see De Jong 2000:163 (remark *2)) and NOTE in 3.1.12.2. of chapter I.

⁹⁰ In poetry recorded by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) the negation is commonly *mā + pronoun (+ bi)*.

*₃ *māna* in ḤwA

*₄ *mūhuwwa* or *māhuwwa* was not recorded in TAN or MLA

*₅ *māhin* was also heard in BdA

*₆ *miḥna* in DbA, BdA, ĞrA

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In group I the following pronominal suffixes are used:

	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	C- <i>ah</i> / C- <i>ih</i> * ₁ , <i>v̄-(h)</i>	- <i>huṃ</i> * ₆
fem.	- <i>ha</i> * ₂	- <i>hin</i>
2. masc.	C- <i>ak</i> , <i>v̄-k</i> * ₃	- <i>kuw</i> * ₇
fem.	- <i>kiy</i> * ₄	- <i>kin</i>
1. com.	(C)C- <i>ī</i> , <i>v̄-y</i> (poss.)	- <i>na</i>
	- <i>nī</i> (obj.)* ₅	

Assimilation of initial *h* to preceding voiceless consonants is current in our group I dialects, e.g. *simi'tta* “I heard her”, *tbuxxa* “you spray it (sg. fem.)”, *ḥiṣsa* “her noise”.⁹¹

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

*₁ Group I, has with *-ah/-ih*, contrasting with *-u(h)* of groups VI–VIII.

*₂ *-ha* ~ *-hiy* in MLA and in TyA (*-hiy* is predominant in the latter).⁹² The pron. suffix *-hiy* was also heard in group I dialects in the north of Sinai. The (partial) phonetic conditioning effective in group I dialects of the north (i.e. directly preceding *ū* calling for the appearance of *-ha* there instead of *-hiy*),⁹³ is concluded not to be operative in MLA and TyA. Examples in MLA are: *iw minnih biyṭa' mūhiy*, *iw yaḡṭa'aw w iyguṣṣūhiy* “and then they graft it (sg. fem.), and they cut and clip it (sg. fem.)” and *aḇūhiy* “her father”.

*₃ Contrast C-*ak* and *v̄-k* with heavily velarized *-k̄/ -uḵ* of groups VI–VIII.

*₄ Invariable *-kiy* is characteristic of group I, see also De Jong 2000:164. Contrast with *-k* and *-ik* of groups VI–VIII.

*₅ Suffixes *-ī* and *-nī* for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed *-i* and *-ni* also occur.

⁹¹ The spelling with 3 identical consonants is for reasons of morphological transparency. These forms are not different from *tbuxxa* and *ḥiṣsa*.

⁹² For *-ha* or *-hiy* among sub-confederations of Tiyāha in Negev see Shawarbah 2007:426.

⁹³ See De Jong 2000:164–166 and 674 (appendix), map 35.

*6 *-huw* ~ *-huṃ* in ḤwA, MlA, ĞrA and TAN. Also a lengthened suffix *-huwwa* was also heard (in TAN). Such forms were also heard in group VI (see also De Jong 2000: 169, remark *3).

*7 *-kum* is reported in poetry texts (by a speaker of TAN) recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009:234 as an alternative form (in a more formal register) for *-ku(w)* in two poems addressed to the late King Hussein of Jordan, “perhaps as a token of respect for the king”.

3.1.12.3. *Pronominal suffixes and negation*

In group I the negation is formed with single (preceding) *mā*, which leaves pronominal suffixes unaffected.

3.1.13. *Demonstratives*

3.1.13.1. *Near and far deixis*

Demonstratives in TAŞ and TAN are:

Near deixis* ¹		Far deixis		
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i> * ²	com. <i>hāḍōl</i> * ³	<i>hāḍāk(ah)</i> * ⁴	com. <i>hōḍaḷḷāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i>		<i>hēḍik(ih)</i> * ⁴	

*¹ The same forms were heard in TAN.

*² Unvelarized *hāḍa* is sporadic in TAŞ, but *hāḍa* ~ *hāḍa* in TAN.

*³ *hōḍal* was also elicited in TAŞ, but did not occur in spontaneous speech.

*⁴ The same forms were heard in TAN.

“There . . . is/are!” *hayhū ḡa*’, *hayhī ḡat*, *hayhuṃ ḡaw*, *hayhin ḡan*.

Demonstratives in TyA are:

Near deixis			
	sg.		pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i> ~ <i>hāḍa</i>	com.	<i>hāḍaḷ</i> ~ <i>hāḍōḷ</i> ~ <i>hōḍaḷ</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i>		
Far deixis*			
	sg.		pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍāk(ah)</i>	com.	<i>hāḍoḷḷāk(ah)</i> ~ <i>hōḍaḷḷāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍik(ih)</i>		

* Forms without initial *hā-*, *hē-* or *hō-* are rare.

During direct elicitation, the existence of forms like *hēhū* or *hayhū* in TyA was denied. Instead, forms like *ar’ih ḡa*’ “there he has come”, *áriḥḥiy ḡat*

“there she has come!”, *annās áriḥḥum ġaw* “there the people have come!” were said to be current (see 4.8.1.).

Demonstratives in ḤwA are:

Near deixis			Far deixis*		
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i>	com. <i>hāḍa!(lah)</i>	<i>hādāk(ah)</i>	com. <i>hādōllāk(ah)~</i>	
fem.	<i>hēḍiy*</i>		<i>hēḍik(ih)</i>	<i>hādōllāk</i>	

* *hāḍiy* was heard three times, but with an exceptionally high *ā*, (slightly higher than I.P.A. [ɛ:], but not fully [e:]).

As a feature considered (by several informants of different tribes) to be very typical of ḤwA, Ḥwēṭiy speakers often use postpositioned *ha* (undifferentiated for gender and number). Examples are: *w alliy ‘āwiz yašrab minnih ā... alhāmiḍ ha* “and there are those who want to drink from it, what... (from) this sour (milk)” (for a remark on the elliptic use of *alliy*, see fn 84, p. 235). Another example is *aššġayyrāt ha* “these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)”.⁹⁴

“There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!” is *hayhū ġa’, hayhī ġat, hayhuḥ ġaw* and *hayhin ġan*.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

Near deixis		
	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa ~ hāḍa</i>	com. <i>hāḍa!(lah)*</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i>	

* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

Far deixis*		
	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hādāk(ah)~hādāk(ah)</i>	com. <i>hādōllāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍik(ih)</i>	

hayhū... “there he...” was recorded once.

⁹⁴ For a discussion on attributive *hā*, see Fischer 1959:56.

Demonstratives in MIA are:

Near deixis		Far deixis*			
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i> ~ <i>hāḍa</i>	com.	<i>hāḍōl</i>	<i>hāḍāk(ah)</i>	com. <i>hāḍōllāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i> ~ <i>hāḍiy</i>		~ <i>hōḍaḷ</i>	<i>hāḍīk(ih)</i>	~ <i>hēḍīk(ih)*</i>

* *hēḍīkt alḥīn* was recorded three times for “now, at this moment”.

The system of demonstratives in BdA is clearly mixed; *hā-* or *hē-* initial demonstratives for near deixis only occur in the singular, while the only pl. form *ḍillih* must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Ṣawālḥah (group VII) and Ṭlēgāt (group VIII).

Demonstratives in BdA are:

Near deixis		Far deixis			
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i> ~ <i>hāḍa</i> * ¹	com.	<i>ḍillih</i> * ³	<i>(hā)ḍāk(ah)</i> * ⁴	com. <i>(hā) ḍaḷlāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i> * ²			<i>hēḍīk(ih)</i>	

*¹ Sentence-final *ḍī* was recorded twice.

*² Sentence-final *ḍiy* was recorded three times and also *hāḍiy* was heard twice.

*³ *hā-*initial demonstratives for pl. com. were not recorded, whereas *ḍillih* was recorded five times.⁹⁵

*⁴ *hāḍāk* was recorded twice, and once *ḍākah*.

ar'ih was recorded for “there he is!”

Demonstratives in ĞrA are:

Near deixis		Far deixis			
	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>hāḍa</i> ~ <i>hāḍa</i>	com.	<i>hāḍaḷ</i> * ²	<i>hāḍāk(ah)</i>	com. <i>hāḍaḷlāk(ah)</i>
fem.	<i>hēḍiy</i> * ¹			<i>hēḍīk(ih)</i>	

*¹ *ḍiy* was recorded three times.

*² In one instance a separate demonstrative for the pl. fem. was recorded during direct elicitation: *aliḥṛayyim hāḍan* “these women”. This dem. was however not heard in spontaneous text.

⁹⁵ For a demonstrative *dillā* in combination with a noun in older texts (Nuzhat an-nufūs), see Zack 2009:103.

“There he/she/they is/are (lit. has/have come)” is *hēhū ġa’*, *hēhī ġat*, *hēhuṃṃa ġaw* and *hēhinnah ġan*. Alternatively *ir’* + pron. suffix is used: *ir’ih ġa’*, *irihha ġat*, *irihḥuṃ ġaw* and *irihhin ġan* (see 4.8.1.).

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-

Specifying⁹⁶ *ha-* is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are *binfitt halfattih ‘a tūl* “we immediately make this fattah” (DbA), *bitġibha min hassūg* “you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market” (MLA), *w alliy msawwiyy... miṭmārah f-alblād—bingūl ‘alēha miṭmārah—halmiṭmārah hēdiy byilihūha ttibin...* “and there are those who have made ... an underground grain storage in the ground—we call it (sg. fem.) a *miṭmārah*—this *miṭmārah* they add the straw to it (sg. fem.)” (HwA), and in all dialects *halhīn* is current for “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives

Interrogatives recorded in southern group I dialects for

1) “who?”, 2) “what?”, 3) “why?”, 4) “when?”, 5) “where?”, 6) “which?”, 7) “how?”, 8) “how much?”, 9) “how many/much?”:

in HwA and DbA: 1) *min*, 2) *wiṣ*, *ēš / ēh*, 3) *lēh*, 4) *matān / mitān*, *wagtēh*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṭrayh*, *gaddēh*.

in TAŞ (marked with * were also recorded in TAN): 1) *min**, 2) *ēš** / *ēh**, 3) *lēš** / *lēh**, 4) *matá(‘)* / *matā*, *wagtēš*, 5) *wēn**, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf**, 8) *kam** + sg., 9) *gaddēš* / *giddēš*.

in ĞrA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēh*, *ēš* (the latter much less), 3) *lēh*, 4) *matā / mitā*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kām*^{*1} + sg., 9) *kuṭrayh*, *gaddēh*.

^{*1} *kām* (with long *ā*) was elicited, *kam* (with short vowel) was not recorded.

in TyA: 1) *min*, 2) *ayš* / *ēš* / *ēh*, 3) *lēš*, 4) ?, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṭrayš*.

in BdA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēš* / *ēh*, 3) *lēš* / *lēh*, 4) *matā*, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9) *kuṭrayš*, *gaddēš*.

in MLA: 1) *min*, 2) *ēš* / *ēh*, 3) *lēš* / *lēh*, 4) ?, 5) *wēn*, 6) *yāt* + sg., 7) *kēf* / *kif*, 8) *kam* + sg., 9)?

⁹⁶ See Blau 1960:20 and Grotzfeld 1964:46–47.

3.1.15. *Adverbs*

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

Adverbs recorded are:

“there”	<i>hnuh</i> ^{*1} (all dialects)
“there”	<i>fi hādāk</i> (MIA, ĠrA, TyA, DbA, BdA) <i>fi hādākah</i> (DbA)
“over there (far away)”	<i>ġād</i> (all dialects) <i>ġādīy</i> (TyA, TAŞ, TAN)
“here”	<i>hnīy</i> ^{*1} (all dialects) <i>hnīyyih</i> (all dialects) <i>hnīyyān(iy)</i> (TAN, TyA) ^{*2}
“here”	<i>fi hāda</i> (MIA, TyA, DbA)
“thus”	<i>kiḏīy</i> (all dialects) <i>kiḏīyyih</i> (all dialects) <i>kiḏīyyān(iy)</i> (TAN, TyA) ^{*2}
“now”	<i>halḥīn</i> (all dialects)
“still”	<i>lissā</i> [‘] (ĠrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAŞ, TAN, ḤwA) <i>assā</i> [‘] (TyA, ḤwA)
“afterwards, after that”	<i>mīnih</i> (all dialects) <i>‘ugub kiḏīy</i> (all dialects) <i>bā adēn</i> (all dialects)

^{*1} *mīn-ihniy* “from here; this way”, *mīn-ihnuh* “from there” are treated as one unit for stress assignment.

^{*2} The hypocoristic *-ān(iy)* suffix is typical for group I dialects in the (north-)east of Sinai. It was also recorded in the dialects of the Sawārkah, Rmēlāt and Aḥaywāt, see De Jong 2000:153.⁹⁷

The connector *‘ugub ma* (*‘ugb + ma*) is sometimes shortened to *‘ugma*, e.g. *‘ugma ḥalāfaw ‘alēhum addīn* “after they had sworn an oath on their religion to them” (BdA).

3.1.15.2. *“maybe”*

For “maybe” direct elicitation in TAŞ yielded forms based on the root *x-w-f* (e.g. *xōfallah*) and *k-w-d* (e.g. *kūd*). *xōfallah* / *xawfallah* / (sometimes reduced as) *xāfallah* is used to refer to undesired possibilities, while *kūd* refers to desired possibilities.⁹⁸ *kūd* may also be suffixed, examples are: *ālġimal kūdinnah zēn* “maybe (let’s hope) the camels are good”, *arraġāġūl*

⁹⁷ See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.

⁹⁸ See also Holes and Abu Athera 2009:226 and De Jong 2000:177–178.

kūdinhuṃ ṭayybīn “maybe (let’s hope) they are good men” and *alihṭayyīm kūdinhin ṭayybāt* “maybe (let’s hope) they are good women”.

Forms elicited for (variations on) *xawf* are: *xawfallah (inkin) mintin ṭayybāt* “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good”. *xāf* (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. *xāfinnah mūhū ṭayyib* “perhaps he is no good”, *xāfinkin mintin ṭayybāt* “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good” and an unsuffixed form *xāfin*,⁹⁹ as in *xāfin mā nalgāha* “perhaps we won’t find it (sg. fem.)”.

3.1.15.3. balḥayl “very, extremely”

balḥayl for “very, extremely” was recorded twice, but only in MIA: (A) *iw tākil... (X) ḥāḡih... (A) ḥāḡah ḥilwah xāliṣ... (X) balḥāyil! w Allāh balḥayl... (A) and you eat... (X) A thing... (A) something very tasty... (X) Very! By God, very (tasty)...*

3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”

The adverb *bišwēš* was not recorded in any of the group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”

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

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

Suffixed prepositions *l* “for”, *‘ala* “on” and *ma’* “with” in TAŞ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise)¹⁰⁰ are:

	<i>l</i> +* ¹		<i>‘ala</i> +* ⁶		<i>ma’</i> +* ¹⁰	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>lah/lih</i> * ²	<i>lēhuṃ</i> * ⁵	<i>‘aláh</i> * ⁷	<i>‘alēhuṃ</i> * ⁵	<i>mā‘áh</i>	<i>maḥḥuṃ</i> * ⁵
fem.	<i>lēha</i> * ³	<i>lēhin</i>	<i>‘alēha</i> * ⁸	<i>‘alēhin</i>	<i>maḥḥa</i> * ⁸	<i>maḥḥin</i>
2. masc.	<i>lak</i> * ⁴	<i>lēkuw</i>	<i>‘alák</i> * ⁹	<i>‘alēkuw</i>	<i>mā‘ák</i>	<i>ma‘kuw</i>
fem.	<i>lēkiy</i>	<i>lēkin</i>	<i>‘alēkiy</i>	<i>‘alēkin</i>	<i>mā‘kiy</i>	<i>ma‘kin</i>
1. com.	<i>lay(y)</i>	<i>lēna</i>	<i>‘aláy(y)</i>	<i>‘alēna</i>	<i>mā‘áy</i>	<i>ma‘na</i>

*¹ For the paradigm of *l*+ in TAN, TyA, DbA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is *l* ~ *li*.

For an alternative paradigm in BdA, see below.

*² The vowel in TAŞ and ĞrA is usually *a*, in BdA *i*. In MIA *lah* ~ *lēh*.

*³ The suffix *-ha* ~ *-hiy* in MIA.

⁹⁹ The form *xāfin* is reminiscent of the form *xafin* reported in Stewart 1990:103 (text 32), l. 87 (+ fn).

¹⁰⁰ TAŞ was taken here as a starting point, and deviations in other dialects are described in notes.

*4 In MIA *lak* ~ *lĕk*.

*5 *-huw* in ĠrA. In ḤwA, MIA and TAN *-huṃ* ~ *-huw(wa)*.

*6 In TyA, DbA and ḤwA raising of the *a* of the first syllable is regular, but only when preceding *ē*. So: *‘ilĕk*, *‘ilĕhuṃ* etc.,¹⁰¹ but usually absence of raising in *‘aláy*. The independent preposition is *‘ala* ~ *‘a*.

*7 In TAN, BdA, MIA *‘alĕh*. In TyA, ḤwA and DbA *‘ilĕh* ~ *‘alĕh*. In ĠrA *‘alĕh*.

*8 In TyA *-hiy*. Shawarbah 2007:419 reports for TyA of the Negev the form like *maḥḥiy* “with her” as well.

*9 In TAN, BdA, MIA *‘alĕk*. In ḤwA and DbA *‘ilĕk*.

*10 For the paradigm in TAN, see below.

The vowel of the first syllable is *i* in BdA, also in closed (and stressed) syllables: *mi‘áh*, *miḥḥa* etc. Raising of *a* in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. *mi‘áh* (but *a* in stressed closed syllable, e.g. *má‘kuw*).

The prep. <i>l+</i> in TAN, TyA, DbA, ḤwA (and as alternative in BdA):			The prep. <i>m(i)‘</i> + in TAN*4	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>lah</i> *1	<i>lhuṃ</i> *5	<i>m‘ah</i>	<i>mi‘huṃ</i> *5*6
fem.	<i>lha</i> *2	<i>lhin</i> *3	<i>mi‘ha</i> *6	<i>mi‘hin</i> *6
2. masc.	<i>lak</i>	<i>lkuw</i>	<i>m‘ak</i>	<i>mi‘kuw</i>
fem.	<i>lkiy</i>	<i>lkin</i> *3	<i>mi‘kiy</i>	<i>mi‘kin</i>
1. com.	<i>lay(y)</i>	<i>lna(‘)</i>	<i>m‘ay</i>	<i>mi‘na</i>

*1 In TyA *lih*.

*2 In TyA *lhiy*.

*3 In ḤwA *lhin* and *lkin* ~ *lhinnih* and *lkinnih*.

*4 The independent preposition is *m‘*, e.g.: *tāxd im‘ák libbtak fi ḡĕbtak...f-īdak* “you take your libbah (a thick round loaf of bread baked in hot sand) with you in your pocket... in your hand”.

*5 In ḤwA and TAN *-huṃ* ~ *-huw(wa)*.

*6 *‘* + *h* often assimilates to *ḥḥ*: *miḥḥa*, *miḥḥuṃ*, *miḥḥin*.

¹⁰¹ Notice that such raising remains absent when the short *a* is the product of reduction of *ā* in pre-stress position, as in *mag‘ad šasēh* (< *šāsēh*) “a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as mag‘ad in Malbad (Ġarāġrah)” (ĠrA).

Suffixed prepositions *fi* “in”, *min* “from” and *waṛa* “behind” in TAŞ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, HwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

	<i>fi</i> +		<i>min</i> +		<i>waṛa</i> +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>fah</i> * ¹	<i>fihum</i> * ⁵	<i>minnih</i>	<i>minhum</i> * ⁵	<i>waṛāh</i>	<i>waṛāhum</i> * ⁵
fem.	<i>fīha</i> * ²	<i>fihin</i>	<i>minha</i> * ²	<i>minhin</i>	<i>waṛāha</i> * ²	<i>waṛāhin</i>
2. masc.	<i>fak</i> * ³	<i>fikuw</i>	<i>minnak</i>	<i>minkuw</i>	<i>waṛāk</i>	<i>waṛākuw</i>
fem.	<i>fikiy</i>	<i>fikin</i>	<i>minkiy</i>	<i>minkin</i>	<i>waṛākiy</i>	<i>waṛākin</i>
1. com.	<i>fay(y)</i> * ⁴	<i>fīna</i>	<i>minnī</i>	<i>minna</i>	<i>waṛāy</i>	<i>waṛāna</i>

*¹ *fi*h (with short *i*) in MIA, *fīh* (with long *ī*) in TAN, BdA, ĞrA, TyA, HwA and DbA. In all dialects: *fīh* (with long *ī*) is used for “there is/are”.

*² *-hiy* in TyA.

*³ *fik* in TAN, BdA, ĞrA, TyA, HwA and DbA.

*⁴ *fīnī* in ĞrA.

*⁵ *-huw* in ĞrA and *-hum* ~ *-huw* in HwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions ‘*ind* “with”, *ḥawāla* “around” and *fōg/fawg* “over” in TAŞ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, HwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

	<i>ind</i> +		<i>ḥawāla</i> +	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>indah</i>	<i>induhum</i> * ²	<i>ḥawalāh</i> * ⁴	<i>ḥawalāhum</i>
fem.	<i>indaha</i> * ¹	<i>indihin</i>	<i>ḥawalāha</i> * ¹	<i>ḥawalāhin</i>
2. masc.	<i>indak</i>	<i>indukuw</i>	<i>ḥawalāk</i>	<i>ḥawalākuw</i>
fem.	<i>indikiy</i>	<i>indikin</i>	<i>ḥawalākiy</i>	<i>ḥawalākin</i>
1. com.	<i>indī</i>	<i>indina</i>	<i>ḥawalāy</i>	<i>ḥawalāna</i>

	<i>fōg</i> +	
	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>fōgah</i>	<i>fōghum</i> * ²
fem.	<i>fōgha</i> * ¹	<i>fōghin</i>
2. masc.	<i>fōgak</i>	<i>fōgkuw</i>
fem.	<i>fōgkiy</i>	<i>fōgkin</i>
1. com.	<i>fōgī</i>	<i>fōgna</i>

*¹ *-hiy* in TyA.

*² *-huw* in ĞrA and *-hum* ~ *-huw* in HwA and TAN.

*³ This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ĞrA and MIA.

*⁴ An alternative *ḥawālah* was recorded in TAŞ and *ḥawēlah* in TAN.

*⁵ In HwA the preposition is diphthongal: *fawgah*, *fawgha*, etc.

An interesting grammaticalisation recorded in DbA is *byākluw min iġnūbāha* “they eat from all sides (around them)”.

Suffixed prepositions are negated with single preceding *mā*, e.g. *mā ‘indī* “not with me”, *mā fōgak* “not above you”.

3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10

Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): *wāḥid / wiḥdih*^{*1}, *tnēn / tintēn*^{*2}, *talāṭih (tālāt)*, *arba‘ah (arba‘)*, *xamsih (xams)*, *sittih (sitt)*, *sab‘ih (sab‘)*, *tamānyih (tamán)*, *tis‘ih (tis‘)*, *‘ašarah (‘ašár)*.

*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 *tintēn* may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. *waladēn itnēn* “two boys” and *īdāy attintēn* “my two hands” and *riġlāy attintēn* “my two legs” (TyA, TAŞ, ĞrA, ḤwA). The form *adāy* “my hands” was recorded in DbA. Direct elicitation in ḤwA yielded *īdānī* instead of *īdāy* for “my hands”.¹⁰²

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic *t-* (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. *arba‘ t-infār* “four people”, *xamis t-iyām* “five 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*

Numerals 11–19 recorded are: *ḥdāšar*, *tnāšar / itnāšar*, *talattāšar*, *arba‘ tāšar*, *xamistāšar*, *sittāšar*, *saba‘ tāšar*, *tamantāšar*, *tisi‘ tāšar* in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in *-āšar* co-occurred with forms ending in *-ā‘iš*, e.g. *talattā‘iš*, *arba‘ tā‘iš*, *xamistā‘iš*,¹⁰³ etc. In MIA the months of November and December were referred to as *šahár iḥdā‘iš* and *šahár itnā‘iš* (resp.).

¹⁰² This is perhaps a hybrid form of *īdāy* “my hands” (like in other dialects) and *adānī* “my ears”, or the pl. *īdān* was directly suffixed with the pron.: *īdānī* “my hands”.

¹⁰³ In the forms ending in *-āšar* velarization is indicated in *r*, in the forms ending in *-ā‘iš*, it is indicated in the long: *ā*.

Numerals 20–90:

‘išrīn, ṭalātīn, arba‘īn, xamsīn, sittīn, sab‘īn, ṭamānīn, tis‘īn.

Numerals 100–900:

miyyih, mīyṭēn, ṭulīṭmiyyih, ṛubī‘miyyih, xumismiyyih, suttmiyyih, subī‘miyyih, ṭumīnmiyyih, tusi‘miyyih.

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

alf, alfēn, ṭalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arba‘ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabī‘ t-ālāf, ṭaman t-ālāf, tisi‘ t-ālāf, ‘ašar t-ālāf.

Long *ā* of the first syllable is usually reduced to short *a*, e.g. *ṭalat t-ālāf* “three thousand”.

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

ḥdāšar alf, mūt alf, miyytēn alf, milyōn / malyōn (and ṭalat malāyīn).

Some plurals recorded with proclitic *t-* are: *tisi‘ t-ālāf* “nine thousand”, *‘ašar t-īyām* “ten days”, *sitt t-ušhur* “six months”,¹⁰⁴ *sabī‘ t-infār* “seven persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. *šahār wāḥid* “January”, *f-awwil iḥdā‘iš* “in the beginning of November”.

3.1.18. *The dual*

Suffixing *-ēn* (or *-ayn*) to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *raffayn* “two tent sections”, *šaharayn* “two months”, *yōmēn* “two days”, *šwālēn* “two (large) sacks”.

Older forms of the dual (?)¹⁰⁵ are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. TAŞ and TyA forms *riġlāy* “my (two) legs”, *īdāy* “my hands” (unsuffixed pl. forms are *riġlān* and *īdān*).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: *īd* “hand”, *īdān* “hands”, *īdāha* “her hands”, *īdāhin* “their (fem.) hands”, but *īdānī* “my hands”. A form heard in ĞrA is *īdāhuw* “their hands”.

¹⁰⁴ *sitt t-ušhur* is actually pronounced like *sitt ušhur* (reduced *tt t > tt*). The proclitic *t-* is concluded from other forms, like *xamis t-ušhur* “five months” and *ṭaman t-ušhur* “eight months”.

¹⁰⁵ It is not certain that these forms in final *-ān*, and suffixed as *-ā +*, are older dual forms (see also remarks in De Jong 2000:187 (+ fn 341); one could also imagine a perhaps more likely analogy with pl. forms like *sīgān* (sg. *sāg*) for “thighs”, *kī‘ān* (sg. *kū‘*) “elbows”, *dir‘ān* (sg. *drā‘*) “forearms”.

Plural forms in BdA and DbA are with initial *a-*: *adēk* “your hands”, *adēhuṃ* “their hands”, *adēhin* “their (fem.) hands” and “my hands” in DbA is *adāy*, but was recorded as *adāy* in BdA.

Forms recorded in MIA are only sg.: *īd* “hand” and *īdī* “my hand”. Forms in TAN are *īdak* and *īdah*, and pl. forms *īdēh* “his hands” and *riġlēh* “his legs”.

These forms are also used as plurals—not only as duals—as is clear from recorded instances like *yākluw b īdāhuw* “they eat with their hands” and *biyguṣṣinhin, iw byuḍufrinnah ḍafar . . . ‘al-īdāhin . . . āššā‘ar hāḍa* “they (fem.) shave them (fem., i.e. the goats), and they (fem.) plait it (sg. masc.) into a saddle girth . . . this hair” and *ib riġlāhin ibyīdirsin* “they (fem.) thresh with their (fem., i.e. animals) feet”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

For measure 1 the two principal underlying patterns for the perfect are (*i*-type) $C_1aC_2iC_3$ and (*a*-type) $C_1aC_2aC_3$ (for $C_1aC_2uC_3$ see 3.2.1.3.).

The paradigms in TyA are:

		perfect “drink” ^{*1}		perfect “sit” ^{*3}	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	šribt ^{*1}	šribna ^{*1}	ga‘ād	ga‘ādaw ^{*4}
	fem.	šribt ^{*1}	šribtuw ^{*1}	ga‘adat ^{*4}	ga‘adan ^{*4}
2.	masc.	šribtīy ^{*1}	šribtin ^{*1}	ga‘adt ^{*5}	ga‘adtuw ^{*5}
	fem.	šrib ^{*1}	šarbuw ^{*2}	ga‘adtiy ^{*5}	ga‘adtin ^{*5}
1.	com.	šarbit ^{*2}	šarbin ^{*2}	ga‘adt ^{*5}	ga‘adna

^{*1} The short vowel *i* of the open and unstressed first syllable is underlying [a] and is therefore not elided in these group I dialects (i.e. forms are not •šrib, •šribt, etc.) (cf. the verb *ġulúḍ* in 3.2.1.3.).

^{*2} Notice that the underlying *a* ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAŞ, ĞrA, MIA; forms there are *šribit*, *šribuw* and *šribin*. Other examples are: *tifiw* “they grew old”, *wiġfit* “she stood”.

Like in TyA, the *a* does ‘reappear’ in ḤwA: *‘argit* “she sweated”, *yabsuw* “they dried”, *waşlit* “she arrived, reached”; DbA: *fahyit* “she was surprised” and *daryit* “she became aware”; BdA: *nasyit* “she forgot”, *ġarmit* “she was fined”; TAN: *fahmit* “she understood” (cf. the verb *ġulúḍ* in 3.2.1.3.).

*³ Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stress is regular, but optional, e.g. *fitáh* “he opened”.

*⁴ Stress is CáCaCv in TAŞ. The other group I dialects discussed here (including TAN!) stress CaCáCv (but MLA shows variation in this respect, see remarks in 2.1.1.2.2.).

*⁵ The consonant cluster *dt* assimilates to *tt*.

In TAŞ suffixed forms only distinguished by stress are: *šribtah* “I drank it (sg. masc.)” (< *šribt* + *ah*) and *šribtah* “she drank it (sg. masc.)” (< *šribit* + *ah*).

In ĞrA, however, the high vowel of the verbal ending is not elided (and hence no subsequent anaptyxis takes place): *hī líbsitih* “she wore it”, *hī šribitih* “she drank it”, *hī lígyitih* “she found it”, but *aná libístih* “I wore it”. No such forms were recorded in MLA.

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect

Like in most dialects of Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes, and like in group VI, this vowel harmony is also found in the 1st. p. sg. com. of *i*- and *u*-type imperfects of some of the group I dialects discussed here: ĞrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. *lēš inzil?* “why should I dismount?”). The other group I dialects (TAŞ, TyA, DbA, ĤwA and also the large majority of forms in TAN) have initial *a*- in all vowel types, see also De Jong 2000:299.

There are three imperfect patterns: $yaC_1C_2CaC_3$, $yuC_1C_2CuC_3$ and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$.

		<i>a</i> -type imperfect “drink”	
		sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>yášřab</i>	<i>yášřabaw</i>
	fem.	<i>tášřab</i>	<i>yášřaban</i>
2. masc.		<i>tášřab</i>	<i>tášřabaw</i>
	fem.	<i>tášřabay</i>	<i>tášřaban</i>
1. com.		<i>ášřab</i>	<i>nášřab</i>

Paradigms for *i*- and *u*-type imperfects are like those listed for group VI with differences in initial vowels in the 1st p. sg. com. as described above here (i.e. *aktib* and *ađrub* or *iktib* and *uđrub*).

Measure 1 verbs *i*-type (e.g. *yaħarit*) and *a*-type (e.g. *ya‘arag*) with $C_1 = X$ have the following paradigms.

		<i>i</i> -type imperfect* ¹		<i>a</i> -type imperfect* ¹	
		“plough”		“sweat”	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>yaḥárit</i>	<i>yaḥártuw</i>	<i>ya’árag</i>	<i>ya’áragaw</i>
	fem.	<i>taḥárit</i>	<i>taḥártin</i>	<i>ta’árag</i>	<i>ta’áragan</i>
2. masc.		<i>taḥárit</i>	<i>taḥártuw</i>	<i>ta’árag</i>	<i>ta’áragaw</i>
	fem.	<i>taḥártiy</i>	<i>taḥártin</i>	<i>ta’áragay</i>	<i>ta’áragan</i>
1. com.		<i>aḥárit</i> * ²	<i>naḥárit</i>	<i>a’árag</i>	<i>na’árag</i>

*¹ For stress in these forms see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.4.

*² Notice that in gahawah-verb forms the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel of an *i*-type imperfect.

For the morphological status of the *i*, and reasons for not indicating its elision (i.e. the forms are not written here as e.g. *yaḥárt*), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfects and participles of these verbs *ḥarát* and *’iríg* are like those of *ga’ád* and *širíb* (see 3.2.1.1.).

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C₁aC₂uC₃, *yaC₁C₂uC₃

The verb “grow fat” as example of an ‘Eigenschaften’ verb-type elicited in ḤwA, BdA, TAŞ:

		“grow fat”			
		<i>u</i> -type perfect* ¹		<i>u</i> -type imperfect* ³	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>ḡulúḡ</i>	<i>ḡalḡuw</i> * ²	<i>yaḡáluḡ</i>	<i>yaḡáḡuw</i>
	fem.	<i>ḡalḡit</i> * ²	<i>ḡalḡin</i> * ²	<i>taḡáluḡ</i>	<i>yaḡáḡin</i>
2. masc.		<i>ḡuluḡt</i>	<i>ḡuluḡtuw</i>	<i>taḡáluḡ</i>	<i>taḡáḡuw</i>
	fem.	<i>ḡuluḡtiy</i>	<i>ḡuluḡtin</i>	<i>taḡáḡiy</i>	<i>taḡáḡin</i>
1. com.		<i>ḡuluḡt</i>	<i>ḡuluḡna</i>	<i>aḡáluḡ</i> * ⁴	<i>naḡáluḡ</i>

*¹ In unstressed open syllables the surface *u* (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not *•ḡluḡ*, *•ḡluḡt*, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying |a| (cf. the verb *širíb* in 3.2.1.1.).

*² Notice that the underlying |a| of the pattern ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAŞ, ĞrA, MIA; forms recorded there are *ḡulḡit*, *ḡulḡuw* and *ḡulḡin*. For TAN I have extrapolated ‘reappearance’ of *a* here based on its ‘reappearance’ in the *i*-type perfect (compare *širíb* *² in 3.2.1.1.).

*³ Due to the relatively high sonority of the preceding *l*, the high vowel *u* is usually dropped when *ḡ* is word-final, e.g. *yaḡáḡḡ* # and *taḡáḡḡ* #. See also remarks *¹ and *² in 3.2.1.2. on ordering the gahawah-rule and the rule for high vowel elision in the imperfect.

*⁴ Like in *aḥārīt* (see 3.2.1.2. above) the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel.

For the imperfect this paradigm with gahawah-forms was elicited in ḤwA. In other dialects a paradigm like that of *yudrub* (i.e. *yūḡluḡ*, etc.) is current.

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Like in group VI, active participles are formed with the patterns C₁āC₂iC₃, C₁āC₂C₃ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C₁āC₂C₃īn (pl. masc.), C₁āC₂C₃āt (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: *ṛāyidtiḥ* “she wants/loves him”, *šāribtiḥ* “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. masc.)” (both ḤwA), *šāribtiḥa* “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” (TAŞ).

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives

Imperatives of regular verbs are like in other dialects of group I,¹⁰⁶ e.g. *ášrab*, *ášrabay*, *ášrabaw*, *ášraban* “drink!”, *úḡud*, *úḡudiy*, *úḡuduw*, *úḡudin* “sit down!” and *ímisk*, *ímiskiy*, *ímiskuw*, *ímiskin* “grab, take hold!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (*primae wāw*)

In group I dialects discussed here there is a mild preference for monophthongs in *i*-type imperfects, while *a*-type imperfects more often have diphthongs, e.g. *warād*, *yōrid* “give water”, *wazán*, *yōzin* “weigh”, *waşál*, *yawşal* “arrive”, but forms like *yawrid* and *yōşal* were also heard.¹⁰⁷

		<i>a</i> -type imperfect with <i>wāw</i> * “arrive”	
		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>yawşal</i>	<i>yawşalaw</i>
	fem.	<i>tawşal</i>	<i>yawşalan</i>
2.	masc.	<i>tawşal</i>	<i>tawşalaw</i>
	fem.	<i>tawşalay</i>	<i>tawşalan</i>
1.	com.	<i>awşal</i>	<i>nawşal</i>

¹⁰⁶ See De Jong 2000:192.

¹⁰⁷ Holes and Abu Athera 2009:212 recorded initial *yā-* in poetry from south Jordan and Sinai. Two instances of forms with initial short vowel (*yaga*¹ and *tigif*), typical of dialects on the periphery of the Syrian desert, were also recorded. These prefixes (i.e. *yā-* etc.) were also reported for the dialect of the Ḥwētāt in southern Jordan, see Palva 1984–86:300.

* In ḤwA two parallel imperfect paradigms were recorded for the C₁ = *wāw* verb *warad* “give water”: one without *wāw* (*yirid*), and one with incorporated *wāw* (*yōrid*):

The *i*-type imperfect has the following paradigm:

		“water”			
		imperfect without <i>wāw</i> * ¹		imperfect with <i>wāw</i> * ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>yirid</i>	<i>yarduw</i>	<i>yōrid</i>	<i>yōrduw</i>
	fem.	<i>tirid</i>	<i>yardin</i>	<i>tōrid</i>	<i>yōrdin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>tirid</i>	<i>tarduw</i>	<i>tōrid</i>	<i>tōrduw</i>
	fem.	<i>tardiy</i>	<i>tardin</i>	<i>tōrdiy</i>	<i>tōrdin</i>
1.	com.	(^ʾ) <i>arid</i>	<i>nirid</i>	<i>ōrid</i>	<i>nōrid</i>

*¹ Notice that the vowel of the first syllable is underlying |a|: it is raised to *i* in open unstressed syllable (except when ^ʾ precedes), but appears as *a* in closed (and stressed) syllables. Compare this to the perfect paradigms of *širib* (see 3.2.1.1.) and *ġulúġ* (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for *yigif* (paradigm like *yirid* above) ~ *yawgaf* (paradigm like *yawšal* above).

*² In ĞrA the imperfect of this verb is with incorporated *wāw*. The tendency during elicitation was to monophthongize *aw* > *ō* in closed syllables, but to maintain diphthongs in open syllables, e.g. *yōrduw* “they give water”, but *yawrid* “he gives water” (the paradigm for the perfect *warád* is like *gaʾád*, see 3.2.1.1.)

Other primae *wāw* verbs are: *waġaʾ*, *yōġiʾ* “hurt”, *waláʾ*, *yawliy* “come near”, *wakáʾ*, *yōkiy* “tie closed”, *waṭáʾ*, *yawṭiy* “go shopping”.

Verbs with the pattern *yiwCiC* or *yiwCaC* (like those current in e.g. Cairene Arabic) were not recorded in these dialects.

Imperatives of the verb *wiʾiy*, *yawʾa* “pay attention” (root *w-ʾ-y*) are *awʾa*, *awʾay*, *awʾaw* and *awʾan* in ḤwA, DbA, e.g. *awʾan rūskin* “mind (pl. fem.) your (pl. fem.) heads!”. Forms recorded in TAŞ, TyA were recorded with base vowels dropped: *awʾa*, *awʾiy*, *awʾin* and *awʾuw*, e.g. *awʾa tans* “don’t you forget (sg. masc.)!” and *awʾin tansin* “don’t you forget (pl. fem.)!”.

In BdA and ĞrA the imperative of the sg. masc. was left unconjugated for grammatical number and gender and used as a general particle of warning (a similar particle was recorded in some dialects of group VII): *awʾa rāsak*, *awʾa rāskiy*, *awʾa rūskuw*, *awʾa rūskin* for “mind your head(s)” (BdA) and also *awʾa tans*, *awʾa tansay*, *awʾa tansaw* and *awʾa tansan* “don’t

forget!” (ĠrA). Other dialects have regular imperative forms like *aw'an rūskin* and *aw'aw tansaw* (Forms in MIA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel *i* in most dialects have *ō* as in *yōġi* ‘it hurts’, *yōkiy* ‘he ties closed’, *yōrid* ‘he waters’ *yōzin* ‘he weighs’, *yōgid* ‘he lights’ (recorded in MIA, BdA, TAN and ḤwA). Some dialects (also) have diphthongs in these *i*-type imperfects, like *yowluw* ‘they come near’, *yawtuw* ‘they go shopping’ (both MIA), *yawrid* and *yawgid* (both TAŞ), *yawkiy* ‘he ties closed’ but *yōkiha* ‘he ties it (sg. fem.) closed’ (both BdA) and diphthongs in *a*-type imperfects *yawşal* ‘he arrives’, *yawşaf* ‘he describes’ and *yawġa* (all three TAŞ), *yowgaf* or *yawgaf* ‘he stands’ (ḤwA and TAŞ). Sometimes such verbal imperfects are without *wāw*, e.g. *agif* ‘I stand’, *tigif* ‘you stand’ (both ḤwA).

Participles:

Active participles have a $C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ pattern, e.g. *wārid*, *wāridih*, *wārdin*, *wārdāt* ‘having watered’.

$maC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3$ is the pattern for the past participle, as in *mawġūd* (-*ah*, -*in*, -*āt*) ‘present’ for the root *w-ġ-d* in all dialects except ḤwA, where twice *māġūd* was recorded. Roni Henkin lists a form *maylūd* co-occurring with *mawlūd*, see Henkin 2008:362 for tribes in the Negev (see also fn 101, p. 83).

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

In TyA, ḤwA, TAŞ and ĠrA the diphthong of the first syllable in the imperfect is left intact (perfect) *yibís*, (imperfect) *yaybas* (not recorded in the other dialects).

Notice that, like in the verb *širíb* (see 3.2.1.1.), the vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is underlying |a|, so that it ‘reappears’ in closed syllables (in those dialects that also have *šarbit*): *yibís* ‘it (sg. masc.) dried’, but *yabsit* ‘it (sg. fem.) dried’.

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

The verb ‘eat’ has the following paradigms:

		imperfect* ¹		perfect* ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>yākil</i>	<i>yākluw</i>	<i>akál</i>	<i>akálaw</i>
	fem.	<i>tākil</i>	<i>yāklin</i>	<i>akálat</i>	<i>akálan</i>
2.	masc.	<i>tākil</i>	<i>tākluw</i>	<i>akalt</i>	<i>akaltuw</i>
	fem.	<i>tākliy</i>	<i>tāklin</i>	<i>akaltiy</i>	<i>akaltin</i>
1.	com.	<i>ākil</i>	<i>nākil</i>	<i>akalt</i>	<i>akalna</i>

*¹ The long vowel *ā* is clearly lower than in the present participle (without velarization) *mākil*, but velarization in the imperfect (as indicated here in *k*)

is only limited in most dialects. Velarization is clearly stronger in BdA. Such velarization could perhaps be described as ‘phantom’ velarization.¹⁰⁸

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel *i* in the imperfect.
*² The perfect is without initial *a-* in TAŞ, ĞRA, MIA (TAN is uncertain).
Stress is then *kalát*, *kaláw* and *kalán*.

The paradigms for the verb “take” (^ʔ*x-d*) are comparable (in the perfect *d* + *t* usually assimilates to > *tt*, e.g. *axattuw*).

Present participles are with initial *m-*: *mākil*, *mākliħ*, *māklīn*, *māklāt*.

Past participles are: *māxūd*, *-ah*, *-īn*, *-āt* (all forms are velarized).

Imperatives are: *kuł*, *kliy*, *kluw*, *klin*

The verbal noun is (^ʔ)*akl* “eating” (also “food”), but *waḳł* was recorded in BdA. The passive verb “be eaten” is *ánwakal*, *yínwikil*.

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

3.2.2.4.1. Verbs $C_2 = w$ or y (*mediae infirmae*) perfect and imperfect

In group I dialects the perfect and imperfect paradigms are:

	“say”	perfect		imperfect* ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>gāl</i>	<i>gālaw</i> * ¹	<i>ygül</i>	<i>ygüluw</i>
fem.		<i>gālat</i>	<i>gālan</i>	<i>tgül</i>	<i>ygülin</i>
2. masc.		<i>gułt</i>	<i>gułtuw</i>	<i>tgül</i> * ³	<i>tgüluw</i>
fem.		<i>gułtiy</i>	<i>gułtin</i>	<i>tgüliy</i>	<i>tgülin</i>
1. com.		<i>gułt</i>	<i>gułna</i>	<i>agül</i> * ⁴	<i>ngül</i>

*¹ In TAŞ and ĞRA the ending *-aw* varies with *-uw*. In the other dialects the ending is regularly *-aw*.

*² Media *yā*’ verbs (with long base vowel *i*) have the same endings.

*³ Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. *tanam*, *tuḡul* and *tišil*) were not recorded in these group I dialects.

*⁴ See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (*uḡül*) in ĞRA and BdA.

For media *yā*’ verbs (with long base vowel *ā*) ĤwA, BdA, ĞRA, TyA and TAŞ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: *tnāmay*, *ynāmaw*, *ynāman*, *tnāmaw* and *tnāman*. Situation in MIA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).

¹⁰⁸ ‘Phantom’ velarization is here meant to indicate the effect of velarization present in these forms, while the cause of this velarization (originally the vowel *u* in the imperfect) is no longer present, since the vowel *u* has been replaced by *i*. Compare this to velarization left behind by *u* in forms (e.g. *řkab* “knees”, *řrab* “waterskins”), even after its total disappearance; the effect of the so-called vanished *u*, as described in Blanc 1970:128 [17].

The verb *šāf*, *yšūf* was recorded in all dialects with short vowel *u* only: *šuft* “I saw”.

Verbs $C_2 = y$ are like in group VI as well, e.g. *šāl*, *yšīl* (and *šilt*) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb *rād*, *yrīd*, see 3.2.3.7.2. of this chapter).

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

Short base vowels in the sg. masc. imperative in *mediae infirmae* verbs are rare; I have heard it in BdA in imperatives *gum* “get up!” and *nam* “go to sleep!”, but other imperatives in BdA all had long base vowels, e.g. *gūl* “say!”, *šīl* “carry, take away!”, although there are also isolated instances of *gul* “say!”.

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

	long <i>ū</i>		long <i>ī</i>		long <i>ā</i>	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
masc.	<i>gūl</i>	<i>gūluw</i>	<i>šīl</i>	<i>šīluw</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>nāmuw*</i>
fem.	<i>gūliy</i>	<i>gūlin</i>	<i>šīliy</i>	<i>šīlin</i>	<i>nāmiy*</i>	<i>nāmin*</i>

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in ḤwA, BdA, TyA, TAŞ and ĞrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: *nāmay*, *nāmau*, *nāman* (not recorded in TAN and MIA).

Imperatives used with the verb *ġāb*, *yġīb* “bring” are: *hāt*, *hātiy*, *hātuw*, *hātin*.

N.B. Often the diphthong *iy* is reduced to *i* in forms like *biyūl*, *biyšīl* > *bigūl*, *bišīl*.

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

Present participles are like in other groups, e.g. *gāyil*, *gāylih*, *gāylin*, *gāylāt*.

Past participles are *magyūl*, *-ah*, *-īn*, *-āt*, but more current is *mingāl*, *-ah*, *-īn*, *-āt*.

3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertia infirmae*)

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

Like in the other groups of the south of Sinai, *a*-type and *i*-type perfects of *tertia infirmae* verbs have often become mixed.

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

	perfect			
	“walk” ^{*1}		“find” ^{*2}	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>mašá(‘)</i>	<i>mašáw</i>	<i>ligíy</i>	<i>ligyuw</i>
fem.	<i>mašát</i>	<i>mašán</i>	<i>ligiyit</i>	<i>ligyin</i>
2. masc.	<i>mašēt</i>	<i>mašētuw</i>	<i>ligīt</i>	<i>ligītuw</i>
fem.	<i>mašētiy</i>	<i>mašētin</i>	<i>ligītiy</i>	<i>ligītin</i>
1. com.	<i>mašēt</i>	<i>mašēna</i>	<i>ligīt</i>	<i>ligīna</i>

*1 Raising of *a* in open pre-stress syllable is current in the *a*-type perfect, e.g. *mišá(ʻ)* and *mišēt*.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA, BdA, though in the latter the 3rd p. sg. fem. was produced as *mášyit*.

In DbA and ĤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as *a*-type and as *i*-type, e.g. *mášá ~ mišýy*, *mašát ~ mašyit* and *mišēt (< *mašēt) ~ mišýt*.

*2 The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also *ligýy*, but the underlying |a| of the first syllable 'reappears' when the syllable is closed: *lagyit*, *lagyuw* and *lagyin*. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an *a*-type perfect: *ligēt (< lagēt)*, etc.

In DbA and ĤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations:¹⁰⁹ both as *a*-type and as *i*-type, e.g. *ligá ~ ligýy*, *ligát ~ lagyit* and *ligēt ~ ligýt*.

The perfect paradigm for "forget" recorded in TAŞ is mixed: (sg.) *nasá(ʻ)*, *nasát*, *nasýt*, *nasýtýy*, *nasýt* and (pl.) *nasáw*, *nasán*, *nasítuw*, *nasítin*, *nasína*. In these forms *a* of the open first syllable is usually raised to *i*, as in e.g. *nisýt*.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: *nasá(ʻ) ~ nisýy*, the conjugation elicited for "forget" in ĤwA is unmixed *i*-type: *nisýy*, *nasyit*, *nisýt*, etc.

Material for MIA and TAN was limited, but the same mixed paradigms appear to be in use there.

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

Paradigms for the imperfect in TAŞ are:

	"find"*1		"walk"	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>yalga</i>	<i>yalguw</i> *3	<i>yimšýy</i>	<i>yimšuw</i>
fem.	<i>talga</i>	<i>yalgan</i> *3	<i>timšýy</i>	<i>yimšín</i>
2. masc.	<i>talga</i> *2	<i>talguw</i> *3	<i>timšýy</i> *2	<i>timšuw</i>
fem.	<i>talgýy</i> *3	<i>talgan</i> *3	<i>timšýy</i>	<i>timšín</i>
1. com.	<i>alga</i>	<i>nalga</i>	<i>amšýy</i> *4	<i>nimšýy</i>

*1 The type of raising of final *-a* (e.g. *yansiʻ*) heard in group VI is not current here.

*2 Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are current only in BdA and TyA (where both full forms and apocopated forms may be heard used

¹⁰⁹ 'Parallel' should not be understood here as two conjugations that are kept separate, either by individual speakers or in different contexts. On the contrary: forms from either paradigm appear to be used at random. The topic certainly deserves more space than can be afforded here. On 'parallel forms', see fn 5, p. 117 in this volume.

side by side). Only few instances were heard in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, and none in TAŞ, HwA and MIA.

*³ Notice that in the *a*-type the final base vowel *-a* is dropped in the endings of the 2nd p. sg. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd pl. masc. forms, but not in 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. forms.

*⁴ See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on possible vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (*ímšiy*) in ĞrA and BdA.

Endings with base vowel (i.e. *-ay*, *-an* and *-aw*, as in *talgay*, *t/yalgan* and *t/yalgaw*) were heard in TAN, HwA, DbA and BdA. In ĞrA and TyA these co-occurred with endings without the base vowel. Material is too limited for conclusions on MIA; only one relevant form was recorded there: *talgūhuw* “you’ll find them”.

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

Dialects where apocopated imperfects are current (mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, see remark *² in 3.2.2.5.2.), may also use apocopated imperatives for the sg. masc.

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

Active participles have the patterns $C_1\bar{a}C_2iy$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2yih$, $C_1\bar{a}C_2yīn$ and $C_1\bar{a}C_2yāt$. E.g. *nāsiy*, *nāsiyh*, *nāsyīn*, *nāsyāt* “having forgotten”.

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

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

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

The verb “come” was recorded in all group I dialects as:

	perfect		imperfect* ¹	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>ǰa(ʻ)</i>	<i>ǰaw</i>	<i>yǰiy</i>	<i>yǰuw</i>
fem.	<i>ǰat</i>	<i>ǰan</i>	<i>tǰiy</i>	<i>yǰīn</i>
2. masc.	<i>ǰūt</i>	<i>ǰūtuw</i>	<i>tǰiy</i> * ²	<i>tǰuw</i>
fem.	<i>ǰūtiy</i>	<i>ǰūtin</i>	<i>tǰiy</i>	<i>tǰīn</i>
1. com.	<i>ǰūt</i>	<i>ǰīna</i>	<i>aǰiy</i> * ³	<i>nǰiy</i>

*¹ In ĞrA forms with initial *t*- often showed a following vowel as well: *tiǰiy* ~ *tǰiy*, *tiǰūw* ~ *tǰuw* and *tiǰīn* ~ *tǰīn*.

*₂ The apocopated form in BdA and TyA is *tiġ*.

*₃ Informants of ĞrA and BdA did not produce a form *iġġy* here (contrast with remarks on vowel harmony in 3.2.1.2.).

3.2.2.6.2. *The verb “come” imperatives*

Imperatives used with the verb “come” in ĞrA, BdA and TyA are: *ta’āl*, *ta’āliy*, *ta’āluw* and *ta’ālin*. The same forms are used in TAŞ, but there the pl. fem. shows vowel harmony: *ta’ālan*.

In ĤwA the sg. masc is *ta’ā(’)* and in DbA *ta’āl*. In both ĤwA, DbA the endings of the other forms also show vowel harmony: *ta’ālay*, *ta’ālaw* and *ta’ālan*.

Material for MĀ and TAN is too limited for conclusions.

3.2.2.6.3. *The verb “come” participles*

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

3.2.2.7. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

3.2.2.7.1. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect.*

Paradigms for mediae geminatae verbs are:

		“pull”			
		perfect* ₁		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>šadd</i>	<i>šaddaw</i> * ₂	<i>yšidd</i>	<i>yšidduw</i>
	fem.	<i>šaddat</i>	<i>šaddan</i> * ₂	<i>tšidd</i>	<i>yšiddin</i>
2.	masc.	<i>šaddēt</i>	<i>šaddētuw</i>	<i>tšidd</i>	<i>tšidduw</i>
	fem.	<i>šaddētiy</i>	<i>šaddētin</i>	<i>tšiddiy</i>	<i>tšiddin</i>
1.	com.	<i>šaddēt</i>	<i>šaddēna</i>	<i>ašidd</i> * ₃	<i>nšidd</i>

*₁ Raising of *a* preceding a syllable with *ē* may occur in ĤwA, DbA and ĞrA (e.g. *šiddēt*), but it is much less regular than in the other dialects, see also remark in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the *ē* of the ending is diphthongal *ay*. E.g. *ħaṭṭayt* “I placed” and *ħaṭṭaytuw* “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that *a* is not raised, so not *•ħiṭṭayt* or *•ħuṭṭayt*, or something similar).

*₂ Notice vowel harmony in the 3rd p. pl. endings in BdA, ĤwA, DbA, ĞrA, MĀ and TAN.

In TAŞ and TyA, however, both *-aw* and *-uw* were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. *ħaṭṭaw* ~ *ħaṭṭuw* “they placed”. In TAŞ forms with the ending *-uw* are most commonly heard.

*₃ In ĞrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. *aná biħibb* “I love”, *bišidd* “I pull” (~ *aħibb* and *ašidd*), and also a form *buṭuxx* “I shoot” in TAN, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.2.

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

Imperatives of *mediae geminate* verbs are e.g. *limm*, *limmiy*, *limmuw*, *limmin* “gather!” and with base vowel *u*: *xušš*, *xuššiy*, *xuššuw*, *xuššin* “enter!”.

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

Active participles *geminate* verbs are e.g.: *lāmm*, *lāmmih*, *lāmmīn*, *lāmmāt* “having gathered”.

Passive participles may be subject to the *gahawah*-rule when $C_1 = X$, e.g. *maḥatūṭ* “placed” (see 2.2.1.2.).

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure *n-1*3.2.3.1.1. Measure *n-1* sound roots

Like in group VI (but contrast VII and VIII), The vowel in the preformative of measure *n-1* is stressable in the perfect and in the imperfect (see 2.1.1.). The underlying patterns are: $\text{anC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3$, $\text{yinC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{iC}_3$. The *a* in the imperfect is raised to *i* in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

		“rejoice”			
		perfect* ¹	pl.	imperfect* ¹	
		sg.		sg.	pl.
3.	masc.	<i>ānbiṣat</i>	<i>inbaṣāṭaw</i> * ³	<i>yīnbiṣit</i>	<i>yīnbaṣṭuw</i>
	fem.	<i>inbaṣāṭat</i>	<i>inbaṣāṭan</i>	<i>tīnbiṣit</i>	<i>yīnbaṣṭīn</i>
2.	masc.	<i>inbaṣāṭt</i> * ²	<i>inbaṣāṭtuw</i> * ²	<i>tīnbiṣit</i>	<i>tinbaṣṭuw</i>
	fem.	<i>inbaṣāṭtiy</i> * ²	<i>inbaṣāṭtin</i> * ²	<i>tinbaṣṭiy</i>	<i>tinbaṣṭīn</i>
1.	com.	<i>inbaṣāṭt</i> * ²	<i>inbaṣaṭna</i>	<i>ānbiṣit</i>	<i>nīnbiṣit</i>

*¹ For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.

*² *t* + *t* assimilates to *tt*.

*³ Vowel harmony is absent in the ending *-uw* in TAṢ. In TyA *-uw* co-occurs with *-aw* and in other dialects the ending is *-aw*.

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

Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n-1* of medial geminate verbs are: $(i)nC_1aC_2C_2$ and $\text{yinC}_1\text{aC}_2C_2$, e.g. *indabb*, *yindabb* (*miy*) “be filled (with water)”.

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

The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure *n-1* of medial weak verbs are: $\text{inC}_1\bar{a}C_3$ and $\text{yinC}_1\bar{a}C_3$. The paradigm for the perfect is:

	“be carried”	
	perfect	
	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>inšāl</i>	<i>inšālaw*</i>
fem.	<i>inšālat</i>	<i>inšālan</i>
2. masc.	<i>inšilt</i>	<i>inšiltuw</i>
fem.	<i>inšiltiy</i>	<i>inšiltin</i>
1. com.	<i>inšilt</i>	<i>inšilna</i>

* In TAŞ both *-uw* and *-aw* were heard as endings

3.2.3.1.4. *Measure n-1 C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles*
Participles are shaped on the patterns minC₁āC₃, -ah/-ih, -in, -āt.

3.2.3.2. *Measure t-1*

Measure *t-1* was recorded once in TAŞ in (the loan from presumably Cairene) *yittākil* “it (sg. masc.) is eaten”, but the verb current in TAŞ for “be eaten” is (perf.) *ánwakal*, (imperf.) *yínwikil*. No other instances of measure *t-1* were recorded in these group I dialects.

3.2.3.3. *Measure 1-t*

3.2.3.3.1. *Measure 1-t sound roots*

Underlying patterns for measure *1-t* are: aC₁taC₂aC₃ yiC₁taC₂iC₃. Like in measure *n-1*, *a > i* is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect (such raising is compulsory) and also in the perfect (where such raising is optional), e.g.: *áštiġal* ~ *áštaġal*, *yíštiġil* “work”, *áttifag* ~ *áttafag*, *yíttifig* “agree” and *ástuwa* ~ *ástawa*, *yístiwiw* “ripen; be cooked (of food)”.

Notice, however, that although the morphophonemic base vowel *a* ‘reappears’ in closed syllables when verbal suffixes follow,¹⁰ e.g. *yíxtilif* + verbal suffix *-uw* > *yixtálfiuw*, no *a* ‘reappears’ in the example *yí‘tibir* “he considers” + pron. obj. suffix *-ih* > *yí‘tibr̥ih* “he considers him” (recorded in TAN).¹¹

	“buy” in TyA, BdA, TAŞ, ĞrA			
	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.	<i>áštara</i>	<i>áštara^w*1</i>	<i>yíštiriy</i>	<i>yíštáryuw^{*3}</i>
fem.	<i>áštarat</i>	<i>áštaran</i>	<i>tíštiriy</i>	<i>yíštáryin^{*3}</i>
2. masc.	<i>ištara^yt</i>	<i>ištara^ytuw</i>	<i>tíštij^{*2}</i>	<i>tíštáryuw^{*3}</i>
fem.	<i>ištara^ytiy</i>	<i>ištara^ytin</i>	<i>tíštáryiy^{*3}</i>	<i>tíštáryin^{*3}</i>
1. com.	<i>ištara^yt</i>	<i>ištara^yna</i>	<i>áštiriy</i>	<i>níštiriy</i>

¹⁰ Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. *yittafguw* “they agree”, see Shawarbah 2007:296.

¹¹ The fact that *a* does not ‘reappear’ in this case suggests that the “reappearance” of *a* is not a rule which is synchronically executed.

*₁ In TAŞ both *-uw* and *-aw* were heard as endings

*₂ In BdA and TyA apocopated imperfects (like *tíštir*) are possible. In other dialects the form is *tíštiriy*.

*₃ Notice that the base consonant *y* is not dropped here. In DbA the forms are without the base *yā'*: *tíštiriy*, *y/tíštiruw* and *y/tíštirin*. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ĞrA as well.

In HwA the base *yā'* was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: *tíštiriy*, but the pl. forms were *y/tíštáryuw* and *y/tíštáryin*.

The verb was not recorded in MIA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb *ástuwa*, *yístiwi*: (e.g.) *yistawyin* “they (pl. fem.) ripen”.

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

An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb was not recorded (in the verb *ástawa*, *yístiwi* the *wāw* is not a weak radical).

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

An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is *iftakk*, *yiftakk* “be solved (of a dispute/problem)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles

Patterns for measure 1-t participles are miC₁tiC₂iC₃ (underlying miC₁taC₂iC₃), miC₁taC₂C₃ah/ih, miC₁taC₂C₃īn, miC₁taC₂C₃āt.

Examples are:

sg. masc.	sg. fem.	pl. masc.	pl. fem.	translated
<i>míxtlif</i>	<i>míxtalfih</i>	<i>míxtalfīn</i>	<i>míxtalfāt</i>	“differing”
<i>míštiriy</i>	<i>míštaryih</i>	<i>míštaryīn</i>	<i>míštaryāt</i>	“having bought”
<i>míttifig</i>	<i>míttafgih</i>	<i>míttafgīn</i>	<i>míttafgāt</i>	“agreed”

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are not available.

3.2.3.4. Measure ista-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots

Like measure 2, measure *ista-1* has alternating short vowels: *a* in the perfect and *i* in the imperfect. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI. An example is *ístahwan*, *yístahwin* b “consider to be *hayyin*, i.e. unimportant”.

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

A measure *ista-1 C₂ = y* (media infirm) verb recorded in TAŞ is *ista'āš* (1st p. sg. com. *ista'īšt*), *yista'īš* (*fī*) “choose to live (in a certain place)”.

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

A measure *ista-1 verbs C₃ = y* (tertia infirmae) is *istawla*, *yistawliy*. An example of a participle is *kān mistawlīna* “they occupied us (i.e. our land)”.

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

Patterns for medial geminate measure *ista-1 verbs* are: *istaC₁aC₂C₂*, *yistaC₁iC₂C₂*.

Paradigms are:

		“prepare oneself”			
		imperfect* ¹		perfect* ²	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>yista'idd</i>	<i>yista'idduw</i>	<i>ista'add</i>	<i>ista'addaw</i> * ³
	fem.	<i>tista'idd</i>	<i>yista'iddin</i>	<i>ista'addat</i>	<i>ista'addan</i> * ⁴
2. masc.		<i>tista'idd</i>	<i>tista'idduw</i>	<i>ista'iddēt</i>	<i>ista'iddētuw</i>
	fem.	<i>tista'iddiy</i>	<i>tista'iddin</i>	<i>ista'iddētty</i>	<i>ista'iddētīn</i>
1. com.		<i>asta'idd</i>	<i>nista'idd</i>	<i>ista'iddēt</i>	<i>ista'iddēna</i>

*¹ Raising of *a* preceding stressed *i* occurs, but is limited (perhaps under influence of following *ʿ*). See remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

*² Notice (optional) raising of *a* to *i* in positions preceding stressed *ē*.

*³ In TAŞ and TyA the ending was recorded as *-uw*.

*⁴ In TyA the ending was recorded as *-in*, in other dialects (incl. TAŞ) as *-an*.

3.2.3.4.5. *Measure ista-1 participles*

Participles of measure *ista-1 verbs* have the pattern *mistaC₁C₂iC₃*, e.g. *mista'ġil*, *mista'ġlīh*, *mista'ġlīn*, *mista'ġlāt* “in a hurry”.

No instances were recorded of measure *ista-1 verbs* of medial weak roots.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is *mistaC₁iC₂C₂*: *mista'idd*, *mista'iddih*, *mista'iddīn*, *mista'iddāt* “(having) prepared”.

3.2.3.5. *Measures 2 and t-2*

The patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) *C₁aC₂C₂aC₃*, (imperfect) *yC₁aC₂C₂iC₃*.

Measure *t-2* has morphologically fixed *a*. The patterns are (perfect) *taC₁aC₂C₂aC₃*, (imperfect) *ytaC₁aC₂C₂aC₃*.

3.2.3.5.1. *Examples of measure 2 sound roots*

Like in other groups, the high vowel *i* of imperfect measure 2 is elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of (compulsory) morphophonemic elisions are: *itgallbiḥ* “you flip it (sg. masc.) over”, *biyǧammruw* “they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms”.¹¹²

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: *nṛawwḥ alMidān* “we go to alMidān”¹¹³ and *binrakkb alfrūd* “we mount the ploughs”.¹¹⁴

r following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. *biyfakkiruw* (*fi*) “they look (at)” and in sandhi *ydawwir aliḡsūr* “he looks for the safe storages”.¹¹⁵

When $C_2 = C_3$, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *biyḥálliluw* “they make little heaps” and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) *mḥallil ibnāklīh yā rāḡil* “(it’s) ḥalāl, we eat it, oh man!”.

The paradigms for measure 2 verbs are:

		“look”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>fákkar</i>	<i>fákkaraw*</i>	<i>yfakkir</i>	<i>yfakkruw</i>
	fem.	<i>fákkarat</i>	<i>fákkaran</i>	<i>tfakkir</i>	<i>yfakkirin</i>
2. masc.		<i>fakkárt</i>	<i>fakkártuw*</i>	<i>tfakkir</i>	<i>tfakkruw</i>
	fem.	<i>fakkártiy</i>	<i>fakkártin</i>	<i>tfakkriy</i>	<i>tfakkirin</i>
1. com.		<i>fakkárt</i>	<i>fakkárna</i>	<i>afakkir</i>	<i>nfakkir</i>

* TAŞ and TyA have varying *-uw* and *-aw* endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. *ṛawwaḥaw* “they went” and *karrabuw* “they tied (ropes)”. In TyA the *-uw* ending appeared during direct elicitation, but *-aw* came out in spontaneous texts.

3.2.3.5.2. *Measure 2 tertiae infirmae*

In the imperfect apocopated forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. may again be heard mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in: *tsaww* ~ *tsawwiy* “you do”, *tfass* ~ *tfassiy* “you fart”.

Paradigms for tertiae infirmae verbs are:

¹¹² A *ǧimr* (pl. *ǧmūr*) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.

¹¹³ The meaning of the verb *ṛawwaḥ*, *yṛawwiḥ* is “go”, rather than its more specific meaning of “go home” (e.g. in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).

¹¹⁴ *fard*, pl. *frūd* is the current word for “plough”.

¹¹⁵ For *gaṣr*, pl. *ḡsūr* see fn 42, p. 47.

		“make, do”			
		perfect* ¹		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>sawwa</i>	<i>sawwaw</i> * ²	<i>ysawwīy</i>	<i>ysawwuw</i>
	fem.	<i>sawwat</i>	<i>sawwan</i>	<i>tsawwīy</i>	<i>ysawwin</i>
2. masc.		<i>sawwēt</i>	<i>sawwētuw</i>	<i>tsaww /-īy</i> * ³	<i>tsawwuw</i>
	fem.	<i>sawwētiy</i>	<i>sawwētin</i>	<i>tsawwīy</i>	<i>tsawwin</i>
1. com.		<i>sawwēt</i>	<i>sawwēna</i>	<i>asawwīy</i>	<i>nsawwīy</i>

*¹ Raising of *a* preceding stressed *ē* (> *suwwēt*) is a feature of ĠRa, ḤwA and somewhat less so of DbA. Such raising is much less, or not current in MlA, TAŞ, TAN, BdA or TyA (see 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

*² Here too the endings *-aw* and *-uw* were both heard in TAŞ and TyA: *sawwaw* ~ *sawwuw* “they made/did” (other dialects only *sawwaw*).

*³ Apocopated forms are regularly heard only in BdA and TyA.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah

Like in many other dialects, the verb “feed” is *wakkal*, *ywakkil* “give food” and *wadda*, *ywaddīy* is “bring, take to”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect

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

Like in group VI, the *ta-* prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure *t-2* is stable and is only rarely reduced to *(i)t-*.¹¹⁶

		“have lunch”			
		perfect		imperfect* ⁴	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>tağadda</i>	<i>tağaddaw</i> * ¹	<i>ytağadda</i>	<i>ytağaddaw</i> * ¹
	fem.	<i>tağaddat</i>	<i>tağaddan</i> * ²	<i>tağadda</i>	<i>ytağaddan</i> * ²
2. masc.		<i>tağaddēt</i>	<i>tağaddētuw</i>	<i>tağadd /-a</i> * ⁵	<i>tağaddaw</i> * ¹
	fem.	<i>tağaddētiy</i>	<i>tağaddētin</i>	<i>tağadday</i>	<i>tağaddan</i> * ²
1. com.		<i>tağaddēt</i>	<i>tağaddēna</i> * ³	<i>atağadda</i>	<i>ntağadda</i>

*¹ The ending is *-uw* ~ *-aw* in TAŞ and TyA.

*² The ending is *-in* in TAŞ and TyA.

*³ *a* of the *ta-* prefix in the perfect may be raised, e.g. *tīğaddēt*.

*⁴ Reduction of initial *tta-* > *ta-* in the imperfect is regular.

*⁵ Apocopation is only regular in BdA and TyA.

¹¹⁶ Like with measure *t-2*, reduction of *ta-* > *t-* in measure *t-3* appears to be regular in TyA of the Negev, e.g. *yitrāfag* “he is accompanied on his travel” (Shawarbah 2007:194), *yitlāgaw* “they meet” (ibid.:296).

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. (MSA loan) *tahrib* “smuggling”, *taybīs* “drying (trans.)” and a gahawah-form *taġarīb* “going north”¹¹⁷ (for more examples see 2.2.1.2.).

Verbal nouns recorded for *t-2* are *tsubbug* “racing (on camels)” (HwA) (see fn 126, p. 100) and *tkissir* “breaking into pieces” (ĠrA).

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. Passive participles have a $mC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. An example of a $C_3 = y$ verb is *mlaggiy*, *mlaggiyh*, *mlaggiyīn*, *mlaggiyāt* “going”.

The *ta-* preformative of measure *t-2* is often reduced to *t-* in participles, so that for *t-2* active participles the pattern is $mitC_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. *mitraḥḥil* “being on a trek”, *mitdakkir* “remembering”, *mitkassir* “having been broken into pieces”, *mitġaffil* “not paying attention” and (for $C_3 = y$) *mitġaddiy* “having eaten lunch”. This is generally the case in TAŞ, HwA, MlA, ĠrA, DbA. On the other hand, also (but fewer) participles with the *ta-* preformative were heard, e.g. *mitamakkin*, *mita’akkid* “convinced” and also *mita’allim* ~ *mit’allim* “educated” (TAN, TyA) and in several dialects *mta’aknin* “irritated” was elicited (data for BdA are insufficient for a conclusion).

3.2.3.6. *Measures 3 and t-3*

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

Measure *t-3* has morphologically fixed *a* in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure *t-2*, reduction of the *ta-*preformative to *t-* does occur, but such reduction is rare. Patterns for measure *t-3* are: $taC_1āC_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1āC_2iC_3$. Like in measure *t-2*, intital *tt-* in the imperfect is reduced to *t-* (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

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

Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) *y’āwid* “return”, *yrāfig* “be a travelling companion for (someone)”, *ylāġiy* “find”, (perfect) *sāfaraw* “they (masc.) traveled”, *sāfaran* “they (fem.) traveled”, *ḥārabaw* “they fought a war against”. Apocopation in 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of tertiae *yā’* verbs was again only noticed in TyA and BdA.

¹¹⁷ For the system of orientation, see remarks in De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.

Examples of measures *t-3*: (imperfect) *biytawāfaḡaw* “they agree (with each other)”, *biytawāʿadaw* “they set a time (for a court session)”,¹¹⁸ (perfect) *tarāfaḡt* “I was accompanied (on a trip)”, *talāḡēna* “we met each other”, *talāḡan* “they (fem.) met each other”, *taḡārabaw* “they fought a war (against each other)”.

In TAŞ pl. endings for 3rd p. masc. and fem. lacked vowel harmony in some cases, e.g. *biytasābaguw* “they race each other”, *biytaṛāfaḡuw* “they accompany each other (as travelling companions)”, *talāḡin* (< **ttalāḡin*) “they (fem.) meet each other”, but *talāḡan* “they (fem.) met each other”.

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. *mwāfiḡ* “agreeing”, *mlāḡyih* “having found (sg. fem.)”. *mkāwnīn* “fighting (pl. masc.)”.

A passive participle (pattern $mC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3$) is the origin for the loans *mḡāwalah* “attempt” and *msāʿadah* “help, assistance”.

Like in measure *t-2*, active participles of measure *t-3* often have a reduced preformative (*ta-* > (*i*)*t-*) in the pattern $mitC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ (-ih / ah, -īn, -āt) (see also remarks in 3.2.3.5.6.). Among the few instances of participles of measure *t-3* recorded are: *mitdāxlīn* “having sought refuge as *daxīl* (pl. *duxala*) with each other”, *mitwāsyih* “flat, even”.

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

Verbal nouns for measure 3 recorded are *mkāsaḡah* “having sex” and a loan *bala mʿāxza*¹¹⁹ “no offense intended”. Verbal nouns of the type $tC_1\bar{e}C_2iC_3$ were not recorded.

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect

Verbal measure 4 is active in group I. The patterns for this measure are (perfect) (*ʿ*) $aC_1C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ and the active participle has a pattern $miC_1C_2iC_3$ (-ih, -īn, -āt).

Of many examples are: *arkab*, *yirkib*, active participle *mirkib* “cause (someone) to ride”, *asnad*, *yisnid* was heard in MIA for “go to Palestine”¹²⁰ and *arʿad*, *yirʿid* in DbA for “thunder”.

The verb *aḡtar*, *yifṭir* “have breakfast” is in most dialects of group I a measure 4, but in some cases (like in TyA) measure 1 may also be used:

¹¹⁸ In TyA of the Negev such reduction of *ta-* > *t-* appears to be regular, see e.g. *yitḡahwa* “he is served coffee or tea” (Shawarbah 2007:174), *atxayyal* “I imagine” (ibid.:330).

¹¹⁹ *bala mʿāxza* is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence *z* as a reflex for **ḡ*, see also fn 63, p. 221.

¹²⁰ Measure 2 for this root *sannad*, *ysannid* is current for “go upstream in a wadi” (being the opposite of the verb *katt*, *ykutt* (or *ykitt*) “go downstream in a wadi”.

fiṭír (and, remarkably so, with the ‘reappearing’ *a* in closed syllables of the *i*-type perfect: *faṭrit*),¹²¹ *yifṭir*.

3.2.3.7.2. *Measure 4 C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect*

The verb *rād*, *yrīd* “want” has become measure 1 in ḤwA, ĞrA, TAŞ, BdA with participles *rāyid*, *rāydih*, *rāydīn*, *rāydāt*.

In TyA participles are *mrīd*, *mṛīdih*, *mṛīdīn* and *mṛīdāt*, but verb forms are without initial *a*: *rād*, *rādat* etc. (situation in MlA, DbA and TAN unknown).

3.2.3.7.3. *Measure 4 C₃ = y (tertia infirmae) perfect and imperfect*

In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb *aṭa*, *yīṭiy* is verbal measure 4.

In DbA, ḤwA, ĞrA, TyA, BdA the verb *ḍawá*, *yīḍwiy* “return home before sunset (with small cattle)” is measure 1, the participles are then *ḍāwiy*, *ḍāwiyih*, *ḍāwīn*, *ḍāwiyāt*.

In the other tribal dialects TAŞ and ḤwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then *miḍwiy*, *mīḍwiyih*, *mīḍwiyīn*, *mīḍwiyāt* (situation in MlA unknown).

Another *tertia yā*’ measure 4 verb is *agra yigriy*, with the participle *migriy* “serve a proper meal to a guest”.¹²²

Like in group VI, *aṭa*, *yīṭiy* is a measure 4 verb in most dialects of group I. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for this verb are:

		“give”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>áṭa(ʿ)</i>	<i>áṭaw</i> ^{*1}	<i>yīṭiy</i>	<i>yīṭuw</i>
	fem.	<i>áṭat</i>	<i>áṭan</i>	<i>tīṭiy</i>	<i>yīṭīn</i>
2. masc.		<i>aṭayt</i>	<i>aṭaytuw</i>	<i>tīṭ^{*2} /-iy</i>	<i>tīṭuw</i>
	fem.	<i>aṭaytiy</i>	<i>aṭaytin</i>	<i>tīṭiy</i>	<i>tīṭīn</i>
1. com.		<i>aṭayt</i>	<i>aṭayna</i>	<i>aṭiy</i>	<i>nīṭiy</i>

^{*1} Also in TAŞ the ending is *-aw* (but often *-uw* elsewhere).¹²³

^{*2} Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

¹²¹ The term ‘reappearing’ could be a misnomer here, since there may never have been an original perfect form with *a* in the first syllable. The *a* only appears in closed syllables here because the entire measure 1 paradigm (compare *simí* above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root *f-ṭ-r*.

¹²² Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.

¹²³ Such *-aw* endings appear to be phonetically conditioned in TAŞ (i.e. they appear following velarized consonants), at least more so than morphologically conditioned; *-uw* endings also occur in *tertia yā*’ verbs, provided the environment is neutral (i.e. no velarized consonant precedes). The ending *-uw* does however occur in non neutral environments as well (see e.g. measure 9 verbs in 3.2.3.8.).

When followed by a speech pause or a consonant an anaptyctic is inserted: *tīṭ* when followed by # or C.

3.2.3.7.4. *Measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect*
awka, yūkiy “tie (closed) tightly” is a prima *wāw*/tertia *yā*’ measure 4 verb.

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: for the sg. masc. (apocopated) *iṭ* (~ *iṭiy*) in TyA and BdA, but only *iṭiy* was heard in the other dialects of group I. For sg. fem. *iṭiy*, pl. masc. *iṭuw* and pl. fem. *iṭin*.

3.2.3.7.7. *Measure 4 participles*

The participles for sound roots have a miC₁C₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. *miftir, miftirih, miftirīn, miftirāt* “having eaten breakfast”.

Participles of the prima *wāw*/tertia *yā*’ verb *awka, yūkiy* are (act. participles) *mūkiy, mūkiyh, mūkiyīn* and *mūkyāt*²²⁴ and (pass. part.) *mawka, mawkayah, mawkayīn, mawkayāt*.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type mC₁iC₃ (-ih, -īn, -āt) like *mrīd* “wanting” (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also *annās ṭallaw mġirīn* “people appeared (while) running fast” (DbA).

3.2.3.8. *Measure 9*

Paradigms for measure 9 are:

		“turn red”			
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>iḥmaṛṛ</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛaw*</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛaw*</i>
	fem.	<i>iḥmaṛṛat</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛan</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>yihmaṛṛan</i>
2. masc.		<i>iḥmaṛṛayt</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytuw</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛ</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛaw*</i>
	fem.	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytīy</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛaytin</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛiy</i>	<i>tihmaṛṛan</i>
1. com.		<i>iḥmaṛṛayt</i>	<i>iḥmaṛṛayna</i>	<i>aḥmaṛṛ</i>	<i>niḥmaṛṛ</i>

* In TAŞ the endings are *-uw*.

Participles are *mihmaṛṛ, -ah, -īn, āt*

²²⁴ Morphological *i + w > ū*, see De Jong 2000:90.

An interesting measure 9 verb heard in HwA and TAŞ is *iḥlaww, yiḥlaww* “improve (intrans.)” (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root *ḥ-l-w* in BdA see 3.2.3.9. below).

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a). The paradigms listed for group VI *zağraṭ, yzağriṭ* “ululate” are the same in group I.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted *wāw* between C_1 and C_2 $C_1\bar{o}C_2aC_3, yC_1\bar{o}C_2iC_3$ may show a full diphthong like in *gawṭar, ygawṭir* (often so in DbA, HwA), a slightly diphthongal *ow*, e.g. *gowṭar, ygowṭir* (especially so in BdA, but also in other dialects) or monophthongal \bar{o} (usually so in TAŞ, ĞrA, TyA, MIA and TAN).¹²⁵ The paradigms for the verbs (including bukaṛa-vowels, see 2.2.2.1.) are like those listed for group VI.

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a *ta-* preformative. The vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed *a*. A quadriliteral verb with $C_4 = y$ is *tagahwa, ytagahwa* and has the paradigms:

		“drink coffee/tea”			
		perfect		imperfect	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3. masc.		<i>tagahwa</i>	<i>tagahwaw*</i>	<i>ytagahwa</i>	<i>ytagahwaw*</i>
	fem.	<i>tagahwat</i>	<i>tagahwan</i>	<i>tagahwa</i>	<i>ytagahwan</i>
2. masc.		<i>tagahwēt</i>	<i>tagahwētuw</i>	<i>tagahw/-a</i>	<i>tagahwaw*</i>
	fem.	<i>tagahwētiy</i>	<i>tagahwētin</i>	<i>tagahwiy</i>	<i>tagahwan</i>
1. com.		<i>tagahwēt</i>	<i>tagahwēna</i>	<i>atagahwa</i>	<i>ntagahwa</i>

* Endings *-aw* tend to be *-uw* in TAŞ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!” (the final cluster *hw #* is then resolved: *tagáhuw #*).

Participles are *mtagahwiy, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahiwyīn, mtagahiwyāt*.

Other examples (recorded in TAŞ): *tagaḥraṣ, ytagaḥraṣ* “wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)”, *tagarmaṣ, ytagarmaṣ* “wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep”, *taṭawṭaḥ, ytaṭawṭaḥ* “swing, sway (e.g. of a tree in the wind)”. Another verb heard in TAŞ is *karkam, ykarkim* “add turmeric”.

¹²⁵ Realizations listed here are how they were heard as predominant in the dialects mentioned (following in brackets).

In BdA a quadriliteral *iḥlawla*, *yaḥlawliyy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *ḥilw* “sweet; good; nice”) “get better and better”, e.g. *alġirbih iḥlawlat* “the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)”.

4. REMARKS ON PHRASEOLOGY

4.1. *Nunation*

Tanwīn is not a feature of any of the dialects of group I, but may be heard in poetry or sayings (and then has the shape *-in*).¹²⁶

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: *ṭab’an* “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, *‘āmmatan* “in general”, *dāyman* (in ĞrA *dīman* was recorded) “always” (< MSA *dā’iman*), *ḥālīyyan* “currently”, *aḥyānan* “now and then”, *tagrīban* “approximately”.

4.2. *Negation*

A verb is usually negated with single *mā* + verb form.¹²⁷ Examples are: *albi’ir hāḍa lah arba’ t-īyyām mā waṛād* “this camel had not drunk for four days”, *azzar’ah hāḍa mā biykallif ya’niy sbū’ isbū’ayn* “this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks” (ĞrA), *albi’rān alimxawwaṛāt mā bništirihin xalāṣ* “the bastard camels, we don’t buy them at all” (TyA).¹²⁸

A negated suffixed preposition is *w inn mā finī lay ḥa:yl* “and suddenly there was no strength in me” (ĞrA). For the negation of ‘existential’ *fiḥ* see 4.5. below.

4.3. *The b-imperfect*

Like almost everywhere in Sinai,¹²⁹ the *b-imperfect* to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: *alkilmah hēḍiy bit’assir ‘alēh kibīriḥ* “this word has a great effect on him” (TyA), *min tum-*

¹²⁶ Tanwīn (ending *-in*) was noticed by Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214–219 to be “particularly common in the more traditional diction” in the poetry of the two Sinai poets recorded by them (‘Unayz (TAN) and Tayāha (TyA)) and the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan. Its use is optional and often for metrical reasons.

¹²⁷ Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) found no instances in their corpus of poetry of verbal compound negation *ma...š*.

¹²⁸ Compare *xawwār* “non-thoroughbred camel”, see Bailey 1991:436.

¹²⁹ The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāḡrah, see De Jong 2000:478.

*mak*¹³⁰ *ibtúnufxah* “with (lit. from) your mouth you inflate it” (MIA), *gult ‘ġimalī mā biy’ūz banzīn wala šīy’* “I said ‘my camel doesn’t need petrol or anything” (BdA).¹³¹

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” *widd* + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of *widd* expressing futurity/volition are: *asma’*, *widd-axarrfak ‘ala ġiṣṣt aḏḏabb hāḏa*... “listen, I’ll tell you the story of this lizard” (ĠrA), *awṣafnī addarib*... *law widdī aṣrawwiḥ min sábagat il’Irīš fi lMidān*... *min ‘indak mín-ihniy*... “describe the way to me...if I want to go from the race of al’Arīš at Mīdān...¹³² from your place from here...” (TAŠ), *widdhin*... *widdhin mákan*... *mákan, mā fih mákan mint mā tġīb wala ḥāġih*... “these things (lit. “they (pl. fem.)”)...they need (spending of) money... money... if there is no money, you don’t get anything” (MIA).

Examples of imperfect forms with prefixed *ha-* to express futurity are: *iw yōm tūġilbih, hayšīr annā’im taḥát w alxašīn fōg* “and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up” (MIA), *law kattárit lēha*... *fa: algamiḥ*... *iddētha algamiḥ*... *hattalli’ xišīn* “if you add more to it (fem.), then the wheat...if you’ve added wheat to it (fem.)...you’ll take it out coarse” (ĠrA), *miš hatá’arfuw tištarkuw má’ ba’aḏkuw* “you (pl.) won’t be able to cooperate with each other” (TAŠ).

The future can also be expressed with the simple imperfect, as in *w Aḷlah lhīn law tas’al nuṣṣ annās iygūl lak w Aḷlah mā-driy ‘anha*... “by God, if you now ask half the people they’ll (lit. he’ll) tell you ‘by God, I don’t know about it (sg. fem.)” (BdA).

4.5. *fih* “there is / are”

Examples of *fih* used to express existence or availability of something are *ā fih garyah ísimha Mīdān ássibag hāḏa* “yes, there is a village named Mīdān (where) this race (is held)” (see fn to 4.4.) (HwA), *min hāḏa*... *‘arāb*

¹³⁰ “Mouth” is more regularly *afām* or *áfam*.

¹³¹ Holes and Abu Athera (2009:212–213) report that in their Sinai poetry the *b*-imperfect is much less current than in casual speech, but does occur. The “dominant imperfect form [in their Sinai material] is *bi*-less”. In their southern Jordanian material it is rare, but in the material from their northern Jordanian poet “*bi*-forms occur very frequently”.

¹³² An annual camel race is held on the plain of Mīdān in northern Sinai, some 22 km west of al’Arīš, see map in De Jong 2000:654 (in appendix), location nr 26.

ihnīy w fih ‘arāb zayy ‘arāb iFrayġ... “from here... (there is) a family here and there are people like the family¹³³ of Fṛayġ” (MLA).

The negation is usually *ma fih*, but sometimes (K-form) *mā fiš* may also be heard. An example is: *hāḍa šāfiy mā fih xarrāf* “this is a thoroughbred, there’s no discussion (about it)” (both ĞrA).

Another current negation is *māš*, e.g. *habbiṭ rāsak lā yšūfak alġazāl... alġazāl law ṭār xalāš almigrib biyṛūḥ māš ġizlān* “keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn’t see you... if the gazelle flees, that’s it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren’t any gazelles” (TAN).

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions *lamma* and *yōm*

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

4.6.1.1. *yōm*

4.6.1.1.1. *yōm* used independently

An example of *yōm* used in the meaning of “when”, e.g. *garrīb garrīb yōm ‘Awdih ġa’ widdah ymidd ‘a lġazāl iw lan ilimḥāfiḍ biy’arrid ib rāsih* “he came¹³⁴ nearer and nearer, (and) when ‘Awdah came to take aim at the gazelle, there the Governor suddenly rose with his head (becoming visible)” (TAN), *ā, ḥāribt alWaṭyih lliy bēn alī’Lēgāt iw bēn a... iw bēn ašŠuwālḥih... yom taxālaṭow... alī’Lēgāt w iMzēnih... yōm ġaḷ aṭ’an yā aṭṭā’ūn* “yes, the war at Waṭyah that took place between the ‘Lēgāt and... the Šawālḥah... when they attacked each other... the ‘Lēgāt and the Mzēnah... when he said ‘let war break out!’ (BdA).¹³⁵

A variant of *yōm* is *yam*, as in the example *iw yam baḥuṭṭ allibbih w bažammirha, iw ‘uġuḅ ma-žammirha šwayyih kiḍīy, baḥuṭṭ almallih* “and when I put the libbah and roast it in hot embers, and after I have roasted it a little in embers like this, I put the hot sand” (ḤwA).

The *a* in *yam* must be the product of reduction of the diphthong *aw*.

¹³³ For the different possible translations of ‘*arāb* (pl. ‘*urbān*), see Stewart 1990:199 (glossary).

¹³⁴ *garrīb* is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.

¹³⁵ *aṭ’an yā ṭā’ūn* “lit. let the bubonic plague break out” is reported (oral communication in the field) to be the war cry of the great tribe of Ḥarb, of whom the Mzēnah are said to be an offshoot, cf. Introduction, I. d. remark *12.

4.6.1.1.2. *yōm* in combination with in4.6.1.1.2.1. *yōmin* used independently

An example of *yōmin* used independently for “when” is *iw yōmin tístiwiy... biyhuttin ilhá’ assamin iw minnih byigilbūha* “and when it becomes cooked... they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)” (HwA).

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

There is an example of *yōmin* suffixed with an object suffix as subject; the subject is we: *fiza’na ‘ād, iw yōminna fiza’na... sawwēna ġīna, iw limmēna laḥámih kullah fi gaḷb aššanṭah* “so we ran away, and when we ran away... we did [...] we came, and we gathered all his flesh in the bag” (DbA).¹³⁶

4.6.1.1.2.3. *min yōm*

An example of *min yōm(in)* used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”: *kēf bitsawwiy allibbih... min yōm ma bta’ aġinha, lamma bitsaṭwiha w iṭḥakḥikha* “how do you make libbah... from the moment that you knead it (fem.), until you slap it and scrape it”¹³⁷ (TAŠ).

4.6.1.1.2.4. *min yōm* in combination with *ma*

An example of *min yōm* in combination with *ma*: *laġāyit bitagaṭṭa’ taḡtī kidiy... laġāyit ma yanšaf. lamma yanšaf... yōm ma yanšaf binġib iš... šwālāt xayš... šikāyir*¹³⁸ *kiḏiy iw biyta’ abba fthin* “until it is cut to pieces like this... until it dries. until it dries... when it has dried we bring a sack of cloth... bags like this and it is stuffed in them” (HwA).

4.6.1.2. *lamma* and *lumma*

lamma is often used for “when” and “until”. Also a form like *lam* was recorded (a variant *lum* was not heard).

4.6.1.2.1. *lamma* “when” used independently

Of many examples of *lamma* used for “when” are: *iw minnah tsawwiy ftha eš lamma tṭallihha?* “and after that what do you do with it (fem.) when you

¹³⁶ The story is about a man who died after he had stepped on a land mine; some areas in Sinai are still extremely dangerous because of land mines from past military conflicts.

¹³⁷ The *libbah* is baked in hot embers in the sand. When it is ready, the cook will slap the loaf to clean it of sand and scratch and scrape it to remove other irregularities. The two quadrilateral verbs clearly express repetitive actions here.

¹³⁸ *škarāh, šakāyir* “gunny sack”, see Wehr 1980.

take it (fem.) out?” (TAŞ) and *lamma tiṭliḥḥa w ilhá ēh? w ilhá bastawik*¹³⁹ “when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit” (ḤwA) and *ṛabbna lamma biyrīd azzalámah yíkirmih byíkirmih* “When our Lord wishes to be generous to a man, he is” (BdA).

A form *lam* was also recorded several times, e.g. *iw lam byaṭla‘ ašši‘ir gadd kidiy, ibyanšaf, w ibyaḥaşdūh* “and when the barley has grown (lit. comes up) this high, it dries and they harvest it” (ĞrA).

4.6.1.2.2. *lamma* + in

Examples of *lamman* are few, and were only recorded in ĞrA and TAŞ: in ĞrA *bindarrih lamman laġāyit itsīr gamiḥ šāfiy* “we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat” and in TAŞ *bass lamman intah lam haṭṭayt kidiy w šaddēt ibyínkirib. iw byurubṭūh mín-taḥat f-ánnigal!* “but when you, when you have placed it and pulled tight it is in distress. And they tie it to the *nagal* from below”.¹⁴⁰ The other dialects did not show instances of *lamman* or variations thereof.

4.6.1.2.3. *lamma* and *lumma* “until”

lamma and *lumma* maybe used in combination with *laġāyit* for “until”, e.g. *wāḥid mín ḥiluw la ḥiluw laġāyit . . . lamma biysīr . . . ġamal* “one (grows) from beautiful to (more) beautiful until . . . it becomes . . . a (full grown) camel” (ĞrA) (for an example of *lamman* + *laġāyit* see 4.6.1.2.2. above).

An example of *lamma* used as “until”: *tusxun lamma tiġliy kidiy* “you heat (it) until it boils” (BdA).

An example of *lumma* recorded in TAŞ: *kull ḥamāmih ‘alēha šarāk, áššarak fi ktāfha mín-ihniy, iw mín fōg ēš? alliy hū bi ššūf hāḍa, xīṭān [. . .] zayy kidiyiyih, lumma ēš? ibyinzil aššaqir ‘a lḥamāmih ‘a ḍahaṛḥa* “there is a net on every pigeon, the net is under her shoulders here, and on top what? this (thing) with this wool, threads [. . .] like this, until what? (until) the falcon comes down on the pigeon, on its (fem.) back”.

4.6.1.3. *lōm* (+ in)

lōm—but only in TyA and ĞrA—was also heard in the meaning of “when”: *ithuṭṭha f-aššams. lōm itġiy, linn hī ṛāybih* “you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)” (ĞrA).

¹³⁹ *bastawik* is a metathesis of *baskawit* “biscuit”.

¹⁴⁰ The technique described here is used to lure precious falcons to a live pigeon tied to the claws of a *nagal* (a cheaper bird of prey). When the *šagr* strikes, its claws will be caught in the net in which the pigeon is tied.

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

ḥatta was usually recorded in the meaning of “even”, e.g. *w Allāhiy ’inna gaṭá’ abblād yā ’Īd. ḥatta lbarid katalna f-allēl...* “By God, the land has come to misery, oh ’Īd. Even the cold was too much to bear for us (lit. killed us) at night...” (TyA).

4.7. *Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles*4.7.1. *gām*

Unconjugated *gām* used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects.

4.7.2. *ṛāḥ*

An example of the use of *ṛāḥ* used as an auxiliary recorded in ĞrA: *kān mistawlīnna lMašriyyih, ahna ṛāḥ in ’iš ma’huw.. istawlāna lyahūd ṛāḥ in ’iš ma’huw* “(when) the Egyptians occupied us we (then) lived with them... when the Jews occupied us, we then (went and) lived with them”. The material of the other dialects does not show such examples.

4.7.3. *Conditional particles*4.7.3.1. *Variations on kān as a conditional particle*4.7.3.1.1. *in + kān*

An example of *in + kān* “if”: *inkān fiha ḥarig, biḥukkha* “if there are burnt spots on it (sg. fem.), you wipe it (off)” (HwA).

4.7.3.1.2. *Suffixed inkān*

An instance of suffixed *inkān* is: *ṭab lēš sawwa fthin zayy kidiy inkānih za’īm iw zēn kān...* “okay, so why did he do that to them (fem.) if he was a general and a good man?” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.3. *il + kān*

Instances of *il + kān* were not recorded.

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

izkān ilhá masalan ilhá:... *maṭabb iddrās bi’īd... biyšiluw ‘a lbi’rān* “if there is for it (fem.), for instance there is for it (fem.) a threshing floor far away, they carry (it) on camels” (HwA).

izkān lih ṭaláb, binġibih lih ... māš ṭaláb, ibyitawakkal ‘a-llah “if he has a wish, we get it for him ... if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey” (TyA).¹⁴¹

kān may also be suffixed, as in *izkānnih ḍayf ġāliy bnaḍbah lih ... iw izkānnih ḍayf min iligrayybīn hōḍaḷ bin‘ašših* “if he is a dear guest we slaughter for him ... and if he is a guest of these relatives we give him a (regular) dinner” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.5. *kān as an independent conditional*

An example of *kān* used independently as conditional “if”: *kān ġitnī f-allēl axarrfak rawāy-aktar* “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) *iw kān ‘āyz itsawwha fattih ... (Ī) aywah gūl lay kēf ‘ādiy bitsawwiha fattah yā Slēmān ... (S)* And if you want to make it (fem.) as a fattah (food dip) ... (Ī) Yes, so tell me then how you make it a fattah, oh Slēmān” (DbA).

4.7.3.1.6. *kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives*

kān may introduce alternatives, like in *šūfuhum kān alī‘Lēgāt walla šṢawālḥih* “go see (pl. masc.) them (to see if they are) ‘Lēgāt or Ṣawālḥah” (BdA). Another example is *yōm táḥašdih bitdawwir lak ḥitt-alliy fih ... iġbāl fih malág ... táligha¹⁴² eh? mitwāsyih. bitġūm itkawwmah kullah fōg ba‘aḍah. iw minnih bitġib álġimal, kān ‘indak bi‘rān iktār walla bi‘rēn ...* “when you harvest it, you look (for yourself) a piece (of land) in which there is ... desert (land) with hard ground ... you’ll find it (sg. fem.) what? Flat. You (then) start piling everything on top of each other. And then you get the camel, whether you have many camels or (just) two” (ĠrA).

4.7.3.2. *Absence of a conditional particle*

Examples of conditional clauses not introduced by a particle are: *‘indak bahāyim ibtafza‘ itġib l aḍḍayf ġadá* “if you have cattle you run and bring lunch for the guest”, *widdhin mákan ... mákan, mā fih mákan mint mā tġib wala ḥāġih ...* “they (pl. fem.) need (spending of) money ... money ... if there is no money, you don’t get anything” and an example of both an introduced and an un-introduced conditional clause is (talking about a loaf of bread baked in sand) *inkān fīha ḥarig, biḥukkha ... ib xūšah ... mā fīha ḥarig hī bitnaffidha-nta lak b ayyi ḥāġah kidíy* “if it is burnt, you scrape it ... with a knife ... (if) it is not burnt, you clean it (sg. fem.) for yourself with anything like ...”.

¹⁴¹ *tawakkal, ytawakkal ‘-Allāh* lit. “put one’s trust in God” is the current phrase used for “set out on a journey”.

¹⁴² *táligha: talg* (apocopated *talga*) + *ha*; the short vowel *i* is an anaptyctic vowel.

4.8. *Presentative Particles*4.8.1. *ir' or ar'*

Examples of presentatives *ir'* or *ar'* are: *ar'ihum*¹⁴³ *all-akbar minnī mūhum 'ārfinhin* “see those, who are older than I am, don't know them (fem.)”. Forms with apocoptation are: *ar'ih ġa'* “there he is (lit. has come)!”; *árihḥum ġaw* “there they are (lit. have come)!”; *árihḥiy ġat* “there she is (lit. has come)!” (TyA). Forms with *ar' + were* also heard in TAŞ and in ĞrA *íriḥḥuw* “there they (masc.) are!” and *íriḥḥin* “there they (fem.) are!”.

4.8.2. *hē + suffix*

The presentative particle *hē* followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. (recorded in ĞrA) *hēhū ġa'* “there he is!”, *hēhī ġat* “there she is!”, *hēhumma ġaw* “there they (masc.) are!”, *hēhinnah ġan* “there they (fem.) are!”.

In TAŞ forms with *hā + were* recorded, e.g. *hāhī d-almišikliḥ* “there's the problem!”, but also with initial *hay +*, as in *hayhū ġa'*, *hayhī ġat*, *hayhum ġaw*, *hayhin ġan*. Such initial *hay +* was also heard in DbA and ḤwA.

4.8.3. *Particle wlin ~ wilin, win*

Like other examples for listed for other groups, a development introduced by the particle *wlin* (*w + lin*) need not be unexpected or sudden, but is rather the intended result of an earlier action, as is clear in the first two examples cited here: *wagit ma ṭāb alġurūn biyxallūh mšallab, iwlinn al'ayš waḥād w attibin waḥād* “when the (threshing on the) threshing floor has been good, he leaves it in a pile,¹⁴⁴ and there's the yield¹⁴⁵ by itself (on one side) and the straw by itself (on the other side)” (ḤwA). Another example is *mumkin itbarrkih min awwil marrah yōm itġy tawgaf, iw linnih yubruk* “you can let it kneel from the first time when you come and stand still, and then it kneels” (TyA).

¹⁴³ Notice that *ar'ihum* is not an apocoptated imperative. The question is also whether full grammaticalization as a particle has actually taken place. Since these recorded examples were directed to one male interlocutor, it cannot be concluded whether or not it (i.e. *ir'iy* or *ar'iy* or its apocoptated pendant) would be conjugated for number and/or gender.

¹⁴⁴ *mšallab* was glossed to me as “in a pile”, but perhaps its meaning is closer to “having been separated into grains of wheat” and is thus related to *šaliba: šalibit ruzz* “Reiskörner (grains of rice)”, see Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:206.

¹⁴⁵ *'ayš* is often used in the general meaning of “food”. Here the reference is clearly to the yield of the harvest.

An example with both *wlā* and *wlin* is: *w ihniyyih w lā wāḥid liġūtih w ba'adēn iw linnih biyṭālib fay wlin biygūl lay ġār itsūg alġūrih inta ġūt dārī... “and here there was (suddenly) someone I ran into (lit. I found) and after that (and) there he was making claims against me saying to me ‘you have to pay the truce payment, you were trespassing on my property (lit. house)’”* (ĠrA). Another example is *iwlin mā fih ‘ašā’* “and there’s (suddenly) no dinner” (TAN).

An example of suffixed *winn* is: *iw ġīna, w Allāhiy w innah lġaww zēn* “and we came, by God, and (suddenly) the weather was fine” (DbA).

A variant *wlan* was also recorded, as in *iw lan ilimḥāfiḍ biy'arrid ib rāsih* “there suddenly the Governor rose with his head (becoming visible)” (TAN).

4.8.4. Particle *wlā* +

An example of the presentative particle *wlā* is *w lā wāḥid liġūtih* “and (suddenly) there was someone I ran into to” (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3).¹⁴⁶

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *albuṛān ġār ibyitaṭabba'an. ya'niy lbi'ir iw hū ēš, min fōg āssinah ibtabda mi'āh taṭbī' itṭabbi' albi'ir* “the camels need to be trained. That is, the camel when it's what? Over a year (old) you start training with it, you train the camel” (TAŠ) and another example *alliy 'āwiz iy... inawwi' f-ālbil āssibag inn āssibag ha biywaddih inn ālġimal ha... masalan imṣayyiṭ alġamal attāniy imṣayyiṭ... ġār yiṭlig 'alēha minnih masalan* “if he wants to diversify the camels (for) the race and this (other) race, he'll take him from this camel... (there is) for instance a good reputation, the other camel has a good reputation, he then needs to let her be covered by him, for instance...” (TyA).

A particle *irkān* (presumably < **ġayr kān*) “need be, be only” was heard in TAŠ: *alḥīn intuw sūġkuw... iw ṭalabātkuw rkān alMasūrah* “now, you, your market... and your shopping goods are only from alMāsūrah” and in BdA *hāda-rkān mā ma'āk yúkutlak áḍḍama fih* “(in) this (place) you need to have water with you, otherwise thirst will kill you there (lit. in it)”.

¹⁴⁶ This presentative was also heard by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:227) in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan.

4.10. *Intensifying Particle la*

The particle *la* intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in these southern group I dialects. There is an example however in which *la* intensifies: *hāda la rašmīy Tihīy* ... “he’s really officially a Tihīy” (BdA).

4.11. *bidd or widd + pron. suffix*

To express “want” or “need” speakers of group I dialects use suffixed *widd*. Examples for “need” or “want” are: *widdī-yyāk itxarrifnī* “I want you to tell me” (TAŞ) and *alblād bass lissā’ widdha takrīm* “but the land still needs to be prepared for agriculture”¹⁴⁷ (ĞrA) and *widd* being translatable with “want” or “in order to” in *garrīb garrīb yōm ‘Awdih ğa’ widdah ymidd ‘a lġazāl iw lan ilimhāfiḍ biy’arrid ib rāsih* “he came nearer and nearer, when ‘Awdah came he wanted to (or: in order to) take aim at the gazelle, there suddenly the Governor stuck his head out (becoming visible)” (TAN).

Examples of *widd* used to express futurity rather than wish are: *mūhū ‘ārīf zayy intih* ... (interviewee) *lā hāda ‘ād widd-agūl lak, şalliy ‘á-nnibiy* “he doesn’t know (about it) like you ... (interviewee) No, this I’ll tell you then, pray for the Prophet...”,¹⁴⁸ *widd-agūl lak ‘ala ttamir* “I’ll tell you about the dates” (both examples BdA).

An example of *widd* expressing necessity from the viewpoint of the speaker is: *tayyib, halhīn widdak itgūl lay kēf biysawwuw ssamin aššihīy* “okay, now you need to tell me how they make šihīy ghee” (TAŞ).

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is extremely current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *ṛāyib ... biyḥuṭṭūha fi ssī’in ‘ād biṭšir ēh? imsawwyīn ṛawāġih l assī’in* ... “curdled milk ... they put it in the goat skin so then it becomes what? They’ll have made a tripod for the goat skin”¹⁴⁹ (HwA), *lagga yāt iblād, lagga ‘ād itlāwah Şadir walla tlāwah Daháb?* “to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Şadr or towards Dahab?” (TAŞ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuşş alblādāt ‘ādīy ana w Allāh zamān ... iyyām ḥarīb* ... “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

¹⁴⁷ A *kařm* (pl. *krūm*) is a private orchard or garden in which people grow their agricultural products.

¹⁴⁸ The phrase *şall(iy) ‘á-nnibiy* is often used to draw the attention of those present to what one has to say.

¹⁴⁹ For an illustration of such a tripod from which the goat skin is swung to churn butter, see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985:59.

rest right in the middle of the lands during the heat of the day. By God, in the old days I... during the days of war..." (BdA).

4.13. *yabga*

yabga may be heard sometimes meaning "so, then", as in *yabga hāḍa wāḥid alḥīn ṭilī... min alliy byaḥḥamow* "so this was then someone now... who came forth from those who have a sound understanding" (TAŞ) and *wagīt ma dannat allibbah taharkalat hassētha, yabga llibbah āstuwat* "and when it has sounded (it produces a knocking sound) the libbah it moves a little when you touch it, then the libbah has become cooked" (ḤwA). *ālġimal byiddīha ġamal... yabga šarat fīha ġimāl...* "the (male) camel gives her a camel... so then there has come a camel in her..." (BdA). Another example in ĞRA is *kull biyrawwiḥ bētiḥ xalāš... yabga... kull rawwaḥ bētiḥ, biyḍall al'aris 'ād w al'arūs gā'dīn... yōm, yōmēn talātiḥ 'ind ba'aḍhuw...* "everybody goes to his home, that's it... so (after) everybody has gone home, the groom and bride stay... for a day, two, three days with each other..." In MIA metathesized *yabga* was recorded.

4.14. *Characteristics of the Narrative Style*

4.14.1. *Imperative of narration*

Some examples of the imperative of narration are: *garrīb yā mḥāfiḍ iw garrīb iw garrīb, iw 'Awdah m'āh iw garrīb w úcumṛuw iw garrīb... alimḥāfiḍ biy'arrid ib rāsīh kiḍiyyān algazāl šāfiḥ šārad...* "the Governor came nearer"¹⁵⁰ and nearer and nearer while 'Awdah was with him and he came nearer and they hid and he came nearer... the Governor sticks his head out like this (and then) the gazelle saw him and fled". Another example is *wadd arrġāl iw hāt arrġāl* "(many) men came and went (lit. send the men and bring the men)" (both examples TAN).

4.14.2. *kān as a temporal marker*

Unconjugated *kān* is very frequently used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *ya'niy kān aḥna mnazẓmīnha'... ifwāġ 'a talat t-iyyām...* "that is, we used to organize it (fem.)... in heats (held) over three days..." (ḤwA),

¹⁵⁰ The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) "Come nearer, oh Governor".

*inğiblak karṛūsih walla ġhāzāt? gult la' inšūf aliğhāzāt...law karṛūsaḥ*¹⁵¹ *kān lagētni l alhīn al'amaliyyah ta'bānih* “shall we get you a wheel chair or artificial legs? I said ‘No, let’s see the artificial legs’...if (I would have taken) a wheel chair you would have found me... the whole business until now in poor condition” (TyA) and *basma' xarārīf zamān biygūl lak int tağawwaz w int mintah 'ārīfhiy,*¹⁵² *mā bitšūfha ġār kān bitğy' indak* “I hear stories of old times that tell you you’d get married (to a girl) that you didn’t know (lit. while you didn’t know her), you’d not see her until she came to live with you (i.e. on the wedding day itself)” (TAŞ) and *tab iw kān biybī'ūh wēn?* “Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?” (TAŞ), *iw kān alimhāfiğ iymī:l alá-lğimal iw kā:n iyfassiyy...* “and the Governor bent (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted...” (TAN) and *ana mānī 'ārīf, mā-na kān bataşayyad ma' nās bass hū fi 'ēş? f-āxir aşşayf* “I don’t know, I used not to go hunting with people, but it is when? At the end of the summer” (TAŞ).

kān was much less frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, but one such example is *alḥurmah hādīy kānat zamān alliy biygūluw lēhiy Šēxah biṭṭill lay* “this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used to come and look in on me” (TyA) (*biṭṭill* < *biṭṭill*).

4.14.3. *Dativus ethicus*

Some instances of the ethic dative are:¹⁵³ *lamma biyşūfah şagīr, biygūm ibyīṭilg lak ānigağ hāḍa* “when a falcon sees it, he’ll then set the nagal free (for you)” (TAN), *aşil fiḥ aṭṭabī'ih, lamma lhīn hādōl' ibyib'nuw mā fiş maṭār min xams isnīn, mūhum 'ārfin ṭabī'it Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fi ḥittah w xalāş* “because there is nature, when these (people) are now building while there hasn’t been rain for five years, they don’t know (about) how the nature of Sinai is. They built (something) in a (certain) place (for you) and that’s it” (TAŞ).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ *karṛūsih*, lit. “little chair” shaped on the dim. pattern C₁aC₂C₃ūC₃ah. The text was recorded from a man who had lost his legs after driving over a land mine. He lives in an area where a wheel chair would be useless, since there are no paved roads or paths.

¹⁵² The interviewer, who is a Turbāniy from Rās Şadr, here imitates a more north-eastern type of dialect by substituting *-ha* with *-hiy*, the latter of which is also characteristic of TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAŞ).

¹⁵³ Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

¹⁵⁴ In the past people have built in the wadi that runs straight through Dahab. When in 2004 a flood came, it washed away a MacDonald’s restaurant, which had been built too near the *sēl* (actually, almost right in the middle of it).

4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used instead of the ‘broken’ plural. Some examples are: *luḡuṃ min abuw rḥāyāt* “a mine with disks” (broken pl. *rḥiy*)¹⁵⁵ (DbA), *dawyāt* “(types of) medicine(s)” (broken pl. *ádiwiyih*) (TAŞ), *arba‘ sanawāt* “four years” (broken pl. *snīn*) (MIA), *talāt marḗrāt* “three times” (TAN), *ḡhāzāt* “artificial legs” (broken pl. *áḡihzih*) (TyA).

4.16. *Concord*

An example of a limited number of men is (in the first part of the sentence reference is in the pl. masc.; in the second part the reference to the same men is in pl. fem.):¹⁵⁶ *biytsābagow lēhuw arba‘ huḡḡān mī ba‘adhuw... xamsih, ibyḡḡrīn lēhin iṭnēn kīlih talāṭah kīlih...* “four camel riders race (for themselves) each other... five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres” (ĜrA). another example is: *ḥaṣa lbān, iw sukkur fidḏiy, w alḥilbih... (‘I) w alḥilbih... (X) aywah... hāḏō! tarayyag bīhin aṣṣubuh ‘á-xal-arrīg... (‘I) ‘á-xal-arrīg... (X) aywah saba‘ t-iyyām... min yōmin tibdiy fi hāḏōl lamma tōfihīn... (‘I) tamām...* “rosemary, white (lit. silver) sugar and fenugreek... (‘I) and fenugreek... (X) Yes, these you have for breakfast in the morning on an empty stomach... (‘I) On an empty stomach... (X) Yes, (for) seven days... from the moment you start with these until you have finished them (fem.) completely...” (MIA).¹⁵⁷

5. A SKETCHY REMARK ON PITCH

The type of pitch heard in group I predominantly among older men in the north east could also be heard among older men in group I dialects discussed here.

¹⁵⁵ The disks of the landmine are metaphorically compared here to handmills used for grinding, which have a similar shape and size.

¹⁵⁶ Holes and Abu Athera 2009:222 remark that “plural and collective nouns referring to human beings of either gender [also] normally attract fem sing agreement, especially when the reference is generic”. For further interesting observations on ‘agreement’, see *ibid.* 220–223.

¹⁵⁷ For the verb *awfa, yūfy* (or *yōfy*) “achieve in full”, see De Jong 2000:219, fn 430.