

Final Anaptyxis

DESCRIPTION OF FINAL ANAPTYXIS IN LGAL.

A. *Nomina of the form CVCC- with firm C² and C³*

1. The cluster is dissolved by a short or an extra-short anaptyctic vowel, pronounced between the two final consonants:¹

a) When C³ is a liquid (*r, l*) or a nasal (*m, n*), irrespective of the quality of C², e.g.: *Žüber* personal name 5. 6, *Bäder* personal name 2 × 6, *tämer* 'dates' 2 × 2, *mähel* 'drought' 2. 4. 15, *nähel* 'bees' 1. 5. 10, 'äkel' 'food' 4. 5. 6. 13. 14. 15. 16, *nämel* 'ants' 2 × 1, 'ähel' 'people, family' 6. 10. 16, *žähel* 'ignorance' 1, *sähel* 'plain' 1. 3. 4. 6, *lähem* 'meat' 4. 16, *kärem* 'garden, vineyard' 11. 13;

qaber 'grave' 1. 4, *šaber* 'patience' 4. 8. 11, 'ašer' 'castle' 2 × 16, *qašer* id. 3 × 6, 'ašer' 'afternoon' 7, *Mašer* 'Egypt' 9. 12. 14. 15, *našer* 'victory' 15, *Kofer Kännä* place name 12, *Kof^er Kännä* id. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 15, *Kof^er Kännä* id. 5, 'amer' 'order' 16, *Šfa* 'Amer' place name 6. 9. 16, *habel* 'rope' 2 × 2, *ṭabel* 'drum' 10. 15, *qabel* 'before' *passim*, *gabel* id. 12, *qatel* 'fight' 5. 6. 10. 13. 14, *dähel* 'in-

¹ In most instances only one word has been cited. The words used as examples for final anaptyxis are followed by silence or a word beginning with a consonant, those used for prothesis are preceded by silence or a word ending in a consonant. The localities where the examples were recorded, are shown by figures 1 to 16 (vide *supra*, p. 21). The number of occurrences is given when the cited form is recorded twice or more in one locality only. When this number is greater than five, the word *passim* is used. If the example occurs in recordings from more than eight localities, this is indicated by *passim* instead of a list of the localities.

come' 8. 12. 15, *fašel* 'season' 15, *bašel* 'ceasing' 15, *rašel* 2. 88 kg 8 × 4, *fašel* 'favour' 5. 6. 13. 14, personal name 1 passim, *hašel* 'field' 13, *hāmel* 'carrying' 13, *rašel* 'sand' 9. 11. 12, *rašem* 'drawing' 2 × 6, *rašem* 'number' 8, *šašen* 'plate' 6. 10, *wazen* 'weight' 9;

šiber 'span' 16, 'ižer' 'foot' 6, *žizer* (Cl. *ğazar-*) 'carrot' 6, *žiser* (s fairly voiced) 'bridge' 5. 6. 12. 16, *ziker* 'remembrance' 7, *fiker* 'idea' 5, *Nimer* personal name 2 × 4, *zibel* 'dung' 16, *šibel* 'cub scout' 16 passim, *mitel* 'likeness, as' passim, including 15 and 16, *mitel* id. 7. 9. 15. 16, *šikel*, *šūkel*, *šūkel* (Cl. *šakl-*) 'sort' passim, 'iben' 'son' passim, *tiben* 'chopped straw' 2. 4. 6. 15, *žiben* (Cl. *ğubn-*) 5. 16, *sižen* 'prison' 5. 6, *hizen* (Cl. *huzn-*) 'sorrow' 5, *cišem* (Cl. *cutm-*) 'wild olive' 5, 'isem' 'name' passim, *žisem* 'body' 5. 8. 11. 15, *žizem* id. 2, *qisem* 'part' passim, 'isem id. 16, *gisem* id. 12. 14, *hikem* (Cl. *hukm-*) 'wisdom' 8, *hilem* (Cl. *hulm-*) 'dream' 3 × 4, *cišem* 'knowledge' 2. 4. 5. 6, *filem* 'film' 5. 6. 13. 14. 15.

b) When C² or C³ is a laryngeal, e.g.: *tāhet* 'under' passim, *žāheš* 'donkey' 14, *waheš* 'wild beast' 2. 5. 10, *bo^eed* 'distance' 5. 6, *šā^eeb* 'people, nation' 2. 3. 6. 14, *ša^eeb* 'difficult' 5. 10, *li^eeb* 'play, game' 5. 7, *ši^eer* 'poem' 2 × 2, *wa^eet* 'time' 5 × 16;

ribeḥ 'gain, profit' 6. 16, *šubeḥ* 'morning' passim, *fateḥ* 'opening' 16, *šareḥ* 'comment' 15, *šareḥ* 'palace' 16, *šuleḥ* 'reconciliation' 5 × 14, *mileḥ* 'salt' 5. 7, *qameḥ* 'wheat' 3. 4. 6. 8. 9. 11. 14. 15, *rube^{ee}* 'quarter' passim, *dabe^{ee}* 'hyena' 13 passim.

c) Other examples: *maqet* 'hatred' 4, *waqet* 'time' passim, *sāket* 'keep quiet!' 14, *cabed* 'fellow; negro' 4. 5, personal name 5. 6. 12, *caqed* 'vault' 2 × 6, *raked* (*d* for *ḏ*) 'running' 5, *hamed* 'lemon' 2 × 10, *rafed* 'rejection' 12, *kideb* 'lie' 2 × 6, *kizeb* id. 2 × 15, *hizeb* 'party' 2. 3. 5. 16, *hubez* 'bread' 1. 4. 6. 12, *hābes* 'prison' 12, *šāmes* 'sun' 6. 7, *dūbeš* 'rough stones' 10, *saqef* 'ceiling' 2 × 4, *waqef* 'waqf' 7.

2. In some words C³w is consonantal, and it is preceded by an anaptyctic vowel, e.g.:

bād^ew 'Bedouin' 13, *bed^ew* id. 10. 14, *bedew* id. 4 × 6, but also *bedu* 5 × 6. 16; *hālew* 'sweet' 11, *hāl^ew* id. 16, but *hālu* id. 11; *nāh^ew* 'way, method' 1; recorded only without anaptyxis: *sāru* 'cypress' 2 × 10.

3. The cluster is sometimes dissolved by a short anaptyctic vowel even before a word beginning with a vowel, e.g.:

wa-s-sämen u-t-lämer 'and butter and dates' 2, *sämen u-yinfuh* 'butter, and he blew up (fire)' 2, 'äžär *el-bäs* 'bus fare' 2 × 2, 'el-käleb *illi* 'the dog which' 11, *mišel et-lâni* 'like the other' 8, *mišel êš?* 'like what?' 6, *šu 'isem abük?* 'what's the name of your father?' 4 × 6, *qabel es-sini* 'before this year' 6, 'äbel *intihabât* 'before the election' 16. The number of examples might be increased, but only the most distinct instances are given here. It should be added that C³ is in these instances certainly followed by a vowel and not by š, , or '.

4. The final cluster is not dissolved:

a) When C² is a liquid (*r, l*), except if C³ is a nasal (*m, n*), a liquid (*r, l*) or a laryngeal, e.g.: *harb* 'war' 6. 13. 14, *darb* 'blow, hit' 2 × 1, *darb* (cl. *darb-*) 'way, path' 3. 5, *garb* 'west' 5. 14, Žorž personal name 15 passim, *märž* 'plain, meadow' 10. 11, *färd* 'person' 5, *färd* 'pistol' 2 × 6, *kärz* (Cl. *karaz-*) 'cherries' 2 × 1, *därs* 'studying' 5, *hurš* 'forest' 3 × 16, *tarš* 'cattle' 16, *qirš* 'piaster' 5. 9. 15, 'irš id. 5 × 16, 'arđ 'land' passim, *šarđ* 'condition' 5. 16, *šarq* 'east' 2 × 5, *šärq* id. 2 × 14, *šärq* id. 8. 12, *farq* 'difference' 2 × 5, *färq* id. 9. 14, *qalb* 'interior' 4, *kälb* 'dog' 4, *tult* 'third part' 6. 14, *tilt* id. 4. 6. 11. 14. 15. 16, *tilt* id. 15. 16, *žild* 'leather' 4. 5, 'älf 'thousand' passim.

b) When C² is a plosive and C³ a voiceless sibilant (*s, š, š*), e.g.: 'el-*Quđs* 'Jerusalem' passim, 'el-*Guđs* id. 3 × 14, 'aks 'opposite' 5. 6. 16, *raqš* 'dance' 6. 14, *taqš* (Cl. *taqs-*) 'weather' 2 × 11, *naqš* 'lack' 8. 15.

To this group may be added such loan-words as *mäts* 'juice' (Hebr.) 11, *kibüts* 'kibbutz' (Hebr.) 11 and 'ortodoks 'orthodox' 2 × 5.

c) When C² *n* is followed by a plosive or a voiceless fricative, e.g.: 'ind 'at' passim, 'in^a *Maħmūd* 'at M's (house)' 2 × 6, 'int *wäħad yähüdi* 'at a Jew's house' 6; *d* dropped before a word beginning with *d*: 'in-*där* 'at a p's house' 5. 6. 9, 'in-*doktör* 'at a doctor's' 15; 'int(*e/i*) 'you (sing. 2. masc.)' often loses its final vowel, but in pausa and before a word beginning with a consonant it is always pronounced without an anaptyxis, e.g.: *min wên 'int?* 'where are you from?' 2 × 2, *šu 'int säwi?* 'what are you doing?' 6. If a word beginning with *t* follows, the resulting geminate is preserved, e.g.: *mnên*

int tūzi? 'where do you come from?' 6, unless the following word begins with two consonants, in which case the *t* of *'int* is dropped: *'in-tšūf* 'you see' 3 × 1. Before a word beginning with a vowel *t* has a tendency to be geminated, e.g.: *'intt u-šāhib* 'you and a friend' 2 × 3. The same tendency appears in the pronunciation *'inte/ʔinti* which occurs in my recordings more often than *'inte/ʔinti*, sometimes with a full gemination: *'intte/ʔintti*.

To this group belong such loan-words as *Hind* 'India' 2 × 14, *šans* 'chance' 15 and *bānk* 'bank' 4. 9. 10. 14.

d) When the words are borrowings from *fušḥa*, e.g.: *šahš* 'person' passim (*šahes* only 15), *kāšf* 'scouting' 16, *nāfs* 'soul' 8, *ramz* 'symbol' 2 × 8.

5. Free variation exists in the following cases: *ḥams/ḥamis* 'five' passim, *bint* 'daughter, girl' 4. 6. 11. 16, *binit* id. passim, *sābt/sābet* 'Saturday' passim, *waqt/waqet* 'time' passim, *ʕurš* 'wedding' 4. 5. 6. 14, *ʕurʕš* id. 4. 6, *ʕurʕs* id. 2 × 5. Some exceptions of 4a) occur: *ward* 'rose' 15, *qiriš* 'piaster' 3 × 9, *ʔareḏ* 'land' 15, *tālež* 'ice' 15.

6. The anaptyctic vowel is sometimes lengthened, but this happens only seldom, and then always in exclamations in the last syllable before *!* and in pausal forms in relaxed conversation, when the tempo is very fast slackening suddenly before the last syllable of the utterance as if to make way for the next speaker. In such gliding pause a vowel of any quantity may be lengthened, e.g.: ... *lā-yóm es-sābê-t*, ... *bikún ʔahsâ-n*, ... *lâ-tāḥê-t*, ... *u-ráwâ-h*, ... *rásmî*, ... *ʔḥúnâ* '... until Saturday, ... it will be better, ... downstairs, ... and he went, ... orderly, ... our Father (priest)'. All these instances occur in a lively conversation in *Turʕân* (6).

7. The cluster is dissolved by a short anaptyctic vowel, which has the same colour as the preceding vowel:

a) CaCC > CaCaC if C² is a laryngeal and C³ *r* (*r*), e.g.: *ḥaḥar* 'sea' passim, *šahar* 'month' passim, *qahar* 'compulsion' 4, *mahar* 'dowry' 5 × 8, *nahar* 'river' 6, *ša^ear* 'hair' 2 × 6. Often the anaptyctic vowel is preserved even when a vowel follows, e.g.: *šahar ež-žäy^u* 'next month' 15, *šaharên* 'two months' 12, *šah^arên* id. 2. 4. 6. 15, but *šahrên* id. 6. 10; *ḏahar el-bâš* 'the roof of the bus' 4 × 5, *ḏaharu* 'his back' 6, but *ḏahru* id. 2.

This is the case, however, only if the vowel *a* is pronounced back. The fact is that there are two pronunciations side by side for these words, if C¹ is not emphatic, although the pronunciation with *à/ä* is more uncommon, e.g.: *šäher* 'month' 9. 15. 16, *šäher* id. 14, *mäher* 'dowry' 8, and in a story told by a young man in *ʿĪḥabûn* (moved in 1948 from Haifa) side by side *kälsôn el-ḥaḥar* and *kälsôn el-bäher* 'bathing drawers' 5.¹

b) CiCC > CiCiC usually if C² is a liquid (*r, l*) or a nasal (*m, n*), e.g.: *binit* 'girl, daughter' passim, side by side with *bint*; *silik* 'thread' 9, *milik* 'private property' 2. 15. 16, *qirš* 'piaster', more usually *qirš* (*supra*, 4a and 5); *ʿilît* 'cichorium intybus' 5 × 10, and *filim* 'film' 7. 11. 14. 15 side by side with *filem* (*supra*, 1a).

c) CuCC > CuCuC always, with only a few exceptions (*supra*, 1b), e.g.: *šurun* 'mortar' 6, *šurub* 'drinking' 1. 6. 14, *ʿurʿuṣ* 'wedding' 4. 6 side by side with *ʿurṣ* and *ʿurʿes* (*supra*, 5); *šuruḥ* 'wound' 10. 11, *šuluḥ* 'reconciliation' 10 side by side with *šuleḥ* (*supra*, 1b); *ḍuḥum* 'injustice' 2. 16, *ʿumur* 'age' 4, *ʿuḍum* 'importance' 14, *qutuḥ* 'cotton' 1. 6, *ḥuzun* 'sorrow' 13 side by side with *ḥizen* 13; *kufur* 'infidelity' 2 × 13, *fugur* (Cl. *faqr-*) 'poverty' 2 × 12, *ḍuhur* 'noon' 4. 5. 7. 9. 16, *ṭuhur* 'cleanness' 12, *ʿuqum* 'barrenness' 8, *šugul* 'work' passim, *ruḥuṣ* 'cheapness' 4 × 16, *ḥukum* 'rule' 2 × 14, *rukub* 'riding' 16; before a vowel: *šurub ed-duḥḥân* 'smoking' 9, *ruḥuṣ el-ḥarûf* 'cheapness of mutton' 16, *šugul iktîr* 'much work' 6, *šugul el-yôm* 'today's work' 6, *kuʿr ez-zrâʿa* 'extensiveness of agriculture' 16.

The latter vowel of such plural forms as *kutub* 'books' 6. 14. 15 (cf. *kuḥb el-majârbe* 'the books of the Muḡrabis' 4), and *ṭuruq* 'roads' 1. 2. 6. 10, is often realized as an anaptyxis. This is proved by *ṭurq* 6, pronounced very carefully in a pause by a person who tries to speak *fušḥa*.

B. Nomina with the feminine ending -t in status constructus

The cluster formed by C³ and the feminine ending -t is not dis-

¹ About the difference between Haifa and *ʿĪḥabûn* he states: *fî ʿiḥtilâf el-ḥâki lâ-ḥâdd-mâ ʿallamânâ l-ḥâki l-qarawi taqrîbân, baʿaṯik miṯâl: ʿel-marṯâ-bân biqulûlhâ fi-ʿĪḥabûn marṯâbân, bi-t-taff, ʿamm-ânâ kunt ʿaql ṣ martâbân.*

solved before a word beginning with a consonant, e.g.: *miš mis'ält taulltên* 'not a question of a couple of tables' 6, *maqbart Rišôn le-Tsiyyôn* 'the cemetery of R. Ts.' 15, *mart eammi* 'wife of my uncle' 5, *sint tāmān u-arb^ein* 'the year forty-eight' 14.

C. *Verba tertiae firmæ in perfect sing. 1. and 2. masc., stems I—X*

1. Sing. 1.

a) The cluster C³t is often preserved in pausa (any kind of open juncture) and before a word beginning with a consonant, e.g.: *ruḥt* 'I went' passim, *rawwaḥt* 'I went away' 9, *fakkart* 'I thought' 16, *eammart* 'I built' 6, *ṣurt* 'I began' 4.5, *turt* 'I got angry' 2 × 5, *qult* 'I said' 4, 'ult id. 4 × 16, *ndaḥalt* 'I was confused' 5, *daḥalt* 'I entered' 5, *sä'ält* 'I asked' 9, *qbilt* 'I got' 13, *kämmält* 'I continued' 6, *ištiḡalt* 'I worked' passim, *inzilt* 'I descended' 5, *kunt* 'I was' passim, *künt* id. passim (mostly in 9. 11. 15. 16), *earraft* 'I informed' 10, *kätäbt* 'I wrote' 10, *šuft* 'I saw' 11. 15.

b) More often an anaptyctic vowel is pronounced between C³ and -t. In most cases this anaptyxis is a short vowel *i*, after laryngeals *i*, e.g.: *fakkárit* 'I thought' 3 × 5, *dawwárit* 'I sought' 9, *qulit* 'I said' 12, *kämmálit* 'I continued' 5. 14, *ḡassálit* 'I washed' 6, *ḥāwálit* 'I applied' 6. 15, *ištiḡálit* 'I worked' passim, *ḥaṭṭálit* 'I no longer did' 1. 5. 6. 15, *kunit* 'I was' 5. 6. 12, *sākánit* 'I lived (dwelt)' 2. 3. 4. 14, *qumit* 'I got up' 5. 6. 13, *ta^eallámit* 'I learned' passim, *nimit* 'I slept' 5. 6, *šufit* 'I saw' 2. 6, *erífít* 'I realized' 5, *ḥifit* 'I was afraid' 5, *hofit* id. 4, *waqqáfít* 'I stopped' 5. 6, *ilbísit* 'I dressed myself' 6, *ḥallášit* 'I finished' 3. 14, *idḡawwázit* 'I married' 14, *ṭharrážit* 'I was graduated' 15, *kätábit* 'I wrote' 5, *qarrábit* 'I approached' 1. 5, *ṭalábit* 'I proposed' 14, *šribit* 'I drank' 5. 7. 12, *tarákit* 'I left' 7. 14, *imsíkít* 'I grasped' 11, *ḥliqit* 'I was born' 5, *ṭabáhit* 'I cooked' 4, *ruḥit* 'I went' passim, *rawwáhit* 'I went away' passim, *saráhit* 'I shepherded' 3, *iḡlá^eit* 'I went away' 6, *rḡá^eit* 'I returned' 5. 13.

2. Sing. 2. masc.

a) The cluster C³t is undissolved in only a few cases, e.g.: *kunt*

'you were' 2. 5. 9. 13, *künt* id. 15, *skirt willa lä?* 'did you get drunk or not?' 5, *wšilt* 'you arrived' 5, *ruht* 'you went' 5 *fhim?* 'did you understand?' 12 (pronounced very quickly). The last instance is the only one in my recordings which is pronounced without an anaptyxis in pausa.

b) Usually an anaptyctic vowel is pronounced before the personal ending, e.g.: *kunit* 'you were' passim, *künit* id. passim, *fhimit* 'you understood' 5. 12, *qumit* 'you got up' 4. 6, *nimit* 'you slept' 6, *ta'al-lámit* 'you learned' 14, *'ammárit* 'you built' 9, *qulit* 'you said' 6. 15, *gulit* id. 12, *šu štaǧálit?* 'what (kind of work) were you doing?' 5. 15, *baṭṭálit* 'you no longer did' 9. 12. 16, *'akálit* 'you ate' 5, *zi'ílit* 'you got angry' 6, *džawwázit* 'you married' 9, *ṭalábit* 'you proposed' 13, *ḥaṭábit* 'you betrothed' 13, *wémta hliqit?* 'when were you born?' 7, *ruhit* 'you went' 5. 9. 15, *dabáhit* 'you killed' 5. When the verb alone forms a yes-or-no-type question, the anaptyctic vowel is usually a little lengthened for the raising pitch, but not similarly to A6 (*supra*, p. 30), e.g.: *fhim?* 'did you understand?' 5. 9. 16, *ḥallásit?* 'did you finish?' 2, *žarrábit?* 'did you try?' 2.

3. C³ assimilated to the personal ending -t

In some verbs C³ has been assimilated to the personal ending. Consequently, sing. 1. and 2. masc. end with a geminate, e.g.: *qa'átt* 'I sat' 4. 14, *'ahatt* 'I took' 12. 15, *wažatt* 'I found' 16, *'aratt* 'I pointed out' 16, *wažatt* 'you found' 16, *'ahatt* 'you took' 2. There is, however, a tendency to separate the personal ending with an anaptyxis, e.g.: *futit* 'I came in' 1.14, *qa'ádít* 'I sat' 6. 10, *wulídít* 'you were born' 3, *'ahádít* 'you took' 4. 9, *futit* 'you came in' 9. 14. 16.

D. The negative affirmative -(i)š

The negative affirmative -(i)š (from Cl. *šay'*-) is used generally in LGal. as in the whole of Palestine¹ except by the Bedouins.

¹ According to Bergsträsser (*Sprachatlas*, p. 205) it is obligatory in Palestine proper. In Schmidt u. Kahle it is optional (Blau, pp. 193–196).

Often it is used without the proper negation *ma/mā/mä*. In LGal. it may be regarded as the principal negating element¹.

1. When the negative affirmative is added to a word ending with two consonants, it is *-iš*, e.g.: *ma-ḥaṭṭáltiš 'aná* 'I didn't stop' 9, *ma-wšúltiš la-hóna* 'I shouldn't have arrived here' 5, *'aná mā-kúntiš* 'I was not' 14, *mā-kúntiš aḥābb* 'I didn't like' 14, *ma-rúḥtiš* 'I didn't go' 4; after a geminate: *'aná mā-bāḥābbiš ikún muḥtár* 'I don't like to be the *muḥtár*' 14, *bihimmīš* 'it doesn't matter' 14, *baḍkurinnīš* 'I don't remember them' 14, *bihābbiš* 'he doesn't like' 10, *bāḥābbiš* 'I don't like' 10.

2. When the negative affirmative is added to a word ending with one consonant, it is sometimes preceded by *i*, sometimes pronounced without it:

a) Without *i*: *ma-ḡdārš* 'I cannot' 2 × 4, *baḡdārš* id. 6. 14. 15, *biḡdārš* 'he cannot' 1, *bišīrš* 'it is impossible' 3. 11, *ma-bišīrš* id. 3, *ma-šārš 'iši* 'nothing happened' 6, *baḍkūrš* 'I don't remember' 14, *mā-kānš-fī* 'there was not' 1, *mā-kānš* 'he was not' 5. 14, *bikúnš* 'he is not' 9, *mā-ṭkúnš* 'you are not' 9, *mā-yqúmš* 'he cannot get up' 2 × 5, *mā-yinzālš* 'he cannot get down' 5, *bifhámš* 'he doesn't understand' 5. 6, *ma-ta^callámš* 'he has not learnt' 1, *ma-rāḥš* 'he didn't go' 14, *mā-šáfš 'iši* 'he couldn't see anything' 5, *mā-yšúfš* 'he cannot see' 5, *biddakš, bālāš* 'if you don't want to, all right then' 6, *ḥāfš* 'he was not afraid' 5.

b) With *i*: *biḡdāriš* 'he cannot' 6. 9, *tiḡdāriš* 'you cannot' 15, *mā-kāniš* 'there was not' 3. 10. 14, *mā-kāniš* id. 15, *mā-ykūniš* 'it won't be' 9. 15, *mā-ākāliš* 'it didn't cost (much money)' 16, *bārifiš* 'I don't know' 10, *bā^{cā}rifiš* id. 2 × 3, *mā-bā^{cā}rifiš* id. 14, *ma-laqētiš* 'I didn't find' 1, *laqētiš* id. 6, *bimūtiš* 'he won't die' 5, *biskūniš* 'he doesn't live (dwell)' 12, *ma-btirbāhiš* 'you don't gain' 6, *bādoḥhāniš* 'I don't smoke' 1, *ma-biḥsāriš* 'he doesn't spend' 3, *mā-bišṭḡiliš* 'he doesn't work' 5, *ma-dawwāriš* 'he didn't look for' 6, *ma-raiwāhiš* 'he didn't go' 9, *bāšrābiš* 'I don't drink' 6, *tā^{cā}māliš* 'don't do' 6, *mā-bikāllīfiš*

¹ Cf. Cleveland (BASOR 171, pp. 60f.): *yigūl*-group: *mā yahimm, bā^ʔūl*-group: *mā bəhimm(iš), bəḡūl-* and *bəkūl*-groups: *bəhimmīš*, more seldom: *mā bəhimmīš*.

'it doesn't cost' 13, *bärkäbîš* 'I don't want to ride' 6, *biddákîš*, *bälâš* 'if you don't want to, all right then' 6.

A form such as *šufnākâš* 'we didn't see you (masc.)' 7, is used to distinguish the genders (for **šufnâkîš*).

DISCUSSION OF FINAL ANAPTYXIS IN LGAL.

A. *Nomina of the form CVCC- with firm C² and C³*

Presence of anaptyxis

The copious examples given above in 1a show distinctly that a cluster of two different final consonants before a pause longer than the usual space between two consequent words and before a word beginning with a consonant is regularly dissolved in LGal. by an anaptyctic vowel when C³ is a liquid (*r*, *l*) or a nasal (*m*, *n*). After the loss of the case-endings¹ the nouns became monosyllabic (CVCC). If C³, however, was more sonorous² than C², it formed a second crest of sonority, and the word remained dissyllabic³.

¹ The short vowels of the case-endings already disappeared in the pausal forms at the *al-ʿarabiya* stage. Gradually the loss found its way into context, and Arabic grammarians inform us of dialects which often made no difference between pausal and context forms. This development was extraordinarily strong in the west. The reason is not known (Birkeland, *Pausalformen*, pp. 104f.). Brockelmann (*GvG* I, p. 83) assigns it to the consequence of a strong accentuation of the pre-pausal words. However, there is nothing to show that there has been such a stress in the pause (Birkeland, *Pausalformen*, p. 9).

² A low vowel, such as *a*, is more sonorous than a high vowel, such as *i*; any vowel is more sonorous than a consonant; a nasal, trill, or lateral more than a stop or spirant; a sibilant more than another spirant; a spirant more than a stop; a voiced sound more than an unvoiced (Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 120; cf. Jespersen, *Phonetik*, p. 193).

³ The term *syllable* means here a natural syllable, i.e. an utterance is said to have as many syllables as it has syllabics; a syllabic is any phoneme which is louder than the phoneme (or the silence) which precedes it, and at the same time louder than the phoneme (or the silence) which follows (Bloomfield, *Language*, pp. 120f.; cf. Jespersen, *Phonetik*, p. 193). Thus the definition is based on acoustic criteria.

The pronunciation of a consonant as syllabic is often heard in LGal. in elevated style and in learned borrowings. In colloquial, however, an anaptyctic vowel is pronounced before a syllabic consonant. Thus it is one-sided to explain the presence of an anaptyxis as a result of purely phonetic and mechanical causes¹. The mental exertion demanded in using the elevated style or incorporating learned borrowings with plain colloquial language exceeds the muscular exertion so considerably that the latter point has been overlooked. The psychological factor is here more decisive than the physiological (phonetic).

In words belonging to plain colloquial, i.e. in words which are produced without, or with inconsiderable mental exertion, an anaptyxis is pronounced before a syllabic consonant as C³. The only suitable explanation for this is that the muscular tension demanded for the syllabic use of consonants in this dialect is felt to be greater than the minimal mental exertion needed for producing a word which belongs to plain colloquial. The feeling of ease is naturally subjective. Therefore much variation occurs depending on such factors as the physiological state of a speaker and the style he uses as well as on differences in situation, in level of education, in social background, etc. Consequently, no exact rules can be formulated to define the presence or absence, the quality and the quantity of the anaptyxis. Yet so many generally applicable rules are to be found that a sketched analysis is undoubtedly justified provided that the rules given are not applied to special cases. So, we can state that for the subjective tendency to ease, the syllabic use of consonants is avoided in the plain colloquial of LGal. The resulting anaptyctic vowel forms a new crest of sonority, and the syllabic limit changes place. The first syllable becomes opened, and the anaptyctic vowel forms a new closed final syllable: *C³V̄C-C > C³V̄-CVC.

The comparison of groups 1a and 4a proves that the question is

¹ Speiser adds only analogy to these two causes for the development of prothetic and anaptyctic vowels in Semitic languages (AJSL XLII, No. 3, p. 150).

of avoiding the syllabic use of consonants and not in the first place of avoiding *iltiqā'* *as-sākinayn* (-CC in pausa, or -CC C-). In the words belonging to group 4a, C² is more sonorous than C³. The word has then only one crest of sonority. The final cluster remains undissolved, and the word is pronounced monosyllabic. In these two cases the presence and absence of anaptyctic vowels is usually determined by the number of natural syllables.

A distinct group where an anaptyxis regularly occurs between C² and C³ consists of words having a laryngeal as C² or C³. It should be noticed that there are two phonemically different kinds of laryngeal plosive, one representing the classical '(hamza) and the other *q*. In LGal., the former is lost after a vowel inside a word and replaced by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. *rās* 'head' 14 (Cl. *ra's-*), *bīr* 'well' 14 (Cl. *bi'r-*), and *ḏīb* 'wolf' 2. 3. 6 (Cl. *ḏi'b-*). On the other hand, the ' representing (in LGal. mainly in 16 = *Šfa* *eAmer*) the phoneme *q* is preserved in the same position and, like C², is followed by an anaptyctic vowel (*wa'et*). Whether this ' as C³ is always preceded by an anaptyxis cannot be established on the ground of one example (*fare'*) even though C² is sonorous. The other examples of a vocalic element between a sonorous C² and a laryngeal C³ prove that there must here be another reason for the tendency to dissyllabic pronunciation than syllabication.

As the anaptyxis is pronounced irrespective of the position of the laryngeal (C² or C³) and without regard to the quality of the preceding (C²) or following (C³) consonant, the phenomenon must be due to the nature of the laryngeals, i.e. the reason must be mainly physiological. The most natural explanation is that the anaptyxis here is a transitional sound produced for a change of the position of the vocal organs between two hetero-organic consonants in order to facilitate the pronunciation.

In addition to these two categories it seems difficult to find further clear-cut groups where the anaptyxis is or is not pronounced. The examples in 4a show that only *r* as C² is generally sonorous enough to keep the word monosyllabic when C³ is voiced, while *l* has the same ability usually only before a voiceless C³, and the nasals *m*

and *n* before a homorganic and less sonorous C³. In all these cases C² is more sonorous than C³, the words have only one natural syllable, and no urge for an anaptyxis is felt. Only one type of cluster where C² is not considerably more sonorous than C³ remains frequently undissolved, viz. a plosive plus a voiceless sibilant (4b). If the plosive is voiceless, the following sibilant is more sonorous. Thus, at the present stage of phonetic development in LGal., the final cluster is not always dissolved although the word has two crests of sonority, but for that a minimal amount of sonority of C³ is demanded, and when C³ is sonorous enough, the word is often pronounced dissyllabic without regard to the sonority of C².

In the two instances *dābeš* and *ḥābes* (1c) anaptyxis is pronounced to keep *b* voiced. The medieval Arabic grammarians and Qur'ān-readers already advised the use of a short anaptyctic vowel to avoid voiceless pronunciation of voiced consonants.¹ In LGal. this is more true of *b* than of *d*, as is seen from the fact that *el-Quds* is usually pronounced without anaptyxis at the cost of reduction in the voicing of *d*.

In final position not followed by a vowel the semi-vowels form a second crest of sonority. They would, therefore, be expected to occur in their normal syllabic forms, *w* as *u* and *y* as *i*. However, *w* shows a tendency to preserve its non-syllabic character as is indicated by the examples where *w* as C³ is preceded by an anaptyctic vowel. This cannot be explained phonetically, nor does it result from the tendency towards increased ease of articulation. Both of these lead to pronunciation without anaptyxis. Obviously the main reason is to be sought in morphology, and most likely the anaptyxis is pronounced here in order to make the position of *w* as C³ more prominent and by that means distinguish it from the verbal suffix *-u* of perf. pl. 3., especially that of *verba tertiae infirmae*, e.g. *māšu* 'they walked' 13, *ḥāku* 'they spoke' 15, *bānu* 'they built' 10, *'āžu* 'they came' passim.

Although the existence of such a vowel before *y* in the same posi-

¹ Abul-Fadl, p. 170. The phenomenon is called *qalqala*.

tion is acoustically very hard to observe, it is probable that it does not exist. If the consonantal function of *y* as C³ ought to be emphasized for morphological reasons, the anaptyxis should undoubtedly be discernible, i.e. **ṣub^ey/ṣubey*, not **ṣubⁱy/ṣubiy*.

Colour of anaptyxis

Most usually the colour of the anaptyxis in nouns of the form CVCC- varies between the neutral *a* and *i*, transcribed here *e*, but in some cases it has been assimilated progressively to the preceding vowel. Most commonly this happens after *u*¹, so regularly that confusion is possible with the broken plural CuCuC-. The only examples where the assimilation never occurs in my texts are *ṣubeh*, *rube^{ee}* and *ḥubez*, all with the labial *b* as C².

The progressive assimilation of the anaptyctic vowel to *a* is limited almost exclusively to words which are wholly or in the latter part affected by emphasis, and where the anaptyxis is demanded both for the sonority of C³ and for the change of the position of the vocal organs between two hetero-organic consonants.

As for *i*, the state of affairs is very different from the preceding cases. The assimilation occurs here only in words where C² is more sonorous than C³, i.e. where no anaptyxis is demanded for syllabication.

The factors contributing to the sporadic vowel assimilation in final anaptyxis remain enigmatic. It is noteworthy, however, that *a* has progressively assimilating ability primarily in emphatic surroundings between a laryngeal and *r*, *u* in the neighborhood of sonorous consonants, and *i* in words where C² is sonorous.

B and C. Feminine ending -t in status constructus and personal suffix -t in perfect

The anaptyctic vowel preceding the suffix *-t* of perf. sing. 1. and

¹ Brockelmann, GvG I, p. 210 refers to Zamaḥṣarī's mention that *fu^el* and *fuⁱul* are alternative forms.

2. masc. is optional. In pre-pausal position it occurs more often than in the context. There are two cases where the anaptyctic vowel is usually pronounced, one if C³ is a laryngeal, the other if it is a voiced plosive. In the former case the anaptyxis may be regarded as a vowel pronounced between two hetero-organic consonants, in the latter case as resulting from the tendency to preserve the voiced pronunciation of C³. No difference can be found between the two persons in the relative frequency of anaptyxis, although the examples might suggest that it is more common in 2. masc., but this is due to the simple fact that sing. 1. does not occur in pre-pausal position as often as sing. 2.

If we compare the final anaptyxis used in nouns with that pronounced before the verbal suffix *-t*, we find the following clear differences: 1. In perfect forms the anaptyxis is used optionally before *t*, which is the least sonorous consonant, without notable regard to the sonority of C³. Here it differs considerably from the feminine suffix *-t*, which is in my recordings never preceded by an anaptyxis. 2. The colour of the final anaptyxis is in perfect forms usually *i*, more rarely *e* (*i-ə*), and not susceptible to progressive assimilation.

The comparison between the two suffixes, verbal *-t* and feminine *-t*, is instructive, because the latter occurs only in status constructus and is therefore never used in pre-pausal position. Thus the pre-pausal origin of the anaptyxis before the verbal suffix *-t* seems apparent. The comparatively fixed colour, not influenced by assimilation, shows a tendency to distinguish between morphological divisions. This is true although the consonantal surroundings for the progressive assimilation of anaptyxis to the preceding *a* or *u* are not favourable. The special character is proved by cases where this anaptyxis separates two morphemes not pronounced separately in classical Arabic, such as *qa^cādīt* (Cl. *qa^cattu*), *futīt* (Cl. *futtu*) etc.

D. The negative affirmative *-(i)š*

A closer inspection of the vowel pronounced before *š* reveals substantial differences compared with other kinds of final anaptyxis. For one thing, the presence of the vowel seems to have no connec-

tion with the quality of the preceding consonant. It appears after a sonorous consonant as well as after a voiceless plosive. Moreover, the vowel never occurs in my recordings as extra-short, but is always a full vowel, usually pure *i*, which is also occasionally stressed.

In the relative frequency of *-š* and *-iš* after one consonant no difference can be found, and similarly both of them often occur without distinction in pre-pausal and contextual positions. Thus it can be taken for granted that *i* here is not pronounced for syllabication or to dissolve a difficult cluster. The occasional stress shows that in spite of the similarity in colour no closer relation with the anaptyxis occurring before the personal suffix *-t* in the perfect is to be supposed. The origin of the vowel might be sought in the prothesis of the word *'iši* (varying with *š'i*, *š'i*, from Cl. *šay'*-, cf. *infra*, pp. 84 f.). Thus it is doubtful if this *i* could be classified as an anaptyxis. The form *-iš* is always used after two consonants, but after a single consonant there is free variation between *-iš* and *-š*, which are optional rhythmic variants of one morpheme.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF FINAL ANAPTYXIS

After a detailed discussion based on descriptive material collected from a limited dialect area it is appropriate to widen the scope by comparing the phenomena appearing in LGal. with the available material from neighboring dialects. A thorough comparative dialect-geographical study on the anaptyxis in Syro-Palestinian area cannot, however, be safely undertaken because of the great diversity in its observation and transcription by different authors. Thus some valuable ethnographic and folkloric texts cannot be taken into consideration in the present comparative survey, and in general conclusions can be drawn only with great reservations.

A. Nomina of the form CVCC- with firm C² and C³

Presence of anaptyxis

The presence of an anaptyctic vowel before the sonorous C³ in nouns of the form CVCC- appears in most descriptions. For Jerusalem

and Central Palestine BAUER gives forms such as *nām^{el}*, *ḵuṭ^un*, *tiṭⁱn* (Pal., p. 14), for Jerusalem LÖHR *ḵurun/furn*, *tibin*, *tutun/titⁱn* (p. 9). In his dictionary for Aleppo, Damascus, Lebanon, and Jerusalem, BARTHÉLEMY never uses a full vowel to transcribe the anaptyxis, and in JA 10 (pp. 224f.) he criticizes Löhr's transcription which makes a distinction between a short anaptyxis before *n* and *ḵ* as C³, and an extra-short in other cases (*il⁻udⁱs*, *ḵubⁱz*, *ḵabⁱs*, *baḡⁱl*, p. 9). In his opinion this twofold transcription is misleading, because it calls forth the idea that the words with a full vowel between C² and C³ are dissyllabic.

Barthélemy's criticism is not, however, as justified as it may seem to be at first sight. Theoretically the number of syllables depends on the criteria on the grounds of which the syllable is defined¹. For phonetic-historical reasons it seems reasonable to transcribe all the anaptyctic vowels as extra-short, because at least at some stage of their development they have been extra-short². This is, however, indisputably true only if the anaptyxis has developed for purely phonetic reasons. But as a matter of fact the anaptyctic vowels are often pronounced as full vowels and as such are phonetically comparable with phonemic vowels occurring in the same positions.³ Therefore it is natural that such vowels are transcribed in a synchronic description as they are heard, i.e. both short and extra-short. Even diachronically that may be more correct than to transcribe the anaptyctic vowels always as extra-short, since not all of them have undergone the same phonetic development.

Barthélemy's criticism proves that he is familiar with the problems concerning anaptyxis, and therefore the material given by him need not be suspected because of its occasional observation. Ex-

¹ Cf. Pike, pp. 53f.

² Cf. Cantineau, *Hōrân*, p. 179.

³ On a synchronic level, the presence or absence of *i* in forms such as *wiṣil* (but: *wiṣl il-ḵabar*), *lāzim* (but: *lāzm aruḵḵ*), *māriq* (but: *mārq il-bāṣ*), *Yuwsif* (but: *Yuwsif it-Turki*), is better treated as anaptyxis (Blanc, *Studies*, p. 38). Accordingly, Blanc discusses this kind of anaptyxis side by side with the historical anaptyxis (*Studies*, p. 78).

amples taken at random from his dictionary show that an anaptyxis occurs before a sonorous C³ (*mát^{el}*, *'ák^{el}*, *háb^{el}*, *qás^{em}*, *'ás^{em}*, *táb^{en}*, *'šb^{en}*, *qáb^{er}*, *ešmr/ešm^{er}*; Dict., s.v.), but not after a sonorous C² (*ǧarb*, *šarq*, *'arǧ*, *bard/bärd*, *'älf*, *tält*, *kälb*; Dict., s.v.).

GROTZFELD simplifies the actual state of things in his brand-new, outstanding grammar of Damascus Arabic: »Das Auftreten eines Sprossvokals ist bedingt durch die Zahl und die Position der zusammentreffenden Konsonanten, nicht durch die Art dieser Laute» (Grammatik, pp. 14 f). This statement is certainly occasioned by the condensed form, and must not be understood to be true to the very letter.

Although LITTMANN in his Volkspoesie and SCHMIDT and KAHLE in their Volkserzählungen do not always mark the anaptyctic vowel, the influence of the relative sonority is easily observable. So Littmann writes *'ibin* (Volksp., p. 15), *hidim* (p. 32) and *mitil* (pp. 13, 15 and 32), but *'arǧ* (p. 35), *bärd* (p. 22) and *halq* (p. 31), while Schmidt and Kahle give transcriptions *tibin*, *ibin*, *nimir*, *ḥabil* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 58*), but *ṭarš* (p. 2), *ǧanb* (p. 9) and *darǧ* (p. 19). Examples of the same kind are to be found in DRIVER (Grammar, *tib^{en}* p. 19, *qirš* p. 146, *därb* p. 175), but he does not mark the origin of most of his material. BEN ZEEV's transcription for Palestine (in Hebrew characters) shows considerable similarity with the anaptyctic vowels appearing in my recordings. The anaptyxis before a sonorous C³ is usually indicated by *seǧól*: *ramel* (p. 7), *qabel* (p. 73), *ḥabel* (p. 80), *qišer*, and *bizer* (p. 112); but *dars* (p. 87), *qirš* (pp. 87 and 93), *šarq*, *ǧarb*, and *tult* (p. 93).

Some additional examples indicate that the role of the sonorous consonants in the final clusters is by and large the same in the whole Syro-Palestinian dialect area. Thus CANTINEAU gives for Palmyra *'eb^{en}*, *'ös^{em}* (Palmyre I, p. 174), *šed^{er}*, *moq^{el}* (p. 176), but *ders* (p. 175), *erq* (p. 176), for Hōrân *näm^{el}* (Hōrân, p. 280), *bäd^{er}* (p. 181), *teb^{en}* (p. 284), *zag^{em}* (p. 278), but *ṭarš* (p. 278), *darḥ* (p. 278). According to him the final clusters *-lb*, *-nt* and *-rn* (*galḥ/gal^{ob}*, *bent*, *ǧorḥ/ǧor^{on}*) are likely to remain undissolved (Hōrân, p. 181).

BERGSTRÄSSER, Dam., leaves the anaptyctic vowels unmarked

in the texts, but discusses the problem on pp. 30f. The anaptyctic vowel may be missing when the latter consonant of the final cluster is less sonorous than the former one if the cluster is otherwise easy to pronounce, and when the latter consonant is suitable to form a syllable. Such clusters are fricative plus sonor, less fricative plus nasal and the group *-sm*. This gives the impression of the syllabic use of consonants in Damascus Arabic. Similarly MATTSSON marks for Beirut (usually in his *Études*, almost regularly in *Ṭūlit*) the syllabic consonants $\underset{\circ}{C}$, while he generally leaves the anaptyctic vowels unmarked. However it seems more proper to assign this kind of transcription to a sober abstinence from notating unsettled non-phonemic elements than to use it as an *argumentum e silentio* proving some essential difference in syllabication.

As for the adjacent dialect area recently described by BLANC, examples picked out of the texts of his *Studies* show that it cannot much differ from LGal. in the use of anaptyxis: *'isim* (*Studies*, p. 78), *'ahil qabil* (p. 78), *'urṣ* (p. 85), *'alf* (p. 86), *ḥarq* (p. 87). Nevertheless he states: »Some clusters are, however, 'permitted', i.e. never or seldom separated, or separated by an extra-short vowel so close to zero that I do not mark it: these are clusters with *l, r, m, n*» (*Studies*, p. 75). This applies to internal clusters, but the same observation holds good of final clusters, too: »the permitted clusters are, by and large, the same here as internally» (p. 78). This statement can be understood only after looking over the list of examples he gives, which shows that the sequence of consonants in the clusters and, consequently, the syllabication, is not taken into consideration.

For the pronunciation of a final cluster without a glide between C^2 and C^3 , if one of them is a laryngeal, more energy is demanded than is normally used in plain colloquial. Actually this glide has been transcribed by the majority of authors. The only exception here is that some authors do not mark the glide with the laryngeal *ʿ*. Thus BARTHÉLEMY writes *ša^ʿr*, *ba^ʿd*, *la^ʿb*, but *rāb^ʿe*, *zār^ʿe*, *sāb^ʿe* (*Dict.*, s.v.), i.e. he treats *ʿ* exactly as *r, l, m, n*.¹ MATTSSON's descrip-

¹ Further light on the relation between *ʿ* and the most sonorous consonants

tion for Beirut agrees with Barthélemy. In a final cluster *e* is syllabic as C³, but not as C² (Études, p. 101). BAUER omits the vowel consistently in both positions (before and after *e*) in Pal. and in Wbch, while CANTINEAU transcribes it equally both after and before *e*: *sab^{ae}*, *tes^{ae}* (Palmyre I, p. 215), *del^{ae}*, *ka^{cab}* (Palmyre II, p. 2), *ba^{coḏ}*, *ša^{cab}* (Ḥōrân, p. 280), *nâb^{ae}*, *dâm^{ae}* (Ḥōrân, p. 278), although slight inconsistencies are to be found: *šâ^{cb}* (Palmyre I, p. 176), *sab^e* (Ḥōrân, p. 280), *sab^{ae}*. (Ḥōrân, p. 367). BEN ZEEV and BLANC mark the vocalic element regularly before *e*, but irregularly after it, e.g. *ša^{er}* (Ben Zeev, p. 38), but *ša^{er}* (p. 21), *ba^{ed}* (Blanc, Studies, p. 84), but *ba^{eid}* (p. 85).

Undoubtedly all the authors have heard a vowel in both positions, and the differences in transcriptions are due to different theoretical propositions concerning the nature of this vowel. This appears clearly in BERGSTRÄSSER'S Dam., p. 32, where he makes a difference between a »Sprossvokal» and *e*'s »Eigenvokal».

The anaptyxis before *w* as C³ is clearly noted in the Syro-Palestinian dialects only by BLANC: *gaziw*, *jariv*, more rarely *gazu*, *jaru* (Studies,

r, *l*, *m*, and *n* concerning syllabication is thrown by W. Marçais's excellent study on the dialect spoken by the Algerian tribe Ūlâd Bṛāhīm. In this dialect the nouns of the form CVCC- are usually monosyllabic if C² is a sonorous consonant, e.g. *sérž*, *kélb*, *ḥāmd*, *bént* (MSL 14, p. 158), but dissyllabic if C³ is sonorous, e.g. *békēr*, *métēl*, *ḥūkūm*, *ḥūsēn*. Sometimes the latter syllable is even stressed in case C³ is a sonorous consonant, e.g. *sdér*, *ḥabél*, *ḥatém*, *tbén* (MSL 14, p. 161). This 'segolisation' or 'sursaut' does not happen if C³ is *e*: *néfō^e*, *tábō^e* (p. 162). This supports the idea of a substantial difference between anaptyxis pronounced before a sonorous C³ and *e* (or some other laryngeal). The latter must be only a transitional vowel, related to the furtive vowel pronounced between a long vowel and *e*: *žûō^e*, *žrbîō^e*, *blâā^e* (MSL 14, p. 162), described from the Syro-Palestinian dialect area, too, e.g. by Driver in his article 'Linguistic Affinities . . .': *jû^{ae}*, *m^{ali}aḥ*, *ʾabi^aḥ* etc. (JRAS 1920, p. 307). In Djidjelli the 'sursaut' of the stress is more common, and Ph. Marçais gives four groups of consonants which as C³ may give cause to such development: *rln*, *mbf*, *hq*, and *ḥ^e* (Djidjelli, p. 81). These groups show that the reason for the 'sursaut' is no longer only the sonority of C³ but also the transition between two hetero-organic consonants.

p. 54). He points out that in the dialect spoken by Druzes of Western Galilee *w* seems to become vocalized less frequently than is the case in some dialects (p. 54). The difference is, however, most probably due to approximate transcriptions. BARTHÉLEMY, whose transcription is relatively accurate, gives two alternatives, *ḥəlw* and *ḥəlu*, *dälw* and *dälu*, *bädw* and *bädu* (Dict., s.v.). CANTINEAU gives for Palmyra *ḥōlo^u*, *dalo^u* (Palmyre I, p. 47), for Ḥōrân *ḡarw*, *dahw*, *färw*, *ḡazw*, *gaḥw* (Ḥōrân, p. 279), while BAUER writes consistently -*u*: *naḥu* (Pal., p. 86), *ḥelu* (p. 234), *bidu* (p. 212), and the same forms in Wbch, s.v. It is surprising to note CZAPKIEWICZ's transcription for Mâdabâ: *bedwu* (p. 17), *badwu* (p. 19). This diversity is probably caused by hesitation as to whether to transcribe *w* as a consonant or not. Thus these data are not sufficient to show that the tendency to preserve the consonantal character of *w* as C³ is more active in Northern Palestine than elsewhere on the Syro-Palestinian dialect area.

Colour of anaptyxis

The colour of the final anaptyxis has usually been described by *a*, *i* or *e*. In some words it has, however, been assimilated progressively to the preceding vowel or has changed under the influence of the consonantal environment. Among BAUER's examples *ḥur^uḡ*, *ḡut^un*, *näm^el*, *ḡam^aḥ*, *titin* (Pal., p. 14), only *ä* has not assimilated the anaptyctic vowel. The colour *a* in *ḡam^aḥ* is most probably due to the supposed influence of the ensuing *ḥ*. This appears also in LÖHR's corresponding example *mīlah¹* beside the other examples *ḡurun*, *tibin*, *tutun/titin*, *il-'ud^ts*, *ḡub^tz*, *ḡab^ts*, *baḡ^tl* (p. 9), which do not display as extensive assimilation as the instances given by Bauer.

¹ Barthélemy corrects this to *mél^oḥ* in JA 10, pp. 244f., pointing out that 'la voyelle furtive n'est là que par euphonie et pour alléger la prononciation du groupe des deux consonnes finales . . . elle n'a donc rien de commun avec le son qui précède le *ḥ* dans *ri^aḥ*, *qabi^aḥ*.' C² is here, however, *l*, and no anaptyxis is demanded for syllabication. It is pronounced only for transition from *l* to the hetero-organic *ḥ*. Thus it is closely related to the furtive vowel in *ri^aḥ* and *qabi^aḥ*.

The progressive assimilation of *u* is attested to by: *kuṭ^un*, *ḥur^uġ* (Bauer, Pal., p. 14), *ḍuh^ur* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *quṭ^uf*, *'uṭ^un* (Driver, Grammar, p. 19), *furun* (Löhr, p. 9; Littmann, Volksp., p. 14), *tutun* (Löhr, p. 9), *'umur* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 18), *zuhur* (p. 16), *ṣuhun* (p. 58*), *ḥumur* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 23), *buṭum* (p. 24), *ḍuhur* (p. 23 and Littmann, Hama, p. 31), *'umor* (Ben Zeev, p. 75), *ḍuhor* (p. 92), *'usom* (p. 58), *ḥukum* (Blanc, Studies, p. 78), *guṭun* (Czapkiewicz, p. 19). These forms are by and large the same as in LGal., but the following instances are different: *rubo^e*, *ṣuboḥ* (Ben Zeev, p. 93), *ṣubuḥ* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 9), *nuḥun 'we'* (p. 21). The LGal. forms without assimilation (*ṣubeḥ*, *rube^e*, *ḥubez*; *supra*, p. 28.) occur in most Syro-Palestinian dialects: *ṣubiḥ* (Littmann, Hama, p. 23; Czapkiewicz, p. 24), *ṣubiḥ* (Blanc, Studies, p. 102), *ṣubeḥ* (Bauer, Pal., pp. 91, 180, 200; Wbch, s.v.), *rubi^e* (Blanc, Studies, p. 82), *hubiz* (Bergsträsser, Dam., p. 31; Czapkiewicz, p. 32), *ḥubiⁱz* (Löhr, p. 9; Driver, p. 19), *ḥube^ez* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *ḥobəz* (Fleisch, Zahlé, p. 108). The assimilation of the anaptyxis to the preceding *a* in an emphatic environment in Syro-Pal. is affirmed by *baḥar* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 9; Littmann, Hama, pp. 45 and 46; Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 12), *baḥ^ar*, *šaḥ^ar* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.). The vowel after C¹ may be *ä/â* in following examples: *baḥⁱr* (Littmann, Hama, pp. 37 and 40), *baḥer* (Ben Zeev, p. 112), *šaḥer* (Ben Zeev, p. 68; Czapkiewicz, p. 31), *šāḥir* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 14), *ba^eid* (Blanc, Studies, p. 85; Littmann, Volksp., p. 13), *ša^eir* (Blanc, Studies, p. 101), *ša^eer* (Ben Zeev, p. 38).

After these instances it is interesting to find that CANTINEAU has in general exactly the same colour of anaptyxis for both Palmyra and Ḥōrān. This suggests that the differences found in literature often rise from subjective audition, directed by theoretical presumptions, and undoubtedly many forms are conjectural.

In addition to the great similarity of the anaptyctic vowels in Palmyra and Ḥōrān, one more interesting observation can be made concerning Cantineau's transcription. The colour of the anaptyctic vowels is described so minutely and consistently that it is not surprising to discover principles in accordance with which it is possible to predict the colour of the anaptyxis in a given classical word.

After *e* the anaptyxis is *e* (Palmyre I, pp. 175f. and passim; Ḥōrān, pp. 284—286 and passim), even in the word *tes^{ec}* (Ḥōrān, p. 286; Palmyre I, p. 215: *tes^{ac}*), after *o* and *u* it is *o* (only seldom *u*), and after *ō* it is *ō* (Palmyre I, p. 176 and passim; Ḥōrān, pp. 288f. and passim). The colour of the final anaptyxis is, then, in the words of the forms CiCC and CuCC, both in Palmyra and Ḥōrān primarily determined by the progressive assimilation and secondarily by the influence of the consonantal environment which gives only the final touch to the colour fixed by assimilation. The rules for the anaptyxis occurring after the phoneme *a* are more complicated, but nevertheless the colour is predictable. Here, too, the primary factor is the progressive assimilation, but a greater number of allophones makes the point more complex. If C² and C³ are emphatic, the anaptyxis is *o*, if C² is emphatic or if C² or C³ is a non-emphatic laryngeal, the colour is usually *a*; after *a* in non-emphatic and non-laryngeal environment it is mostly *ā*, and after *ā* under the same conditions it is *e* (Palmyre I, p. 175 and passim; Ḥōrān, pp. 277—280 and passim). The striking similarity between Ḥōrān and Palmyra on the one hand and the indubitable dissimilarity between the *fellahīn* of Palestine including LGal. and these two on the other hand, prove that the influence of the progressive assimilation seems to be considerably greater in the dialects described by Cantineau than in the dialect spoken by the *fellahīn* in Palestine.

B and C. Feminine ending -t in status constructus and personal suffix -t in perfect

Examples taken from Syro-Palestinian dialect literature show that the final anaptyxis preceding the personal suffix *-t* in perfect forms is everywhere optional. Thus, SCHMIDT and KAHLE have passages like *kunt ruḥt ḡibithin* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 17) and *ubālak tubit?* (p. 18); BLANC transcribes both *wa-'irji^{et}* (Studies, p. 84) and *wi-rji^{et}* (p. 97), *kunt* and *kunit* (p. 78), *ruḥt* (p. 102) and *ruḥit* (p. 97); LITTMANN gives for Hama *ḡibt* (p. 22), *ksibit* (p. 30), *rbihit* (p. 31), and *rihit* (p. 43); BLOCH and GROTZFELD for

Damascus *tarak^{ət}* (DAT 1, 26), *rakadt* (1, 11), *rže^{cət}* (1, 65), *ržo^{cət}* (1, 102), *'ahadt* (1, 19), *štajal^{ət}* (1, 16). BAUER states (Pal., p. 14) the optional occurrence of anaptyxis in perfect forms, but gives more details in morphology. According to him the townspeople pronounce *katabt/katab^{ət}*, *ḍarabt/ḍarab^{ət}*, *fhimt/fhim^{ət}* (p. 18), *kult* and *ǧibt* (p. 29), while the anaptyxis is more commonly used by the *fellahīn*: *tšatab^{ət}*, *ḍarab^{ət}*, *fhim^{ət}* (p. 18), *qulit* and *ǧibit* (p. 29). A parallel relation seems to exist between Lebanon and Iraq. FEGHALI and NAKHLA omit the zero-vowels systematically, but FLEISCH's more phonetic transcription shows anaptyxis in nouns, e.g.: *fah^{əd}*, *lah^{əm}* (Textes, p. 322), *kət^{ər}* (p. 323), *'əs^m* and *šək^{əl}* (p. 338), *šəǧ^{əl}* (p. 340), *ḍoh^{ər}* (p. 341), *'ak^{əl}* (p. 352), *ta^{'əs}*, *bah^{ər}*, *tah^{ət}*, and *šar^ə* (p. 367), but not in perfect forms, e.g.: *šort* (p. 322), *fhəmt* (p. 330), *rža^{cət}* (p. 348), *ržo^{cət}*, *kənt*, *'ənzəlt*, *šəft*, *ḷa^{cət}* (p. 353). For Baghdad MALAIKA gives the suffix *-it* in perf. sing. 1. and 2. masc. (p. 41), and KROTKOFF's text abounds in anaptyctic vowels, e.g.: *ruhət*, *činit* (p. 69), *rǧa^{cət}*, *nzalət* (p. 78), *šrabət*, and *callagət* (p. 73).

As for the colour of the anaptyxis, CANTINEAU follows in the perfect forms exactly the same system as in nouns. So, the perfect of sing. 2. masc. is in Palmyra *šuft*, *höft*, *ǧibt*; sing. 1. *šuf^{ut}*, *höft*, *ǧibt* (Palmyre I, p. 165); in Hōrān the corresponding forms are *šuf^{ut}*, *höf^{ət}* and *ǧib^{ət}* (Hōrān, p. 240). All these transcriptions are, however, suspectable of being conjectural. The colour of an extra-short vowel is difficult to discern, but when the anaptyxis is a short vowel, its colour ranges usually between *i* and neutral *ə*, e.g. in Cantineau's instance for a stressed anaptyxis: *šrebt* > *šreb^{ət}* > *šreb^{ət}?* (Hōrān, p. 182). Here the author can maintain the system of progressive assimilation, but only for the happy choice of the verb. It is hardly credible that 'have you seen?' could be pronounced in Hōrān **šuf^{ut}?*

When the final geminate C³t is separated by an anaptyctic vowel, e.g. *šaha^tət*, *barad^{ət}* (Bauer, Pal., p. 14) and *mutit* (Blanc, Studies, p. 82), this vowel is near to be phonemic. FERGUSON asserts in Language 30 (p. 568) that »the simplest proof of the contrastive value of this vowel lies in the cases where it is or is not permitted

in a final geminate cluster. For example, the word for 'I passed, entered' is freely either *fətət* or *fətt*, but the imperative 'crumble' is *fətt*, never **fətət*.» CANTINEAU (Word 12, p. 122) rejects this phonemic contrast, because the distinction here is only optional, and the positions are not quite identical, i.e. in the former case the anaptyxis is pronounced between two morphemes on the analogy of *katabt/katabət*.

The material for a justified comparison between the feminine ending *-t* in status constructus and the personal suffix *-t* in perfect is insufficient because of the rare occurrence of cases where the feminine ending is preceded by a single consonant and followed by a word beginning with a consonant. Such cases are *sənt zamān* (Bloch u. Grotzfeld, DAT 1, 9), *sənt maḥl* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v. *Jahr*), and *nəḥt 'oh* (Cantineau, Palmyre II, p. 70).

D. The negative affirmative *-(i)š*

In the pronunciation of the negative affirmative *-š/-iš* the general notice can be made that in North Africa *-š* is used almost exclusively, in Egypt *-iš* occurs after *-CC* and *-š* after a vowel or one consonant, while in southern Syro-Palestinian dialects *-iš* occurs, besides after *-CC*, also after *-C* in free variation with *-š*. For North Africa safe instances are found in the accurate data given by W. and PH. MARÇAIS, e.g. *mā-šəbtš* (W. Marçais, *Ūlād*, MSL 15, p. 105) and *ma-d-əl-kəbb-š* (Ph. Marçais, Djidjelli, p. 442). ABUL-FADL's good texts are in accord with the rules given for Egyptian dialect by SPITTA (p. 242), e.g. *ma-baḡbalš* (Abul-Fadl, p. 38), *m-a^erafš* (p. 61), *ma-ḡbīltiš* (p. 51), *ma-ḡdīrtiš*, *ma-šata^etiš* (p. 60). In southern Syro-Palestinian dialect area, *-iš* is often pronounced after a simple consonant, too, e.g. *ma bitruḥiš* (Bauer, Pal., p. 93), *mā bjiḥsibⁱš* (p. 120), *mā ḥallāšiš* (p. 122), *ma lākētⁱš* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 6), *biddakš/biddakeš* (Ben Zeev, p. 82), *ma-ḥawwiliš* (Blanc, Studies, p. 96), *ba^erēfš* (*ba^erēf^eš*) (Fleisch, Enquête, p. 389).