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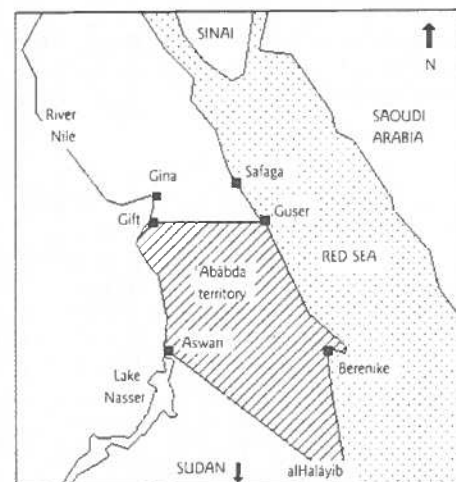
Beta influence on  
Arabic lexicon

## Notes on the dialect of the 'Abābda\*

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### 1. Introduction

In the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, roughly south of the line Gifṭ (Qufṭ) – Qusṣēr (Qusayr) and north of the line Aswān – Halāyib (on the political border with the Sudan) live the 'Abābda.



\* This article is an extended version of a paper read at the fourth conference of l'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe (AIDA), held in Marrakesh (Morocco), 1-4 April 2000. Some sample texts of the dialect of the 'Abābda are to appear in the proceedings of this conference.

Although the 'Abābda claim noble lineage from the Prophet's tribe the *Qurayš* through an ancestor named *azZubayr ibn al'Awwām*, they are more generally believed to be northeastern African (Hamitic, that is non-Arab) offspring<sup>1</sup> and are ethnically more closely related to their neighbours to the west, the *Bisāriyya*, who roam the desert east of Lake Nasser, and to the *Biḡa* (or *Beja*) from Nubia<sup>2</sup>, who speak a Northern Cushitic language, referred to by the 'Abābda as *raḡāna*.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1996 I had the opportunity to join an archaeological expedition excavating the Ptolomaic and Roman town and harbour of Berenike on the Red Sea coast. During the two weeks I spent in the camp as a member of this expedition,<sup>4</sup> I made some recordings of 'Abbādi speech, mainly in the small settlement of 'Arab Ṣāliḥ (with some recent concrete constructions), and also some 20 kilometres farther south in the even tinier settlements of *Manāzig Fōg* ('Upper *Manāzig*', four or five huts) and *Manāzig Taḡat* ('Lower *Manāzig*', around fifteen huts).

Unlike his Arab bedouin neighbours to the north, the *Ma'āza*, many of whom still live in goat hair tents (one of which is called a *bēt ša'ar*), a 'Abbādi (sg. of 'Abābda) houses his family in a hut built of reed mats and palm fronds (of the *dōm* palm, one hut is called a *bēt birs*). The 'Abābda make a living herding goats and sheep and in fishery.

This description of the dialect of the 'Abābda, of whom many have settled as farmers in the rural areas of the Nile Valley near *Aswān*, *Isna* and *Gīna*,<sup>5</sup> will be in terms of comparison to the dialects of Upper Egypt as described in B/W (1985a/b, 1988 and 1994) and the dialect of the *Šukriyya* of eastern Sudan, as described in REICHMUTH (1983). In addition some references will be made to WORSLEY (1925) and KRICKLER (1984).<sup>6</sup>

1 Cf. MURRAY (1935) for numerous references to the 'Abābda in the index on p. 329. Cf. also AMMAR (1966), p. 45, and TREGENZA (1955), p. 48.

2 The 'Abābda have close contacts with the *Bisāriyya*; one of my 'Abbādi informants told me that he had worked as a herdsman among them for ten years. He further told me that members of the tribes intermarry as well, which is also reported by MACMICHAEL (1922), Vol. I, pp. 338–9. MacMichael, however, sees "[...] no reason compelling one to deny their connection with [the *Bani Hilāl*] [...]". Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 36: "Very closely related to the BEGA tribes are the 'ABĀBDA [...]".

3 Cf. HINDS/BADAWI (1986), p. 341: *nḡāna* 'incomprehensible language, double-Dutch (applied especially to Nubian)', KLUNZINGER (1878), pp. 250–67, offers a brief, yet entertaining description of some of the characteristics and peculiarities of the 'Abābda.

4 I should like to express my gratitude here to the directors of this expedition, Steven E. Sidebotham and Willemina Z. Wendrich, for having me as an artist/photographer on their team. The expedition was jointly organised by the University of Delaware (United States) and Leiden University (the Netherlands).

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5 Cf. AMMAR (1966), p. 45.

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1. Consonants

Reflexes of Classical Arabic<sup>7</sup> interdentalals \*ṭ and \*ḍ are plosives /t/ and /d/ respectively, while the reflex for both \*ṭ and \*ḍ is plosive /d/.<sup>8</sup> Examples are: *kutār* 'many (pl.)', 'Itmān "Utmān", *māxid* 'having taken', and (d for \*ḍ) *yagbuḍū(h)* 'they grab him', (and d for \*ṭ) *naḍif* 'clean'. Exceptions (of the type often found in other dialects as well, since they are usually loans from MSA) are: *masal* ~ *masalan* 'for instance' (though *mit(i)l* 'like'), *muzakkār* 'remembered', *zābiṭ* 'officer'.

The emphatic plosive ṭ may be heard with a degree of glottalisation, which is transcribed as ṭ'; the release of the plosive ṭ then coincides with an immediate glottal onset of a following vowel.<sup>9</sup>

The reflexes of CA \*ḡ and \*q are generally /g/ and /g/ respectively. The friction in the reflex of \*ḡ is often minimal as in I.P.A. [dʒ], and will be indicated here as ḡ.<sup>10</sup> Examples are: *ḡam(u)ṭ* 'live embers', *ḡiddahum* 'their ancestor', and (for \*q) *daḡwagii* 'now', *ḡamās* 'hunting dog', *ḡurās* 'money', *ḡōla* 'speaking'. Exceptions are the reflex of \*ḡ in \*ḡayṣ 'army', \*ḡaḥṣ 'donkey' and \*ṣaḡar 'trees (collective noun)', where \*ḡ has a d reflex: *dēṣ*, *daḡaṣ* and *ṣadar* (~ *ṣidar*).<sup>11</sup> In a number of instances \*q was heard with a ḡ reflex:<sup>12</sup> *ḡarya* 'village', *Ṣarḡiyya* 'Ṣarḡiyya province', *taḡrihan* 'approximately', *ḡawi* 'strong' (and the elative *aḡwa* 'stronger/strongest') and *ḡamūs* can thus mean both 'food dip' as well as 'dictionary'.

6 W/B (1980), p. 176, fn. 1, already remark that the dialect of the 'Abābda (spoken in and around *Gusṣar*) is part of the (northern) Sudanese dialects.

7 Classical Arabic is abbreviated here as CA. MSA stands for Modern Standard Arabic, the dialect of the *Šukriyya* will be referred to as ŠA and that of the 'Abābda as 'AbA.

8 Plosive reflexes of \*ṭ, \*ḍ and \*ḍ (+\*ḍ) are found throughout Egypt, except for a few locations in the eastern *Šarḡiyya*, and among the *Awlād 'Alī* on the northwestern Mediterranean coast. ŠA has plosive reflexes for interdentalals as well, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), *tār* (for \*ṭar) 'bull' (p. 75), *vāx(i)l* (for \*yāx(i)l) 'he takes' (p. 73), *ḡuhur* (for \*ḡuḡur) (p. 75) 'afternoon', *ḡēfān* (*ḡiḡāf*) (for \*ḡiḡāf) 'guests' (p. 91).

9 REICHMUTH (1983), p. 17, noticed the same t reflex in this male given name among the *Šukriyya*.

10 Glottalisation of ṭ is common in the Egyptian Nile Valley roughly south of *Asyūṭ*, cf. B/W (1985b), maps 18–9. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 44, does not mention such glottalisation of ṭ as a feature of ŠA. In 'AbA it does occur, but not very consistently.

11 This ḡ is a very common reflex for \*ḡ in Upper Egyptian dialects in the *Gīna*-bend in the Nile and to the south of it, see B/W (1985b), maps 13–4. Similarly, REICHMUTH (1983), p. 42, reports minimal friction in the ŠA reflex of \*ḡ and even values the ŠA reflex of \*ḡ as a (dorso-alveolar) plosive, since friction is totally absent in word-final positions (transcribed as I.P.A. [tʃ]). KRICKLER (1984) transcribes ḡ for the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman. (*ibid.*, p. 9, my translation) '[which] sounds like ḡ or d', since its place of articulation lies between ḡ and d'. WORSLEY (1925), p. 4, reports similar minimal friction.

12 For the spread of d for \*ḡ in Upper and Middle Egyptian dialects, cf. B/W (1985b), maps 10 and 12–4. In southern Middle Egyptian this feature is rather widespread.

Conversely, the realisation of *ġ* may quite often have minimal (though not total lack of) friction, so that it becomes almost like a plosive *g*. Such minimal friction was heard (twice) in e.g. *šaġġāl* "working".<sup>13</sup>

The reflex for *\*h* in the verb "put, place" is *x*: *xatt*, *yaxutt*<sup>14</sup> (and also in *maxatta* "station"), *xatt* "he put" has thus become homophonous with "road". A comparable form *faxam* (*\*faḥm*) for "charcoal" was recorded by Winkler.<sup>16</sup>

The distinction between *‘* and *’* is somewhat blurred; sometimes *‘* was heard where *’* was expected, or just the other way around. Examples are: *‘orūlāy* "hare" recorded by Winkler, whereas my own recordings show *‘arūl* ~ *‘urūl* and *‘aḏāy*, *‘eḏi* "puddle, after rain", is probably *\*‘ḏy*. Winkler gives *ba’anēb* "vulture", but Vycichl's recordings and my own show *ba’anēb*, and Winkler lists *amōr* "very wide valley", but I recorded *‘amīr* "plain between the mountains and the sea". "Tailbone" was recorded in *‘AbA* as *azrūt*, which harks back to *‘azrūt* (see B/W (1994), p. 310, root *‘zrt*), and my own recordings show *huwwē’* instead of Winkler's *huwwē’* "a plant (eaten raw)"<sup>17</sup> (but the latter instance may also be a case where the final consonant is dropped in pause, cf. 2.3.).

## 2.2. Vowels and diphthongs

Reflexes of CA diphthongs *\*ay* and *\*aw* are */ē/* and */ō/* irrespective of phonetic environment.<sup>18</sup> Examples are: *xēr* "good", *ḥēwāni* (< *\*ḥaywāna* < *\*ḥayawān*) "animal", *uṣba‘ēn* "fingers", *ḡēr kadi* "other than that", *ṣēd* "hunting", *tēr* "birds", and *sōḡ* "(large) whip", *hōl* "year", *xōr* "narrow wadi". An exception due to 'Systemzwang'<sup>19</sup> is *mawġūd* "present".

13 *ġ* for *\*q* is quite regularly heard in Sudanese dialects, see for instance remarks in REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 46–7, where the *ġ* reflex for *\*q* is reported to be current in words or quotes from the classical standard language. KRICKLER (1984), p. 13, reports both *ġ* and *q* as substitutes for CA *\*q* in words from the classical standard in the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman. She however suggests phonetic conditioning stating (p. 14, d)) that this *ġ* reflex is heard when preceding or following *a* or *ā*.

14 Another instance of such lack of friction in *ġ* appears to be *‘amgārēb* in REICHMUTH (1983), p. 179, which is listed in REINISCH (1895), p. 24, as *amgārē* "portable support of a bed".

15 Also in Upper Egyptian 4 (on the west bank of the Nile between Esna and Aswan, and on the east bank south of Luxor towards Aswan in the south), see B/W (1994), p. 118: *xatt*, *ixutt* "legen, setzen, stecken, stellen". Cf. also remarks in B/W (1988), p. 318, where the *x* reflex for *h* in this lexeme is characterised as typical for this dialect group. In WINKLER (1936), p. 290, *faxam* is listed for "charcoal" in *‘AbA*, but I have only heard *faḥm*. KRICKLER (1984), p. 77, also reports the *x* reflex (transcribed there as *h*) for *\*h* in this verb in the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman, but states that there are no such parallel cases.

16 Cf. WINKLER (1936), p. 290.

17 Cf. WINKLER (1936), p. 279.

18 *ē* and *ō* are the reflexes for *\*ay* and *\*aw* in Upper Egyptian dialects, cf. B/W (1985b), map 1. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 56, also lists *ē* and *ō* in both neutral as well as in emphatic environments.

19 The German term 'Systemzwang' refers to pressures (unconsciously) felt by speakers relating to the need for morphological transparency. In this case a conceivable form like *mōġūd* would then no longer be recognisable as a result of coining the root radicals *uġūd* on the morphological *māf‘āl* (or *māC‘C‘jīC‘*) pattern.

Other exceptions are *aw‘a* "take care!" and also *taw‘a* "you take care". Both *yawġi‘* and *yōġi‘* were recorded, and MSA loans are *dawla* "state", as well as the conjunctions *law* "if", *aw* "or" and also *ay* "that is". Another exception, common in other dialects as well, is *aywa* "yes".

Long vowel phonemes in *‘AbA* are */ī/*, */ū/*, */ā/*, */ē/* and */ō/*. To the ear used to hearing Cairene Arabic, the realisation of */ā/* in neutral environments is strikingly low; quite near full I.P.A. cardinal vowel 4 [a].<sup>20</sup>

The three short vowel phonemes are */i/*, */u/* and */a/*. The reflex of (the first) *a* in *\*šaġār* "trees (coll.)" is usually *i*, as in *šidar’*, and I also heard [fetre] "period".

## 2.3. Pausal phenomena

When in pause, final consonants (in most cases stops and nasals) are often dropped, e.g. (elided consonants indicated in square brackets): *tinbā[k]* # "tobacco (for a waterpipe)", *byakwī[k]* # "he cauterises you", *waya[g]* # "leaves", *ya Miḥamma[d]* # "Oh Muhammad!", *ġadi[d]* # "new", *nabā[t]* # "plants", *‘aynā[t]* # "mines", and *tamā[m]* # "okay", *ahala[n]* # "welcome!"<sup>21</sup>

Final *-a* tends to be raised towards [i] (at times even as high as [i]) (transcribed here as *i*).<sup>22</sup> Such raising is mainly a pausal phenomenon, e.g. *mayyi* # "water", *ġāyi* # "coming (f. sg.)", *ġadidi* # "new (f. sg.)", *xilgi* # "creation", *mā‘lage* # "spoon" and *hīni* # "here" (the latter < *\*-ā(‘)*). When preceded by (secondary) emphatics and *ġ*, such raising of final *-a* remains absent, e.g.: *barnēta* # "hat", *ḡafīra* # "braid", *madġa* # "chewing tobacco", *ṣaḥḥa* # "health", *‘āṣa* # "stick" (the latter < *\*-ā(‘)*), and contrary to the situation in Upper Egypt, more or less south of Asyūṭ,<sup>23</sup> such raising is also inhibited by preceding *h*, *‘* and *x*, e.g. *nḥa* # "hand mill" (the latter < *\*-ā(‘)*), *ṣab‘a* # "seven" and *šālūxa* "scarred (in reference to a Sudanese girl with traditional incisions on the cheeks)".<sup>24</sup>

20 This low realisation of */ā/* is characteristic of the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley dialects roughly south of *Sihāġ*, cf. B/W (1985b), map 3. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 55, also gives an I.P.A. vowel [a] in neutral environments for *ŠA*.

21 For *ŠA* REICHMUTH (1983), p. 181, reports *šidar*. KRICKLER (1984), p. 59, reports *šidar* ~ *šagūr* for the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman. WINKLER (1936), p. 277, also reports *šidar al-ġarāil* for "Polygala eriopora" and, p. 276, *šidar* for "green meadow".

22 This may be a substrate influence of *‘raqāna*, where it appears to occur as well. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 179, for instance, reports *‘amgārēb*, which is listed in REINISCH (1895), p. 24, as *amgārē* "portable support of a bed". My own recordings show *‘omēllēl* for "(full-grown) donkey" (*‘omik* in WINKLER (1936), p. 283), *‘tūkāl[k]* for "woman", *nīrūl[t]* "toddler" and *ara* "Aerua tomentosa" in WINKLER (1936), p. 276, I recorded as *‘apūlk* "Aerua javanica". In a few instances the articulation of the final consonant was actually postponed (rather than the consonant being dropped); an example is *nabā...t* "plants", where the *t* was produced, but only after a short (voiceless) delay.

23 See B/W (1985b), map 35, for the situation in Upper Egyptian dialects. Notice, however that the texts recorded in *Nag’ amNaṣrāb* (texts 111 and 112 in B/W (1988), pp. 318–322) show several instances of pausal raising up to I.P.A. [e] (transcribed there as *e*). REICHMUTH (1983) does not report pausal *imāla* as a feature of *ŠA*.

24 See B/W (1985b), map 35.

## 2.4. Prosodic lengthening of vowels

Both short and long vowels may be prosodically lengthened when a speaker intends to give a word extra emphasis, or to express long durations of time, e.g. *iw ba'adēn biysāfir bi ḡḡimā:l iw... bi lhami:r* ... "and after that he travels with the camels and ... with the donkeys ..." and *tāxud sā'a ... lamma:n tangād*<sup>25</sup> "it takes an hour ... until it becomes cooked".

## 3. Stress and phonotactics

## 3.1. Stress

Like in all Upper Egyptian dialects<sup>27</sup>, stress is of the *maktaba*-type, but the *t*-1 and 1-1 verbal measures are not covered by this rule, nor is the article a stressable unit (but for the odd exception in poetic passages). Thus one will hear *ārba'a* "four", *kāmmalat* "she finished", *biyfāriḡu* "they show", but *yitḡālīb* "it changes (its shape)", *yitkāsir* "it is broken" and *biyīštāḡil* "you work", *yixtālīf* "it differs", *almātar* "the rain", *alxdlaga* "the (piece of) clothing".

Other exceptions to this rule are to be found in cases of suffixation of pronominals -u, and — though less regularly — also with -ak: *nagtā'u* "we cut it", *as'ālu* "I ask him", *yākūlu* "he eats him" and also *bawwazātu* "she made a mess of it". The phonemic status of stress can be established with a minimal pair *yāḡrūbu* "they hit" and *yadrūbu* "he hits it (m. sg.)". Among recorded instances with suffixed -ak are: *tamsīkak* "she grabs you", *taḡāḡīnak* "she embraces you", *yīšḡīgak* "he smacks you" and *ilḡirba biṭā'atak* "your water-sack", although more easily predicted instances such as *ākalatak* "it (f.) bit you", *ḡāmalak* "your camel", *ḡāmatu* "she threw it" and *ilḡahawa biṭā'tu* "his coffee" were also heard.<sup>28</sup>

Other examples of stress are: *āša* "stick", *rīḡa* "hand mill", *ḡāmra* "red (f. sg.)", *assāma* "the sky" (all four with reflexes of final \*-ā(?), but cf. remarks in 4.1.5. below), *biṇā'anīf* "we know", *biṭāḡaḡal* "it (f. sg.) happens", *āḡabaš* "yellowish grey" (the latter three are *ḡahawa* forms, cf. following paragraph).

25 Cf. MACMICHAEL (1922), p. 208, fn. 4: شلخ, i.e. incisions in the cheek".

26 See roots *nḡd* and *nḡg* in B/W (1994), pp. 464 and 473 resp.

27 See B/W (1985a), map 59 (type 4). In 'AbA: *sāmāk*, *sāmedka*, *yāltīb*, *ḡakābu*, *yikāllimu*, *māktaba*.

28 It seems that stress on the vowel preceding the -ak and -u suffixes is the older type. KRICKLER (1984), p. 19, reports similar stress in the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman in forms with suffixed -u and -im, e.g. *ḡayābu* "he hit her" and *ḡarākāim* "she blessed them", and also with -u when suffixed to a 3rd p. f. sg. perfect, as in *ālaḡātu* "she treated him". Similarly, WORSLEY (1925), gives comparable forms (in my transcription) such as (puzzling, since a was elided) *ḡarḡatak* "she hit you" (p. 54), *ḡadāma* "her foot", *ḡadāim* "their (f.) foot", but *ḡadāmu* "his foot", *ḡadānak* "your foot" (p. 56).

## 3.2. Phonotactics

3.2.1. The *ḡahawa* syndrome

The *ḡahawa* syndrome is quite active<sup>29</sup> in 'AbA. Examples are: *taḡat* "(prep.) under", *ba'adēn* "after that", *yaxabūtu* "he knocks him", *ḡahari* "my back", *ašša'aḡ* "the hair", *yāḡazlimu* "they (f.) spin it", *nā'amil* "we make", *āḡalu* "his family", *āḡabaš* "grey" and *āḡamaḡ* "red", but *ma taḡraḡš* "it (f.) does not sink" and (in a higher register) *taḡriban* "approximately" (where ḡ is a reflex of \*q, cf. remarks in 2.1.).

An example of a *ḡahawa* vowel in stressed position is *ba'āḡhin* "each other (f. pl.)", but in other instances such *ḡahawa*-vowels have remained of a more phonotactic nature, e.g. *ā'aḡnu* "I knead it", *fi bā'aḡu* (i.e. not *fi ba'aḡu*, cf. exceptions for stress in 3.1.) "in each other".

Measure 1-1 forms are excluded from this rule: *yaxtālīf* "it differs", *axtāša* "I am embarrassed".

3.2.2. The *bukaḡa* syndrome

Although the *bukaḡa* syndrome is not as regular in 'AbA as it is in Middle Egyptian dialects,<sup>30</sup> instances are numerous enough for the syndrome to be considered relevant for 'AbA. Examples are (*bukaḡa* vowels are in superscript): *taḡ'ri* "it (f. sg.) runs", *Hit'ril*<sup>31</sup> "Hitler", *yub'rud* "it cools off", *biyīš'ḡab* "he smokes".

Not only was such delay in articulation observed with *r* (or *r*), but also with the voiced alveolar continuants *n* and *l*, e.g.: *zib'la* "a dropping", *ḡab'lak* "your rope", *'ib'ni* ~ *'ab'ni* "my son", *ḡig'nu* "his beard".

These consonants may also prevent the morphophonemic elision of high vowels in positions where they would normally be dropped, e.g. (preserved vowels underlined): *kiḡrat* "they (f. sg.) became many", *šāḡirīn* "smart (m. pl.)", *sāḡimīn* "living (m. pl.)", *biyāḡaklu* "they eat".

29 The syndrome is 'active' in the sense that not only 'frozen' forms may be heard, but the syndrome is also synchronically productive, as in the verbal imperfect formed from the perfect. The *ḡahawa*-rule is summarised as  $aXC \rightarrow aXaC$  in BLANC (1970), pp. 14-6 (125-7). Maps 45-6 in B/W (1985b) show the spread of this feature in Upper Egyptian dialects. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 70-1, reports the syndrome to be of a purely phonotactic nature in ŠA.

30 See B/W (1985a), maps 47-8 for its occurrence in Middle Egyptian dialects. The *bukaḡa*-rule can be summarised as follows:  $v \rightarrow v_i / -C\_Ru$ , where  $v_i = v$ , or  $v_i = r$ , (i.e. the phonetic quality of  $v_i$  is guided by the phonetic quality of  $v$ ),  $v$  = any short vowel,  $R = r$  or *r*. Cf. also BEHNSTENT (1979), p. 65.

31 After a metathesis of *l* and *r*.

## 3.3. Anaptyxis

Consonant clusters of three consonants are eliminated by inserting an anaptyctic *a* between the second and third consonant from the left.<sup>32</sup> Examples are: (in sandhi) *kunā fi ddēš* "I was in the army", *wagā'ta min assarg* "I fell from the saddle", *aḡḡarhā da* "this wound".

Clusters with initial geminates are treated in the same manner, e.g. *a'azzā wāhid* "the dearest one", *ayyā hāḡā* "anything", *gadda kadi* "this big", *nuṣṣa gunṭār* "half a *qinṭār* (a *qinṭār* is almost 45 kg.)". When consonant-initial pronominal suffixes follow, an *a* precedes the third consonant of the cluster,<sup>33</sup> e.g. *kūllaha* "all of it (f. sg.)", *āmmana* "our uncle", *ḡiddahum* "their ancestor", and also where the first CC is not a geminate, as in *īndakum* "with them", *bīntana* "our daughter".

In one recorded instance, the anaptyctic had become stable as a base vowel<sup>34</sup> and was stressed: *xašimha* "its (f. sg.) mouth". This was however not the case in comparable examples *hābilha* "its (f. sg.) rope", *āsimha* "its (f. sg.) name". These last examples show that if there is a cluster  $C_aC_bC_c$ , and  $C_b$  has a higher sonority value<sup>35</sup> than  $C_a$ , the cluster may be resolved by inserting the anaptyctic after the first consonant (i.e. between  $C_a$  and  $C_b$ ). More regularly, however, forms like *āsmaha* and *āklaha* "the eating of it (f.)" were recorded.

Interesting in this respect is the form *mālikna* "our king" (\**malik* + *na*) recorded in spontaneous speech, which was corrected by other informants to be proper 'AbA *mālāna*.

## 3.4. Elision

Short high vowels *i* or *u* are dropped morphophonemically in open unstressed syllables, and similar elisions may take place in sandhi. Examples are: (morphophonemic elisions) *ḡā'da* "sitting (f. sg.)", *kirat* "they (f. sg.) became many" (but cf. also 3.2.2.), and a comparable elision in sandhi: *ṛākb alhumār* "riding (m. sg.) the donkey".<sup>36</sup>

The short vowel *a* is not dropped in similar positions, and 'AbA can therefore be concluded to be 'différentiel' in terms of short vowel elision.<sup>37</sup> Examples of non-elision of *a* in comparable positions are: *samaka* "a fish", *daxalat* "she entered", *sā'adama* "they (f. sg.) helped us".

32 This is also the case in the dialect spoken on the northern/eastern bank of the Giza-bend in the Nile, see B/W (1985b), map 56.

33 Or, perhaps more aptly put, *a*-initial allomorphs are used in those cases.

34 As is the case in Nile Valley Sudanese, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 12, and also in a number of locations in Upper Egypt, see B/W (1985a), map 53.

35 On the role of sonority of consonants in clusters HAWKINS (1984), pp. 98–9, and DE JONG (2000), pp. 134–5, may offer some insight.

36 Notice here that as a result of the *gahawa*-syndrome high vowels may end up in positions where they are eligible for elision, as in *a'āḡu* "I knead it" (where the high vowel was not stressed (cf. remarks in 3.1.1.), but dropped from an intermediate form suffixed with the 3rd p. sg. pron. suffix *-u*: \**a'āḡnu*).

37 As is generally the case with Upper Egyptian dialects south of ilMinya, see B/W (1985b), map 64.

As a rule, elision of the high vowel in a sequence  $VC_aC_bC_cV$  (where  $C_aC_b$  is a geminate) does not take place, although there were some (random?) exceptions. Examples of non-elision are: *biyfarīḡu* "they show", *biyxaṣṣūh* "they sew it", *niṭalli'u* "we take it out". The high vowel may however be dropped in such positions when  $C_a$  is a semi-vowel *y*, e.g.: *ṭayyibin* "good (m. pl.)", *aṣṣuḡayyāt* "the small (f. pl.)".<sup>38</sup> In one instance the high vowel was dropped where  $C_a = w$ : *timawwat* "she kills you".

Elision of *i* in  $VC_aC_bC_cV$  is however not regular in 'AbA either,<sup>39</sup> e.g.: *yādrubu* "they hit (imperf.) him", not forms like *yāḡurbu* or *yāḡūrbu*.

Other than in sandhi, elision of *i* (i.e. either *i* or *u*) in pre-stress open syllables in a sequence  $CIC\bar{C}C$  does not normally occur,<sup>40</sup> e.g. *#silāh* "weapon", *#sinin* "years", *#humār* "donkey", *#ḡurūn* "horns". In sandhi, however, one may very well hear e.g. *almistaṣfa btā' iddēš* "the army hospital", *ya'ni byūt* "houses, that is".

Such sandhi elisions are optional, whereas the morphophonemic elisions of high vowels described above are compulsory.

## 4. Morphology

## 4.1. Characteristics of nominal morphology

4.1.1. Short vowel *a* in the patterns \* $CaCiC$ , \* $CaC\bar{C}C$ , \* $CaCCiC$  and \* $CaCC\bar{C}C$ .

The short vowel *a* in the nominal pattern \* $C_aC_bC_cC_d$  is not raised, e.g.: *ḡadid* "new", *kabir* "large", *katir* "many", *ḡadim* "old", *tagil* "heavy", *waliyya* "woman" and also with a preceding back spirant (or *X*): *xafif* "light", *ḡarim* "women", *ḡafir* "guard", *aṣida* "gruel of flour and ghee".<sup>41</sup> Similarly, *a* is not raised in the pattern \* $C_aC_bC_cC_d$ , e.g. *hakima* "government", *xarīf* "sheep", *arīsa* "bride", nor is it in the same pattern without a preceding *X*: *ḡanūb* "south", *ḡa'ūd* "male camel".

*a* is not raised in \* $C_aC_bC_cC_dC_e$ , e.g.: *balzim* ~ *banzim* "petrol", *mandil* "kerchief", *kabrit* "matches", *zambil* (pl. *zanābil*) "basket", *barmil* "barrel", *ḡanzir* "track (on a tank)",

38 A similar situation is found in a number of locations around Giza, see B/W (1985b), map 65. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 99, describes similar elisions of *i* when preceded by geminated semivowels in ŠA, but refers to it as elision of *yi* and *wi*, probably to incorporate the reduction of the geminate following the elision of the high vowel in the same rule (thus *ṭayyiba* > *ṭayba* "good (f. sg.)" and *naucwim* > *naucw* "let (m. pl.) it (i.e. the camel) kneel").

39 For UE-4, cf. e.g. *nighnu* in B/W (1988), text 110.18 (p. 314), sent. 398. For UE-2 cf. e.g. *nihriti* in ibid., text 100 (p. 230), sent. 22. For ŠA, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 15 and 276, e.g. *ṭiḡābi* "you (f.) turn around", *timīḡu* "you (m. pl.) go out" and *akūtu* "you (m. pl.) kill". WORSLEY (1925) reports comparable forms with stressed original anaptyctics, e.g. (p. 36, in my transcription) the f. sg. imperatives *arīḡdi* "lie down!" and *akūbi* "write!".

40 As is the case in the northern Nile Valley, the central and western parts of the Delta, the oases, and in a limited number of locations in the Giza-bend of the Nile (i.e. the area of UE-2), see B/W (1985b), maps 68 and 70. In UE-4, however, such elision is quite regular.

41 For absence of raising of *a* in neutral environments in  $CaCiC$  in Upper Egyptian dialects, cf. B/W (1985a), maps 60 and 92–4. For similar absence of raising of *a* in ŠA, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 231–2.

but two instances suggest that \*a is raised in \*C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>iC<sub>4</sub> (where C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> is a geminate): *sikkina* "knife", *biṭṭix* "watermelons".

Such raising of a in neutral environments does however take place in reflexes of \*CaCCāC (either \*C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>āC<sub>4</sub> or \*C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>ān), but only in non-guttural environments, e.g.: *ṭiyyāṭa* "aeroplane", *biṭṭād* "teapot", *murdān* "ill", *nuwwāra* "blossom (n.u.)", *buṭṭāniyya* "blanket", *kurrāy* "not preoccupied with problems (said in reference to someone's murr "brains")", but no such raising in *šaggāl* "working", *xabbās* "tell-tale", *ʿaqlān* "fast, quick".

#### 4.1.2. Some plural patterns

The plural patterns C<sub>1</sub>uC<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> and C<sub>1</sub>iC<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> are regular in ʿAbA,<sup>42</sup> e.g. *kūwar* "balls", *ḡīṭar* "stitches" and *šīʿab* "branches" and *ḡīrah* "waterskins".

Plurals ending in -ābāt (~ -abāt) are particularly frequent in ʿAbA, e.g. (taken from B/W (1994), references are to WINKLER (1936) (W) and VYČICH (1953) (V)): *adīr*, *adīrabāt* "handle of a knife" (W, p. 306), *ḡadaʿ*, *ḡiṭʿān*, fem. *ḡadaʿi*, *ḡadaʿabāt* "young male camel whose lower incisors become visible" (W, p. 283), *ḡašaš*, *ḡašašabāt* "small boulder, larger than a pebble" (W, p. 269), *malak*, *malakabāt* "ghost at a deserted grave" (W, p. 334); *mālāk*, *mālākabāt* "ghost" (V, p. 180) and also *kadarsabāt* "nickname of the ʿAbābda for the fallāḥin" (in WINKLER (1936), p. 323).

Another feature of interest of ʿAbA plural morphology is the regular use of (pseudo-)dual plurals of body parts ending in -ēn.<sup>44</sup> e.g. (references are to WINKLER (1936)): *arbaʿ* *niḡlēn* "four legs", *iḏēn* "arms" (W, p. 363), *ḡaraṭēn* "labia majora" (W, p. 375), *clerāʿēn* "arms" (W, p. 363), *šabaʿēn* "fingers", (W, p. 366), *ḡaṣarēn* "fingernails" (W, p. 367), *kataṭēn* "shoulders" (W, p. 360), *karaʿēn* "legs" (W, p. 367) and *kawaʿēn* "elbows" (W, p. 364).

Reichmuth<sup>45</sup> reports that cumulative patterns appear to be characteristic of the nomadic dialects east of the Nile, and quotes examples of ʿAbA in WINKLER (1936), p. 384: *dawannar* "gold coins in the hair of the forehead of a woman", *awannak* "hares", *mufarrad* "camels in the second phase of their lives" (where Winkler adds that one

would expect *mufarrad* here). An additional instance is (taken from B/W (1994)): *šawattal* "arm-dagger" (in VYČICH (1953), p. 180).

#### 4.1.3. The -āb and -ēb suffixes

The -āb suffix is often appended to personal names to indicate offspring, e.g. *alḡamʿāb* "the offspring of ḡamʿ", *alMiḡammadāb* "the offspring of Muḡammad", *alʿAmmāṭāb* "the offspring of ʿAmmāṭ", *asSaʿidāb* "the offspring of Saʿid", etc. REICHMUTH mentions a similar (productive) usage of this -āb suffix in the dialect of the *Šulṭriyya*.<sup>46</sup>

Another suffix frequently heard in loans from *raqāna* is -ēb, e.g. *baʿanēb* "vulture (or eagle?)", *ʿaradēb* "tamar hindi" (which was also recorded in Bʿēri, i.e. Upper Egyptian 3, cf. B/W (1984), root ʿ-r-d-b), *ḡōsyēb* "a type of sword-dance" and the form *ḡamarēb* "Cymbopogon proximus, a high, reddish grass in meadows" (< *aḡamar* "red") reported in REICHMUTH (1983), p. 178, was said by my ʿAbA informants (who pronounced it *ḡamarēb*) to be *raqāna*, and they glossed it as *alḡašuw ḡalfi barr* "camel's hay".<sup>47</sup> I have found no evidence that this -ēb suffix is used productively in ʿAbA.

#### 4.1.4. Initial a

Initial a may not be as regularly heard in ʿAbA as it is in Upper Egyptian 4,<sup>48</sup> but it is still a significant feature of ʿAbA, e.g.: (article) *al-*, (rel. pronoun) *alli* (though ~ *il-*, *illi*). Pronominals from direct elicitation *anta*, *anti*, *antu*, *antin* (though in spontaneous texts these were more regularly with initial i-) and *aḡna*. In addition we have nominals *as(i)m* (~ *is(i)m*) "name", *ab(i)n* "son" (~ *ib(i)n*), *ad(i)n* "ear". Reflexes of broken plurals of the pattern \*aCCāC often still have initial a-, e.g.: *axwān* "brothers", *awlādak* "your children", *ayyām* "days". Other examples are the adverb *ambāriḡ* "yesterday" and the aC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> pattern for colours (cf. paragraph below). The verb "give" is *aḡda*, *yaḡdi* ~ *yiddi* and verbal measure n-1 perfect was recorded as *angaṭa* "it was cut", but regularly (measure 1-t) *iṣṭaḡal* "he worked", and (measure ista-1) *iṣṭaḡrah* "he wondered".<sup>49</sup>

#### 4.1.5. Patterns for colours, physical defects and the elative

The patterns for colours are aC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> (m. sg.),<sup>50</sup> aC<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>a (f. sg.) and C<sub>1</sub>uC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> (c. pl.), e.g.: *aṣṣaḡ*, *ṣaṣṣa*, *ṣaṣṣ* "blue", *aḡamar* (a *ḡahawa* form), *ḡamṣa*, *ḡumur* "red", *abyad*, *bēda*, *biḡd* "white". During direct elicitation, however, the f. sg. forms were pronounced with stressed final (short) -a, e.g. *ḡamṣā*, *bēdā*.<sup>51</sup>

46 Cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 178. He quotes WINKLER (1936), p. 257, who reports its usage among the Nubians in *ḡarb Aswān*, the peasants in *Baharīf*, and the ʿAbābda and Bīšāriyya. For UE-4 Manfred Woidlich reports (personal communication) names of numerous villages ending in -āb, of which village 776 in B/W (1985a), p. 55, *Nagʿ amNagrab* is an example (see also remarks in B/W (1988), p. 318). WINKLER (1936), p. 383, and QĀSIM (1975), p. 98, report that it has its origin in *Tu-Balāwī*, where -b is the accusative suffix. It is apparently particularly frequent in loans from the language of the *Biḡa*, e.g. *ḡaṣṣrah* "a type of pogo-dance".

47 Cf. BOULOS (1983), p. 92.

48 Cf. B/W (1988), p. 277, 1.2.5., and maps 77, 144 and 242 in B/W (1985b). In the Gīna-bend (B/W's Upper Egyptian 2) one will regularly hear initial i- in these examples.

42 Such raising does appear to take place in ŠA. cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 167. *ḡinṣir*, *diruṣ*. In Upper Egyptian dialects such raising is regular, with a few locations forming the exception. cf. B/W (1985b), maps 97-8.

43 In other dialects one may hear other forms, e.g. to the south of Asyūt forms such as *ḡabb* and *kuraṭ* occur (i.e. the pattern — with a doubled C<sub>2</sub> — is C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>). cf. B/W (1985b), map 354. The patterns C<sub>1</sub>CaC and C<sub>1</sub>uCaC tend to be used in ŠA as well, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 156-8.

44 For the frequent occurrence of such plurals in Upper Egyptian dialects roughly south of the Gīna-bend in the Nile (Upper Egyptian 4), see B/W (1985b), maps 344-6. See also remark 121 to map 344 in B/W (1985a), p. 84, and B/W (1988), p. 278, 6. For ŠA REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 160-1 and 182, reports similar frequent usage of the pseudo dual. KRICKLER (1984), p. 53, lists a number of comparable forms recorded in the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman, but speaks of "seltenere Fälle" (i.e. rare instances), e.g. *iḡnēn* "ears", *ḡinḡēn* "sides, wings", *nūṣēn* "noses".

45 Cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 166-7.



The clative is formed with the same  $aC_1C_2aC_3$  pattern, e.g.: *asra* "faster/fastest", *akbar* "larger/largest", *ayyab* "better/best".

#### 4.1.6. Personal pronominals

One of the most prominent features of 'AbA nominal as well as verbal morphology is the distinction of masculine and feminine in the plural.<sup>49</sup>

##### 4.1.6.1. Independent personal pronominals

Independent personal pronominals in 'AbA are:

SG	PL
3.m. <i>huwwa</i> ~ <i>hū</i>	<i>humma</i>
3.f. <i>hiyya</i> ~ <i>hī</i>	<i>hinna</i>
2.m. <i>inta</i> <sup>*1)</sup>	<i>intu</i> <sup>*1)</sup>
2.f. <i>inti</i> <sup>*1)</sup>	<i>intin</i> <sup>*1)</sup>
1.m. <i>āna</i>	c. <i>aḥna</i> ~ <i>ahana</i> <sup>51)</sup>
1.f. <i>āni</i> <sup>*2)</sup>	

49 ŠA also has initial *a-* in (references are to REICHMUTH (1983)): article *al-* (p. 194), the identical rel. pron. *al-* (pp. 292–3), *ayyā* (p. 109), "ear" is *aḍān* (p. 161), plurals *awāl* "sons" (pp. 139 and 158), colours *aṣṭag* "blue" (p. 139 and 174), verbs *adda*, *yaddi* (p. 260) and the derived measures *(a)t-1*, *(a)n-1* (~ *(i)n-1*), *1-t*, *asta-1*, *(a)t-2* and *(a)t-3*, and also *(a)tC\_1āC\_2aC\_3* and *(a)tC\_1aC\_2C\_3a* all have initial *a* (pp. 258–270), but initial *i-* in *isim* (p. 41) and in personal pronominals *iti*, *itti*, *itni*, *itnin* (p. 102). WORSLEY (1925) also reports *al-* (as def. article and rel. pron., cf. pp. 17 and 72 resp.), but *inta*, *intī* etc. (p. 53), colours with initial *a-* (p. 27), plurals *aḡḡāl* and *aḡḡāb* (p. 16), but derived measures mentioned above with initial *i-* (pp. 47–8).

50 In UE-2 one may hear *ibyaḡ* or *ibyaḡl* and UE-4 and ŠA have *abyaḡ*, cf. B/W (1985b), map 340, for UE-2 and 4 and REICHMUTH (1983), p. 139, for ŠA.

51 My 'Abhādi informants assured me that these are the 'original' 'Abhādi forms. For ŠA similar stressed (but long) *-ā* endings are reported, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 174. For UE-2, cf. B/W (1988), text 101 (p. 234) sent. 19–20 (twice) *xadra* "green" and UE-4 cf. B/W (1988), e.g. text 110.11 (p. 298), sent. 172 (twice) *saḡda* "dark, black" and text 110.12 (p. 300) sent. 211 *ḥamra*. For 'AbA e.g. *hamrā* recorded in Bir Umm il-Faḡḡāḡ (M. Woidich, personal communication). My own material shows stressed, but short endings (perhaps because I recorded them in pausal positions), e.g. *hamrā*, *bēdā*, but these came out during direct elicitation only; in spontaneous speech the endings were unstressed. In ŠA the f. sg. of the adjectives denoting physical defects show the same long *-ā* endings, e.g. *awā* "one-eyed (f. sg.)", cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 91. WORSLEY (1925), p. 27, is not very clear on this topic: e.g. "yellow (f. sg.)" is spelled as *saḡdā*, where the sign ' indicates that the following syllable is stressed, but the circumflex indicates that "the final vowel must be pronounced with unusually heightened tone", cf. *ibid.*, p. 8 (note at the bottom of that page).

52 One of the clearest indications of the bedouin origin of 'AbA. A few locations north of Asmūn (among which Naḡ an-Naḡrāb, cf. fn. 46 above) also show this m. / f. distinction in the plural, cf. B/W (1985b), map 142, and ŠA distinguishes m. and f. in the pl. as well, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 102, 180, 275–281 and *passim*. Such gender distinction in the plural is also reported in WORSLEY (1925), pp. 33 (verbs) and 53–4 (pronominals).

On (general) characteristics of the bedouin speech type, cf. DE JONG (2000), pp. 32–47.

\*<sup>1)</sup> Although direct elicitation yielded initial *a-* in these cases, initial *i-*, as recorded in spontaneous speech, has been generalised here.

\*<sup>2)</sup> I was told that in the speech of women "I" is *ani*, but I was unable to verify this.

#### 4.1.6.2. Pronominal suffixes

Pronominal suffixes\*<sup>1)</sup> in 'AbA are:

SG	PL
3.m. C-u <sup>*2)</sup> / V-h	V(C)-hum / CC-ahum (~ -uhum)
3.f. V(C)-ha / CC-aha	V(C)-hin / CC-ahin
2.m. C-ak <sup>*2)</sup> / V-k	V(C)-kum / CC-akum
2.f. C-ik / V-ki	V(C)-kin / CC-akin
1.c. C-i / V-γ(a) (poss.); -ni (obj.)	V(C)-na / CC-ana (~ -ina) <sup>54)</sup>

\*<sup>1)</sup> Suffixed prepositions are discussed below.

\*<sup>2)</sup> On stress in sequences where *vC* precedes *-u* or *-ak*, cf. remarks in 3.1.

#### 4.1.6.3. Prepositions with pronominal suffixes

Although proper 'AbA suffixing of the prepositions ending in *-C* was said by informants to be done with the pron. suffixes preceded by CC listed above, in many cases in spontaneous texts a long *-i-* connected the preposition and suffix.<sup>55</sup> Recorded instances are: *minnihum* "of them", *indina* "with us", *tahūh* "under him", *fōḡih* "on top of him".

Further instances of such suffixing are: *ba'ḡihin* (but ~ *ba'aḡhim*) "each other (f. pl.)", *zayyina* "like us", *zayyih* "like him", but *kūllaha* "all of it (f. sg.)", *kullu* "all of it (m. sg.)".

The suffixed preposition *li* "to" ends in *ē*, e.g.: *lēh* "to him", *lēk* "to you", (but) *lī* ~ *lay* "to me", and *lēhum* "to them", *lēna* "to us". But this prep. may be enclitically suffixed, and then we have: *bagullak* "I say to you", *biyḡūlūlu* "they say to him", *yī'amlūlha* "they make for her", *tiḡfūḡlha ma'a ba'aḡina*<sup>56</sup> "you make us agree with each other". (The *i* of the independent preposition is regularly assimilated to *a* in *la ḡāyat* "until").

53 In the area of UE-2 both vowel-initial and n-initial pronouns occur. In UE-4 only vowel-initial pronouns are reported, cf. B/W (1985b), map 144. In ŠA this personal pronoun has initial *n-*, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 102 and WORSLEY (1925), p. 53, reports initial *n-* as well.

54 In ŠA such *a*-initial allomorphs occur as well, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 70, 103 and 106. For UE-2 we have examples in B/W (1988), e.g. text 101 (p. 234), sent. 7 *ḡūlūha*, sent. 23 *yīḡikkūha*, text 102 (p. 240), sent. 57 *ūḡūḡūm* (although text 102 (p. 238), sent. 2 shows *hittā-smaha*). In UE-4 high vowel (*i*) elision and anaptyxis are of the type CCIC → \*CCC (elision) → CICC (anaptyxis), and preceding geminates are reduced (the rule would be  $C_1C_2C_3 \rightarrow C_1C_2$ ). Vowel-initial allomorphs of pronominal suffixes are therefore less likely to occur, cf. e.g. text 110.19 (p. 316), sent. 423 *ḡḡisūha*, sent. 423 *yabūma* and sent. 429 *baḡ'ūma* (although text 111, sent. 31 shows *bārdaha*).

55 On the particularly frequent use of pronominal suffixes with preceding *-i-* in Upper Egyptian dialects (especially roughly south of *Suhāḡ*), see B/W (1985b), map 382.

56 The form *yīḡifig* "get to agree" is probably a causative formed from the radicals distilled from the 1-1 verb *tiḡifig*, *yīḡifig* (< root \*w-f-q). Compare also the verb *tiḡifig* "agree" in B'ēri (Upper Egyptian 3, spoken between Thebes and Esna) B/W (1994), p. 49 (root *ṭ-f-q*).

The suffixed preposition *bi* "with" was recorded ending in *i* as well as in *ē*, e.g.: *bēh* ~ *bih* "with him", *bēha* ~ *biha* "with her" (but only *bi* "with me"). Enclitic suffixing of this preposition was not recorded in 'AbA.<sup>57</sup>

Other prepositions include: *dūnak* (m.) / *dūnik* (f.) "in front of you (m./f.)", *gafāk* (m.) / *gafāki* (f.) "behind you" (m./f.).

#### 4.1.6.4. Negating personal pronouns

Direct elicitation yielded the following negated personal pronouns for 'AbA:

	SG	PL
3.m.	<i>hū mūhu gā'id</i>	<i>huṃṃa māhuṃ gā'din</i>
3.f.	<i>hī mihi gā'di</i>	<i>hinna māhin gā'dāt</i>
2.m.	<i>anta māk gā'id</i>	<i>antu mākun gā'din</i>
2.f.	<i>anti māki gā'di</i>	<i>antin mākin gā'dāt</i>
1.m.	<i>ana mān gā'id*</i>	c. <i>aḥna māna gā'din</i>
1.f.	<i>ani māni gā'di*</i>	

\* My informants made this m./f. distinction in the 1st p. sg. (see remark \*2) in 4.1.6.1.)

Notice that the negation *mā* is suffixed with the pronominal suffixes (except in the 3rd p. m. and f. sg., where shortened independent forms follow), and that in the 3rd p. m. and f. sg. *ā* is assimilated to the vowel following *h*, whereas it is not in the 3rd p. m. and f. pl.

#### 4.1.7. The feminine morpheme in construct state

When directly preceded by a consonant, the fem. morpheme in construct state will regularly be *-at* in 'AbA<sup>58</sup> (compare this to the 3rd p. f. sg. verbal ending *-at*, cf. remark \*1) in 4.2.1.), e.g.: *ṣuwayyat mayya* "a bit of water", *ʿaṣidatna* "our gruel (with flour and butter)", *masāfatha* "its (f. sg.) distance", *ʿāylātu* "his family", *gīrbātu* "his watersack", *xaṣabat ʿaṣā[k]* # "the wood of the ʿaṣāk tree" (see B/W (1994), root ʿrw), *sanat itnēn iw xamsin* "(in) the year 52", *kinmiyyat bitāʿat nuṣṣa gūṣār* "a quantity of about half a qinṭār".

A few instances with *-it* were recorded as well, however. The *i* is then dropped in open syllables, as in *riḥtu* "its smell", *alxalaga bitāʿtu* "his piece of clothing", but informants with whom the recordings were checked later maintained that the proper 'AbA forms are with stressed *ā* in these cases: *riḥātu* and *bitāʿātu*.

57 Enclitic suffixing of the prep. *bi* is mainly a Middle Egyptian and eastern Nile Delta feature, see B/W (1985b), map 378.

58 In ŠA the fem. morpheme in construct state is also *-at*, irrespective of preceding vowels or consonants (except with directly preceding *ṭ*), cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 180. For Upper Egyptian dialects, cf. B/W (1985b), map 323. The ending (C +)-at in construct state is also given by WORSLEY (1925), p. 21.

#### 4.1.8. Demonstratives

Demonstratives recorded in 'AbA are:

near deixis		far deixis	
SG	PL	SG	PL
m. <i>da(h)</i>	c. <i>dēla</i>	m. <i>dāk(āy)</i>	c. <i>dēlāk(āy)</i>
f. <i>di (y)</i>		f. <i>dik(āy)</i>	

#### 4.1.9. Adverbs

Some adverbs in 'AbA are: *hīna* ~ *hinihāy* ~ *hinihāyṭēni* "here"; *kadi*<sup>59</sup> ~ *kadihāy* ~ *kadihāyṭēni* (~ K-form *kida*) "thus, like this"; *hināk* "there"; *minnāk* (< *min hināk*) "from there"; *gādi* "way over there (far away)"; *dilwagū* (~ *dalwagti*) "now"; *allēla* ~ *innahārda* "today"; *bukra* (~ older *bākīr*) "tomorrow"; *ambārīḥ* "yesterday"; *awwāl ambārīḥ* "day before yesterday".

#### 4.1.10. Interrogatives

Some interrogatives in 'AbA are: (ʿ)ēh? "what?"; lēh? "why?"; fēh? ~ wēh? "where?"; (ʿ)hnta? "when?"; min? "who?"; kēf? (~ izzāy?) "how?"; kām? "how many?".

#### 4.1.11. The analytical genitive

The genitive exponent is often *bitāʿ*, but in one instance *allūl* in *albēt allūlna* "our house" was recorded, which is also reported for the villages 780a (alʿAkarmiyya) and 780b (Naḡʿ Abu Naṣr) in B/W (1985b), map 189. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 113, writes that at times such forms may also be heard in ŠA, but that these are apparently originally from the Sudanese Nile Valley.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4.2. Characteristics of verbal morphology

##### 4.2.1. Strong verbs

The perfect of regular verbs comes in the types (a-type) C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> and (i-type) C<sub>1</sub>iC<sub>2</sub>iC<sub>3</sub>, and two instances of (u-type) C<sub>1</sub>uC<sub>2</sub>uC<sub>3</sub>, were recorded. Notice again that 'AbA distinguishes m. and f. in the 2nd and 3rd p. plural (cf. remark in fn. 52).

The conjugations for the perfect are:

	SG	PL	SG	PL
3.m.	<i>daxal</i>	<i>daxalu</i>	<i>simiʿ</i>	<i>simʿu</i>
3.f.	<i>daxalat</i> * <sup>1</sup>	<i>daxalin</i>	<i>simʿat</i> * <sup>1</sup>	<i>simʿin</i>
2.m.	<i>daxalt</i>	<i>daxaltu</i>	<i>simiʿt</i>	<i>simiʿtu</i>
2.f.	<i>daxalti</i>	<i>daxaltin</i>	<i>simiʿti</i>	<i>simiʿtin</i>
1.c.	<i>daxalt</i>	<i>daxalna</i>	<i>simiʿt</i>	<i>simiʿna</i>

59 The form *kadi* is also quite typical of Sudanese dialects, among which ŠA, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 125.

60 WORSLEY (1925), p. 20, lists *lil*, *hāl*, *bitāʿ* and *tubāʿ* as genitive exponents.



\*<sup>11</sup> The ending is -at in both types<sup>61</sup> (compare this to the fem. morpheme being -at in construct state, irrespective of preceding consonants or vowels, cf. 4.1.7.).

In the *i*-type, the *i* of the first syllable may be dropped in sandhi if it is in an open unstressed syllable, e.g.: *ana ma smi'tiš katir* "I have not heard [it] often".

The prefix vowel of the imperfect is often *a*, not only in the *a*-type, but also in the *i*- and *u*-types,<sup>62</sup> e.g.: (*a*-type) *yaṭla* *baṭṭa* "it comes out", *yaṭṭa* "he opens", *yamsaḥ* "he wipes", *yaṭṭan* "he grinds"; (*i*-type) *tarsimha* "you shape it (f.)", *yaktibha* "he writes it (f.)"; (*u*-type) *yarbuṭu* "he ties it", *taḡud* "she lies down (to rest)", *yabrud* "it cools off", *yankuṭūh* "they insert it". The imperatives are also formed with initial *a*-, e.g.: *āṣṣab!* "drink!", and (*a*C<sub>3</sub> = *y* verb) *abni!* "build! (f. sg.)".

When the *a* precedes a back spirant (*h*, *ḥ*, *x*, *ḡ* or *ʿ*), the *gahawa* syndrome is activated, e.g. (*a*-type) *yahabāha* "he transverses it (f. sg.) with great speed", (*i*-type) *nahalib* "we milk", *yaḡazlinnu*<sup>63</sup> "they (pl.) spin it".<sup>64</sup>

Quite regularly, however, one may hear *i* or *u* in the prefix as well, although during direct elicitation informants stated that such forms are not proper 'Abbādi, e.g.: (*u*-type) *yubrud* "it cools off", *nugud* "we sit down", (*i*-type) *yinzil* "he descends", *yinsigimnu* "they (f.) weave it", (*a*-type) *yifḥat* "he digs", *ma yilsaḡ* "it does not stick".

As may already be apparent from some of the examples listed above, the 1st p. c. sg. is with initial *a*-, e.g. *aṣṣab* "I drink", while the 1st p. c. pl. is *n*-initial and without a verbal ending, e.g. *naṣṣab* "we drink".<sup>65</sup>

The *hi*-imperfect is regular in 'AbA, e.g.: *biysammūh* "they call it", *alba'anēb biyṣṣād* *albahāyim* "the vulture hunts cattle" (see, however, fn. 75 on *ba'anēb*).

61 This is the case in only three locations in the Egyptian Nile Valley as well: al'Akamniyya, *Silwa Bahari* (both near Asuān/Komombo), and Bani'Adi (near Asyūt), see B/W (1985b), maps 203-4. In ŠA we also find invariable -at (~ -att + vowel-initial suffix), cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 281.

62 REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 15 and 279, reports occurrence of imperfect prefixes with generalised *a* in the *i*- and *u*-types of regular verbs in the Sudanese Nile Valley. In ŠA *a* in the imperfect prefix only appears in verbs where C<sub>1</sub> = X (*ḡ*, *x*, *ʿ*, *ḥ* or *h*). In a few locations in Upper Egypt one may hear *a* in the imperfect prefix of *a*-type imperfects as well, though not in the *i*- and *u*-types, see B/W (1985a), map 208. KRICKLER (1984), p. 27, lists *a* in the imperfect prefix of verbal measures 1, 2, 3 and measure 1 of quadriliteral verbs as a feature of the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman. WORSLEY (1925), § 8 (pp. 31-52) also lists *a* as the general prefix vowel in all imperfect types of measure 1, and also of measures 2, 3, 4 and the quadriliterals without *t*-prefix (measures 1-2 (CA V) and 1-3 (CA VI) appear to have variation of *yaṭla*- and *yifṭi*- prefixes, cf. *ibid.* pp. 48-9).

63 This form also shows that 'AbA has -in endings for the f. pl. A few locations in UE-4 have the same -in suffix, cf. B/W (1985b), map 142. ŠA, however, has the f. pl. ending in -an (an unintentional pun), cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 275 and 281.

64 REICHMUTH (1983), p. 15, reports that among the Šukriyya the imperfect prefixes with *a* only occur with verbs where C<sub>1</sub> = X, whereas in Nile Valley Sudanese both *i* and *a* occur.

65 For the situation in Upper Egyptian dialects, cf. B/W (1985b), maps 212-3. For ŠA REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 275-7, reports *n*-initial prefixes for the 1st p. c. sg. when preceded by the "Desiderative"-prefixal-. In other cases the prefix is *a*-.

The future is expressed with *ha*- or *rāḥ* (< \**rāyih*) preceding the imperfect, e.g. *haṭṭuṭlu hanzim* "you will put petrol on it", *rāḥ addik ayyāh* "I shall give it to you".

#### 4.2.2. Weak verbs

In the perfect of *a*-type tertiae infirmae the base vowel is dropped when vowel-initial verbal endings are appended. Examples are: *ramūh* "they (m.) threw it", *ʾarūh* "they (m.) saw him",<sup>66</sup> *ramimnu* (after doubling of *n* before a vowel-initial suffix) "they (f.) threw it". With consonant-initial verbal suffixes following, the base ends in -ē. e.g.: *maṣēt* "I went", *malēthin* "I filled them (f. pl.)".

The perf. of *i*-type tertiae infirmae verbs have *i* when followed by a consonant-initial ending, as in *birī* "I recovered (after illness)", and the *i* in final \*-iy is dropped when vowel-initial endings follow e.g. *ligyu* "they found" (the synchronic rule being -i → *y* / CiC<sub>1</sub> + verbal ending V(C)).

In the *a*-type imperfect of the tertiae infirmae the prefix vowel is *a*: *yalga* "he finds", *yagba* (after a metathesis of *b* and *g*, as in *yabga*) "it becomes". In the *i*-type imperfect of the tertiae *yā* verb (perf. *maṣi*,) *yimṣi* "go", however, I have only recorded *i* as the prefix vowel, e.g.: *nimṣi* "we go", but *a* in *yabdi* "it looks like", and, like in so many dialects, *ya'ni* "it means".

Mediae geminatae (e.g. *nadugg* "we pound", *nalimm* "we collect") and mediae infirmae (e.g. *nagūm* "we get up", *yaḡib* "he brings") also tend to have *a* as the vowel of the imperfect prefix.

Instances of imperfects of primae *wāw* verbs are: (with incorporated *w*) *tōga* "it (f. sg.) falls", *ōgd annār* "light the fire!", but *w* may also be dropped as in *yigā* "it hurts", *nīrid* "a lbīr "we get water at the well" (although informants stated that proper 'AbA would be *nāriid*), and I have also recorded *tālid* "she gives birth". The perfects are regular (either as *a*- or as *i*-type). Instances are: *waḡa'ni* "it hurt me", *waḡa't* "I fell", *wisi* "it became wide" and *wildat* "she gave birth".

The primae *hamza* verbs "eat" and "take" have *u* as the imperfect vowel: *yākul*, *yāxud*. The perfect is formed with initial (')*a*-, (')*akal*, (')*axad*. The act. participle has initial *m*-, *mākil*, *māxid*<sup>67</sup> and "food" is *ʾakl*.

The verb "come" has long *ā* as the imperfect vowel in all persons: *yāḡi*, *tāḡi*, etc.<sup>68</sup> The active participles are *ḡāy*, *ḡāya*, *ḡāyin*, *ḡāyāt*. The conjugation for the perfect is:

66 Other elicited forms of this verb "see" (reflex of \**ra'a*) are: *arātū* "you saw him", *arātū* "she saw him", *arāha* "he saw her".

67 For the relatively limited number of locations in Upper Egyptian 4 (mainly around Idfu) where similar perfects and act. participles of primae *hamza* verbs may be heard, see B/W (1985a), maps 263-4. ŠA uses the same perfects and active participles for these verbs, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 241.

68 In Upper Egypt this verb may be heard with long *ā* in the *Fayyūm*, in the *Giza*-bend in the Nile and around Idfu and in Asuān, cf. B/W (1985a), maps 312-3. In ŠA and the dialect of Khartoum/Omdurman (unsuffixed forms of) the imperfect of this verb is with short *a*, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 276, and KRICKLER (1984), p. 37, respectively. WORSLEY (1925), p. 46, reports short *a* in this verb as well.

	SG	PL
3.m.	gā	gō(ʔ#)
3.f.	gār	gīna
2.m.	gīt	gītu
2.f.	gīti	gītīn
1.c.	gīt	gīna

## 4.2.3. Derived measures

Measure *t-1* is the passive to measure 1 and has morphologically alternating *a* (in the perfect) and *i* (in the imperfect), e.g. (stress is discussed in 3.1.): *itkāsar*, *yitkāsir* 'be broken', *itḥārag*, *yitḥārig* 'be burnt', *itgālab*, *yitgālib* 'change'. Examples of medial geminate *t-1* verb (which have fixed *a*) are: *itfakk*, *yitfakk* 'be loosened', *itdagg*, *yitdagg* 'be pounded'.

Measure *1-t* (CA measure VIII) has the same vowel distribution as *t-1*<sup>69</sup>, e.g.: *ištāgal*, *yīštāgil* 'work', and a tertiae *yā* verb *istāwa*, *yistāwi* 'become done/ripe'.

Measure *ista-1* (CA measure X) again has morphologically alternating *a* in the perfect, and *i* in the imperfect, e.g.: (perfect) *istaḡrah* 'he found strange', but *i* in (imperfect) *hinistaʕgīh* 'we wonder'.<sup>70</sup>

From these examples it is also clear that the prefix vowel in the perfect of measures *t-1* and *1-t* is *i-*, not *a-*.<sup>71</sup>

Measure 2 (CA measure II) has morphologically alternating *a* (in the perfect) and *i* (in the imperfect), irrespective of surrounding consonants, e.g. *wallaʕ*, *yiwalliʕ* 'light', *ṣallah*, *yīṣalliḥ* 'make level', *naḡḡad*, *yinaḡḡid* 'boil, cause to become cooked'.

Measure *t-2* (CA measure V) has fixed *a* in the perfect and imperfect, e.g. *itʕawwar*, *yitʕawwar* 'be injured', *itnaššaf*, *yitnaššaf* 'become dry', *itkallam*, *yitkallam* 'speak'.

Like measure 2, measure 3 (CA measure III) has alternating *a* (in the perfect) and *i* (in the imperfect), e.g.: *sāfaʕ*, *yisāfir* 'travel', *sāʕad*, *yisāʕid* 'help'. Measure *t-3* (CA measure VI) again has morphologically fixed *a*, e.g.: *itsākal*, *yitsākal* (!) 'be eaten'.<sup>72</sup>

Measure 4 (CA measure IV) does not appear to be truly productive in 'AbA; instances that were recorded were all in a higher register, e.g. *dilwagii ʕaṣbaḥ innahaʕda ddīnya ʕarif ʔē?* ... 'now things have become nowadays (like) you know what? ...'

69 In Upper Egypt the same situation is found in a number of locations in the Giza-bend and to the north and south of it, cf. B/W (1985b), maps 246–7. In ŠA the situation is as described here for 'AbA, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 265–6.

70 Whereas Upper Egyptian dialects approximately south of Asyūṭ have fixed *a*, although a dozen locations show the same morphologically alternating *a* and *i* as in 'AbA, see B/W (1985b), map 254.

71 In UE-2 it is also *i-*, but in UE-4 and ŠA it is *a-*, cf. B/W (1985b), map 242 for UE-2 and UE-4 and REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 265–6 for ŠA.

72 Measures 2, *t-2*, 3 and *t-3* are like in all of Upper Egypt appr. south of ilMīnya, see B/W (1985b), maps 226, 237 and 240 respectively.

Beja influence on Arabic dialect

## 4.2.4. Negating verbs

Negating verbs is regularly done with *ma* + verb form + *š*, but also *mā* + verb form may often be heard.<sup>73</sup>

In contrast to Upper Egyptian dialects south of ilMīnya,<sup>74</sup> active participles in ʕAbA are negated by preceding *miš*, e.g.: *miš ʕarḥm* 'they don't know', *miš šāyif* 'I don't see'.

## 5. Lexicon

A great number of lexical items present in ʕAbA have their origin in Cushitic. Many of these are listed in WINKLER (1936) and VYČIČL (1953), and these items appear in addition to those recorded by Manfred Woidich in *Bir Umm alFawāxir* in B/W (1994). Often these items are quite easily recognisable by their *-ah*, *-ēh*, *-ih*, *-ūh* and *-ōh* endings, e.g. *ḥerdōh*, *ḥarādih* 'rocky cliffs in the valley' WINKLER (1936), p. 267, *baʕanēh* 'vulture' WINKLER (1936), p. 281 (recorded by VYČIČL (1953), p. 180, and myself<sup>75</sup> as *baʕanēh*), *maʕafih* 'hyena', *baʕašūh*, *baʕaših* 'jackal' WINKLER (1936), p. 282, *taradāh*, *taradih* 'young gazelle buck which starts to grow horns' WINKLER (1936), p. 281. Other lexical items are less easily recognised, such as *tamlōk* 'date' VYČIČL (1953), p. 180, *adīr*, *adīrabāt* 'handle of a knife' WINKLER (1936), p. 306 (although the *-abāt* pl. ending is frequent), *ḥēr*, *ḥiyarra* 'sand dune' WINKLER (1936), p. 268, and VYČIČL (1953), p. 180. Lexical items recorded by myself that do not appear in B/W (1994) are: *yīham* 'leopard',<sup>76</sup> *aryil* (glossed to me as) 'animal like a gazelle, but larger', *aškūh* 'hunger' as recorded in VYČIČL (1953), p. 180, but glossed to me as 'troublemaker', *angalōy*, *angalōyāt* 'old, unfit, stupid camel stallion' as recorded in WINKLER (1936), p. 282, but glossed to me as 'a good camel', *ḥarrēl* (or *hīrrēl*?) 'Dipcadi erythraeum (type of onion, eaten raw in the mountains)', *bagrāh* 'pogo dance (jumping up and down vertically)' (cf. *škrh*), *tarbil*, *yitarbil* 'stamp with the feet' as recorded in WINKLER (1936), p. 316, but glossed to me as (+ verbal noun *tārbala*) 'term covering all dancing, clapping etc.', *atmōr*, *atamīr* 'very wide valley' as listed in WINKLER (1936), p. 266, appears in my material as *ʕaṣmār* 'plain between the mountains and the sea', *ḡabana* 'earthenware coffeepot; coffee'.<sup>77</sup>

73 Cf. B/W (1985b), map 315 for UE-2 and UE-4, where the negation is with *ma* + verb form + *š*. REICHMUTH (1983), pp. 291–2, reports *mā* and *lā* for ŠA.

74 See B/W (1985b), map 316.

75 *baʕanēh* in my own recordings the reference is clearly to a bird of prey, not to a vulture.

76 Which appeared in one of my own recordings. I am grateful to Martine Vanhove for enlightening me on the meaning of this word.

77 Numerous examples of *ḡabana* lexicon (i.e. of Northern Cushitic origin) in ŠA can be found in REICHMUTH (1983), e.g. pp. 135–8.

6. 'AbA compared to Upper Egyptian 2 and 4<sup>78</sup> and to ŠA

The table below lists some of the characteristics described above. A number of features were added to enable us to compare 'AbA to the dialects of Upper Egypt (Behnstedt and Woidich's UE-2 and UE-4), and to that of the Šukriyya in northeastern Sudan. The rationale behind this comparison is that we know that many of the 'Abābda have settled in the towns and rural areas of Upper Egypt<sup>79</sup> and also because they must have been in regular contact with the Šukriyya,<sup>80</sup> or speakers of (a) similar dialect(s) in northeastern Sudan; i.e. dialects which show influences from the language of the Biḡa or Bišāriyya (such as the tribe *Hadandāu*<sup>81</sup> in northeastern Sudan who are also Biḡa<sup>82</sup>).

Characteristics<sup>83</sup> of Upper Egyptian 2 and 4, 'Abbādi and Šukri<sup>84</sup>

	UE-2	UE-4	'AbA	ŠA
1. relatively low realisation [a:] for ā	□	□	□	□
2. *ay, *aw > ē, ō	□	□	□	□
3. plosive reflexes for CA *interdentals	□	□	□	□
4. minimal friction in ġ for *ġ	□	□	□	□
5. d for *ġ limited	□	□	□	□
6. ġ for *q in CA or MSA loans	●	●	□	□
7. glottalisation of ġ	□	□	□/●	●
8. gahawa-syndrome	●	● (/□)	□	□
9. greater bukaya-syndrome	●/□	□	□	□
78 Upper Egyptian 2 is spoken in the Gma (Qena) bend in the Nile (roughly from Nag' Hammādi down to south of Gma), Upper Egyptian 4 is spoken between Isna (Esna, south of Luxor) and Aswān, cf. B/W (1988).				
79 Tribes found in the province of Aswān include the Ga'āfrū, 'Ilaygāt and 'Abābda (Manfred Woidich, personal communication).				
80 I was told that they regularly traveled as far south as Tokar (in northeastern Sudan) and even farther south into Eritrea.				
81 That the Šukriyya know the <i>Hadandāu</i> is illustrated by the fact that they have a word for their hairstyle, cf. REICHMUTH (1983), p. 42.				
82 Cf. MacMICHAEL (1922), Vol. I, pp. 35–6 (spelled there as Hadendou).				
83 The characteristics selected cover the different fields of phonology, phonotactics, morphology and lexicon. As for the meaning of the symbols used in this table: if not specified, □ = yes and ● = no. The symbol ∅ = non-existent and / = co-occurs with.				
84 The collection of these features is based on Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich, <i>Dialektatlas von Ägypten</i> , volumes 1–4 (1984–1994). Much of the material for the 'Abābda appears in volume 4 (which includes 'Abbādi material collected by Manfred Woidich in Bir Umm al-Fawāḡir, on the road linking Gifṭ and Gusṣir). Other material on the 'Abābda appearing in this volume is found in both WINKLER (1934 and 1936) and VECHELE (1953).				

10. wara[ɡ] #, timbā[k] #, tamā[m] #	●	●	□	●
11. imāla of final -a in pause up to [i]	□	●	□	●
12. non-elision of l in <i>humāy</i> , <i>silāh</i>	□	●	□	□
13. a- in al-, allī, ant-, asim	●	□	□/●	□/●
14. *C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> remains as C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	□	□	□	□
15. pl. pattern C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> □, other ●	□ (/●)	□	□	□
16. *kabrit: kabrit □, kibrit ●	□ (/●)	□ (/●)	□	●
17. 1st. p. c. pl. pron. v-initial □, n-initial ●	□ (/●)	□	□	●
18. a-initial pron. suff. allomorph following CC	●	●	□	□
19. abyad □, ibyad or ubyad ●	●	□	□	□
20. f. sg. adj. colours: ḥamra ●, ḥamrā □	●	●	□/●	□
21. occurrence of plurals ending in -abāt	●	●	□	?
22. CaCaCCaC cumulative pattern	●	●	□	□
23. 1st sg. impf. aC—□, nC—●	□	□/●	□	□ (/●)
24. 1st pl. impf. n—C□, n—Cu ●	●	□/●	□	□
25. imperf. prefix with generalised a in l-type	●	●	□/●	●
26. elision & anaptyxis: y'vdrubu □, yūdurbu ●	□	●	□	●
27. elision of i foll. geminate possible in vyy_Cv	□	□	□	□
28. distinction f. / m. in plural	●	● (/□)	□	□
29. f. pl. verbal ending -in □, -an ●	∅	∅ (/□)	□	●
30. long ā in yāḡi	□	□	□	●
31. kida ●, kādi □	●	●	□/●	□
32. pseudo duals C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> en very regular	●	□	□	□
33. f. morph. in constr.: -at □, -it ●	●	● (/□?)	□	□
34. libsat □, libsit ●	●	□/●	□	□
35. primae 'perf.: akal □, kal ●	●	□	□	□
36. primae 'act. part.: mākil □, wākil ●	●	□	□	□
37. imperf. vowel in t-1 & t-1: a □, i ●	□/●	□/●	□	□
38. initial vowel perf. t-1 and t-1: a □, i ●	●	□	●	□
39. negation of verbs: mā—□, mā—š ●	●	●	●/□	□
40. productive 'offspring' suff. -āb	●	● (/□?)	□	□
41. extensive 'raḡāna' lexicon	●	●	□	□

## 7. Conclusion

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is that the dialect of the 'Abābda, notwithstanding the fact that it has quite a number of features in common with UE-2 and UE-4, is actually less similar to these dialects measured by these 41 criteria than it is to that of the Šukriyya. Manfred Woidich and Peter Behnstedt's earlier remark (cf. fn. 6 above) therefore, that the dialect of the 'Abābda is to be seen as a northern extension of Sudanese dialects, is clearly justified.<sup>85</sup>

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85 A thorough investigation into the dialects spoken in villages in the dialect area of UE-4, of which the 'Abbādi origin of the population can be established (those villages with names ending in -āb, for instance), might even show that the northern Sudanese type of dialect reaches into the Nile Valley north of Aswān.

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