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NOTE DE L'ÉDITEUR

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NOTE DE L'AUTEUR

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- ¹ Along the northern littoral of the Sinai desert between the Suez Canal and the Israeli border live around twelve Bedouin tribes. The dialects spoken by these tribes ¹ can be classified into four main typological groups ²: a northeastern group, which includes the dialects of the *Sawarka*, *Rumêlât*, and also further to their south *Ahaywât*, *Tarabîn*, and which bears strong resemblances to the dialect of the *Dullâm* of the Negev as described by Blanc (1970). A second (provisional) group is formed by the tribal dialects spoken in and around the oasis of *Gatya* in northwestern Sinai by the *'Agâyla* and *Samâ'na*. The third group are the dialects spoken by the *Biyyâdiyya* and *Axârsa*, who live to their north in the same part of Sinai. And finally, there is the dialect of the *Dawâgra*, who live along the southern shore of *Bardawîl* Lagoon, right in the middle of the northern littoral ³.

- 2 These typological groups were classified on the basis of data collected through recordings in which, more or less, the plain “colloquial” - in the sense of Blanc ⁴ - was spoken. The topics of conversation used to record this “plain colloquial” did not include poetry ⁵, or legal matters, as it was feared that such topics are likely to trigger the use of a more elevated style ⁶. Rallies, the topics included methods of agriculture, desert life, the old days, stories, etc.
- 3 Stewart (1990) found that “differences in style between speakers are far more striking than the differences in style between utterances of a single speaker on different occasions” ⁷. This may be true for the speakers of the tribes appearing in his research, but it holds less so (or speakers of tribes who do not speak the “plain colloquial” of this northeastern group. Indeed, speakers from the northwest, when they feel that the situation necessitates this, will try to accommodate to this “plain colloquial” of the northeastern group, whereby, in effect, they will try to incorporate features of what they consider to be “proper Bedouin dialect” in their speech. Such efforts result in a more elevated style, which is perhaps best described as a “bedouinized colloquial” (characterized by so-called B-forms).

Koineization and bedouinization

- 4 This trend to bedouinize one's speech is apparently, at least in part, a reaction against the powerful mechanism of “levelling” taking place in the direction of sedentary dialects spoken in the Nile Delta, the effects of which can particularly be observed in the dialects spoken by the (settled) tribes that inhabit the northwest of Sinai, i.e. the tribes living nearest to Egypt proper -the *Samâ'na* and *'Agâyla*, and especially the *Biyyâdiyya* and *Axârâ*⁸.
- 5 The psycho-linguistic cause for both koineization and bedouinization is the wish (or need) of the speaker to accommodate his language to his audience. The two trends have some differences as well: the term “leveling”, a development phase of the koineization process, describes the process where certain forms or function's / categories (in phonology, morphology, etc.) are given up:
 - 6 a) to make way for other forms, similar in function, which are more generally present in a larger area with other dialects with which the original dialect has come into contact (such as e.g. taking over pronominal suffixes from another contact-dialect, while giving up its original pron. suffixes, cf. below, *-*k-> ak*, and *-k -> ik* in *Sme'ni*). This can be regarded as “levelling” in relation to other (contact-) dialects ;
 - 7 or b) the distinctions disappear completely, without being given a new shape (such as, e.g., giving up fem. pl. morphemes for verbs altogether for a simpler distinction pl.-sg., where the pl. is expressed by a c. pl. morpheme, which is historically the masc. pl. morpheme). This, then, is leveling (here by simplification) in relation to an older form of the same dialect.
- 8 The process of leveling is ongoing, but the earlier effects of this process (the forms that characterize the leveled dialect) have been established, and no (sub-) conscious decision is taken by the speaker in order to reproduce the forms characteristic for a leveled dialect ⁹. This is long-term adaptation; such forms have become stable.
- 9 The term “koineization”, covers the processes of “mixing”, “focusing”, “reduction”, “leveling” and “simplification”. “Mixing” involves the increase in forms from the

different dialects participating in the dialect contact. "Focusing" refers to the development towards certain forms which are preferred, for whatever reason, in the new interdialect taking shape; this leads to "reduction" of the number of forms available. "Leveling" entails the disappearance of "minority and otherwise marked speech forms", which is often accompanied by "simplification", which involves, crucially, a reduction in irregularities. The result of the focusing associated with koineization is a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none ¹⁰. The extent of the influence which one dialect may have on another, so that "leveling", or "accommodation", takes place, is dependent on a combination of factors, such as the number of speakers of these contact dialects, the geographical proximity and accessibility, of these speakers, and the prestige of their dialect, or lack of it. The changes that are the result of such dialect contact are "non-natural", i.e. externally motivated, as opposed to "natural" changes, which are internally motivated ¹¹. Often new and unique forms are the result of such dialect contact, i.e. forms that did not occur initially in any of the dialects involved in this contact ¹². Examples of such so-called interdialect forms are, for instance, the *Fayyûmi* words ¹³*talafawn*, "telephone", *daraksawn*, "Steering wheel", and *ginâyh*¹⁴, "pound"; *ô* and *e* in loanwords, here from or via Cairene Arabic (hereafter CaA) *tilifôn*, *diriksiyôn*, and *gineh*, are phonologically reinterpreted as the *Fayyûmi* diphthongs *aw* and *ay*¹⁵.

- ¹⁰ "Bedouinization" involves the addition of forms by the speaker that are not part of his own dialect, but which he feels are characteristic of the target dialect, such as phonological and morphological features, typically Bedouin words, etc. The model for the speaker's adaptation will be a dialect type which is generally (i.e. by the speaker and his audience) held in higher esteem than the speaker's own dialect.
- ¹¹ The purpose of this paper is to illustrate with some examples the two main linguistic forces in northwestern Sinai: "leveling", which has led to more sedentary types of dialects that are now spoken in the northwest. And secondly, "bedouinization" (a form of "accommodation"), the mechanism that works in the opposite direction, and which becomes operative when speakers of these Bedouin tribes from the northwest communicate with "outsiders" whom they hold in high esteem, i.e. members of other Bedouin tribes from the northeast and east, or even, as in the case of this dialect research, a linguist who has expressed his desire to record their everyday speech, and finds that doing so by simply going through a questionnaire does not yield the desired results ¹⁶.

Dialect as an integral part of cultural identity

- ¹² Bedouins in Sinai are generally very conscious of their own dialect, and especially in relation to other dialects spoken in the area by neighbouring tribes ¹⁷. To illustrate this, the following is the reaction I received one day from an elderly man (the grandfather, cf. below) of the *Samâ'na* in the *Gatya* oasis in northern Sinai when I asked him why he said *ilmayya* for "water", and not *âlmîy*¹⁸:

lamma biğûna nâs... asil ibtû' ağğâbal, bigaddru-nnihna ya'ni 'êh? hadar. iw humma l'arab issahîh. fa 'ihna binkallimhum bi lagwathum... mayyih, bingul lehum âlmîy, 'asân mây'allgûš 'alêne, innâma-hnabingûl 'innu mayyih

"When people come to (visit) us, who are originally from the desert, they regard us as what? *hadar*. And they are the true 'arab'¹⁹. So then we speak to them in their

dialect. *mayyah*, to them we say *âlmîy* (water), so they will not make (negative) comments about us. But we call it *mayyah*...”

- 13 This remark aptly illustrates one of the linguistic forces operative in the dialects of many of the Sinai bedouins who live in the northwestern part of the Sinai (*Samâ 'na. 'Agâyla, Axârsa, Biyyâdiyya*). When they meet “true arabs”, they feel an extra urge to be taken seriously, and in order to achieve this they adapt their language in such a way that the “true arabs” have as little cause as possible to make negative comments about them. The direction of the adaptation of their language is towards the dialect-type spoken by tribes in the northeast and east of Sinai, such as *Rumêlât, Sawârka, Tarâbîn*, etc., and further to their south, the *'Ayâyda*. An explanation for this type of linguistic modification is to be found in the “theory of linguistic behaviour” (a quote from Trudgill, 1983, p. 144):
- 14 This theory, expounded by Le Page in a number of writings (see Le Page, 1968, 1975, 1978; Le Page *et al*, 1974) seeks to demonstrate a general motive for speakers’ linguistic behaviour in terms of attempts to “resemble as closely as possible those of the group or groups with which from time to time we [speakers] wish to identify”.
- 15 Another remark relevant for the situation in Sinai follows a few lines below on the same page. Trudgill (while explaining why non-American popsingers would wish to imitate an American accent) remarks that “cultural domination leads to imitation”²⁰. It is important to realize that, in a cultural sense, Sinai is much more part of a larger area covering the northern *Higaz*, southern Transjordan, and the Negev²¹, than it is of Egypt, to which it belongs in a political and administrative sense²².
- 16 An integral, and psychologically important part of this cultural identity are the dialects that these bedouins speak. Northern Sinai today is no longer the more homogeneous dialect area it may have been in the past²³, or the patchwork type of linguistic situation one might expect when tribes from different origins have recently arrived in a certain area²⁴. But, in the course of time, it has become an area of linguistic transition between the heartland of this bedouin culture and the Egyptian Delta culture. This, however, is only after the development from an earlier situation of (an assumed) relative linguistic homogeneity²⁵, which has become disturbed by dialect contact with the dialect type spoken in the Egyptian Delta. The clearest exponent of the linguistic change that has resulted from this dialect contact is the dialect of the *Biyyâdiyya*²⁶, closely followed by that of the *Axârsa*; the effects of the encroaching Egyptian culture are most strongly felt in the area nearest to it: the northwest of Sinai²⁷. As Trudgill (1986, p. 39) remarks: “The geographical parameter of diffusion models becomes relevant because, other things being equal and transport patterns permitting, people on average come into contact most often with people who live closest to them and least often with people who live furthest away.”
- 17 The sense of loss of cultural identity, which accompanies the ongoing linguistic change (“leveling”), provides an extra stimulus to go back to what is felt to be a more original type of dialect where this is desired. The role model for this original type is the dialect type spoken in the northeast. This type of accommodation occurs during conversations with “true arabs” in so-called *magâ'id* (sg. *mag'ad*), where the men sit together and exchange the latest news, conduct court sessions, or during sessions where oral poetry is recited.
- 18 Thus we may witness two opposite trends in northwestern Sinai: the first trend is the seemingly inevitable development towards a Delta type²⁸, and the second trend lies in

attempts to nullify the changes resulting from this development in situations where this is felt to be socially appropriate. One result is that an attempt to gather linguistic information from speakers of tribes in the northwest by using questionnaires will often yield a northeast type of dialect reflected in the isolated forms which are checked ²⁹.

- 19 The adaptations informants make tend to be lexical, but also morphological, but seem to occur less so in phonology ³⁰. When morphological adaptations occur, it is my impression that these occur mainly in set phrases, or as in poetry, in memorized lines. This makes even these morphological adaptations lexical in nature.

Leveling effects in *sme'ni* : interdentals

- 20 Quite astonishing was the treatment of interdentals by three members of the *Samâ'na* (sg. *Sme'ni*) in *Gatya ilĠanâyin*: a grandfather, a father, and a (grand-) son, who were interviewed simultaneously on one occasion during this research. All spoke the emphatic interdental *d* for **d*, but the grandfather (in his early sixties) was the only one who consistently spoke *t* and *d* for **t* and **d*. His grandson (about twelve years old), however, who turned out to be going to school in *Râb'a* i.e. the neighbouring village in *Biyyâdiyya* territory, spoke *t* and *d* throughout, and did not seem to be able to render the non-emphatic interdentals of his grandfather. The father (in his early forties) was still able to produce the two non-emphatic interdentals, but failed to do so in a consistent manner. When I confronted the three with my observation of the difference in their treatment of the non-emphatic interdentals, the grandfather commented that his speech was more '*urfi*, that is "traditional" ³¹. The father, and especially the grandson, seemed unaware of the fact that there was a difference. E.g. for "my ears" the grandfather would say *danayy*, where his grandson would say *danayy*. Thus, after three generations of speakers of *Sme'ni*, the non-emphatic interdentals were no longer present in the speech of the grandson (³²), and we might even have to conclude, based on other characteristics of his speech as well, that the grandson actually no longer spoke *Sme'ni*.

Levelling effects in *biyyadi* : stress

- 21 Like in eastern *Sarqâwi*³³, word stress in *Biyyâdi* is of the *maktâba yikitbu* type, and in Upper Egypt it is generally *mâktaba/yikt(i)bu*³⁴. When we compare this to *maktûba/yiktibu* in the Central Delta and Cairo ³⁵, we see that words like *maktaba*, "office", *madrasa*, "school", *ma'la'a*, "spoon", are all stressed similarly in Cairo, the central Delta, eastern *Sarqîyya*, and *Biyyâdi*, whereas there is a clear difference in the treatment of a basic form like **yiktibu*, "they write", **yudrusu*, "they thresh", etc.
- 22 This difference in eastern *Sarqâwi* has been quite plausibly accounted for by rule order, in order to arrive at the surface forms *madrasa* and *yikitbu*. The assumption crucial to this reasoning, however, is that speakers would have unstressed forms at their disposal, "in their heads" so to speak, which they then, through a synchronic psychological process, treat according to these rules. Schematically we may illustrate these rules as follows ³⁶;

Base form (unstressed)	<i>miškila</i>	<i>yiktibu</i>	<i>madrása</i>	<i>yidbāḥu</i>
1) Vowel elision	<i>miškla</i>	<i>yiktbu</i>	—	* —
2) Stress	<i>miškla</i>	<i>yiktbu</i>	<i>madrása</i>	<i>yidbāḥu</i>
3) Anaptyxis	<i>mišikla</i>	<i>yikitbu</i>	—	—

- 23 M. Woidich (1979) concludes that, in generative terms, eastern *Sarqiyya* dialect has the same stress rules as CaA (ad 2), simplified:

- a) Stress the first "heavy" syllable from the right, unless this heavy syllable is followed by two "light" syllables (i.e. containing no consonant clusters).
- b) If the latter is the case, stress the first syllable following the heavy syllable.

- 24 It is precisely the assumption of the existence of unstressed base forms which is quite unlikely in terms of historical linguistics ³⁷; each word uttered in isolation ³⁸ has stress placed on one of its syllables. It may be fruitful, for descriptive purposes, to assume unstressed base forms, but these have, little to do with the historical (nor, presumably, psychological) reality. More seriously, however, such an assumption veils the historical development which has led to this seemingly random stress type for the two types of words.

- 25 The historical development becomes even more apparent when we contrast such sets as *haddādu*, 'they set' (perf.) and *yhāddidu*, 'they set' (imperf.), or *yġāddidu*, 'they renew', and *ġaddādu*, 'they renewed' ³⁹. These examples also show that it is not merely a question of placing stress after vowel elision, for if that were the case, why then do we not hear **yġāddidu*, **yhāddidu*, or, for that matter, **bnittitu*, 'his (many) daughters', or **hittitu*, 'his piece', instead of the current forms *bnittitu* and *hittitu*?

- 26 The answer must be that it is exactly such forms which were excluded from the stress shift that has taken place in this dialect ⁴⁰. They were excluded only because the first rule of vowel elision never applied owing to the phonetic closeness of the consonants surrounding the high vowel. Moreover, the fact that the first syllable is stressed shows that it was stressed all along, since there is nothing inherently "wrong" in (e.g.) CaA with stress in *yihāddidu* etc., so why would it be stressed here *yhāddidu*? The conclusion is that there never was an unstressed form *yihāddidu*.

- 27 The claim is thus, not that word stress cannot be synchronically reassigned, for it can be, of course (E.g. when forms like *yidbah* or *yiktib* are suffixed with consonant-initial -*ha*, we get *yidbāhha* and *yiktibha*). But the claim is that if a similar reassignment of stress would take place in *yhāddidu*—*yhāddidu*, we would get a set of imperf. forms for the 2nd measure which is no longer symmetric, in terms of stress, in relation to the other imperf. forms. This symmetry is characterized by: perf. $C_1aC_2C_2\acute{a}C_3u$, and imperf. $yC_1\acute{a}C_2C_2(i)C_3u$.

symmetric		asymmetric		translation
perf.	imperf.	perf.	imperf.	
<i>kallāmu</i>	<i>ykállmu</i>	<i>kallāmu</i>	<i>ykállmu</i>	they speak/spoke
<i>darrāsu</i>	<i>ydárrsu</i>	<i>darrāsu</i>	<i>ydárrsu</i>	they teach/taught
<i>ġaddādu</i>	<i>yġāddidu</i>	<i>ġaddādu</i>	<i>*yġāddidu</i>	they renew/renewed
<i>ḥaddādu</i>	<i>yḥāddidu</i>	<i>ḥaddādu</i>	<i>*yḥāddidu</i>	they set/set

- 28 Using the forms marked * would disturb the symmetry, and would thus obscure morphological transparency ⁴¹.
- 29 *Biyyâdi* shows more traces of an older stress system, which must have been of the type currently found in the northeast of Sinai and the Negev desert ⁴². Consider, for instance, *Biyyâdi* examples like *ihna* (although more regularly *hâna*), "here", *ista*, "winter", and plurals *i'nab*, "grapes", and *irkab*, "knees", which have their northeastern counterparts *hniy*, *štiy*. 'nâb and *rkâb*. When the latter forms occur in northeastern Sinai ⁴³ and Negev ⁴⁴ dialects preceded by a speech pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic is inserted preceding the consonant cluster thus: "əhniy, "aštiy, a'nab and ərkâb. These are quite probably older *Biyyâdi* forms as well, and when stress shifted from a *katâb*- like still today in northeastern Sinai and Negev ⁴⁵ to a *kâtab*-type in *Biyyâdi*, the anaptyctics, that always precede these word-initial clusters when preceded by a consonant or a speech pause, had become stable, and were stressed according to the new rule: *i'nab*, *irkab*, etc.

⁴⁶

Levelling effects in *sme'ni* morphology

- 30 Another example of levelling due to dialect contact is the loss of the original *Sme'ni* 2nd pers. masc. suffix -"k, ⁴⁷ as in (grandfather):
- lamman tâharit w itbattil, tug 'udluk yôm, xamis t- iyyâm, sitt t- iyyâm, 'ala hasab al'ard illi 'induk. iw ba'aden eh? tirkin alfard titwakkal 'allâh mi" k fâs 'âd bit'aššib bit'aššib fi ssefi. ⁴⁸
- "When you plough and stop, You stay (there) for a day, five days, six days, depending on (surface area of) the land that you have. And after that what? You put away the plough and trust in God. If you have a hoe, then you weed, you weed (from between) the watermelons."
- 31 In the dialect of the younger generations we no longer find this -"k suffix ⁴⁹; it has yielded to -ak, while the fem. suffix -k has yielded to -ik when following a consonant, and to -ki when following a vowel. E.g. 'axtak, instead of original 'axtuk for "your (masc.) sister", mâhfadatak, instead of older mahfadât" k ⁵⁰ for "your (masc.) wallet", and gâlamik instead of older galemk for "your (fem.) pen".
- 32 This change must be the result of dialect contact, but it is unclear which dialect type is the principal actor in this change, as most surrounding dialect types, and also CaA, have the masc. suffix -ak. Based on geographical proximity one would conclude, however, that the dialect type of the *Axâr*sa and *Biyyâdiyya* is responsible for effecting this - "k — - ak change in *Sme'ni*, but the problem is that the -'k - -ik change cannot be attributed to contact with this dialect type, for *Axrasi* and *Biyyâdi* have invariable -ki in all positions and, for that matter, so has the north eastern type ⁵¹.
- 33 What appears to be plausible then, is that after the "k suffix had been replaced by -ak through dialect contact, a new symmetric opposition, -ak /-ik, instead of the original -ki -k opposition, became possible, i.e. an irregular, because asymmetric, opposition *-ak i-k had to make way for the symmetric -ak /-ik opposition. The fact that often the older -k appeared on the surface as *ik, as in older 'axtik, "your (fem.) sister", raglik, "your (fem.) man" (where i is an anaptyctic), and that CaA ⁵² has the same opposition -ak /-ik, only helped this development. Thus -ik became stabilized as the new 2nd pers. fem, sg; suffix when following a consonant.

- 34 The next fragment shows the 3rd pers, masc. pl. suffix in the perf. and imperf.- (u)m of the original *Sme'ni* dialect ⁵³:

(grandfather) gibîlt asSimâ 'na, ya'ni 'ala ma bnasma^f, âsilha mn attûr... šarig ⁵⁴. (X) imn alihğâz. (grandfather) aywa min iblâd alihğâz. (R) attûr, tûr sîni? (grandfather) tûr sîni. iw ba'den, lamma liblâd mâhalat, gum. šiy xass masur ⁵⁵, iw šiy sâkanihni. 'âhal algânam sâkanum ihni. Sâkanum fi Ibarr ihni, fi sîni. '
(grandfather) The tribe of the Samâ'na, that is, according to what we hear, is originally from Tûr...(in the) south. (X) From the Higâz (R) Tûr, Tûr of Sinai? (grandfather) Tûr of Sinai. And after that, when the land became barren, they came. Part (of them) went to Egypt, and part (of them) settled here. The people with sheep and goats settled here, they settled in the desert, here, in Sinai.

- 35 In the dialect of the younger generations of the *Samâ'na*, this verbal suffix -um does not occur; in their speech, - u with the regular verbs is current: e.g. *sirbu*, "they drank", and *yikitbu*, "they write".
- 36 Another example of ongoing levelling in *Sme'ni* is the change from(harmonized) imperf. *Ya-* prefixes in n-type verbs to *yi* prefixes. The speech of the grandfather showed mainly -though not exclusively ⁵⁶ - prefixes with *a*, a few examples:

ilwiliyyah btathan, iw byathaw 'a ssâğ
"the woman grinds (the flour), and they bake bread on the sâğ"
hâtt fi muxxu 'innu biddu ysâbig 'aleh, 'aw yâgazi 'alêh
"having set his mind on wanting to race it, or to go on raids on it i.e. on his camel)"
inkânhum, lamma yâsrabum...
"if they, when they drink..."

- 37 The speech of his son and grandson, however, showed mainly (again, not exclusively) imperf. prefixes with *i* (his son, 44 years old):

innâs ibtafrah lêh. ibyibda 'u w byirza 'u ⁵⁷.
"People hold a celebration for him. They improvise ditties and compose rhymes"

- 38 This ongoing change of *a* — *i* in the prefixes of the imperf. of the a-type verbs must be due to dialect contact with speakers of *Biyyâdi*, who live in *Gatya* and *Râb'a* as their direct neighbours, assisted in this development by the situation in CaA, where we have *i* throughout in the imperfect of these verbs.

Accommodation in *sme'ni* : stress

- 39 One strategy to mark one's speech in an attempt to speak proper bedouin dialect is to adapt the stress. Among the *Samâ'na* in the oasis of *Gatya* the questionnaire used during this research yielded stressed articles (from the grandfather): *âlğamal*, "the camels", *âlğabal*, "the desert", and also in the "plain colloquial" of *Sme'ni*, one may especially (but not exclusively) hear stressed articles when the topics of conversation are about daily bedouin life. It is precisely the type of words such as *âlğamal* and *âlğabal*, i.e. words closely associated with the bedouin way of life, which are stressed in this manner. The grandfather, for instance, said:

nitilg.alğimal 'a nnâga, zayy... inzârn ⁵⁸ rabbna 'ad
"We let the he-camel cover the she-camel, like... so the method of our Lord. (i.e. the natural method)".

- 40 But the same informant, during the same interview, and even in the same lexical items, produced unstressed articles as well:

iw mi'na kull hâğa 'ağğâmal. Iykùn fihin walâya 'ad binhutt almefa 'a lğâmal, iw sâ'at ma binbarrik. ya'ni biddna nbat, tâhafir la lmefih. ithutt almefa w ithutt alhâtab w itsawwi...

"And we would have everything with us on the camels. Among these there would then be women, we would put the mefa ⁵⁹ on the camel, and when we let the camels kneel (i.e. stop for the night), we want to spend the night, that is, she would dig a hole for the mefa. She would place the mefa and put the firewood (inside) and she would make..."

- 41 Also, in these cases of stress adaptations, words are loaned from the target dialect as "ready-made" lexical items. That is, stress is fixed in these items, and not synchronically (re-)assigned. This makes such loans, again; lexical in nature (comparable, for example, to stress in a K-form *innâma*, "but", in *maktaba* dialects). The salience ⁶⁰ of the stressed article seems relatively high, as opposed to word-stress in CaCaC, which is usually *kitâb*, "he wrote", *ğimâl*, "camels", *hatâb*, "firewood", etc., in the northeastern dialects, but not one instance of such stress was recorded among the *Samâ'na*, where one hears *kâtâb*, *šâmal*, and *hâtab*.

Accommodation in *axrasi* : phonology

- 42 Accommodation in phonology has so far only been encountered among the *Axârsa* in this research; where "true bedouins" are quoted the reflexes for **t* and **d* tended to be *t* and *d* (⁶¹), whereas often enough in plain *Axrasi* colloquial, *t* and *d* have been replaced by *t* and *d*. But what seems essential is that *t* and *d* have not (yet?) completely disappeared from the *Axrasi* phoneme inventory, and this is what seems to make this phonological adaptation possible. Similar adaptations of *t* and *d* for **t* and **d* in *Biyyâdi*, where the reflexes for **t* and **d* are *t* and *d* throughout (i.e. *t* and *d* are no longer part of the *Biyyâdi* phoneme inventory, whereas the emphatic *d* is), were not observed ⁶².
- 43 The following fragment is an illustration of how a speaker may incorporate features of the northeastern dialect in his speech. This fragment is told in its entirety by one member of the *Axârsa* '(who is S, the Storyteller). S lets the hero of the story address the king, and lets the king answer, having them both speak *d* for **d* in *âxudha* and *xudhe*, after which the S continues in his own dialect speaking *r* for **d* in *inxarfand dabah*'.
- (S imitating the hero) "*biddî'âxudha w awaddîha ma'a lganam,fi ssahra (...)*" (S as Storyteller) *gâl lēh*: (S imitating the king) "*mâši xudhe*" [...] *gâl*: (S imitating the hero) "*mâsiy*." (S as Storyteller) *xad aîgazâl. iw râh waddâha 'ind gânamu, iwdabah îeh gfdiy...*
- "I want to take her and send her (to pasture) with the goats and sheep, in the desert [...]."
- He said to him: "Allright, take her! [...]"
- He said: "Allright." He took the gazelle, and then took it with his goats and sheep, and slaughtered a kidgoat for him...
- 44 Notice also that S, in his role as Storyteller, speaks proper *Axrasi* dialect *îeh*, "for him" (the preposition *la* followed by the 3rd pers. masc. sg. suffix), instead of current northeastern *lah* or *lih*.

Accommodation in *axrasi* : morphology

- 45 The next example shows an instance of morphological adaptation. It is from the same recording session among the *Axârsa*⁶³. In *Axrasi* the 3rd pers. masc. sg. obj. suffix is actually *-u* (⁶⁴);

fa gâl: "inrayyhah. 'âyiz b'mt mîn?"

so he said: "let's set his mind at ease. Whose daughter do you want?"

- 46 Notice also the word *mîn*. where in northeastern dialects one would hear *min* (⁶⁵), instead of the K-form (in relation to the northeastern dialect) used here, which is also proper *Axrasi*.

- 47 The following example shows an *a* - preformative in the imperative. where proper *Axrasi* would have (- : *irhalu*. Also, while explaining in his rôle as a Storyteller why he should "let them eat (i.e. the goats and sheep)", he uses '*asânnu*, "because he", with the *Axrasi* pronominal suffix 3rd pers, masc. sg. - u, instead of -*ih* or -*ah*, like one would hear in the northeastern dialects '*asânnih* or '*aSânnah* (⁶⁶);

ibnak gâl "xallhin ⁶⁷ yâklin! 'ašânnu bihibb ilbint. abu Iwalad... râh, gâl lal l'arab; "ârhaluw, ibne biyhibb bintku w ibnî... miš ni'flh bintkuw."

: Your son said: "Let them eat!" Because he is in love with the girl. The father of the boy... went and said to the arabs: "Go away, my son is in love with your daughter, and my son... we shall not give him your daughter (in marriage)."

Opposite trends: a unique phoneme inventory for *biyyâdi*

- 48 The two opposite trends may also account for the unique situation in which *Biyyâdi* has lost its non-emphatic interdental *t*, due to dialect contact with dialects spoken in the Delta; the phoneme inventory has been "levelled" in that a four-fold opposition *t-d*, and *f-rf* has been reduced to a two-fold opposition *t-d*. But, surprisingly, the *Biyyâdi* phoneme inventory does contain the interdental emphatic *d*. Thus we may hear: *yumrut*, "squash", *talâta*, "three", *xad*, "he took", *yubdur*, "sow", *hâda*, "this (masc.)", in contrast to the interdental reflex of **d* in *bed*, "eggs", and of **d* in *dahr*, "back" ⁶⁸.
- 49 How can this be when we know that the general trend, not only in Arabic dialects, is for interdentals to yield to stops? If we accept that the loss of interdentals in Arabic dialects is generally a feature of sedentarization, then this type of levelling would in Trudgill's terminology be a "non-natural" type of change which is due to sociolinguistic contact that eventually led to a reduction in redundancy (⁶⁹), in this case, of the phoneme inventory ⁷⁰.
- 50 The fact, then, that the emphatic interdental *d* was NOT lost is just as "non-natural". Certainly, a general rule for Arabic dialects is that if interdentals are lost, the whole set of *f*, *d* and *dis* is replaced, usually with *i*, *d* and *d*⁷¹. So if one exception is made, this must certainly be due to dialect contact, but surprisingly enough, it is the sociolinguistic dialect contact that is probably triggered as a reaction (i.e. the opposite trend) to the earlier contact situation that caused the loss of the non-emphatic interdentals. The "non-naturalness" of the retention of *d* does not lie in a change in this case, but in the fact that this change did not occur due to conservative forces rooted in the northeast, which restrained a natural enough "non-natural" development.
- 51 An added linguistic factor restraining the development *d* → *d* is the fact that *d* is not part of the present phoneme inventory. Therefore, for *d* to yield to *d* would imply the introduction of a new phoneme *d*. This was not the case when *t* and *d* yielded to *t* and *d*, for *t* and *d* were already part of the phoneme inventory, which must have facilitated this development.

- 52 Finally, we must take into account the strong connotations of *d* with arab identity, which among bedouins is synonymous with bedouin identity; speakers of Arabic often refer to their own language as "*luġat addâd*" "*lugat addâd*" among bedouins), "the language of the *dâd*"⁷².
- 53 All in all, we may conclude that dialect contact has, on an abstract level, led to an interdialect system: a new and unique phoneme inventory, that did not exist before, in this particular shape, in any of the dialects involved in this contact ⁷³ or, for that matter, in any Arabic dialect known so far.

An example of imitation

- 54 At times bedouins may poke fun at Egyptians by imitating Egyptian dialect, like in this example from the *Dawâġra*:

ana gult: "alm'allim man? "- sullayt lî 'annabiy? - da lm'allim 'awz iflûs. tayyib, lagġêt 'alêh, gult: "aywah ya m'allim. "lannih iyġûl lî: "inta ya-xûya 'â'id hina, hiyya fatha lî min di?"

I said: "Who is the *mu'allim*?" (i.e. the owner of a coffeehouse). - Have you prayed for the Prophet for me? - The *mu'allim* here wants money. Okay, I went to him and said: "Yes, ô *mu'allim*." And there he says to me: "You sit here my brother, whom do you think this (coffeehouse) is open for?"

- 55 Especially in the last sentence, where the speaker imitates the Egyptian *gahwaġi*, the language has become almost standard CaA. In proper *Duwêġri* this would probably have been something like: *lannih iyġûl ilyah: "inta ya-xûya ġâ'd ihniy, ihya fâtha l man hâdiy?"*
- 56 Apart from the adaptation of *ilyah* > *lî*, which occurs more often in *Duwêġri*, here, most likely in anticipation of the imitation that follows, we see that *g* for **q* has been replaced by a CaA ' reflex, while the words for "here", "she", "whom" and "this" are all rendered in CaA. And even more striking is the perfectly CaA reduction of the long vowel *â* → *a*, where it is directly followed by a cluster of two consonants. But such imitations are usually not entirely perfect. In this last example, for instance, the word *axûya* is much more velarized, like in proper *Duwêġri*, caused by the u - environment created by the long *û*, and carried by the *x*, than one would be likely to hear in CaA. So, in other words, the phonology of CaA is succesfully imitated; ' for **q* and *g* for *ġ* are quite salient phonological features of CaA, and any Egyptian bedouin would very likely be able to imitate this. But the phonetics are not entirely successfully imitated; secondary velarization is apparently not as salient, and most speakers of northern Sinaitic bedouin dialects, as in this case of *Duweġri*, are probably not aware of this feature of their own dialect.

Conclusion

- 57 Clearly, the bedouin dialects in northwestern Sinai are, and have been for quite some time, under considerable pressure from dialects spoken in the Nile Delta ⁷⁴. If we attempt to map the major factors accelerating the development of these dialects towards an eastern Delta type dialect, we see that a number are characteristic of the conditions of the one tribe, the *Biyyâdiyya*, whose dialect shows the strongest influences:

- They are fully settled, and are no longer (semi-) nomadic.

- They live directly along the main road along the northern coast from *alGantara* on the Suez Canal to *al'Ariš* in northeastern Sinai ⁷⁵.
 - They are a tribe of which large numbers of members spent several years in Egypt proper during the Israeli occupation of Sinai.
 - They are the tribe with the highest level of education ⁷⁶.
 - They are tribes of which considerable numbers of members are settled in the Nile Delta ⁷⁷.
 - They are geographically near the Nile Delta (⁷⁸), and have been there for at least seven centuries ⁷⁹.
 - They are a tribe which are not, for one reason or another, socially isolated (like the *Dawâgra*) ⁸⁰.
- 58 Another important factor to be reckoned with is the demographic factor: given the fact that the population of eastern *Šarqiyya* easily outnumbers the total bedouin population of northern Sinai (50,000 to 60,000 members in total), combined with their relative geographical proximity, we must expect their influence to be considerable. As Trudgill ⁸¹ puts it : “The demographic parameter becomes relevant simply because the larger the population of a city, the more likely an individual from elsewhere is to come into contact with a speaker from that city.” ’
- 59 Finally, to have some measure of the extent of influence exerted on this dialect, let us run a check and see how many features considered typical for NWA dialects (listed in PALVA, 1990, p. 155-156) are typical for *Biyyâdi* as well.
- 60 Hallmarks of NWA
- 1) voice reflex of *q;
 - 2) a) *gahâwah* syndrome and b) *CVCaCV* → *CCVCV*- syllable structure;
 - 3) gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd pl. pers. pronouns, pron. suff. and finite verb forms;
 - 4) productivity of measure IV;
 - 5) def. article (') *al-* and ref. pron. (') *alli*;
 - 6) typical Bedouin lexical items (*gôtar*, *sôlaf*, *tabb*, etc.);
 - 7) occurrence of stressed -î and -m 1st. p. pron. suffixes;
 - 8) occurrence of /a/ in preformative of measures VII-X, stressed when in eligible position;
 - 9) occurrence of /a/ in nouns 'amm-, 'axt, 'axwân, 'adên, 'afâm;
 - 10) invariable pron. suffix - ki of 2nd pers. sg;
- 61 We see that *Biyyâdi* is indeed characterized by 1, 3, 7, 9,10, but shows only residues of 2 a), while features 2 b), 5, 6 and 8 are absent, and 4 is at least questionable ⁸². If we then accept Palva's claim of relative homogeneity of the dialects spoken in the greater Sinai, Negev, southern Jordan and northern *Higâz* area at some earlier stage in history, then the number of typological deviations from the NWA-type (almost 5 of the 10 listed) must have been the result of pressure from Delta-type dialects, for the features of *Biyyâdi* that do not comply with the typological characteristics of NWA listed here are ail more of a Delta type,

A last instance of koineization in bedouin dialects of Sinai : the *B*-imperfect

- 62 The effects of koineization are also apparent in the dialects of northern (and southern?) Sinai as a whole; the sedentary feature of the *b*-imperfect is current throughout the area ⁸³. Palva labels the incidence of this *b*-imperfect in Northwest Arabian dialects

(NWA) "the most conspicuous feature which divides the NWA dialect area into two groups: the eastern and the western one" ⁸⁴.

- 63 A few examples to illustrate the incidence of the b-imperf. in some of the dialects in northern Sinai thus far left unmentioned:
- 64 From the *Rumêlât* (in *šex Zwayyid*, in the northeast):
 iw yôm Allah birid w jyġiy wâsimna ⁸⁵ badriy, ibyatla'
 "And when God wills it, and our rainy season comes early, it comes up (i.e.. the crops)"
- 65 From *Bilî* (in *Ġarîf alĠizlân*, appr. 7 km. southeast of *Tlûl*, in the central northern Sinai) •
 w alliy birudd 'alâk, ...
 "And he who answers you,..."
- 66 From the 'Agâyla (in *adDab*', appr. 12 km. south of *Balûda* (Pelusium), in the northwest):
 šuftu hadd ya'mal ġâhawah zayy ma ba'nial?
 "Have you (ever) seen anyone (who can) make coffee like I do?"
- 67 And from the 'Ayâyda (from *Abu 'Rug*, recorded near *Gotya*)
 iw binhutt albakaraġ fihiy ⁸⁶
 "And we put the coffeepot in it".
- 68 Palva (1990, p. 160) attributes this feature to the influence of sedentary dialects spoken by villagers and townspeople in southern Palestine ⁸⁷, and this is further evidence that the process of koineization in bedouin dialects spoken in the larger area of southern Palestine, Negev and Sinai has been a continuous factor of linguistic importance in these dialects, and that these sedentary influences have made themselves felt not only from the west, but also from the east.

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ANNEXES

Abbreviations

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

IJMES: International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies

JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

SO: Studia Orientalia

ZAL: Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik

NOTES

1. I am grateful to the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (N.W.O.) for their generous financial support of a four-year research into the bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral.

2. For more details, cf. DE JONG, 1995. :

3. For the approximate distribution of the bedouin tribes in northern Sinai, cf. DE JONG, 1995, p. 105.

4. BLANC, 1970, p. 4, distinguishes three main styles: "plain colloquial", "koinized colloquial" and "poetic idiom", STEWART, 1990, preface, p. x, adds a fourth: "the style peculiar to pleadings and summings up".

5. Cf. for instance the poem in BAILEY, 1991, p. 140, which the author heard recited, among others, by *xlêf Mgêbil ilHirš*, a chief of the *Hrûš-clan* of the *Biyyâdiyya* in *Râb'a* in the northwest of Sinai. The poem (11 lines) shows quite a few dialect features which are definitely not part of the *Biyyâdi* plain colloquial, such as: nunation (10 instances), non-emphatic interdental (6 instances), the article *al-*, instead of proper *Biyyâdi il-* (25 instances), the preposition *b* followed by a suffix has a short base (*bi+* - *ib+*), rather than the regular *Biyyâdi* long base with *e* (*be+*) (2 instances in l.1 and 6), and also a masc. 3rd pers. sg. pron. suffix *-a(h)*, instead of *Biyyâdi -u* (1

instance in l. 10), The question remains how much of the poem, such as it appears here, was actually heard from the mouth of *xléf*. For a description of *Biyyâdi* Arabic (the dialect of the *Hrûš-clan*), cf. DE JONG (forthcoming).

6. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1983, p. 143; "As is well known, different situations, different topics, different genres require different linguistic styles and registers." This is not to say that such topics were not included, or even avoided in the research, but merely that extra caution was observed in interpreting forms occurring in texts where such topics were discussed.

7. Preface, p. x-xi.

8. In terms of geographical distance, the *Masâ'id* and *'Ayâyda* are nearer, but these tribes are still semi-nomadic.

9. One might say that only (sub-) conscious choices are involved during the first phase, i.e. the learning phase of this process (short-term adaptation).

10. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1986, p. 107.108 (paraphrased).

11. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1983, chapter 5.

12. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1986, p. 62.

13. Cf. DE JONG, 1996, p. 61. The examples chosen here are loanwords from European languages: Fr. *téléphone* and *direction*, and Eng. *guinea*. We can be quite certain, therefore, that the *Fayyûmi* diphthongs in these examples are not remnants of older Arabic diphthongs, but are the result of phonological reinterpretation of the monophthongs *e* and *ô* in CaA.

14. Upper Egyptian *gineh* is another example of such an interdialect form; speakers "knew" that CaA /g/ corresponds to /ǧ/ in their own dialect, and substituted /g/ for /ǧ/ accordingly.

15. The short *a*'s in the first two syllables of such forms as *talafawn* and *daraksawn* are to be interpreted in terms of the preferred patterns for loanwords from other languages *a-a-vCC* and *a-a-vC*, cf. WOLDICH, 1990a, pp. 147-148.

16. TRUDGILL, 1983, p. 45-46, draws our attention to an important aspect of the "observer's paradox": the production of "hyperdialectisms" as an unwanted effect of informant's well-disposedness towards what he considers (or would have to be) his original dialect, and towards the dialect survey itself, especially in unnatural language-situations created by the use of questionnaires (direct elicitation).

17. Often enough, during direct elicitation, informants would state that a certain form would not occur in their own dialect, but in one of the other dialects, and they were usually right. Cf. also MURRAY, 1936, p. 256-257 (about bedouins in southern Sinai): "Among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects [...]". This holds for bedouins in northern Sinai as well.

18. The question was justified, as this informant had produced several instances of stressed articles on other occasions, and especially when answering to a questionnaire, which I had prepared for this research.

19. *hadar*: settled, as opposed to nomadic population: *'arab*.

20. TRUDGILL, 1986, p. 10-11, speaks of imitation in this case, because English popsingers do not accommodate to the dialect of their (English) audience. On the other hand, we might as well speak of accommodation here, as the singers actually do accommodate to what is expected from them by their audience: to sing in an accent that goes with the genre.

21. To mention just a few of the many cultural manifestations, this is illustrated by customs pertaining to tribal law (cf. STEWART, 1987e, p. 480), wedding customs (cf. BAILEY, 1974b), and the tradition of oral poetry (cf. BAILEY, 1991). And also, more visibly in daily life, the traditional dress of the bedouins, their professional activities (raising goats and sheep), as well as their agricultural tools, such as the plough with the typical funnel-shaped implement mounted on the sole, or the *hôgal*, a threshing board, rather than the *nôrag* one finds in the Egyptian Delta. Clearly, all these are not of the Egyptian type, and neither are their dialects.

22. In a linguistic sense, the influence of a more Syro-Palestinian culture is already apparent in the *Šarqiyya* governorate. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH, 1988, p. 264, state "stehen die Dialekte der *Šarqiyya* denen Oberägyptens, ja sogar denen des syrisch-palästinensischen Raums, näher als denen des übrigen Deltas". A similar observation was made by ABUL FADL, 1961, p.5.
23. The dialects of northern Sinai, and perhaps all of Sinai (except that of the *Dawâğra*), form the western branch of the North West Arabian group as identified by PALVA, 1991.
24. Even a process of koineization affecting the dialects initially forming such a patchwork, which resulted eventually in a more homogeneous dialect area does not seem all that implausible. For instance, certain stress patterns found in the northwest today point towards an older stress type still present in the northeast (cf. below).
25. Cf. PALVA, 1991, p. 154 and 160, where a relative homogeneity of the NWA dialects in earlier times is hypothesized.
26. Cf. DE JONG, "A description of *Biyyâdi* Arabic" (forthcoming),
27. The *Axârša* are (fully) settled along the same main road through northern Sinai as the *Biyyâdiyya*, and are actually geographically some fifteen to twenty-five kilometers closer to Egypt proper than the *Biyyâdiyya*. So the fact that their dialect trails *Biyyâdi* in this development towards a more sedentary Delta type is a bit puzzling. It must, in part at least, have to do with the high degree of education. AT-TAYYIB, 1993, p. 611, reports that the *Axârša* are very well trained, and are second in this respect only to the *Biyyâdiyya*. He writes that both tribes have many relatives in Egypt proper, but one important difference is that many *Biyyâdi* families emigrated to the *Tahrîr* province in 1967, (p. 607), where they stayed during the Israeli occupation of Sinai, after which many families returned to Sinai. This type of exile is not reported for families of the *Axârša*. It may also have to do with the long history of the *Biyyâdiyya* in Sinai; they are the but one oldest tribe in northern Sinai, and are reported to have arrived in Sinai somewhere between the 7th and 10th centuries, and to have been in the northwest (in the *Gatya* oasis) ever since the 13th century, which is longer than the *Axârša*, who came between the 10th and 13th centuries (cf. BAILEY, 1985, p. 47 and 21). It is therefore fair to assume that the *Biyyâdiyya* have been exposed to Egyptian Delta type dialects longer than the *Axârša*. AT-TAYYIB, however, documents (p. 610) that they came from Syria together with the *Biyyâdiyya* in the seventh century *Higra*, i.e. the period of the crusades against *Salâh ad-Dîn*.
28. Or more precisely, OD 3 (Eastern Dialect 3 spoken in the southwestem *Šarqiyya* and south and centre and southeast of *Qalyûbiyya*); cf. WOIDICH, "Rural Dialects of Egyptian Arabic" (appearing in this volume).
29. The setting for the interviews during this research was usually a *mag'ad*.
30. For difficulties involved in the imitation of phonology, cf. TRUDGILL, 1983, p. 11.
31. With this word '*urfi*' the speaker may have been referring to an older version of his own dialect, but in the Sinaitic context the word '*urfi*' much more refers to a cultural background which members of the different tribes feel to have in common. And clearly, in this case, the two notions overlap.
32. Although TRUDGILL, 1983, p. 31 -32, warns us to be careful with conclusions on dialect differences between generations of speakers in "apparent time", our conclusion seems justified here; the other possibility of the different reflexes of */ and *d, would be for the grandfather to have learned at a later stage in his life to substitute t with t, and d with d to, as it were, "make" his speech more '*urfi*'. But then one would expect imperfections, or maybe even hyperdialectisms (cf. *ibid.* p. 11-13 and 149-150). Such instances of "imperfect learning", however, were not observed. Where instances of t and d for *t and *d did occur in grandfathers speech, this could generally plausibly be ascribed to the koineizing influence of CaA.
33. Cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH, 1985b, maps 59-60.
34. Cf. *ibid.* map 59.
35. Cf. *ibid.*

36. Cf. WOIDICH, 1979, p. 81-83.
37. The point is that underlying forms need not be historical forms in generative phonology.
38. The reference is to primary word stress here, not to primary stress in word groups.
39. The rule here is that high vowels are not deleted when they occur between consonants C1 and C2 which are phonetically identical, or close, i.e. in $vC1C1iC2v$; Cf. WOIDICH, 1979, p.79.
40. The conclusion of a stress shift in eastern *Šarqâwi* was also drawn by ABUL FADL, 1961, p. 222, and GROTZFELD, 1969, p. 160.
41. Also elision of the high vowel in such positions would lead to forms which are not acceptable because they are no longer morphologically transparent; triple consonant-clusters in forms (after elision of *i*) like **yğadddu* or **yhadddu*, would probably be reduced to double consonants **yğaddu* and **yhaddu* (cf. WOIDICH, 1979, p. 79: **dann + na → danna*), which would make them look like 1st measure verbs, and that would, again, disturb morphological transparency.
42. The dialects spoken by the *Dullâm* (cf. BLANC, 1970), and the *Rumêlât* and *Sawârka* form a homogeneous typological group; cf. DE JONG, 1995.
43. I.e. in the dialects of group 1, cf. *ibid.*
44. Cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 5 (ll6).
45. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10 (121).
46. Such forms are found in the dialects of the *Axârša*, *Samâ'na* and *'Agâyla* as well.
47. This velarized and labialized - **k*, and the fem. - *ik* or - *a*, is certainly a feature of a dialect type spoken in the south of Sinai. NISHIO, 1992, p. 178-179, reports similar forms among the *Ġbâliyya* [-*ok* ~ -*ku* (masc. sg.), and -*k* ~ -*ek* (fem. Sg.)], and Manfred Woidich heard forms like '*alê'k*, "on you (masc. sg.)" and '*alê'kum*, "on you (masc. pl.)" among the *Garârša* in *Wâdi Ferân* (personal communication). (BAILEY, 1991, map on p. 4, gives the position of the *Garârša* in Sinai at the beginning of this century). This vowelless **k* (the superscript *** is merely a notational device indicating labialization and velarization of the following *k*) must be the result of a back formation of the pl. forms: first the *** in masc. pl. '*alêkum* was labialized and velarized -> '*alê'kum*, as opposed to *k* in fem. pl. '*alêkin*. Then -*um* and -*in*, like the verbal suffixes (e.g. *dârabum/dârabin*, they hit, masc./fem.) were interpreted as the pl. morphemes. Then, when *k* had become stable in this position, it acquired phonemic status in a new symmetric opposition '*alê*k* - '*alêk*.
48. I.e. *battîx sêfi*, which is grown in a so-called *sefiyya*, a "watermelon field".
49. Although younger speakers are aware that it is a feature of the speech of their elders, and they can reproduce it when specifically asked, it no longer occurs in their own spontaneous speech. In fact, in the majority of cases the grandfather also produced -*ak*, and it was only when he became tired that the older -**k* suffix appeared.
50. The suffix is actually vowelless, thus creating a final consonant cluster, and attracting stress to the vowel immediately preceding, and in the case of '*ilbtî'k*, "your tin/packet", and not **'ilbtî'k*. And also the unrounded 2nd pers. sg. fem. suffix is vowelless: '*ağâbk*. "he pleased you (fem.)", and *ragabâtk*, "your (fem.) neck".
51. Cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 130-131 (19-20), and DE JONG (1995), appendix, row 14. Although, in the village of *asSama'na* in the Delta, the suffix -*ik*, when following a consonant, appears in the text of ABUL FADL, 1961, p. 134: '*allah yixrib bêtik ya ba'îdal* (my transcription), and -*ki* when following a vowel; cf. *ibid.* p. 133: *middîki*; I assume that *yixrib bêtik*, "may He destroy your house", is too much of a koinized expression (one may hear this throughout Egypt) to draw any definitive conclusions here. Generally, we have invariable -*ki* in the eastern *Šarqiyya* as well; cf. BEHNSTEDT/WOIDICH, 1985b, map 152.
52. The youngest generation is increasingly being exposed to CaA, mainly in primary schools where teachers are often speakers of CaA. Furthermore, it should be noted that many members of the northwestern tribes (who are now in their mid thirties and forties) of Sinai, spent a considerable number of years in Egypt proper during the Israeli occupation, and often received an education there.

53. The grandfather tended to use the *-um* suffixes in *sandhi*, but *-uw* suffixes in pause, eg.: 'asân 'èh? yâthanum iw yâkluw: "to do what? (for them) to grind (wheat) and to eat".
54. In the System of orientation of the bedouins in northern Sinai, *šarg* is geographically south, and accordingly, *gibli* is west (although the *gibla* is due south), *ğarb* is north, and *šimâl* is east. The explanation for this may be that many of the tribes in Sinai are originally from areas where the sea is to the west, i.e. the Gulf of 'Aqaba is west of the *Higâz* and the Mediterranean is west of Gaza. *garra*b, "going west", thus became synonymous with "going into the direction of the sea", and the opposite, *šarra*g, "going east", with "going inland", and in this meaning the words moved with the tribes to northern Sinai, where the Mediterranean is to the north, and where in daily speech the compass was turned 90 degrees clockwise. I am grateful to Fred Leemhuis for this suggestion. In addition, it must be remembered that many bedouins regularly traveled to Palestine to help out during harvest time. If they came from the *Higâz* in the old days, they were *mšammilîn* "going north". Until the creation of the state of Israël many tribes would undertake the same journey (geographically going east) from northern Sinai. If then *mšammil* had already become synonymous with "going to Palestine", a similar 90 degrees turn of the compass in daily speech could have taken place, which leads to the same conclusion.
55. They have settled in a village by the same name in the eastern Delta; cf. village 92 (*asSama'na*) in ABUL FADL, 1961, p. 12, and the text on p. 132-138. Cf. also AT-TAYYIB, 1993, p. 600-604, who mentions the presence of numerous *Samâ'na* in this village (in the district of *Fâqûs*), and also in other villages.
56. During one session, when the old man was rather tired, I did not record any prefixes with *i* for *a*-type verbs.
57. *raza'*: "compose rhymes"; cf. BAILEY, 1981-1982, p. 139.
58. The *z* in (*inzâm*) is due to the word being a loan from CaA or CA, therefore not **(i)ndâm*. Typically, however, the syllabication is proper *Smê'ni*, therefore not (CaA) *nizâm*. Cf. TRUDGILL (1986), p. 16 (quoting Broselow, 1984), on constraints in accommodating syllable structure.
59. A *mêfa* is a "cylindrical clay oven dug into the ground, used to bake bread"; Cf. LANDBERG, 1920, *mim* -yâ '-fa'- 'alif maqsûra in vol. I ('alif- dâl), p. 81 (root * -f-y).
60. TRUDGILL, 1986, *passim*, points out that salient features are the first to be subject to change as a result of dialect contact, provided they are not "too salient, i.e. too much of a stereotype, in which case salience may inhibit change. Thus, when quoting other Bedouins, they will often successfully imitate salient features of the target dialect, but fail to include the less salient features of the target dialect.
61. This was only a tendency, and it by no means occurred in all possible instances.
62. I have also noticed that one of my best informants, a born and bred 'Arâysî, with a wealth of experience in recording and writing down bedouin oral poetry, and with whom I have spent lengthy hours working on recordings, was actually unable to produce an interdental *t* or *d*, replacing them with *s* and *z*, instead of the regular *t* and *d* reflexes of his own dialect.
63. These examples were recorded in the house of the *Axrasî* S, on an occasion where three members of the *Axârsa*, two members of the *Biyyâdiyya*, and one member of the *Ahaywât* were present. The storyteller directed the story to all men present. The fact that the *Ahaywi* (whose dialect was of a pure northeastern type) was among the audience, no doubt, contributed to the notably high incidence of B-forms in this story.
64. Cf. DE JONG, 1995, appendix, field N-17.
65. Cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 144 [33], STEWART, 1990, glossary, p. 249.
66. This (phonetically conditioned) suffix *-ih* is not unique for the Negev (cf. PALVA, 1991, p. 157), it occurs in the dialects of the *Sawârka*, *Rumêlât* (northern and southern), *Tarâbîn*, *Ahaywât* (cf. STEWART, 1990, *passim*), *Bilî*, *Masâ'id*, 'Ayâyda, and of the *Dawâğra* as well. However, the 'Agâyla, *Samâ'na*, *Axârsa*, *Biyyâdiyya*, *Tuwara* (cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 21 [132], *fint* 37), and *Ġbâliyya* (cf. NISHIO, 1992, p. 179) have *-u* (own observations, unless otherwise indicated).

67. *xalihin* is not the apocopated imperative it may seem to be, and which one would expect in northeastern dialects (cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 26 [137]), and STEWART, 1987a, p. 48), but rather a grammaticalized adhortative participle comparable to CaA *xallî-*, which is not declined either, eg. *xallîk. xallîki, and xallîku*, cf. WOJDICH, 1995, p. 263.

68. In two instances the emphatic interdental *d* was recorded for **d*: *idra* "sorghum" and *ma dugtiš*, "I did not taste".

69. Numerous Arabic dialects manage quite well without interdentals, so in this sense, one might say that the opposition between *t* and *t̤*, and *d* and *d̤* is potentially redundant.

70. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1983, chapter 5. The implication of this rather short chapter is far-reaching. The majority of instances of linguistic simplification and reduction could then be attributed to sociolinguistic contact situations, that is, they are externally motivated, which makes the changes "non-natural" in character. Other changes, such as "an increase in redundancy, and even a possible move towards a more synthetic structure" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 105), are then internally motivated, and the changes are for that reason to be labelled "natural".

71. This is a general rule, to which there are exceptions, of course. For instance, in *Bahârna* Arabic, the dialect of *Bahrayn*, *d* became *d̤*, *d̤* became *d*, but *f* became *f̤*! Thus *hâda*, "this", *duhr*, "afternoon", and *falafa*, "three". And in the Siiri-dialects of Anatolia the three interdentals all have labio-dental reflexes, whereas the dialects of *Âzax* (of the Mardin dialects), and of *Bahzâni* (of the Tigris group) both have sibilants, cf. JASTROW, 1978, p. 35-39.

72. This notion must, for a good part, contribute to the high degree of salience of this feature, cf. fnnt 60. In this case, *d̤* proved too salient, too much of an identity marker in a positive sense, to be subject to change.

73. Unfortunately, I have not come across instances of reflexes of either **t̤* or **d̤* cooccurring in one word with *d̤*, like in MSA *diğt*, "bunch, mixture", which might have been *Biyyâdi *diğt̤*, and which would have been an interdialect form in the literal sense of the term.

74. Similar pressure is apparent in the dialect of the *Ġbâliyya* in southern Sinai; cf. NISHIO, 1992. To cite a few examples: the imperative for "take" among older speakers is (in my transcription) 'uxud, but for younger speakers it is xud (cf. p. 91). "To you (masc. sg.)" for older speakers is luk, but for younger speakers it is lik (cf. p. 191). Original a-type perfect verbs seem to have become i-type for the younger generation, e.g. *faham* (p. 111-112), *nasal* (p. 107), *hafad* (p. 112), ->*fihim*, *nizil*, *hifid*. And also interdental emphatic in *bardu*, "also", has yielded to *d̤* in the koine form *bardu* in the speech of the younger generation (on p. 194).

75. And they were directly along the old railway to Palestine; hence *Râb'a*, the "fourth" station on this railway.

76. Many acquired university degrees in Egypt proper during the Israeli occupation. EUROCONSULT, 1992, E. 19 reports that in the village of *Nagîla* 80 of the male inhabitants hold a university degree, and AT-TAYYIB, 1994, p. 608, writes that the *Biyyâdiyya* have through history had the highest level of education. He mentions that there are more than 20 doctors, many engineers, 18 university professors, several teachers, and army- and police officers.

77. ABUL FADL, 1961, p. 3, mentions the village *Nôba w-adDahašna* in *Šarqiyya*, where they have settled. AT-TAYYIB, 1993, p. 607 lists a number of other villages in *Šarqiyya* where they live today.

78. Geographically, *Biyyâdi* territory is nearer to the *Šarqiyya* than it is to Palestine, or the Negev. Before the digging of the Suez Canal, traveling west by camel (to work as farmhands during harvest time, or for trade purposes) must have been easier and quicker than traveling east; going to the *Šarqiyya* mainly involved crossing wide plains, whereas traveling to the east meant traversing a difficult dune-landscape.

79. The date of their arrival in Sinai must have been between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D., after which they initially settled more to the east, "near *al'Arîš*", but in the 13th century their presence in the *Gatya* oasis is attested. Cf. BAILEY, 1985, p. 47 and 21.

80. The *Dawâğra* are *Htêm* (or *Hutaym*, cf. E.I.), who are *Mtêr* (or *Mutayr*). Cf. e.g. OPPENHEIM, 1943, p. 140: "Die *Dewâğhera* werden zu den verachteten *Mutêr* gerechnet." The story told (by members of other tribes) concerning their pariah status is that during the earliest times of islam, a *Duwêğri* woman, named *Ġarâda*, was caught trying to smuggle a message hidden in her hair to warn the unbelievers among the *Qurayš* against an oncoming raid by the followers of the Prophet. The Prophet, however, was warned by the archangel Gabriel, and she was caught in the act. After this act of betrayal the whole tribe was from then on excluded from any type of equal relationship with the other tribes. The *Qur'ân* verses mentioned with respect to this story are *Surah* 60:1, 9, 13 (oral information from several independent sources in the field). AT-TAYYIB, 1993, p. 743-744, gives the same story, and remarks in a footnote that the lady's name was actually *Sârah*. KENNETT, 1925, p. 23-24, gives another unflattering story concerning their lowly status. Whatever the true story may be, the social isolation of the *Dawâğra* has been the result, and their dialect, which is of a clear northeast Arabian type, must have remained largely unchanged ever since their arrival in Sinai.

81. Cf. TRUDGILL, 1986, p.39-40.

82. Cf. DE JONG, 1995, appendix, As (or feature 2 a): one may hear (stressed, if in eligible positions) *gahawa*-vowels in nominals, but not in verbs: e.g. *bâhar*, "sea", and *naxâlha*, "her datepalms", but more typically *mâhirha*, "her dowry", and *'âhilha*, "her family". As for feature 4): it is difficult to establish the productivity of measure IV, but I have certainly recorded more instances of measure IV in northeastern dialects. As for (eature 6): Speakers of *Biyyâdi* are very well aware of such lexical items when checked with questionnaires, but I have not recorded any in spontaneous speech. As for feature 9): the word for "mouth" in *Biyyâdi* is *xašm*, not *'afâm*.

83. With the exception of the dialect of the *Dawâğra*, cf. DE JONG, 1995, p. 5, and appendix, field K-38. Cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 28 for tribes in the Negev (and Sinai). PALVA, 1984a, p. 16, writes: "The dialects of the Negev Bedouins display some traits (the b-imperfect in particular) typical of sedentary dialects. This fact reflects the old close connections of many tribes in the area with the sedentary population of South Palestine," As a whole the dialects belong to the same type as the Sinai dialects.

84. I.e. the dialect groups spoken (respectively) east and west of *Wâdi 'Araba* and the Gulf of 'Aqaba, cf. PALVA, 1990, p. 154 and 158.

85. Originally *wasm at-Turayyâ*, the rainy season of 75 days, roughly coinciding with the appearance of the Pleiades over the eastern horizon at the end of October; cf. BAILEY, 1974a, p. 585.

86. The fem. suffix *-hiy* does not only occur in the Negev (cf. BLANC, 1970, p. 19-20(130-131) and PALVA, 1990, p. 157), but also in the tribal dialects spoken by the *Rumelât* and *Sawârka* (in the northeast), and (in the northwest) the *Masâ'id* and *'Ayâyda* (own observations).

87. And in the case of dialects in northeastern Sinai, we may also assume a strong influence from the dialect of the regional capital *al'Arîš*, where also a typically sedentary dialect is spoken, but more of the Palestinian type (cf. DE JONG, "A Description of 'Arâyšî Arabic" (forthcoming))- For the dialects in the northwest, we must take into consideration the possibility of influence from the sedentary dialects of the Egyptian Delta.

INDEX

Mots-clés : Bédouins, dialecte (arabe), linguistique, Sinaï

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