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THE DIALECT OF THE MZĒNIH OF SOUTHERN SINAI

RUDOLF DE JONG

Introduction

The following article is in honour of Peter Behnstedt. My dedication is with great pleasure and profound respect. He has been a source of inspiration for many dialectologists of Arabic, and will through his many publications undoubtedly remain so for many generations to come. Other than that, he has been extremely entertaining company on the several occasions I had the pleasure and honour to meet with him.

The texts presented here were recorded in the framework of my research into the bedouin dialects of southern Sinai¹. They should give the reader a fair idea of the principal characteristics of this Mzēniy Arabic (henceforth MzA).

1. General

The Mzēnih (or Muzaynah) live in the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula. Their territory stretches from its southern tip Rās Muḥammad (south-west of Šarm aš-Šēx) up along the eastern coast to Nwēbi² (or Nuweiba, as it is spelled on most maps) on the Gulf of ²Aqabah².

The coastal area inhabited by the Mzēnih has seen a dramatic development over the past two decades; from hardly any facilities for the traveler, several hundreds of hotels and holiday villages have in a matter of years sprung up to accomodate tens of thousands of tourists who flock to the region to enjoy sunshine and to see some of the world's most spectacular dive sites. Many of the younger generations of Mzēnih have found jobs in the tourism

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² Marx 1999:347 mentions that there are some 10,000 bedouins living in South Sinai, mainly in settlements established in the 1950s.

Lavie 1990:5 mentions 5,000 souls for the Mzēnih (in the late seventies), 13,000 souls (ibid.:55) for southern Sinai, but is unclear about her sources.

industry, exposing them not only to foreigners, but also to the large numbers of mainland Egyptians who also find employment in this industry³.

The Mzēnih are reported to be of eastern Hiġāziy origin⁴, and to have come to southern Sinai some five centuries ago⁵, and members of the same tribe indeed still live in Saudi Arabia. Their traditional allies in Sinai are the ʿLēgāt (or ʿUlayqāt)⁶.

The total number of inhabitants of South Sinai was 54.495 in 1996. In 1993 the number of 11.084 bedouin souls constituted almost 40% of the total of that year. The Mzēnih (appr. 3.500 souls in 1993) are one of the largest tribes in Sinai⁷.

To put matters into wider geographical and linguistic context, a number of references will be made below to publications on surrounding or otherwise nearby dialects (of the Ġbāliyyah (in Nishio 1992 and De Jong 2000 and 2004), abbreviated as ĠbA, and the Garāršah (in *ibid.*), abbreviated as GrA, and also on yet unpublished material on the dialect of the Tarābin (abbreviated here as TrA), whose dialect is to be seen as part of group I of the north (see De Jong 2000), or the Negev-type (see Blanc 1970).

2. Remarks on phonology

2.1. Reflexes of Classical Arabic consonantal phonemes

Like most bedouin dialects, MzA has interdental reflexes for *t, *d and *ḏ and *ḏ in (resp.) /t/, /d/ and (merged into one phoneme) /ḏ/. Exceptions are also found: *tillāġih* ‘refrigerator’ (i.e. where MSA *t has a t reflex), which is probably a loan through Cairene Arabic (where t for *t is regular), but notice that the morphological pattern (C₁iC₂C₂āC₃ah), the /g/ of the Cairene form (which is *tallāga*) and the fem. ending have been adapted to the MzA system and *talġ* ‘ice’. Also s was heard for CA *t in the form *biy’assirin* ‘they (f.) have effect’.

³ A list of the dozens (and dozens) of hotels built in the Šarm aš-Šayx area may be found at: <http://www.sinaidivers.com/sd/english/index.htm> (click ‘Hotels’).

⁴ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:368. Bailey 1985:49 concludes that they must have come to Sinai in the 17th century (at the latest). Murray 1935:62 writes: “Poverty has made fishers of the Muzaina on the shores of the Gulf of ʿAqaba, and they also sometimes go to sea in the dhows belonging to Tor.”

⁵ Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:371.

⁶ Murray relates the coming (fleeing from blood revenge) of (originally seven men of) the Mzēnih to Sinai, their origin as an offshoot (as a clan) of the great Arabian tribe of Ḥarb, and gives a summary of their history in Sinai (1935:257-258, 264-265). For the distribution of the Muzaynah in Saudi Arabia today (mainly near al-Fawwārah and al-Madīnah), see aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:380-383. Aṭ-Ṭayyib also cites evidence that the Muzaynah used to have the peaks of the Hiġāziy mountains as their homeland before islam (*ibid.*:385).

⁷ Source is UNDP, web page: www.undp.org/.../undp-gef%20how%20to%20access%20gef-grants%20documents/Egypt%20MedPlants%20Brief%20part%203.doc

A *z* was heard for CA **d* in (a loan from MSA or CA *ka-dālik*) *kizāluḵ* ‘as well’⁸ and *z* was heard for CA **d* in *b iẓẓabṭ* ‘precisely’, and also in the verb *ẓabbaṭ*, *yẓabbiṭ* ‘do a proper job (in reference to cooking food)’. *z* for CA **d* was heard in *niẓām* ‘system’⁹.

The reflex for **ǧ* is /*ǧ*/, but – less frequently – *ẓ* (IPA [ʒ]) also occurs as an allophone. Often, *ǧ* or *ẓ* has undergone influence from nearby sibilants, as in e.g. *šāz* (*šāǧ* or *šāẓ* in other dialects) ‘iron baking sheet for bread’, *šīzah* (*sīǧah* in other dialects) ‘the game of *sīǧah*’, *šīzn* (*sīǧn* in other dialects ‘prison’) and **šams* ‘sun’ in MzA is *šamš*.

q is reflected by a (typically bedouin) voiced stop /*g*/. A cigarette, however (often *siǧārah* or something similar, which is heard in dialects which have interpreted *g* – as a reflex for **ǧ* – of Cairene-like dialects as *ǧ* in their own speech) is *sīǧārah* ~ *sgārah*.

Like group II in northern Sinai (cf. De Jong 2000:282-288) and GrA and GbA (ibid. 2004:155-156), MzA has phonemic opposition in a minimal pair like *bēt^uk* – *bētⁱk* ‘your (sg.) house (m. – f.)’. We may therefore conclude that both /*k̄*/ and /*k*/ are phonemes.

Like in many Sinai dialects¹⁰, the reflex for *’ is ‘ in *sa‘al*, *yas‘al* ‘ask’ (and also *mas‘ul* ‘responsible’).

Where most other dialects have *daktūr* (pl. *dakātrah*) for ‘doctor’, MzA has *taktūr* (pl. *takātrih*).

Voiced consonants tend to be dissonorized in pause in all of Sinai, but in MzA several instances were heard of such dissonorization which was to a degree I had not heard elsewhere in Sinai. This is especially apparent in the case with final *d*, which in pause does not have a voiceless but lenis realisation, but is voiceless and just as fortis as final /*t*/, e.g. *dūd* # ‘crawling insects (including snakes!)’ was pronounced [du:t], *ḥirīd* # ‘parrot fish’ [ḥeri:t], and other such examples.

2.2. Vowel phonemes and diphthongs

2.2.1. Vowels

Mzēniy has three short vowel phonemes: /*i*/, /*u*/ and /*a*/. The phonemic opposition of /*i*/ and /*u*/, however, is limited, and occurs chiefly (perhaps solely) in closed syllables. One of the minimal pairs to isolate these as phonemes is *Xiḍr* ‘male given name’, as opposed to *xuḍr* ‘green (c. pl.)’ and another one is *xirm* ‘a long species of fish’ and *xurṃ* ‘hole, cavity’.

The pl. form *šihb* (m. sg. *ašḥab* and f. sg. *šahabīy* ‘pale’) suggests that the c. pl. pattern for colours is actually CICC, rather than CuCC. CiCC is then

⁸ The form MSA form *ka + dālik* ‘like + this’ has probably been reinterpreted (in terms of morpheme boundaries) as *kaḍā + lak* ‘like (this) + for you’, which accounts for the MzA form of the preposition *l* + (2nd p. m. sg.) pron. suffix *-uk*.

⁹ Notice also that the morphological pattern has not been adapted to the MzA system, i.e. it is not *nẓām*.

¹⁰ See De Jong 2000: § 1.1.6. of chapters I-IV.

the pl. form in neutral environments, while CuCC is used in velarised environments (e.g. *ḥumr* ‘red’, *xuḍr* ‘green’, *zurḡ* ‘black; blue’)¹¹.

To find minimal pairs to contrast /a/ with /i/ and /u/ is less problematic: *lamm* ‘he gathered’, *limm* ‘gather! (imperative)’ and *ḥaṭṭ* ‘he placed!’ contrasts with *ḥuṭṭ* ‘place! (imperative)’.

2.2.2. Diphthongs

Diphthongs **ay* and **aw* appear as monophthongs *ē* and *ō* (e.g. **bayt* > *bēt* ‘house’ and **nawm* > *nōm* ‘sleep’), but have remained diphthongal where preceding phonemes provide the necessary phonetic circumstances¹² (i.e. phonological conditioning), as in (**ay*) ‘*ayn* ‘eye’, *xayṭ* ‘line’, *ḥayṭ* ‘(brick) walls’, *ḡayrī* ‘(someone) other than I’, *ṣayd* ‘fishing, hunting’, *ḡayf* ‘guest’ and a verb form *ḥaṭṭayt* ‘I put (perfect)’, but also *ṣannayt*¹³ ‘I kept quiet’. Examples for **aw* are: *xawf* ‘fear’, *ḥawl* ‘year’, ‘*Awdih* ‘male given name’ and a bedouin verb *hawḡas*, *yhawḡis* ‘improvise singing’. The first element of the diphthong *ay* is often lengthened¹⁴, e.g. ‘*a:yš* ‘bread’, *xa:yṇi* ‘our (fishing) line’. ‘Systemzwang’ has preserved diphthongs in e.g. *taybīs* ‘drying (measure 2 verbal noun)’ (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 *yēbas* ‘it (m.) dries’), *šawlīy* ‘left-handed (f. sg.)’ and *mawḡūd* ‘present (adj.)’. Another instance may be *aw‘a* ‘beware!’ (other imperatives of primae *wāw* verbs are with initial *ō*: *ōḡaf* ‘stand still!’, *ōrid* ‘give water!’).

2.2.3. Reflexes of final **-ā(‘)*

Final **-ā(‘)* has been raised in positions where preceding consonants did not prevent it. In the f. sg. pattern for physical defects and colours (**CaCCā*) this *-ā* has then become stressed *-īy*, e.g. (physical defects) *šawlīy* ‘left-handed (f. sg.)’, *šadfīy* ‘ibid.’, ‘*arḡīy* ‘lame, limping (f. sg.)’, *ḥawlīy* ‘cross-eyed (f. sg.)’, *ṭarmīy* ‘having a gap between the teeth (f. sg.)’ and colours are *sōdīy* ‘black (f. sg.)’ and *šahabīy* ‘pale-coloured (f. sg.)’. In velarised environments, or when back spirants precede, the long final (and stressed) *ā* has remained (a final glottal stop may often be heard in pause): (physical defects) ‘*iwrā* ‘one-eyed (f. sg.)’, *gir‘ā* ‘bald (f. sg.)’ (notice that *a* is raised preceding stressed *ā* in the latter two examples, cf. remarks below) and *dōrā* ‘absent-minded (f. sg.)’. Examples of colours are: *šifrā* ‘yellow (f. sg.)’, *ḥimrā* ‘red (f. sg.)’, *zīrgā* ‘blue (f. sg.)’, *xidṛā* ‘green (f. sg.)’ (again, all these with raised *a* in the first syllable) and *bēḡā* ‘white (f. sg.)’.

¹¹ In group I of the north this also appeared to be the case with pl. forms of adjectives for physical defects: *šidf* ‘left-handed’ and ‘*imy* ‘blind’, see De Jong (2000:154). Unfortunately, roots without primary or secondary velarisation are so few that it is difficult to make generalisations.

¹² In this respect, Mzēniy differs from dialects such as those of the Garāršah and Ḡbāliyyah (also spoken in the south of Sinai, to the west of Mzēniy territory), who have unconditioned monophthongization of **ay* and **aw*, see De Jong 2004:153.

¹³ In this example, velarisation caused by *šād* is carried through the word by *nn* [ṇṇ], which then makes the ending diphthongal.

¹⁴ This was not observed with the diphthong *aw*, but this may be due to the fact that its occurrence is much less frequent than that of *ay*.

In other cases, raising of final *-ā*(^h) has usually resulted in (often stressed) final *-i*, e.g. *dīwī* ‘medicine’, *‘išī* ‘dinner’, *simī* ‘sky’ and *šti* ‘winter’, pronominal suffixes *-hi* ‘her’ and *-ni* ‘our’, and even in verbal forms, such as *ligī* ‘he found (< *laqā)’, *mišī* ‘he went (< *mašā) and also *gī* ‘he came’ (< *gā)¹⁵. When such nominals or verb forms are suffixed, older *ā* reappears, as in e.g. *gīdāhuw* ‘their lunch’.

In the case of nominals, however, stress will shift onto the article, if it precedes, e.g. *iššti* ‘the winter’ and *āl‘iši* ‘the dinner’, *ālgadi* ‘the lunch’, *ālmi* ‘the water’, *āssimi* ‘the sky’ and also *āššifi* ‘the healing’ (notice that the article is here an indication that the underlying form is |CaCī|, and therefore the form is not *āššfi*).

Other examples, where raising has taken place, but stress has been placed on the vowel of *a* preceding heavy sequence, are: *māšti* ‘winter’, *yānsi* ‘he forgets’.

hniy for ‘here’ may be a loan from one of the neighbouring dialects¹⁶, since the regular MzA form is metathesized *nihā* or *nihāniy*.

2.2.4. Raising of T

The fem. ending *-ah* (here indicated as T) is raised to *-ih* when it is not preceded by velarised consonants, e.g. *agall wiḥdih btūzin lēha kīlu* ‘the smallest one (in weight) weighs a kilo’, *riḡ‘uw sSu‘ūdiyyih tāniy* ‘they returned again to Saudi Arabia’, *ilḡinnēhih zirgā* ‘the [certain species of fish] is dark (coloured)’, *Ġim‘ih* ‘male given name’, but *farxah* ‘chicken’, *ḥabṣah* ‘severe cold, disease’, *nugṭah* ‘police station’, *miyytēn yūrah* ‘200 Euros’, *šuggah* ‘fishing net’ (but no velarisation in pl. *šgāg*), *igāmah* ‘barracuda’.

2.2.5. Raising of non-final a

The short vowel *a* is often raised in neutral environments towards (though not quite all the way up to) I.P.A. [ɪ] when it precedes stressed short or long vowels. Examples of such raising are

- (preceding stressed Cī): *kibīr* ‘large; old’, *šidīd* ‘strong’, *gīlīḍ* ‘fat, thick’, *xīfīf* ‘light’, *‘iris* ‘bridegroom’, *ḥirīd* ‘parrot fish’, and also *‘Ilīy* ‘male given name *‘Alī and verb forms *nīsūt* ‘I forgot’. Instances of *a* preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: *baḥḥix* ‘watermelon’, *sab‘in* ‘seventy’.

- (preceding stressed Cē): *‘ilēh* ‘on him’, *ligēna* ‘we found’, *mišēt* ‘he walked’, *bidēna* ‘we started’, (preceding CCē) *middēt* ‘I stretched’, *suwwēt* ‘I did/ made’ and *istinnēni* (#) ‘we waited’ (but *istanna* ‘he waited’).

- (preceding stressed Cā): *‘isākir* ‘soldiers’, *zīmān* ‘in the old days’, *īmānyih* ‘eight’; (preceding stressed CCā): *riḡḡāl* ‘man’, *šiyyād* ‘fisherman’, *kīššāf* ‘search light’, *biṭṭāriyyih* ‘flashlight’, *zirgā* ‘blue (f. sg.)’, *šifrā* ‘yellow (f. sg.)’, *ḥimṛā* ‘red (f. sg.)’, *mīṛṛāt* ‘times’, *mi‘nāt (ḥāḡih)* ‘the meaning (of sth)’.

- (preceding stressed ū): *‘urūs* ‘groom’, *isSu‘ūdiyyih* ‘Saudi Arabia’, *šū‘ūr* ‘emperor (fish species)’¹⁷.

¹⁵ The final glottal catch may not always be audible in sandhi, but is regular enough in such positions, and therefore not merely a pausal phenomenon.

¹⁶ I.e. from one of the group I dialects, see De Jong 2000:175-177.

¹⁷ ‘Letherinus nebulasis’, see Bailey 2004:448 (glossary).

- (preceding stressed *a*): *ǧimál* ‘camels’, *ǧiʿadna* ‘we sat down’, *xuḥár* ‘information’, *niháb^uq*, ‘he plundered you’.
- (following primarily stressed *a*): *ánwikal* ‘it was eaten’, *átifag* ‘he agreed’, *hávǧisat* ‘she improvised song’, *ánnixaḷ* ‘the palmtrees’.
- (preceding stressed *u*): *kubúr* ‘he grew’, *ǧulúḍ* ‘he grew fat’.
- (preceding stressed *i*): *širíb* ‘he drank’, *biríy* ‘innocent’, *guwíy* ‘strong’.

2.2.6. Secondary velarisation

When one hears MzA, one notices the lack of velarisation in positions where other (surrounding and farther) dialects in Sinai appear to have it almost as a matter of natural fact. It is a feature of which one of my Mzēniy informant was quite aware; when asked to mention a few differences of his own dialect with that of the Tarābīn (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned *kibbāyih* ‘glass’, pl. *kibābiy*, where a Tuḥbāniy would say *kubḥāyih* and *kuḥāḥiy*. Another example is the pl. for *kiṭīr* ‘many’, which is *kiṭār* in MzA (with a long *ā* almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛ:]), but velarised *ktār* in TrA, whereas both dialects have *kbār* as the pl. form for (*kibīr*) ‘old, big’ (but ĠbA and GrA have *kbār*). MzA *siwwāg* / *suwwāg* ‘driver’ is *sawwāg* in TrA.

Compared to TrA, long *ā* in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarisation, e.g. *šiyyād* ‘fisherman’, *riǧǧāl* ‘man’, *kiššāf* ‘flashlight’, *ʿiṣān* ‘thirsty’ (*ā* is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æ:] and [ɛ:]). In TrA the long *ā* is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [a:]): *šiyyād*, *raǧǧāl*, *kaššāf*, *ʿaṣān*.

Another difference with TrA is MzA demonstrative *hāḍa* (~ *dah* / *di* #), where TrA has *hāḍa*, and the pl. form (*hā-*) *dil* / *dill* (-*ih*) or *dillēl* (-*ih*), where group I dialects have heavily velarised forms like *hāḍōl* (-*ah*) or *hōḍāl* (-*lah*)¹⁸. Other differences with TrA are: (MzA) *rikkih* – (TrA) *rukḥah* ‘knee’; (MzA) *kimān(-iy)* – (TrA) *kuḥmān* ‘also’;

On the other hand, MzA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TrA), does have strong velarisation in *ǧlayyil* ‘few, little’ (*ǧlāl* ‘(pl.)’ and *agaḷḷ* ‘less’), *naxaḷ* ‘palm trees’, *xāf* ‘he feared’ (and also *xāyif* ‘afraid’), *ǧāb* ‘he was absent’, *ruǧfān* ‘loaves’, *xḥayyif* ‘light’ and *nār* ‘fire’, *xyār* ‘gherkins’ and (*i*)*nḥār* ‘persons’ and *ḥimrā* ‘red (f. sg.)’, *iwṛā* ‘one-eyed’, *biʿrān* ‘camels’ and *rās* ‘head’ (but no velarisation in *frāš* ‘blanket’).

3. Stress and phonotactics

3.1. Rule order

In terms of rule ordering, elision of (short) high vowels (*i* and *u*) precedes stress placement, after which anaptyctic vowels may be inserted.

3.2. Elision of short high vowels

Short high vowels *i* and *u* (indicated here as I) are elided in open syllables, making the dialect ‘différentiel’: I > Ø / (V)C_a(C_b)__C_cV.

¹⁸ See De Jong 2000:170-172.

3.3. Stress

Synoptically, stress is placed as follows: CaCáC, CáCaCv(C), (C)áCCaCv(C) (also CáCCitv¹⁹, álCaCaC and álCCaC (but alCáCaCv(C) or ilCáCaCv(C)), (measures VII and VIII) ánCaCaC/yínCiCiC and áCtaCaC/yíCtiCiC²⁰), (measures VII and VIII) inCáCaCaCv(C) and iCtáCaCv(C).

3.4. Anaptyxis

Clusters of three consonants may be resolved – depending on the relative degree of sonority of the consonants involved²¹ – by an anaptyctic vowel preceding the second consonant (as counted from the right): Ø > ə / C__CC.

Clusters of four consonants are eliminated by insertion of an anaptyctic vowel preceding the second consonant from the right.

3.5. The gahawah-syndrome

Being a bedouin dialect, MzA is characterised by the gahawah-syndrome. Examples are *naxal* ‘palm trees’, *axaḍar* ‘green (m. sg.)’, *maḥaḥūṭ* ‘placed’, *na‘arif* ‘we know’. Notice that stress in suffixed gahawah-forms is as follows: *byāḥartuw* ‘they plough’ and *náxaznuh* ‘we store it’.

4. Texts

Some more remarks (notably on morphology and syntax) will appear in footnotes to the following texts. The speaker F (Fṛayġ, which is an alias) of these texts is from Ḍahab, where he has lived since his primary schooldays. He was born in an area named al^cUgdah, a few kilometres inland from Ṛās Aḥuw Gaḷḷūm, some 25 km north of Ḍahab. He was approximately 25 years old at the time of recording (2003) and has had primary education. He was unemployed at the time of recording, but he has worked odd jobs, such as driving a taxi for tourists. Although these texts were produced by only one speaker, his speech is certainly representative of proper Mzēniy dialect²².

(F = Fṛayġ, R = interviewer)

1. (F) *iw bnaṭla*²³ ‘a lbaṛṛ, iw lam mnaṭla²⁴ ‘a lbaṛṛ ibnug‘ud kiḍiyiyih ġimā‘ah. iw kull wāḥid ‘induh²⁵ ġiṣīdih... 2. (R) *b iliġmāl aw...?* (F) *w*

¹⁹ CaCaCat + v (i.e. 3rd p. f. sg. verb form or nom. in construct state followed by a short vowel) may be stressed as CáCaCatv, but is much more regularly resyllabified as CáCCitv, e.g. *ṛáġbituh* ‘his neck’ and *fāršituh* ‘she spread it out’. Remarkably, such resyllabification also takes place when *gahawah*-forms (CaXaCah) are suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes, e.g. *gáhwituh* ‘his coffee’.

²⁰ Unstressed *i* (here underlined) in *yínCiCiC* and *yíCtiCiC* should be interpreted as ‘underlying’ *lal*, and reappears as such in closed syllables, e.g. *yinfáḥin* ‘they (f.) are opened’ *yīštáġluw* ‘they (m.) work’. For more detail, see De Jong 2000:206.

²¹ For more detail, see De Jong 2000:123-126.

²² During this research, I have spoken to dozens of Mzēnih.

²³ The vowel of the imperfect prefix is in harmony with the measure 1 imperfect vowel (e.g. *yašṛab*, *yug‘ud*, *yiktib*). In MzA this is even the case in the 1st. p. c. sg. (*ašṛab*, *ug‘ud*, *iktib*).

Allāhiy fih iwġāt fih iġmāl iw fih iwġāt fih ‘arabiyyāt, ihna halhīnit intall‘ arṛxaš²⁶ ihna ‘indīnih, xamistāšar sinih, ṭalaṭṭāšar sinih, arba‘tāšir sinih... biyšir mi‘na ruxšat²⁷ iġyādih. 3. binsūg ayyi ‘arabiyyih w bnimšiy, iw bnaṭla‘ ilbaṛr... iššibāb²⁸ ya‘niy, ihna yā šibāb, iw bnug‘ud... kull wāhid ‘induh gašīdah biyġibhi’... aw kull wāhid ‘induh xurṛāfah ḥilwah biyġibhi’... 4. iw lamma llēlah gōṭarat. gōṭarat²⁹ iw mā m‘uḵ³⁰ xubār imm ilwagit... inta tgūl mā gi‘adna³¹ sā‘ah... ā.

5. alwagit biyġōṭir duġiriy³² mi‘ alxurṛāf alḥiluw w ilkalām ilḥiluw w ilga‘dih ḥilwih... ilxurṛāf biyġōṭir. 6. lākin law gā‘id fī ddār iw mā ‘induk³³ aḥād imm iṣḥāb^uḵ txarriḥ im‘uh... wala bitgaššid wala bitṭall‘uw gišāyid... gišāyid iġdād. 7. ihna halhīnit ya‘niy... kaṭīr albaduw alliy³⁴

²⁴ Assimilated *lam* + *bnaṭla‘*; various forms like *lam*, *lamma*, *yōm*, *lōm* are used for ‘when’, see also De Jong 2000:227-230.

²⁵ Like in GrA and ĠbA (cf. De Jong 2004:163), 3rd p. sg. m. pers. pron. suffix is *-u(h)*, rather than *-ah* / *-ih* of group I (i.e. the Negev-type, cf. ibid. 2000:164).

²⁶ Plural forms of the type *CiCaC have CCaC reflexes, like in group I. In many other dialects in the south of Sinai one will hear iCCaC (e.g. *irxaš* ‘licences’, *i‘nab* ‘grapes’) or (other dialects) áCCaC (*árxaš*, *á‘nab*) and also *iḥšiy* (MzA *ḥšiy*) for ‘pebbles’.

²⁷ The fem. morpheme in construction (when preceded by a consonant) is *-at*, irrespective of what precedes the consonant. An exception, however, are nominals of the type CaCaCah followed by a vowel-initial suffix, which are resyllabified to become (e.g.) *xāšbituh* ‘his piece of firewood’ (contrast *xāšabathi* ‘her piece of firewood’). In verb forms we see the same exception, e.g. (see below) *fāršituh* ‘she spread it out’.

²⁸ Raising of *a* in *šabāb*, cf. 2.2.5.

²⁹ The 3rd p. f. sg. verbal ending of the perfect is *-at* in all verb types (compare with *-at* as the fem. morpheme in preceding fn.). Contrast with the Negev-type (see De Jong 2000:356-361) and GrA and ĠbA (ibid. 2004:163).

³⁰ The preposition is *mi‘*, and when vowel-initial suffixes (including those of the 2nd p. sg.!) follow, its high vowel is dropped. In more central southern Sinai dialects like ĠbA and GrA forms like *im‘uḵ* and *im‘uh* are current. For a comparable form *im‘u*, heard in the dialect of the ‘Agāyilah in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:294.

³¹ *ga‘adna*, cf. 2.2.5.

³² The bukaṛa-syndrome occurs quite regularly in MzA, hence *duġriy* > *duġiriy*. The bukaṛa-syndrome creates intrusive vowels preceding *r*, whose phonetic quality is steered by the phonetic quality of the vowel following the *r*. This feature is also known in north-middle Egyptian dialects, see Behnstedt 1979 and De Jong 2000: 112-118.

³³ Like GrA and ĠbA (see De Jong 2004:163) and among older speakers in group II (ibid. 2000:282-288), the suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. are *-uḵ* and *-ik* when two consonants precede, and *-ḵ* and *-k* (transcribed here as *-^uḵ* to indicate strong velarisation, and *-ⁱk*) in other positions. In the latter case, the cluster formed by preceding *C* and *-^uḵ* or *-ⁱk* will attract stress on a directly preceding short base vowel, e.g. *ḡamál^uḵ* ‘your (m. sg.) camel’ and *ḥaṭábⁱk* ‘your (f. sg.) firewood’.

³⁴ The short vowel of the article varies. When unstressed, it is predominantly *i* however. In stressed positions the vowel of the article is *a*.

*nihā*³⁵... *biygašsiduw*... *gišid bass mūhū gišid*. 8. *mūhū zayy gišid i'Nēz abin Sālim – Aḷlāh iymassih b ilxayr*³⁶ – *mūhū zayy gišid Sālim Aḷuw 'Awdih – Aḷlāh iymassih b ilxayr – Sālm Aḷuw 'Awdih*³⁷ *ya'niy*... *šā'ir kibīr*. 9. *hāda biygūl luḡ, ṭalla' gišidih fi wiḥdih rāyidhi*³⁸, *iw hū kān rāyid wiḥdih*. 'ārif ēš *mi'nār*³⁹ *rāyidhi*'?

10. *hū kān 'āyiz luh wiḥdih hū kān*, *iw hī mīhī 'āyiztuh*⁴⁰. 11. *hū mūhū fāhim kidiy*, *hū mūhū 'ārif*... *innha mā bitriduh*. 12. *ḡi' wāhid*... *ḡi' wāhid*... *iw ḡi'*, *iw yōm ḡi'* *iw hī tgūm*... *alḥurmah*... *gāmat wāgfih*. 13. *ḡabat almafraš w algiyās iw fāršituh luh*. *ba'ad ma fāršituh luh*, *ṛadd Sālim*

14. *širkī Marsidīs bānituh w illīy biḡīy yḡayyir zētuh*
fātīh fi llēl iw fi nnahār, *w illīy biyḡīy yḡayyir zētuh*

15. *gāl*: *ibyudrubinnuh ššawārīx w iḡḡayyir kubṛ ilkabritih*
16. *iw fi'lan ilḥurmah miḥḥa*⁴¹ *ḥāḡih kubṛ ilkabritih*, *ibyudurbūha*... *irḡāl ibyudurbūha*... *fiha*. *ibyudrubinnuh*⁴² *ššawārīx w iḡḡayyir kubṛ ilkabritih*

17. *w iz kān intuw bitliffūh 'ala miyyih*,
ana biliffūh 'a miyytēn w arba'in.

18. *ya'niy hū ṭalla' ilgašidāh diyyih*⁴³ [*nad*]... *xalḷāha tandam [nitdammi]*,
ya'niy wa'āha šwayyih 19. *gāl lēhīh ya'niy intiy*... *intiy*... *ya'niy ana mīn iw hū mīn*... *ibtūfuršiy frāš luh*.

20. *iḥna wāhid, ṛabbna xalagni*... *zayy ma xalagni*⁴⁴ *xālaguh*. 21. *ba'adēn liff yā wagit iw ta'al yā wagit*, *hī taḡawwazat alḥurmah diy w xallafat ēh?* *i'yāl*. 22. *xallfiy*⁴⁵ *'yāl w ilgišidih diy yasmaḥḥa*⁴⁶ *walad ilḥurmah*... *ālwalad*⁴⁷... *yasmaḥḥa*, *w ālwalad šā'ir*. 23. *šā'ir mā fōguh šā'ir*, *hū 'Lēgiy*... *ālwalad dih*. *wāhid ismuh Sālm Aḷuw 'Awdih*⁴⁸, *mūhū limgašsid*...

³⁵ *nihā* is regular for 'here'. Similarly in GrA and ĠbA, but it is usually *hniy* in TrA and other dialects of the Negev-type, cf. De Jong 2000:679, map 46.

³⁶ Like in TrA, when preceded by X or velarised consonants, older diphthongs have not been monophthongised in MzA, but in GrA and ĠbA they have.

³⁷ A Mzēniy poet, around 55 years old at the time of recording (the year 2004).

³⁸ Older final *-ā*(') tends to be raised to *-i*, with a slight glottal catch following in pause.

³⁹ The word *ma'nā* is in many dialects treated as if with final *tā'* *marbūṭah* (here: *ma'nāh*).

⁴⁰ Like in Negev-type dialects, the object suffix is in construct state with the participle, see De Jong 2000:192.

⁴¹ *mi' + ha > miḥḥa*: reciprocal assimilation of ' in preposition *mi'* + *h* of 3rd p. f. sg. pron. suffix *-ha*.

⁴² Often the f. pl. is used for limited (or at least countable) numbers, irrespective of the grammatical gender of the singular, see de Jong 2000:243-244.

⁴³ The reference is probably to numbers of hours.

⁴⁴ Like in many bedouin dialects of Sinai and the Negev (see Blanc 1970:19-20 and De Jong 2000: chapters 1-V, § 3.1.12.2 and *ibid.*:2004:163), the 1st p. c. sg. pron. suffixes are stressed *-ī* (poss.) and *-nī* (obj.).

⁴⁵ A narrative imperative.

⁴⁶ *yasmaḥḥa*: *yasma'* + *ha*. See remark in fn. 41.

⁴⁷ The article is a stressable unit, like in the Negev-type (see De Jong 2000:91), but unlike in GrA and ĠbA (see De Jong 2004:159).

⁴⁸ He later corrected himself; it should be *Sālim Aḷuw 'Īd*.

wāhid tāniy. 24. řawwah⁴⁹ řadīř⁵⁰, lamma řawwah řadīř. intah ‘ārif gāluw Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih šā‘ir hēhū ġi’, mūhū ‘ād dīh, mūhū šā‘ir. hū smuh Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih bass.

25. gāluw Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih ššā‘ir gāluw fi lmag‘ad. w Aḷḷah iw řawwahuw w ga‘aduw. 26. w Aḷḷah gāluw yā dayf māhad ġāyib luḷ ‘iši’ ġār lamma ssammi‘na lēna gařīdih. 27. gāl lēhuw⁵¹ mārḅabah, řadd Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih gāl... gāl

bingīb lēna řarḅah simīnih iw lihi⁵² simīnah b ilmařrah

28. dīḅkuw nnās, kull innās dīḅkuw, gāluw eř ilgařīdih dīy? dīy miř ġiřīdih!

29. gāl lēhuw ana māni Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih lliy biygařřid. ana Sālm Aḅuw ‘Awdih wāhid tāniy. mūhū šā‘ir.

30. gāl ana ‘a bālī timřiy ‘ilēkuw, gāl ‘ašān idḅayyfunī. 31. w Aḷḷah dīḅkuw nnās. intah ‘ārif ilbaduw iḅna ‘indina ya‘niy kull ḅayātna zayy nnuktih, w Aḷḷah řahīḅ. 32. ya‘niy lhīnit intah lamma řřūf kiḅiyiyih w intah sākit kiḅiyiyih... gā‘id... biřřūf ḅāġāt ‘umřuḷ mā řifḅin. ‘indina-ḅna... ḅāġāt ‘umřuḷ mā řifḅin. 33. itkūn mabřūt minḅin. mabřūt iw ‘āyz issaww⁵³ zayyhin. 34. bass alḅīnit, w Aḷḷah māniy ‘ārif agūl luḷ kēf.

35. bass aḅla ḅāġih... ilga‘dih mi‘ kam wāhid kiḅiyiyih. 36. bass fiḅ wagit ya‘niy ‘induḷ ‘ařar t-iyyām gā‘id nihā’. walla la’, walla māřiy? 37. ana:... halḅīnit ḅāliyyan ma fiř řuġul ‘indī. ya‘niy ayyi řuġlānah kiḅiy fiḅa waḅil ‘ayř... ḅāřtaġil b ilḅilāl⁵⁴, ḅāřtiġil fiḅ. ḅāġih ḅarāmih... 38. (R) b ilḅalāl? (F) ḅāġih b ilḅirām... mā biġihī’. biřřūfḅin ġiddāmī darāḅim kiḅiyiyih, ya‘niy biřřūfḅin biġiġin b ilḅirām, bass bib‘id ‘inḅin. lēh? 39. (R) lēh? (F) agūl luḷ lēh. ‘ašān ana lam bimřiy l idḅirāḅm ilḅirām ḅillih w āxidḅin, lāzim biřřir řay ḅāġih, waḷḷa fi ‘yālī ḅāġih, waḷḷa fi marātī ḅāġih, waḷḷa fi ‘āyḷī ḅāġih.

40. lāzim. iddarāḅim ḅillih lāzim iy‘assirin. lēh? mā ġin... bi ‘arāġ, mā ġin ib řās ib tařkīr. 41. law řin ib tařkīr, kān iddarāḅim ḅillih... masalan alḅīnit ‘ařar t-ālāf... ixlāl arḅa‘ t-uřhur xamiřtāřar t-uřhur... il‘ařar t-ālāf ḅillih talġin ‘iřrīn alf. 42. lēh? ‘ašān ḅalāl. alḅalāl dīh mā biyřūḅ. mā biyřūḅ abadan. 43. halḅīnit ‘indina bi‘rān nihā... bi‘rān ařilāt... min zīmān. ‘ārif ‘indī bi‘ir, ‘ind aḅūy bi‘ir... ġimāl... 44. ‘ārif ya‘niy msałsiluh, illiy y‘idd ‘alēh... akḅar minnī. ana ‘indī xamsah w ‘iřrīn sinih... iw ēh?

45. w izyādih ‘in xamsah w ‘iřrīn sināh... kam řihār kiḅiy. ya‘niy řahařayn řalāḅih zyādih řāḅim? 46. ya‘niy ma dduggiř. alḅīnit ‘id ilmūlād dīh w ilḅāġāt ḅillih, ilḅāġāt ilfāḅiyih mā binsawwihin. 47. masalan ana... alḅīnit alyōm ‘indī xamiřtāřir sinih b izzabiř, alyōm bisawwiy ‘id mīlādī ssa‘ah řnāřar... la’ . ma fiř ilḅāġāt zayy dīy. 48. ‘indina řuhur... ‘indina’... řaduw... innās ibtařḅī’... ibtařa‘ra řfāḅih l ilimwāt... l innās... l

⁴⁹ The meaning of the verb řawwah, yřawwiḅ is ‘go (to)’, rather than ‘go home’ of Cairene Arabic.

⁵⁰ Usually referred to as Rās řudr on maps.

⁵¹ The pron. suffix for the 3rd p. m. pl. is -huw, the independent form is huwwa (see also fn. 91 below).

⁵² lihi = mihi ‘she (is) not’.

⁵³ issaww: tsaww, apocopated 2nd p. sg. imperfect form of the verb sawwa, ysawwiy.

⁵⁴ ḅalāl is often used for ‘small cattle’, but here it is clearly used in its original meaning ‘permitted (in accordance with Islamic law)’.

imwātni'. binšidd ilfāṭhih l imwātni'... 49. waḷḷah btug'ud kiḍiyyih iw btagahwiyy nnās iw btaxarraf⁵⁵ iw biṭṭib'...

50. biḥawḡis ilkalām illiy zimān, iw suwwēni w widdēni'... yā salā::m. ana lamma basma' ilkalām... 51. (R) iw fiḥ iḡḡīziḥ? (F) nihā'? fiḥ ḡḡuwāz. iw fi l... fi lbaṛṛ. 52. ya'niy zimān lam basma', ana halḥīnit w ana gā'id 'ind nās ikbār... fi ssinn, ya'niy fōḡ ilarba'in sinih, bug'ud, awalli' isḡārtī, iw baftaḥ muxxī miḥḥuw. 53. mā baxarraf, wala bagūl wala kilmih, basma' bass. basma'... mā bašaddig... ilkalām illiy biyḡūlūh, hū fi'lan šaḥḥ. 54. bass ya'niy lam tiḡ... itfassiruh ya'niy a lwagitna ḍi', w iḥālliluh, hatḡūl izzāy. izzāy.

55. fiḥ wāḥid biyṭubb isSwēs... 'ā-lḡimal... ḡimāl... iṭubb isSwēs, ibtarḡa' tāniy, biyḡīb miyyit kilu 'ilēh... rizz, diḡiḡ, mi'allibāt⁵⁶ 56. (R) w Aḷḷah (F) w Aḷḷāh. zimān hāda, zimān zimān xāliḡ. biyṭubb isSwēs innās... ibyūgu'duw lēhuw 'ašar t-iyām ihnūtiy. 57. intah 'arif zimān iššahaḥ ib kam? iššūḡul nihā'? ya'niy b iḡnēh, ib nuḡḡ iḡnēh... šahaḥ. 58. (R) bašīṭ ya'niy (F) ā, aḥūy āstiḡal ya'niy zimān... iyyām Isra'il nihā'... šahaḥuh b iḡnēh. 59. (R) šahaḥuh b iḡnēh? (F) bass iḡḡnēh ḍih, biyḥammil luḡ ālḡimal.

60. biyḥammil luḡ ālḡimal 'ayš... iḡnēh... bagūl luḡ ḥāḡāt ya'niy... tistaḡ'rib⁵⁷, ana bistaḡ'rib minhīn, šāyif? ana badawiy bass bistaḡ'rib minhīn. 61. (R) ilwalad ilbadawiy byāxiḍ kām f-āššihar? (F) nihā'? ya'niy fi wāḡitna... fi wāḡitni ḍih... 62. ya'niy ruḃi'miyyih... xumismiyyih lamma tkūn ikwayys im'ūḡ, xumismiyyih. ana 'ašān kiḍīy... ana miš 'āyz iḡtiḡil fi lḡaṡsāt. 63. ana biḥibb ya'niy... irḍiy⁵⁸ 'aḥūy... ḡābiḷ la' irḍiy nafsi. ḡābiḷ irḍiy nafsi 'āyz irḍiy 'aḥūy. 64. iw ḍill 'uḡūl. ya'niy halḥīnit ālwalad il'aṡil illiy hū 'indina nihā'... hatlāḡuh⁵⁹ ibyasma' kilām aḥūh.

65. ibyarḍa'... ya'niy ḥatta 'aḥūḡ ibyarḍa' alē'ḡ w aḡmūḡ ibtarḍa' alē'ḡ... 66. iyšīr luḡ ḥatta ḥayāh... biyšīr luḡ ḥāḡah ḥilwih. ḥayāt'ḡ biššīr ḥilwih. 67. lēh? nās'ḡ ṛāḍyīn 'ilē'ḡ... wāldē'ḡ... biysā'dūḡ, masalan nāḡiḡ luḡ ḍirāḥim... ibyiddūḡ, biyzawwūhin. 68. bimšiy halḥīnit ani', akṭar mag'adī 'ind aḡmī w aḥūy. akṭar mag'adī 'ind aḡmī w aḥūy. 69. lamma-ḡīb masalan... ṭūl annihār mā-ḡīhuw...

70. 'ād wēn lagga... ṛāḥ wēn? mā byimšiy, ḥattan mišī'... biyḡūl lēnih. 71. assā'ah ḍiy halḥīnit biddī māšiy Nwēbi'... wāḥid šāḥib ṭābb⁶⁰ iNwēbi', aw māšiy ššarim, aw māšiy, aw māšiy, bilaggiy 'a ddār... ḡābiḷ kull šiy, bigūl ya 'aḡmah, ana māšiy... iNwēbi'. 72. w ilaggiy 'al-aḥūy, iw bigūl yābāh ana ēh? ṭābb iNwēbi'. 73. ḡāluw lāy-t'ruk⁶¹ minhī', lā timš⁶², yā

⁵⁵ Initial *t*-prefix of the imperfect is dropped in *ta*-initial measures.

⁵⁶ *a* directly preceding the syllable with stressed *ā* in *mi'allibāt* is raised.

⁵⁷ *tistaḡirib*, see fn. 32.

⁵⁸ *irḍiy* – a measure IV verb (*arḍa*, *yirḍiy*) with vowel harmony in the prefix of the 1st. p. c. sg. of the imperfect.

⁵⁹ *hatlāḡuh*: apocopated 2nd p. sg. imperfect form of the measure 3 verb *lāḡa*, *ylāḡiy*, followed by the 3rd p. m. sg. pron. suffix *-uh*. Apocopated imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. m. sg. (in all measures) of *tertia* *yā'* verbs are very frequent in MzA.

⁶⁰ *ṭābb*, *yṭubb* + obj. is 'go to'.

⁶¹ Preposition *lay* 'to me' + (bukaḡa form of, see fn. 32) imperative *útruk*.

waladī... aḥsálluḵ⁶³. ug^uud, iw xalāš. bagūl ēh? rabbna yǧīb illiy fih šālih xalāš, mānī māšiy. miš imšiy. 74. bass ēh ‘ād? mā biygūlūlīš... gār lamma yasma^uw lēhuw ḥāḡih masalan mišākil fi Nwēbi^u bēn iMzēnih w bēn atTarābīn...

75. (R) fih mišākil? (F) ā fih, bass zamān yaⁿiy. min fātirt arba^u isnīn taḷat isnīn... 76. (R) kān fih ēh? (F) kānat fih mīšikliḥ kibīriḥ bēn iMzēnih w bēn atTarābīn... zamān. ḡurrit ‘ār. 77. (R) ḡurrit ‘ār? (F) il‘ār diḥ... yaⁿiy ši^uib. taḷat wild inn atTarābīn, w albināt sārḥāt b ālganam... b ilmi^uzih. 78. iw ba^uadēn halḥīnit ilḥurmah... mīhī zayy riḡḡāl. ḥurmah biššir... yaⁿiy ḥurmah ḍa^ufiḥ, mīhī zayy riḡḡāl, irriḡḡāl giwīy. 79. ṛawwahuw w ga^uaduw ‘indahin, iw gālīn lēhīw-mšuw.

80. halḥīnit annās iyǧūw... innās iyǧūw ‘ilēḵuw yšīr mišākil bēn āl‘arab. āl‘arab w āl‘arab ūgūm ‘ala ba^uādha. 81. yā gāl ūgūm ūgūm, xall ūgūm ‘ala ba^uādha. iḥna gāl miḥna xāyfin iMzēnih. 82. w Allāh... w fi lxaṛāfah ḍiyiyih... ilinnih irkāb ḡin... irkāb, ‘ārḥ irkāb. iḥna bingūl lēhin irkāb. lamm-arba^u xams mi^u ba^uadhīn... irkāb. lam bi^uir wāḥid bingūl irkābih, irkābih. (R) aywah, māšiy. 83. (F) ḡuw... ḡuw iw waddiy llif w talli^u illif w ašḥab isyūf⁶⁴. zimān gār b isyūf. ‘ārḥ issyūf intih? (R) aywah... 84. (F) iw ṭaxx ṭaxx ṭaxx w ašla^uw kitif wāḥid, iw hū yušurud, ūšurduw ṛawwḥuw⁶⁵ tTarābīn... atTarābīn...

85. iw hī tiǧīy l iššēx. diḥ byi... bēn taḷatīh w bēnkuw wǧūh iw bēnkuw kēf iw bēnna kēf iw māḥad... mā bēnna wǧūh. 86. alliy biyṭīh mn aliMzēnih hnūtiy mnaḍbaḥuh. w iylugguw, b iššidfiḥ w iylugguw wāḥid... iw yagdaḥūh b issēf mi-nhā’... mi-nhā⁶⁶ iw ṭili^u mi-nhā’. 87. rabbna... rabbna nattaguh, rabbna ēh? yaⁿiy mā ēh? l-issā^u lēltuh mā ḡāt. 88. innās ḡuw ‘ilēh, innās ḡuw ‘ilēh dammuh kulluh fi ddag^uah, nāzil... zayy ssēl. 89. limmūh w ahānuw dammuh, iw ḥuṭṭuw⁶⁷ ‘a lbi^uir iw yimšuw. zimān ‘arabiyyāt mā fiš. ‘arabiyyih, ‘arabiyytēn, yaⁿiy ‘arabiyyih ḍiy-illiy zamān biyxāfuw minha nnās.

90. waddūh, ma fiš taktūr ‘ād, tikātrih mā fiš ‘indina tikātrah baduw. ḥatta ‘indina halḥīn ḥurmah nihā’ badawiyiyih... taktūrah... (R) bitgūluw ēh? (F) takātrih... taktūr...[...]. 91. w almuhumm, iy‘ālǧūh, w iyǧīb luh šīḡār, šīḡār rabī^uiy, min fōg inn ižžbāl, iw yamna^u addamm... lā yinzil... 92. (R) zayy āddawa? (F) ā, diwī’, diwī’ diwī’, samwih... wa: ‘ēlīḡān, iw diwī’... ižžbāl yaⁿiy. iw aḥsan min diwī-lly hū nihā’. 93. intah ‘arīf fih wāḥid taktūr ḡi’ min Mašīr...? (R) ēh? (F) bidduh yāxiḍ šīḡār mi-nhāniy iyḥālliluh. w iMzēnih ‘ayyatuw. 94. ‘ayyatuw, lēh? ‘ašān law istagduw... law istagduw ‘a ḥikāyah ḍiy, hayagṭa^u-āššīḡār⁶⁸. hayagṭa^uh.

⁶² timš: apocopated imperfect.

⁶³ aḥsálluḵ: aḥsan is enclitically suffixed with the suffixed preposition luḵ and is treated as one stressable unit.

⁶⁴ The verb forms waddiy (llif) (or wadd (illif)), talli^u and ašḥab are narrative imperatives, see Blanc 1970:28-29, Palva 1977 and 1984, Stewart 1987:48.

⁶⁵ ṭaxx, ašla^uw, ūšurduw and ṛawwḥuw are all narrative imperatives.

⁶⁶ Treated as one unit for stress: mi-nhā.

⁶⁷ limmūh, ahānuw and ḥuṭṭuw: narrative imperatives.

⁶⁸ The m. pl. ending -uw (in yagṭa^uw) collides with the stressed article, and is dropped.

Translation

1. And we go up into the desert, and when we go up into the desert, we sit together as a group. And every one of us has a qaṣīdah. 2. (R) With camels or...? (F) By God, there are times that there are camels, and there are times that there are cars. Nowadays we have licenses with us. (Since) fifteen years, thirteen years, fourteen years... we have a driver's license. 3. We drive any car and we go, we go up into the desert. The young lads, that is. We, the young lads, and we sit. Every one has a qaṣīdah which he recites... or every one has a nice story which he tells... 4. and (this goes on) until the evening has passed. It has passed while you had no sense of the time... you'd say we sat for (only) an hour... yes.

5. The time passes quickly with nice stories and nice conversation and a nice get together... The talk (just) goes on. 6. But when you sit at home and you have none of your friends to talk to... and you you don't recite a qaṣīdah nor do you (pl.) ... qaṣīdah's of the grandfathers. 7. Nowadays we, you see... many of the bedouins who live here... recite qaṣīdah's. Qaṣīdah's, but which are not (really) qaṣīdah's. 8. Not like the qaṣīdah's of ʿNēz ibn Sālim⁶⁹ – may God grant him a good evening – it is not like the qaṣīdah's of Sālim Aḅu ʿĪd... a great poet. 9. This one says to you... he produced a qaṣīdah on a woman he wanted (to marry), while he was in love with a woman. Do you know the meaning of 'he wants her'?

10. He wanted (to marry) her for himself, but she did not want him. 11. He did not understand this, and he did not know that she did not want him. 12. Someone came... someone came. He came, and when he came she got up. She stood up. 13. She brought the blanket (kleed) and spread it out for him. After she had spread it out for him, he answered her:

14. The Mercedes company built it, and whoever comes changes his oil⁷⁰

Open night and day, and whoever comes, changes his oil

15. He said

The rockets hit it, but the little thing is the size of a match

16. And a woman actually has a thing the size of a match

They hit her... the men hit her there

The rockets hit it, but the little thing is only the size of a match

17. And if you swarm around it one hundred (hours)

I'll stay here sitting two hundred and forty (hours)

18. That is, he produced this qaṣīdah, and had her regret, that is, he gave her a bit of a warning. 19. He said to her 'you, I mean... you, I mean, who am I and who is he... for whom you spread out a cover.

20. We are (all) one (i.e. equal), our Lord has created us... like he created me he created him. 21. After that time passed, this woman got married and had what? Children. 22. She had children and the son of this woman heard this qaṣīdah... the son ... heard it, and the son was a poet. 23. A poet without equal, he was a ʿLēgiy, this boy. Someone with the name Sālim Aḅu ʿAwdah, (but) not the qaṣīdah poet, but someone else. 24. He went to Rās

⁶⁹ ʿNēz ibn Sālim was a Tuḅḅāniy poet – the greatest of his day in Sinai – who passed away a few years ago. For (there transcribed as) ʿAnēz abū Sālim al-ʿUrḏī, see Bailey 1991:passim, but esp. 9-10.

⁷⁰ Lit. 'change one's oil', an expression for 'fuck, screw'.

Sadr. When he went to Rās Sadr, you know they said ‘Look there, Sālim Abuw ʿAwdah the poet has come. But it was not him, he was not a poet. His name was Sālim Abuw ʿAwdah only.

25. (but) They said Sālim Abuw ʿAwdah the poet, they said, is in the circle of men. By God, and they went⁷¹ and sat down (there). 26. By God, they said “Oh guest, nobody is to bring you dinner unless you have had us listen to a qaṣīdah”. 27. He said to them “Welcome”. Salim Abuw ʿAwdah answered and said... he said

“We get ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not a fat chicken at all”.

28. (and) People laughed. All people laughed and said “What type of qaṣīdah is this? This is not a qaṣīdah!” 29. He said to them “I am not Sālim Abuw ʿAwdah who recites qaṣīdah’s. I am another Sālim Abuw ʿAwdah. Not a poet”.

30. He said “I thought you would like it (i.e. the poem)”, he said “so that you receive me as a guest”. 31. By God, people laughed. You know, the be-douin, with us, that is, all our lives are like a joke. Like a joke, by God it’s true. 32. That is, if you now look like this and stay silent ... sitting (still)... you will see things that you have never seen. With us... things you have never seen. 33. You’ll like them. You’ll enjoy it and will want to do similar things. 34. But now, by God I don’t know how to say this to you.

35. But the best thing is.... sitting with a few guys like this. 36. But is there time, that is, you have ten days here, or don’t you, or are you leaving? 37. I... at this moment I don’t have work. That is, any job with which I can make some money.... If one works honourably, then I’ll do it. An unlawful thing... 38. (R) honourably? (F) An unlawful thing... I won’t do it. I see them before me, like money, that is, it comes easy when it’s unlawful, but I stay away from it. Why? 39. (R) Why? (F) I’ll tell you why. Because if I go after this unlawful money, and I accept it, something is bound to happen to me, or to my children, or something to my wife, or something to my family.

40. There is no doubt about that. Such money is bound to have effect. Why? It didn’t come... by sweat. It didn’t come by (using one’s) head, by thinking. 41. If it came by thinking, then this money.... for instance there is now ten thousand, in four months, fifteen months, you’ll see that these ten thousand has become twenty thousand. 42. Why? Because it’s clean. This clean (money) does not vanish, never goes away. 43. Now we have camels here... thoroughbred camels... from a long time ago. I know I have a camel, my father has a camel, a stallion. 44. I know, that is, its (genealogical) line, to which he counts (the generations)... is older than I am. I am twenty five years old... and what?

45. And more than twenty five years... (and) like a few months. That is, two or three months more, you see? 46. That is, you don’t worry about it. Nowadays this (thing called a) birthday and those things, we don’t do useless things (like keeping track of one’s exact age). 47. For instance, now, today I am exactly fifteen years old, today I celebrate my birthday at twelve o’clock... No. There are no such things. 48. We have circumcision... we

⁷¹ The verb *rawwah* has the wider meaning of ‘go’, and is not limited specifically to ‘go home’ like in e.g. Cairene Arabic.

have... offerings... people make offerings... they recite the Fātiḥah for the dead... for people... for our dead. We recite the Fātiḥah for our dead... 49. By God, you sit like this and you serve people coffee and you chat and you recite (a qaṣīdah)...

50. You speak like in the old days, and we did and we wanted... oh my goodness! When I hear the talk... 51. (R) and are there weddings? (F) Here? (Yes) there are weddings. And also in the... in the desert. 52. That is, in the old days when I would hear, now when I sit with the older... people, that is, over 40 years old, I sit and light my cigarette, and I open my mind with them (i.e. to what they say). 53. I don't speak, nor do I say one word, I just listen. I listen, and I don't believe... the things they say, it's really true. 54. But when you want to interpret it in terms of our day, and you analyse it, you'll say 'how?'. 'How?'

55. There was someone who went to Suez... on a camel... a camel... he went to Suez, and he returned carrying with him a hundred kilos on it... of rice, flour, canned food. 56. (R) Really (F) Really. In the old days. This is a long, very long time ago. They would go to Suez... people... they would stay there for ten days. 57. Do you know how much a month ('s worth of labour) would cost in the old days? (for) The work here? That is, one pound, half a pound... a month. 58. (R) So that's modest. (F) Yes, my father used to work in the old days, the days of Israel here, he worked a (whole) month for one pound. 59. (R) He worked a month for one pound? (F) But this pound would pay for a whole camel load for you.

60. It would pay for loading the camel with food... a pound... I tell you... things you will find strange, I find them strange, you see? I am a bedouin, but (even) I find them strange. 61. (R) How much does a bedouin boy make in a month? (F) Here? That is, these days (lit. In our time). These days... 62. that is, four hundred, five hundred if (things) go well for you, five hundred. That's why I... I don't want to work in diving. 63. I like, that is... to please my father... before I please myself, I like to please my father. 64. and these are principles. That is, a sensible boy that we now have here... you'll find that he listens to what his father says.

65. He is (then) pleased. That is, even your father is pleased with you, and your mother is pleased with you. (that way) 66. Even life for you becomes... it becomes something beautiful. Your life becomes beautiful. 67. Why? Your folks are pleased with you... your parents... help you, (when) you, for instance, lack money. They give (it) to you, they give you extra. 68. Nowadays, I mostly sit with my mother and my father. I mostly sit with my mother and father. 69. When I stay away, for instance, I don't go to them all day...

70. (they'll ask) where has he gone? Where has he gone to? He doesn't come. When he goes away, he (always) tells us. 71. (if) Now at this moment I want to go to Nwēbi^c, and a friend of mine is going to Nwēbi^c, or go to Šarm, or go (somewhere), or go (somewhere else), I go home... before all things, I say 'Oh my uncle, I'm going to Nwēbi^c.' 72. And I go to my father, and I say 'Oh my father, I'm what...? Going to Nwēbi^c.' 73. If they said to me 'don't do it, don't go, oh my son, it is better for you'. Then I stay, and that's it. (and) I say 'My our Lord bring that in which there is what is proper'. That's it, I'm not going. I won't go. 74. But then what? They don't say (this) to me, unless when they hear something of for instance troubles in Nwēbi^c between the Mzēnih and Tarābin.

75. (R) Are there problems? (F) Yes, there are, but in the old days, that is. A period of four, three years ago. 76. (R) What was it? (F) There was a big problem between Mzēnih and Tarābīn... in the old days. A crime against womenfolk. 77. (R) A crime against womenfolk? (F) This crime against the (honour of) women... is a difficult thing, that is. Three boys of the Tarābīn... while the girls were out grazing their sheep and goats... the goats. 78. And after that... a woman is not like a man. A woman becomes... a woman is weak, that is, she's not like a man, a man is strong. 79. They went over and sat down with them (f.). And they (f.) said to them "go away!".

80. Now people will come... people will come at you (m. pl.) [and] there will be problems between the bedouins. Bedouins and [other] bedouins will rise against each other. 81. "Oh" he (i.e. one of the boys) said "Let them rise, rise, let them rise against each other. We" he said "are not afraid of Mzēnih". 82. By God. And as they spoke, lo there came riding camels⁷². Riding camels, do you know rkāb? We call them rkāb (riding camels). When there are four, five together... rkāb. When it is one camel, we say rkābih, rkābih (riding camel). 83. (R) Yes, okay. (F) They came, and they brought ropes⁷³, and they pulled out the ropes and drew the swords. In the old days it was always with swords. Do you know swords? (R) Yes... 84. (F) And they kept hitting and they cleft the shoulder of one (of the boys), and he fled, they fled and went to the Tarābīn... the Tarābīn.

85. And she came to the šēx. This (šēx)... They doubted to take it to the three judges and to take it to court, but nobody... we will not take this to court⁷⁴. 86. (The Tarābīn decided:) Whoever comes down from the Mzēnih over there we'll kill. And they grabbed, by chance (i.e. randomly) they grabbed someone and they pierced him with the sword here (speaker points at his shoulder), and it came out here (speaker points at his shoulder blade). 87. Our Lord... our Lord took him away, our Lord what? That is, not what? His evening had not yet come. 88. People came to him, people came to him (and) his blood was all on the ground, flowing... like a flood. 89. They picked him up and buried his blood and put him on a camel and went away. In the old days there were no cars. (There was) one car, two cars, that is, a car, people would be afraid of it in the old days.

90. They took him (with them), there was no doctor of course, we had no doctors, bedouin doctors. Even now we have a bedouin woman here... as doctor. (R) What do you say? (F) Doctors... doctor... 91. [...] Anyway, they healed him, and he brought him a herb, a spring herb, from up in the desert, and he stopped the bleeding... (so that) it didn't flow... 92. (R) Like a medicine? (F) Yes, medicine, medicine, medicine, samwah⁷⁵, and ʿelīgān⁷⁶, and

⁷² *rikāb* 'riding camels', see Bailey 1991:439 (glossary).

⁷³ Literally 'palm fibres', here 'ropes (made of palm fibres)'.

⁷⁴ The utterance is elliptical, but the sense is that the matter was considered, after which a decision was taken not to take it to the bedouin court, but to settle it by taking revenge. For the specific meaning in this context of *wīgh* (pl. *wǧūh*) 'face', *talāṭīh* (lit.) 'three' and *bēn* (lit.) 'between', see references in Stewart 1990:glossary.

⁷⁵ *samwah*, perhaps 'Chrozophora obliqua', see Täckholm 1974:842 (index).

⁷⁶ Perhaps 'Achilla fragrantissima', see *ibid.*:795 (index). There transcribed as Ale-giaan, Eileiaan.

medicine... from the mountains. And it is better than the medicine that (you find) here. 93. Did you know that there was a doctor who came from Egypt. (R) What? (F) He wanted to take herbs from here to analyse. But the Mzēnih refused. 94. Why did they refuse? Because if they had accepted, if they would go along with this story, they would cut down the trees, they would cut them down.

Expressing gratitude

1. *ba'adēn... wāhid aḡnabiy žih nihā'... zayy ga'ad... ilaḡnabiy dih ga'ad sibū'*. 2. *ya'niy ḡāy yitafassah fi blādnih nihā'*, *mūhū ḡāy dammuh yita'aknan*. 3. *ḡi'... hū ḡi' byāḡaṭis, māxiḍ kuris... ḡaṭs, sibū' nihā'*. 4. *rawwah... mi lḡaṭs, ḡaṭás awwil yōm, iw ḡaṭás tāniy yōm, iw tālit yōm idīnuh diy farga'at, idīnuh diy farga'at min ḡuwwih*.

5. *šār... 'ād šarat ibtūḡ'uh⁷⁷. ibtūḡilmuh⁷⁸ ḡāmid, ya'niy mā biynām minha llēl. ṭul illēl wā'iy*. 6. *rawwahna luh, ana gult ēh? ḡār aṗawwih luh. awaddih l alḡurmah diy, yimkin áššifi' 'al-īdhīh*. 7. *rawwāhit luh... aššalāh, āxir annahār kidīyyih. 'ād ilyōm dah mā ḡiṭás hū, mīta'aknin, dammuh mīta'aknin xalāš... 8. ḡidi' ilblād. bass bidduh māšiy bāladuh. ilbalad yta'ālaḡ fhih*. 9. *iw rawwahna w ḡibna ḡaṭarah... ḡaṭarah fi dānuh, samīn šīhiy... samīn mn ilmi'zih, iw šīḡār ṗabī'iy 'ilēh. šīḡār imxallaṭ*.

10. *ilḡurmah ḡālat huṭṭ... f-idīnuh halhīn, lamma ynām, w išsubuh badriy. išsubih... āxir annahār yāḡaṭis*. 11. *gultilhi' ma'aḡūlah ḡālat layy zayy mā bigūl luḡ ibinaxī. zayy ma btasma' ibinaxī*. 12. *ḡālat inṭāb, ḡāt hī māniy 'āyziḡ minnuh šiy. halhīnit ḡāt māniy 'āyzaḡ minnuh ddaṗāhim*. 13. *ṭalla' dirāhmuh kidīy... irriḡḡāl, ḡālat luh la'. mā bitxarrif Ingiltziy hī. ḡālat luh la'*. 14. *ḡālat ana halhīnit māniy 'āyzaḡ minnuḡ duṗāhim*.

15. *idnuḡ ṗābat iw ḡaṭast... illiy yaṭla' min dīmmiṭ⁷⁹ ḡ iḡnēh, 'ašarah, 'iṣrīn... illiy yaṭla' min dīmmiṭ⁷⁹ i'īṗnī-yyāh*. 16. *alaḡnabiy fakkar⁷⁹ kidīyyih... dīḡīk ḡāl ya'niy līssa' iddīnyah b xayr*. 17. *ya'niy līssa' ḡāt fi ddīnyih... iddīnyi ḡāl lēha līssa' fiha nās ikwayysīn*. 18. *lā mūhū zayy 'īndukuw f-Ingiltira hnūtiy, f-Ingiltira hnūtiy*. 19. *kull wāhid māšiy la ḡāluh, māḡad biyxarrif aḡād wala btaḡḡak fi wiḡh ilinsān wala šiy*.

20. *alaḡnabiy dih dīḡīk... alxawāḡih dīḡīk, ḡāl asma'... ḡāl išsubih āxir innhār tiḡnī⁸⁰, 'ašān inḡiy našṗab iššāy nihā'*. 21. *iw ḡaṭás tāniy yōm, al'ašir... ḡiṭás... alaḡnabiy dih... zayy awwil ma ži' min iblāduh... 22. (R) ā w Aḡḡah? (F) w Aḡḡah. iw ḡaṭás iw ṭil'... iw rawwah alḡaṭs... iw šāfnī fiḡ*. 23. *iw hū yḡīy mḡīr kidīyyih b i'dāduh... iw ḡilduh⁸¹ 'ilēh, līssa'*

⁷⁷ A measure IV verb: *awḡa'*, *yūḡi'* 'hurt'.

⁷⁸ *aḡlam, yuḡlim* 'hurt' appears to be a hypercorrect adaptation of the root 'l-m to Mzēniy dialect; the hypercorrect element being the substitution of g for ' (which is in fact not MSA *q), based on the fact that the Cairene glottal stop ' (as a reflex for MSA *q) is usually reflected as g in Mzēniy.

⁷⁹ *fakkar, yfakkir* in many bedouin dialects has the meaning of 'look (attentively)'.

⁸⁰ *tiḡnī* 'you come to me'; an apocopated imperfect.

⁸¹ *ḡilduh*, literally 'his skin', here 'his diving suit'.

*axaḍar*⁸² hū. 24. *iw hū yāxiḍnī b ilḥuḍin kiḍiyiyih hū šāf hūt*⁸³ kibīr, *iw šāf ḥāḡāt wāḡdah f-ālbahar*.

25. *gāl ani*'... miš 'ārḥ akāff'uk b ēš, miš 'arīf gāl hū a'mīl-luḥ ēš... 26. *gult luh la*'... aḥamm ḥāḡih... ya'niy... *albaduw dillih*⁸⁴... *itxarrfuw ēh?* *itḡul albaduw albaduw albaduw*... *kunnuḥ iddētī*⁸⁵ *māl iddinyih*. 27. *gāl yā salā:m, fakkar kiḍiyiyih gāl yā salām*... 28. *gāl ṭab istannī*⁸⁶ *xamis digāyig gāl aḡayr i'dādī, gāl 'ašān nimšiy l ilḥurmah*. 29. *ḡayyar i'dāduh w istinnētuh*⁸⁷ *w Aḷlah w ihna nimšiy*... *l alḥurmah*.

30. *šāyf ana mā baḥibb aḡta' annišib*... *annašib mā baḥibb aḡta'uh*. 31. *ilažnabiy ṭalla' miyytēn yūrah, w iddāhin*⁸⁸ *iiyāha*. 32. *alḥurmah ḡālat layy la', hāt wiḥdih bass. gult lēha la' hū 'āyiz yiddik kiḍiy w xalāš*... *ixḍihin*. 33. *ḡālt ṭab xalāš wiḥdih lay iw wiḥdih luḥ*, 34. *gult lēha w Aḷlah mā yaḥšal. abadan? la'*. *intah 'ārḥ ilkilām ḍih mūhū 'ilēnih*.

35. *ḡālat ana hawāy i'tūḥ iyyāha, gult lēha lā w Aḷlah mā yaḥšal, hāda rizgik intiy, iw rizgik ana mā huwāy aḡta' rizgik*. 36. *ḡaṭ' irrizig šen ḍah xall bāluḥ ya'niy. ilinsān lamma yaḡta' rizig ṭāniy, hādiy ḥattih*... *ya'niy lēha 'iḍāb kibīr iw xalāš*... *'iḍāb*. 37. *intah 'arīf il'iḍāb ēš hū? (R) il'iḍāb ēh?* 38. (F) *ya'niy 'iḍāb kibīr*... *'ind ṛabbnih, ḡizā'uk 'ind ṛabbnih kibīr ya'niy*. 39. *alḥurmah ḡālat lay xalāš, ḡāt lay ya [Fṛayḡ] ayyhih ažnabiy*⁸⁹ *ḡālat*... *šāḥīb'ḥ hātuh*.

40. *ḡālt ana mā ba'arf ilažānib, ḡār kān yā ṛabbī wāḥid*... *ya'niy i'tuf 'ilēh kiḍiyiyih, waḷla wāḥid zayy laḡnabiy kiḍiyiyih ḍi', ži' imm alblād ihnūtiy*⁹⁰... 41. *imgaṭṭi'*... *imgaṭṭi' mašālḥuh, māxiḍ luh iḡāzih sbū' waḷla sbū'ayn*. 42. *ḡālt lay wāḥid mašriy, la'*, *law ḥatta ḡālat ēš? 'ašān*

⁸² *axaḍar*, literally 'green', here 'wet', see also Bailey 2004:441 (glossary) 'damp, moist'.

⁸³ *hūt* (n.u. *hūtiḥ*) is the word for 'fish (in general)' in MzA. In more central dialects of southern Sinai *hūt* is used for 'dried fish (for consumption)', while *samak* is used for 'fresh (or live) fish'.

⁸⁴ *ḍill(-ih)* or *ḍillēl(-ih)* is the c. pl. of the near deixis. Dialects of the Negev-type (among which TrA) tend to have velarised forms such as *hōḍal, hawḍal, hāḍōl*, etc., see De Jong 2000:170-172.

⁸⁵ *kun* + pron. suffix 'as if + subject'. Cf. MSA *ka'inn* + pron. suff. Other examples are: *kunkin iddētinnī* 'as if you (f. pl.) had given me', *kunnuh iddānī* 'as if he had given me', *kunhuw iddūnnī* 'as if they (m.) had given me'.

⁸⁶ *istannī*: an apocopated imperative of the tertia infirma verb *y/istanna* + pronominal suffix *-nī*. The spelling with triple *n* is for reasons of morphological transparency; the pronunciation is not different from double *n*. Like apocopated imperatives of tertiae infirmae verbs, apocopated imperatives of such verbs are highly regular in Mzēniy.

⁸⁷ *a* in *istannētuh* is raised preceding the *ē*.

⁸⁸ Limited or countable numbers (here possibly the number of banknotes) are usually referred to in the f. pl.

⁸⁹ 'any' + sg. or 'all' + pl. is expressed by invariable *ayyhih* + substantive, e.g. *ayyhih bint* 'any girl', *ayyhih banāt* 'all girls', *ayyhih ḡāl* 'all men'.

⁹⁰ *hnuh / hnūtiy* is used for 'there (far away, in an unspecified place)'.

*almaṣriyyah dill huwwa*⁹¹ *giḷāl úṣuḷah... w Aḷlah bakallím^uḳ kalām ḡadd.*
 43. *ilmaṣriyyih mühu... mühuwwa zayyna-ḥna lbaduww.* 44. *ilmaṣriyyih*
ya^ʿniy... ṣāḥīb^uḳ ilyōm, iw bukraḥ w ba^ʿaduh, iw ba^ʿad kiḏiy law mā
sawwi^ʿ minnuḳ maṣṣalah, la sarāḡḳ, la nihāb^uḳ.

45. *la ḍamm ft^uḳ. ʿarīf ḍamm ft^uḳ ya^ʿniy kēf?* 46. *ya^ʿniy ytakallam ft^uḳ*
min warā^uḳ, hāḍa ḍamm ft^uḳ, ingūl ḍamm ft^uḳ.

Translation

1. Then, a foreigner came here, like he stayed... this foreigner stayed for a week. 2. That is, he came to travel around a bit in our land here, he didn't come here to have a bad time. 3. He came to dive. He had taken a diving course of a week here. 4. He came back... from diving. He dived the first day, and he dived the second day, and the third day his ear popped. His ear popped inside.

5. It became... it began to hurt him. It became very painful for him, that is, he could not sleep at night from it. He lay awake all night. 6. We went to him (and) I said what? I must go to him. I bring him this woman, perhaps there is a cure by her hand. 7. I went to him... prayer time, around the end of the daytime. So that day he hadn't dived, he was in a bad shape, he was irritated. 8. He was cursing the land. He only wanted to go to his country. (to) The country where he would be cured. 9. And we went and brought a drop, a drop in his ear, ghee with wormwood extract, and with added spring herbs, mixed herbs.

10. The woman said 'put (it) ... in his ear now, so that he will sleep. And early next morning... In the morning... at the end of the day he will (be able to) dive'. 11. I said to her 'is this possible?' She said to me 'like my nephew says to you. Like you hear your nephew.' 12. She said 'he has cured'. She said 'I don't want anything from him'. Now she said 'I don't want money from him'. 13. He took out his money... the man, (but) she said 'no'. She doesn't speak English. She said to him 'no'. 14. She said 'I don't want money from you now'.

15. When your ear has cured and you have dived... whatever comes up from your conscience, be it a pound, ten or twenty... whatever comes up from your conscience, give that to me. 16. The foreigner looked like this... (and) laughed and said 'there's still goodness in this world'. 17. That is, she said, in the world there's still... the world, he said to her, there are still good people in it.. 18. It is not like in England with you over there, over there in England. 19. Everybody goes his own way, nobody talks to anyone, or laughs to people or anything.

20. This foreigner laughed, the stranger laughed. He said 'Listen...' he said 'Come to me in the morning of the last day, so that we come here and drink tea here'. 21. And the next day he went diving, in the afternoon he went diving... this foreigner... like (he had dived) when he first came from his country. 22. (R) Really? (F) Really, and he went diving and came out. And he went diving and saw me in it (i.e. while he went). 23. And he came

⁹¹ The pron. for the 3rd p. m. pl. is *huwwa*. The pron. suffix is *-huw*. Compare this with the endings of the 2nd p. m. pl. *intuw* and *-ḳuw*, which lie at the source of this paradigmatic levelling.

running like this with his gear... with his diving suit on, he was still wet. 24. And he embraced me like, he had seen big fish, and he had seen lots of things in the sea.

25. He said “I... I don’t know with what to reward you. I don’t know” he said “what I can do for you”. 26. I said to him “No! The most important thing is... that is... these bedouins... you will say what? You’ll say the bedouins, the bedouins, the bedouins⁹²... It will be like you’ve given me all the money in the world. 27. He said “My goodness” he looked like this (and) said “My goodness”. 28. He said “Okay, wait five minutes for me” he said “to change my gear” he said “so we can go to the woman”. 29. He changed his gear, and I waited for him, by God, and we went... to the woman.

30. You see, I don’t like frustrating a (i.e. somebody else’s) livelihood. A livelihood I don’t like frustrating. 31. The foreigner took out two hundred Euros and gave them to her. 32. The woman said to me “No. Just give me one (Euro). I said to her “No. He wants to give them (i.e. the Euros) to you, and that’s it. Take them”. 33. She said “All right then, one for me and one for you.” 34. I said to her “By God, this will not be”. “Ever?” “No.”. You know we don’t have to this type of thing.

35. She said “[but] I feel like giving it to you.” I said to her “No, by God, this will not be. This is money you have earned, and I don’t want to frustrate your financial gain. 36. Frustrating someone’s financial gain is a bad thing, mind you. 37. A person, when he frustrates somebody else’s financial gain even... that is, there is a severe punishment for that, and that’s it... a punishment. 37. Do you know what the *‘idāb* is? (R) What is the *‘idāb*? 38. (F) A severe punishment, that is... from our Lord. Your punishment with our Lord will be severe, that is. 39. The woman said to me “Okay then”. She said “Oh *Ḥayğ*, which foreigner” she said “your friend, go get him”.

40. She said “I don’t know foreigners. It was just someone, my Lord... for whom I felt compassion, just like that. Or someone like this foreigner who came from this land far away⁹³... 41. Having interrupted... having interrupted his affairs, having taken for himself a week or two weeks holiday. 42. She said to me “Is he an Egyptian?” “No”, even if... she said what? “Because these Egyptians lack nobility”... By God, I’m telling you the truth. 43. Egyptians are not... they are not like us bedouins 44. Egyptians, that is... today he’s your friend... and tomorrow and the day after. And after that, if he hasn’t made a profit off you, then he’ll steal from you, he’ll rob you.

45. He’ll talk behind your back. Do you know what ‘talk behind your back’ means? It means he’ll talk about you behind your back. 46. It means he’ll talk about you behind your back. We say he talks behind your back.

⁹² The meaning of this is more or less: “you’ll tell people all about us bedouins”.

⁹³ Lit. “there”.

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