

## Medial Anaptyxis

### DESCRIPTION OF MEDIAL ANAPTYXIS IN LGAL.

#### A. Final cluster -CC plus a consonantal suffix

1. Nomina of the form CVCC- with firm C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup> plus a consonantal suffix

a) The three-consonant cluster is alleviated by an anaptyctic vowel between C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup> when C<sup>3</sup> is more sonorous than C<sup>2</sup>, e.g.: *mítelku* 'like you' 12. 14, *mítelnä* 'like us' 5, *mítelhin* 'like them' 12, *qábelnä* 'before us', 7, *qábelhä* 'before it' 6. 7, *'ibenhä* 'her son' 11. 13, *'ibenhä* id. 13, *'ákelhä* 'her food' 7, *'ákelhin* 'their food' 4, *'ísemhä* 'its name' 10. 13. 15, *fádelhá* 'her generosity' 13, *'áhelhä* 'its people' 7, *'ílemku* 'your knowledge' 5, *'ášelha* 'its origin' 1, *šúgurnä* 'our work' 5. 16, *šúgulku* 'your (pl.) work' 14, *'umurhá* 'her age' 4. 16, *'umurhin* 'their ages' 7, *fúgurnä* 'our poverty' 12.

b) The three-consonant cluster is not dissolved in the following examples: *'arđna* 'our land' 11. 14, *galbku* 'your hearts' 12, *bi-quřbnä* 'beside us' 11, *näfshin* 'themselves' 10, *näfs<sup>h</sup>in* id. 6. The three-consonant cluster is never dissolved between *n* and *d* of the word *'ind* 'at, with'. Before *k*, *d* is combinatorily *t*: *'intku* passim, before *h* either voiced: *'indhin* 6. 14. 16, *'indhä* 12. 14, or voiceless: *'inthin* 6. If the cluster is dissolved, the anaptyxis occurs between *d* and the suffix: *'ind<sup>e</sup>hin* 7 × 6. This passage is, however, strongly influenced by *fušha*.

2. Nomina of the form CVCC- (C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup> firm) with the feminine ending -*t* plus a suffix

If the suffix begins with a vowel, an anaptyctic vowel is pronounced between C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup> by and large on the same conditions as in final clusters, e.g.: *fíkertäk* 'your idea' 14, *qísemtu* 'his lot (fortune)'

15, *háderták* 'your presence' 14, *húruntu* 'his wife' 10, *húrunti* 'my wife' 5, *šägelták* 'your job' 15, *kilemti* 'my speech' 14, *kilemtu* 'his speech' 14, but *jurftén* 'two rooms' 4. 5. 7. 9. 14. 16.

When the suffix begins with a consonant, a stressed *i* is pronounced between  $C^3$  and *t*, e.g. *fikrítku* 'your idea' 15.<sup>1</sup>

3. Verba tertiae firmæ in perfect sing. 1. and 2. masc., stems I—X, plus a consonantal suffix

In my recordings there are no examples of an anaptyxis in these forms, but the three-consonant cluster is preserved, or in some cases simplified by dropping one of the consonants, e.g.: *sä'ältni* 'you asked me' 2, *sä'älthin* 'I asked them' 2 × 16, *fahhamthin* 'I explained to them' 14, *šufthá* 'I saw it' 5, *šufthin* 'I saw them' 1, *säžžälthin* 'I listed them' 10, *waššaltni* 'I have gained entrance' 5; *qulttu* 'I said to him' passim, *qu<sup>l</sup>tu* and *qultu* id. passim, *gutlu* id. 12. 13. 14.

*B. Three-consonant medial clusters  $C^1C^2C^3$ ,  $nC^1C^2$ ,  $C^1C^2$ , and  $stC^1$*

1. Imperfect of verba firma, stems I and IV, imperative, stem I, and act. participle, stem IV, plus a vocalic suffix

a) Before a vocalic ending the short vowel (*i* or *u*, not *a*) between  $C^2$  and  $C^3$  disappears, and a three-consonant medial cluster is formed. This cluster is dissolved by an anaptyxis pronounced between  $C^1$  and  $C^2$ . Usually its colour is the same as that of the dropped vowel, i.e. the same as the vowel of the first syllable, e.g.: (characteristic in imperfect *i*) *'isiknu* 'they settle down' 10. 12, *bisiknu* id. 5. 10. 13, *yidikru* 'they call' 14, *yiliqsu* 'they chat' 5. 13, *yimisku* 'they catch' 15, *yimiskú* 'they catch him' 6, *yimiskúni* 'they catch me' 4, *úmisku* 'you (pl.) catch' 10, *yilibsu* 'they dress themselves' 16, *bilibsu* id. 16, *yikibu* 'they write' 14. 16, *bikitbu* id. 12, *yihidmu* 'they work' 16, *yinidmu* 'they write poetry' 11, *yinidru* 'they seldom do' 2 × 14, *bítl<sup>c</sup>u* 'he creates that' (IV) 2 × 3, *yidiĥlu* 'they enter' 16, *'ihišru*

<sup>1</sup> This case is thoroughly discussed by Bravmann, Über *i* als Hilfsvokal im Wortinnen. MO 32 (1938).

'they corner' 4, *bihāšdū* 'they harvest it' 6, *btirislu* 'they send' (IV) 1, *nihābsu* 'we'll put him in jail' 13, *yidīfsu* 'they push' 4;

(characteristic in imperfect *u*) *yūdurbu* 'he'll beat him' 10, id. 'they beat' 5, *budurbūš* 'they don't tax' 3, *btuṭurdī* 'you (fem.) kick him out' 13, *būturku* 'they leave' 10, *būdursu* 'they study' 5. 13, *yūtubḥu* 'they cook' 7, *btūtubḥi* 'you (fem.) cook' 13, *bātuḷbu* 'I ask it' 14, *yūruqsu* 'they dance' 15, *yūrukdu* 'they run' 1, *būḥurṭū* 'they plow it' 6, *būrubṭu* 'they bind' 6, *yurubṭuhā* 'they bind her' 6, *btū-fuṭru* 'you have breakfast' (IV) 4 × 6, *yūqultu* 'he'll beat him' 6. 10, id. 'they beat' 5. 15, *būqultu* id. 1, *nūqultu* 'we'll kill him' 6, *tuqultū* 'you (pl.) will beat him' 5, *būqultū* 'they kill him' 6, *mnū-qultu* 'we'll kill him' 2 × 6, *btuhūḍru* 'you (pl.) are present' 4. 6, *būsuknū* 'they settle down there' 10.

Sometimes the anaptyctic vowel is realized as a full vowel and is stressed: *bikūbu* 'they write' 3 × 15, *yimīsku* 'they catch' 2 × 5, *imīsku* id. 6, *būqultu* 'they kill' 5, *baṭūrdu* 'I'll kick him out' 13, *bī-qitfu* 'they gather' 6.

In *tāḥāmlī* 'you (fem.) will carry' 1, the vowel *i* is dropped, and the anaptyxis is assimilated progressively to *a*.

In my recordings only one word of this type occurs without an anaptyxis: *kān yištmu* 'he reproached him' 14.

b) The short *a* in the open unstressed syllable C<sup>2</sup>*a* is generally preserved, e.g.: *yis'ālu* 'they ask' 2, *yinza<sup>a</sup>u* 'they come to help' 10, *bidfa<sup>a</sup>u* 'they pay' 10, *yiqṭa<sup>a</sup>ū* 'they cut it' 10, *yizra<sup>a</sup>u* 'they sow' 10, *yiqḷa<sup>a</sup>u* 'they dig' 10, *birfa<sup>a</sup>u* 'they raise' 1, *yil<sup>a</sup>abu* 'they play' 6, *yiftaḥu* 'they open' 10, *yifrāḥu* 'they rejoice' 6, *yīšrabu* 'they drink' 2, *yihḍaru* 'they attend' 16, *biḡdarūš* 'they cannot' 2, *yūcāmālu* 'they make' 10, *yāmālu* id. 10, *tāmālu* 'you (pl.) make' 10, *bimraḡḍu* 'they get ill' 16, *yilbasu* 'they dress themselves' 3 × 5, *bidbaḥu* 'they kill' 5, *yifhāmu* 'they understand' 6, *birza<sup>a</sup>u* 'they come back' 14, *yigrawu* 'they read' 1, *birbaḥu* 'they gain' 15.

There are, however, a few instances where *a* has changed its place so as to form a closed syllable, e.g.: *besaqṭū<sup>h</sup>in* 'they dismiss them' 10, *birakbūš* 'they don't ride' 5, *ma-yqablīš* 'he doesn't agree' 5.

c) Most of the Arabic verbs with C<sup>2</sup> or C<sup>3</sup> laryngeal have *a* as

the characteristic vowel in the imperfect. When it is *i* or *u* in Cl., it is usually changed into *a* before a laryngeal, as in the words *yīlla<sup>e</sup>úš* 'they don't get out' 1 (Cl. *ʔala<sup>e</sup>a—yaʔlu<sup>e</sup>u*) and *birž<sup>e</sup>a<sup>e</sup>u* 'they come back' 14 (Cl. *raǵa<sup>e</sup>a—yarǵi<sup>e</sup>u*), but preserved after a laryngeal, as in the words *yūq<sup>e</sup>u<sup>u</sup>du* 'they sit' 5, *buš<sup>e</sup>uru* 'they feel' 8. 10, *bāš<sup>e</sup>uru* 'I feel it' 14.

2. Imperfect, imperative and participle forms of the stems VII, VIII and X

a) Stem VII

The imperfect and imperative as well as act. participle forms have the word stress on the preformative unless a personal ending or a suffix follows. The short vowel of the unstressed open syllable C<sup>2</sup>*i* (Cl. C<sup>2</sup>*a*; progressive assimilation) is dropped and a three-consonant cluster is formed. The occurrences are few, e.g.: *yīnīb<sup>i</sup>siʔ* 'he has a good time' 2. 5. 15, *bīnīb<sup>i</sup>siʔ* id. 6, but *ʔbīmsuʔ* 'you (masc.) have a good time' 6, *yīnīb<sup>r</sup>ud* 'he catches cold' 6, *mīnhizem* 'running away' 13.

b) Stem VIII

As in stem VII, here, too, the preformative is stressed and the short vowel of the next open unstressed syllable is dropped (after assimilation *a > i*), but here the three-consonant cluster is preserved, e.g.: *yīstru* 'they buy' 6. 9, *bīstrúš* 'they don't buy' 6, *yīstri* 'he buys' 3. 12, *ištri* id. 5. 10, 'āstri 'I buy' 16, 'ištri id. 5, *bāstri* id. 12, *tištri* 'you (masc.) buy' 3, *nīstri* 'we buy' 5, *mīštrihā* 'its buyer' 10, *mništrīlnā* 'we buy for ourselves' 3, 'āštgīl 'I work' passim, *bāštgīl* id. passim, *tištgīl* 'you (masc.) work' passim, *ʔtištgīl* id. passim, *bīštgīl* 'he works' 1. 6. 12, *nīštgīl* 'we work' 6, *mništgīl* id. 6, *bīntšīr* 'it is spread out' 16, *nīštrik* 'we participate' 13, *tištrik* 'it participates' 6, *u-mništrik* 'and we participate' 11, *yīhtrim* 'he respects' 2 × 13, *yīhtrimhā* 'he respects it' 13, *yīlta* 'he meets' 6, *yētšīl* 'he contacts' 2. 6, *tētšīl* 'she contacts' 2, *yīnibeh* 'he investigates' 2, *emnihtlīf* 'we quarrel' 13, *bīstwi* 'it ripens' 9, *mīstwe* 'ripe' 9.

If C<sup>1</sup> is *e*, an anaptyctic vowel is pronounced after it, e.g.: *yá<sup>e</sup>atnī* 'he takes care' 13.

## c) Stem X

In verbs  $C^2 w/y$  a three-consonant cluster  $stC^1$  is formed in the imperfect, imperative and act. participle forms after the assimilation of the *a* of the preformative to the following *i* and, thereafter, the loss of the short *i* in the open unstressed syllable. This is attested to in my recordings by only two words: *istrîh* 'sit down!' 5 and *bisthu* 'they are ashamed' 5. 15, *tisthîš* 'don't be ashamed!' 2. 6, *misthi* 'ashamed' 5. 6.

In verba firma a cluster of  $C^1C^2C^3$  is formed under the same conditions as in stem I. The cluster is dissolved by an anaptyctic vowel having the same colour as the preceding vowel (*a*), but the instances are few: *yistâqablu* 'they receive' 9, *nistâqablu* 'we receive him' 4. 6, *bistâ'ämlu* 'they use' 4.

## DISCUSSION OF MEDIAL ANAPTYXIS IN LGAL.

The most noticeable difference between the final and medial anaptyxis is that the latter are less exposed to the influence of prosodic phenomena, such as that of different types of juncture. Consequently, more stability is found in the usage of anaptyxis in medial syllables.

A. Final cluster  $-CC$  plus a consonantal suffix

The examples given above show that an anaptyxis is used regularly only when the middle consonant of the cluster is more sonorous than the preceding one, or when these two consonants are hetero-organic. Thus no anaptyxis is generally used before the perfect suffix  $-t$  when it is followed by a consonantal suffix. Because the quality of the third consonant of the cluster has no considerable influence upon the presence or absence of the anaptyxis, the conclusion can be drawn that most of the other cases where an anaptyctic vowel occurs in final clusters are due to different pausal or other junctural phenomena.

*B. Three-consonant medial clusters  $C^1C^2C^3$ ,  $nC^1C^2$ ,  $C^1tC^2$ , and  $stC^1$*

The three-consonant clusters caused by the loss of the characteristic vowel *i/u* in imperfect forms are as a rule dissolved by an anaptyctic vowel having the same colour as the preceding one, i.e. in most cases the same colour as that of the dropped vowel. The presence of the anaptyxis is no longer bound to relative sonority or transition between two hetero-organic consonants as is the case in the medial clusters discussed above. The systematization is proved by the occasional stress on the anaptyxis, and the system of the progressive assimilation might be seen in *tähämli*. The only form where the assimilation does not take place is after the prefix *a-* of sing. 1. This is an additional proof of the important role played here by morphology.

The only case where *u* is preserved is after *e* as  $C^2$ . Because the laryngeal *e* is, in this dialect, in plain colloquial never immediately followed by a consonant, it does not allow dropping of the following vowel. If, however, the vowel were dropped and an anaptyxis were pronounced before *e* for morphological (analogical) reasons, the form should be *\*búqu<sup>eu</sup>du*. Now the secondary syllable *eu* would increase the number of syllables, and the aim of the change would not be achieved.

The preservation of the characteristic vowel *a* has led to two morphological systems in the imperfect. The three instances where *a* has changed its place show how strong the drift towards the new form is.

If we compare the medial clusters of three consonants in imperfect forms in the stems I, VII and VIII, we find that in stem I the cluster is  $C^1C^2C^3$ , in stem VII  $nC^1C^2$  and in stem VIII  $C^1tC^2$ . In stem I,  $C^2$  relatively often forms a crest of sonority, and the usage of anaptyxis has been made uniform by the drift towards systematization. On the other hand,  $C^1$  is seldom more sonorous than the preceding *n* in stem VII. Thus the anaptyxis has remained sporadic. In stem VIII no need for anaptyxis is felt, because the middle consonant *t* never forms a crest of sonority. The only cases where anaptyxis is used are, then, transitions from *e*, evidently also from *'*,

to *t*. An anaptyxis might be pronounced between a voiced C<sup>1</sup>, especially *b*, and *t*, although no such case occurs in my recordings.

In stem X, two different medial clusters occur. One of them, *stC<sup>1</sup>*, is never dissolved, because *t* is always the least sonorous consonant of the group, and, in addition, is not preceded by a laryngeal or a voiced consonant. The other is formed of C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup> under the same conditions as in stem I. The only difference between the clusters in stems I and X is that the latter have always dropped *i* after C<sup>2</sup>, and are preceded by *a*. The three instances in stem I where *a* had changed its place might suggest that the anaptyctic vowel between C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> is a result of metathesis and not of normal anaptyctic development from CCC through C<sup>2</sup>CC to CVCC. The only example showing the progressive assimilation of *a*, *tāhāmli*, could be attributed to the influence of the laryngeal *h*. The forms of stem X have, however, the progressive assimilation of *a* without laryngeal influence. This is the only indisputable case where this happens in LGal., and must be ascribed to the drift towards systematization.

All that has been said above of imperfect forms is applicable to the imperative and active participle forms of the corresponding stems. In the infinitive forms, however, the short *i* in the open unstressed syllable is preserved. These are as a rule borrowings from the *fushā*, and are pronounced unchanged.

#### COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF MEDIAL ANAPTYXIS

The comparative material for medial anaptyxis in Syro-Palestinian dialects shows more conformity than that for the final anaptyxis. This is due to greater stability in the use of anaptyctic vowels in medial clusters, where the influence of different pre-pausal phenomena is eliminated.

##### *A. Final cluster -CC plus a consonantal suffix*

If the middle consonant of the cluster is more sonorous than the first one, the cluster is usually dissolved between its first and

second consonant (C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup> of the noun), e.g. *ʿumurna* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 5), *ibinha* (pp. 2 and 9), *is<sup>i</sup>mha* (p. 3), *rumultak* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 30), *uġ<sup>e</sup>rti* (Bauer, Pal., p. 69), but *ašlha* (p. 98), *'usumha* (Ben Zeev, p. 76), *neġ<sup>i</sup>lha fi riġ<sup>e</sup>lha* (Linder 1952, No. 14, 3), *'is<sup>i</sup>mhā* (Saarisalo, No. VI, 4), *ħaḍ<sup>a</sup>rtak*, *bad<sup>e</sup>rna* (No. XIV, 3), *haġ<sup>e</sup>rḥā* (No. I, 5), but *haġ<sup>i</sup>rīhā* (No. I, 6). The origin of DRIVER's forms such as *ħaḍ<sup>r</sup>atāk* (Grammar, p. 179) and *kilm<sup>i</sup>tēn*, side by side with *kilimtēn* (p. 150), remains obscure. It is hardly probable that these forms occur in any Syro-Palestinian plain colloquial. Most probably they are 'corrected' forms often heard in elevated style.

CANTINEAU transcribes for Palmyra the anaptyctic vowel in this position sometimes by a full vowel, e.g. *kelebne*, *kelebtek* (Palmyre I, p. 101), sometimes by an extra-short, e.g. *kél<sup>e</sup>bte<sup>i</sup>*, *kél<sup>e</sup>btek* (p. 81), in the texts usually by extra-short, e.g. *'ös<sup>ö</sup>mhe* (Palmyre II, pp. 66 and 132), *'āš<sup>ö</sup>lho<sup>u</sup>* (II, p. 87), *'āš<sup>ö</sup>lho<sup>u</sup>* (2 × p. 122), *šāq<sup>ö</sup>tēn* (II, p. 112). There must be more hesitation than the transcription of the texts show, even more than the hesitation between *múšoṭne* and *mušóṭne* (I, p. 101), because the word without a suffix is *muš<sup>t</sup>* ('à côté de *muš<sup>o</sup>t*', I, p. 94). Cantineau's Hōrān also shows full variation. The insertion of the anaptyxis is stated to be facultative e.g. when the first consonant of the cluster is a liquid or a sibilant, as in the word *čālbhe* 'à côté de *čāl<sup>a</sup>bhe*' (Hōrān, p. 364), while elsewhere transcriptions like *čālābti*, *čālābtēn* (p. 167) and *čāl<sup>e</sup>bti*, *čāl<sup>e</sup>btēn* (p. 415) occur.

MATTSSON marks here, as in the final clusters, only the crest of sonority: *bāṭ<sup>o</sup>nhom* (Tūlit, MO 6, p. 96), *miṭ<sup>o</sup>lv* (p. 104), but if an anaptyxis appears for another reason it is marked: *wa'əthv* (Études, p. 103). FEGHALI and NAKHLA as a rule leave the anaptyxis unmarked, but it is surprising that BLANC, who observes it carefully, gives forms like *ħaḍ<sup>r</sup>tak* (Studies, pp. 81, 82 and 86), *šāġ<sup>i</sup>ltak* (p. 86), *'ismha* (p. 100), but: *'isimha* (p. 100). This does not, however, mean that these words were pronounced without anaptyxis. Blanc states on p. 75 that »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*: *farštu* 'his mattress', *buq<sup>t</sup>lu* 'he beats him', side by side with



*būqutlu*, *baḥkmu* 'I shall condemn him' with *bāḥukmu*, *ḥaḍḍrtak* and *ḥāḍḍirtak* 'your presence (honorific)', 'uḥtna 'our sister' *mifṭriyn* (*mifṭri:n*) and (*mifṭri:n*) 'having eaten breakfast (pl.)', *ḥurmtu* and *hurmtu* 'his wife'.» This choice of examples shows that Blanc pays no attention to the position of the sonorous consonants in the cluster, and thus to the syllabication. If the statement is true, the sonorous consonants must be syllabics in *ḥaḍḍrtak*, *ṣaḡltak*, 'ismha. Blanc cannot mean this, as is seen from *buqṭlu*, *baḥkmu*, 'uḥtna, *mifṭriyn*, where the sonorous consonants are the last ones in the clusters and play no significant rôle in the presence or absence of the anaptyxis. Thus it is difficult to know whether the examples are accurate and only classified on incorrect grounds, or whether the inaccurate classification has influence upon the transcription.

If the first consonant of the three-consonant cluster is more sonorous than the second one, the cluster remains undissolved in most Syro-Palestinian dialects. In Palmyra and in Ḥōrān the insertion of anaptyxis is facultative (cf. *supra*, p. 58). Elsewhere forms as *ʿarḍha* (Littmann, Hama, p. 39), 'albhon (p. 41), *ṭaršhim* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 2), *faršti* (Driver, Grammar, p. 31), are so frequent that forms with anaptyxis are exceptions.

The word *ʿind*<sup>1</sup> plus a consonantal suffix occurs usually without anaptyxis, e.g. *ʿandhā* (Bauer, Pal., p. 210), *ʿindhin* (p. 190), *ʿindnāš* (p. 121), *ʿinna*, fell. *ʿinidna* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *ʿendno* (Mattsson, Ṭūlit, MO 8, p. 24), *ʿandhon* (Littmann, Hama, p. 47), *ʿandna* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *ʿindna/ʿinna* (Ben Zeev, p. 25), but *ʿanʿedho*<sup>2</sup> (Cantineau, Palmyre II, pp. 44 and 52), *ʿanʿedho* (3 × p. 52; pl. 3. masc.), *ʿanʿdne* (I, p. 225).

### B. Three-consonant medial clusters $C^1C^2C^3$ , $nC^1C^2$ , $C^1C^2$ , and $stC^1$

#### Stem I

BROCKELMANN (GvG I, p. 212) gives a dialect-geographical account of the anaptyxis occurring in imperfect forms between  $C^1$  and  $C^2$

<sup>1</sup> About the vowel after *ʿ*, *vide* Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas, § 59, Karte 22, Tafel XLII.

in the medial cluster C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup>. He states at first that an anaptyxis occurs very often in North Africa, and is no longer bound to sonorous consonants and laryngeals, and does not change the original stress (according to H. Stumme, *Tunis. Märchen u. Gedichte*, Leipzig 1893). Such forms appear also »vereinzelt in Syrien (according to Landberg, *Prov.*) . . . regelmässig bei Sonoren in Littmann's Volkspoésie . . . und Laryngalen, . . . häufig in <sup>c</sup>Irâq (B. Meissner, *MSOS* 4, 2. 1901)».

Actually the anaptyxis is pronounced in Syro-Palestinian dialects regularly with only some exceptions, e.g. *yidiḏnûh* (Landberg, *Prov.*, p. 213), *juturkak* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 6), *jidiḏnu* (p. 8), *juḏurbe* (p. 9), *bukuşḏûha* (p. 10), *jihirḏûh* (p. 12), *bticirḏih* (p. 14), *ibticirḏak* (p. 20), but *tilbse* (2 × p. 15), *urbtu* (p. 21). The last two instances show that clusters with sonorous C<sup>1</sup> have remained undissolved, but the instance *juḏtlu* (p. 3) suggests theoretical propositions behind the transcription. LITTMANN writes *btihimlo* (Hama, p. 34), *bjimiskû(h)* and *bjiqullû(h)* (p. 41), *btihidmu* (p. 48), *bûšurtû(h)*, *bûnuḏlû*, *yultmû*, *yûşubḡû*, *bûḏubḡû* (Volksp., p. 44), *yuru'sû* (p. 14), *bûḡulşû* (p. 19), *'inizli* (p. 28), *mubugḏîn* (p. 44), *mudilmât* (p. 82). BAUER (Pal.) leaves the anaptyxis unmarked in some paradigms, but adds it in the footnote (e.g. p. 21). It is interesting that he makes a difference between *i* and *u* as characteristic vowels in the imperfect. According to his account *i* is dropped in towns and in the dialect of *fellaḡîn*, the anaptyxis is optional in towns but regularly used by *fellaḡîn*. On the other hand *u* is sometimes dropped in towns but preserved by *fellaḡîn* (Pal., p. 22). His texts show both forms, e.g. *juḏrubu* (p. 194, from *el-Kubêbe*), *ufurši!* (p. 204, from the neighborhood of Nablus). Elsewhere I have not found such a difference between the preservation of *i* and *u* in an open unstressed syllable.

The anaptyxis is very distinct in Palmyra. CANTINEAU transcribes it regularly by a short vowel while the anaptyxis in nouns CVCC plus a consonantal suffix is usually extra-short (cf. *supra*, p. 58): *bödobko<sup>u</sup>*, *böḏöbḡo<sup>u</sup>*, *böroqso<sup>u</sup>* (Palmyre II, p. 14), *börödmo<sup>u</sup>* (p. 19), *böhöfro<sup>u</sup>* (p. 29), but *böhöfro<sup>u</sup>*, (p. 22), *böröbto<sup>u</sup>* (p. 29), *böhöbzo<sup>u</sup>* (p. 37).

Systematization has drawn all the verbs (characteristic vowel *i/u*) to the same form without regard to relative sonority. The laryngeals do not form an exception: *bōqo<sup>c</sup>do<sup>u</sup>* (II, p. 86), *ba<sup>c</sup>arfo<sup>u</sup>* (2 × p. 52). In Ḥōrân the system seems not to be as distinct, because Cantineau transcribes the anaptyxis here sometimes by an extra-short vowel, e.g. *ptek<sup>e</sup>sru*, *ptok<sup>o</sup>tbu* (Ḥōrân, p. 159), sometimes by a short one, e.g. *'okotbi*, *'okotbu* (p. 222), *'okōtbi* (p. 414), *tokōtbi* (p. 214), *tōkōtbi* (p. 181), *ekesri*, *ekesru* (p. 222). In any case the use of anaptyxis is not bound to relative sonority.

MATTSSON, Ṭūlit, and FEGHALI, Kfar, do not mark the anaptyxis in these forms, but in *Études* Mattsson marks the anaptyxis if it appears before a non-sonorous consonant or is pronounced as a transition, e.g.: *yikōtbu*, *byifə'su* (p. 103), and similarly Feghali in *Contes*, e.g.: *byé<sup>c</sup>etlu*, *byé<sup>c</sup>elū*, *byé<sup>c</sup>emlu*, *yébe<sup>c</sup>edu*, *byérébtu*, *yá<sup>c</sup>erfu* (p. 1). The anaptyxis is here a full vowel, but it does not change the stress patterns of the word. Almost the same is FLEISCH's transcription for Zaḥlé, where the progressive assimilation is not as clear as elsewhere (Mattsson's transcription for Beirut excluded): *byim<sup>o</sup>sku*, *byil<sup>o</sup>bsu*, *byih<sup>o</sup>mū*, *byik<sup>o</sup>tbu*, *byid<sup>o</sup>rū*, *byil<sup>o</sup>fzu* (Zaḥlé, p. 91), *byi<sup>o</sup>lbu*, *byi<sup>o</sup>dru* (p. 92). On page 96 he states: »La voyelle très brève peut devenir une brève normale, sans qu'il y ait déplacement d'accent». MALINJOUÏ's transcription, very inconsistent and therefore possibly free of theoretical systematization, gives for Damascus forms like *bih<sup>a</sup>emlu*, *bīh<sup>a</sup>erbu*, *bya<sup>c</sup>erfu*, *bi<sup>c</sup>emlu* (p. 261).

Only BLANC excludes  $C^2 = c$  from the system (*Studies*, p. 76: *buq<sup>c</sup>udu*, *'uq<sup>c</sup>udi*, *'uq<sup>c</sup>udu*) while BEN ZEEV writes *'uq<sup>c</sup>du* (p. 12) just like *'ukutbi*, *'imiski/-u* (p. 12), *'udursi/-u* (p. 12f.), *tukutbi/-u*, *yukutbu*, *bukutbu* (p. 29); cf. also LITTMANN, *Volksp.*, pp. 17: *bū'u<sup>c</sup>dū*, and DRIVER, *Grammar*, p. 17: *bu'u<sup>c</sup>du*, p. 19: *bu'u<sup>c</sup>dū*. Blanc's observation is true at least for Galilee, possibly for a much wider area. Most of the other transcriptions are not as reliable, because they cannot be checked by listening to the same authentic passage an unlimited number of times. The only source of error, though improbable, is that the form is 'corrected'. This may be the case in CZAPKIEWICZ's texts from Mādabā. Although he writes *bji<sup>g</sup>udu*

(p. 19), *big<sup>c</sup>udū* (p. 22) and *bug<sup>c</sup>uden* (p. 32), this is not enough to show that these are actual colloquial forms, because he writes also *buṭlubū* (p. 22), but *buṭulbu* (p. 21) and *bīṭulbū* (p. 22); *bi<sup>c</sup>iẓmū* (p. 22), *biruḡṣū* (p. 22), *jumiskūhā* (p. 23) etc., but *biḥmilū* (p. 22), *juḥruḡū* (p. 21), *mislīmīn* (p. 20); *bingulū* and *binuḡlū* (p. 29).

Although some minor differences are found in descriptions of Syro-Palestinian dialects, the general picture is quite uniform and shows that all around the area the system is no longer bound to sonorous consonants and laryngeals, i.e. in imperfect and imperative forms in stem I (characteristic vowel in imperf. *i/u*) and the active participles in stem IV, the cluster C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup> is generally dissolved between C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> by an anaptyctic vowel which usually has the same colour as the preceding vowel. The fact that the anaptyxis is often realized as a full vowel is attested to both by the examples quoted from LGal., and those given by BLANC: *lli-bsuknu* (Studies, p. 101), *busūknu*, *bikīlbu* (p. 29), and furthermore by ODE-VASILEVA: *btuqūllu* (p. 194).

#### Stems VII, VIII and X

A three-consonant cluster in imperf. of stems VII and VIII is formed only in the dialect area where the preformative is accented. According to BERGSTRÄSSER's Sprachatlas (p. 202, Karte 17) this is the case in Palestine proper, Lebanon and Southern Transjordan. For Palestine BAUER has in his paradigms (Pal., p. 39) the forms *banḡriḥ*, *iḡriḥ*, *minḡriḥ*, *bāḥtmīl*, *iḥtmīl*, *mīḥtmīl*, but infinitive *iḥtimāl*, SCHMIDT and KAHLE have *minḡsir*, *tinsrik*, *binḡṭī<sup>c</sup>*, *ništ-rīlha*, *bīḥtris*, *bīlthi*, *juṣṭbuh*, *jinṭhi*, *birṭbit*, *mirtēi*, (I, p. 57\*), DRIVER *yinsriq* and *binḡṭī<sup>c</sup>* (p. 18), LITTMANN *bištrū* (Volksp., p. 14), *yistlim* (p. 20), *tistfil* (p. 32), BEN ZEEV *baštri* (p. 13), BLANC *yištriq* (Studies, p. 101), *baštḡil/baštiḡil* (p. 76), *biftkir* (p. 85), *baftkir/bafti-kir* (p. 76). The cluster is seldom dissolved by an anaptyxis: *jinībsiṭ* (Bauer, Pal., p. 210, 'Bed.') and *tinībsiṭ* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 13). In Lebanon, the vowel is usually preserved in Beirut and Tripoli. For the former MATTSSON writes *yinkisir/yinkisir*, *minṭhi/mintehi*

(Études, p. 97), *btistaǧīl* (Ṭūlit, MO 6, p. 104), *ftīkīr* (p. 112), *btiftīkīr* (p. 92), for the latter EL-HAJJÉ: *byenkáser*, *nkáser*, *menkáser*, *byaftéker*, *ftéker*, *maftéker* (p. 102). In the countryside the preformative is accented, and a cluster of three consonants is formed: *bleksri* (Nakhla, p. 128), *byindru*, *byindbu*, *byinṭru* (Fleisch, Zahlé, p. 97). The infinitive belongs to the same system in NAKHLA'S transcription: *ʿnftáh*, *ejtmá<sup>c</sup>* (p. 155), but not elsewhere (e.g. el-Hajjé: *'aftíkār*, p. 102). As for Central Transjordan, the number of occurrences in CZAPKIEWICZ'S transcription is too few to establish the general preservation of the vowel, although no exception can be found: *bištaǧīl* (p. 19), *biḥtalīf* (p. 24), *aftakīr* (p. 28), *bištaǧīlū* (p. 28).

In Damascus, Ḥōrān and Palmyra the preformative is unstressed, and no three-consonant cluster is formed: *yəftáker*, *yənkáser*, *yəštáǧel* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *yīnkaser*, *mōnkaser* (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, p. 263), *bōstawi*, *bōrtaci* (p. 265), *bōnkaser*, *mōnkaser* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 153).<sup>1</sup>

In stem X the three-consonant cluster  $stC^1$  is not dissolved by anaptyxis in the Syro-Palestinian dialect area. Thus BAUER writes *jīstrīḥ*, *īstrīḥ*, *mīstrīḥ*, *jīstḥi*, *jīstḥīkḥ* (Pal., pp. 40f.), MATSSON *nīstrīḥ* (Ṭūlit, MO 6, p. 106), BARTHÉLEMY *yəstrīḥ*, but *yəstāḥi* (Dict., s.v.), and BLANC *tīstḥi* (Studies, p. 75). CZAPKIEWICZ transcribes even the infinitive as having lost the vowel after the prefix *st-*: *īstrāḥa* (p. 32). In Ḥōrān no three-consonant cluster is formed: *bōstafīg*, *bōstārīḥ*, *bōstāḥi* (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, p. 272).

The cluster  $C^1C^2C^3$  occurring in *verba firma* is dissolved optionally. BAUER does not dissolve it in his paradigms, possibly because the model verb is *istanzar* (Pal., p. 39). CZAPKIEWICZ transcribes a non-assimilated anaptyxis: *bīstagīblu* (p. 19). Practically the same form is given for Ḥōrān by CANTINEAU: *yīstag<sup>e</sup>blu*, imperat. and part. act. *ʿstag<sup>e</sup>blī* and *mōstag<sup>e</sup>blīn* (Ḥōrān, p. 271), but in Palmyra the corresponding forms are undissolved: *bōsta<sup>e</sup>lō<sup>u</sup>*, *mōsta<sup>e</sup>līn* etc.

<sup>1</sup> In Palmyra the place of the stress is uncertain. Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 100, states that one of his friends hears *bōnkaser*, *bōftaker*, while two of them hear *bōnkáser*, *bōftáker*.

(Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 157), although here the anaptyxis may be omitted because of *c* (cf. *ba<sup>c</sup>ed ma* Palmyre II, pp. 99, 122, 124, 125, 127, but *ba<sup>c</sup>d ma* pp. 48, 93).

The examples *btestah<sup>a</sup>snu*, *stah<sup>a</sup>snu*, *mastah<sup>a</sup>snin* given for Tripoli by EL-HAJJÉ (p. 108) do not show progressive assimilation, but the colour of the anaptyxis is due to the influence of *h*; cf. *byəsta<sup>c</sup>əmlu* (p. 191), *yesta<sup>c</sup>əmlu* (3 × p. 189).