

Prothesis

DESCRIPTION OF PROTHESIS IN LGAL.

A. NOMINA

1. CiC \bar{V} C-

The short *i* of the open unstressed initial syllable is usually lost, and a prothetic vowel has developed before the two-consonant cluster C¹C²-, e.g.: *iktāb* 'book' 4, *l-iktāb* 'the book' 4. 15, *iblād* 'country, region' 16, *blādnā* 'our region' 6. 16, *esbāḥa* 'swimming' 5, *ešhāde* 'certificate' 12, *iflāḥa* 'agriculture' 14, *ezrā^ea* id. 10. 16, *ehšān* 'horse' 13. 15, *l-ehšān* 'the horse' 13, *el-ehšān* id. 13, *ehmār* 'donkey' 5. 15, *l-ehmār* 'the donkey' 5. 10, *l-ehmāra* 'the she-ass' 3 × 5, *ehsāb* 'account' 9. 14. 15, *ehkāye* 'story' 1, *l-ehkāye* 'the story' 4. 6, *l-ähkāye* id. 4. 6, *l-ehdāde* 'smithcraft' 15, *l-iqšāra* 'plastering' 6.

In some words *i* is preserved, e.g.: *nikāḥ* 'marriage' 8, *šihātku* 'your side' 10, *liwā'i* 'governor' 13, *hilāl* 'meanwhile' 6. 14, *qitār* 'engine' 1. 5, *hižār* 'stones' 2 × 2, *hⁱyār* 'cucumber(s)' 5 × 5, *zⁱyāra* 'visit' 2 × 15, *sⁱyāsi* 'political' 14, *rⁱyāda* 'sports' 14, *Rⁱyād* personal name 6, *šimāl* 'north' 6. 14, *tižāra* 'commerce' 15.

2. CuC \bar{V} C-

a) In words of the form CuCāC- the short *u* is lost, e.g.: *iflān* 'So-and-so' 1. 6. 11, *trāb* 'mud' 1. 3, *l-iMgār* place name 3. Before *w* the loss of the vowel is hard to hear, e.g. in *šwāl* 'sack' 2. In *suāl* 'question' 2 and *Fuād* personal name 3 × 6, ' is dropped but *u* preserved.

b) In singular words of the form CuCūC- the short *u* is lost in following examples: *l-iftār* 'breakfast' 4. 7, *šyū^ei* 'communist' 2. 6, *šyū^eiyye* id. (adj. fem.) 1. 14, but preserved in *ḥukūme* 'government'

12, *ḥ^ukūmi* 1. 12. 14, *ḥuṣūṣi* 'special' 1. 7. 12, *ḥuṣūṣan* 'specially' 10. 13, and *wuṣūḍ* 'existence' 10. 16.

In the broken plurals of the form CuCūC- the short *u* is dropped in: *ḥ^ed-drūf* 'circumstances' 9. 13. 15, *ḥ^ud-drūf* id. 6, *id-drūs* 'studies' 5. 14, *ibnūki* 'banks' 7 × 1, *ṭrūš* 'cattle' 10. 16, *ibyūt* 'houses' 1.2.6. 10; shortened but not wholly lost in: *q^ubūr* 'graves' 5, *q^urūš* 'piasters' 5, *q^urūn* 'horns' 5, *el-š^uyūš* 'armies' 10; but in some words preserved: *ḥarūb* 'wars' 3 × 10, *wuḥūš* 'wild beasts' 4 × 3, *muhār* 'dowries' 8, *šurūt* 'conditions' 8, *furūd* 'obligations' 8, 'umūr' 'orders' 8, 'uyūni' 'my eyes' 3 × 3, *wu^eūd* 'promises' 14, *mutūra* 'metres' 6. 7 (but: *ṭālūt imtūra* 'three metres' 6).

c) The diminutive words of the form CuCayC- regularly lose the short *u*, e.g.: *eHsēn* personal name 5. 14, *eḥšēni* 'fox' 7 × 13, *l-iB^eeyne* place name 3. 4. 5, *l-I^eizēr* place name 2. 3. 4, *el-^eHzēr* 6, *fi-l-^eHzēr* 'in ^eHzēr' 2. 3, *eMnēzil* personal name 6, *eSlimān* personal name 14, *šnēne* 'garden' 10. 14. 15, *eḥḥēfle* 'peppercorn' 10, *šwayy*, *šwayyi*, *išwayy*, *išwayyi* 'a little' passim, *kwayyis* 'nice' 7 × 16, *mayy* 'water' passim. In the name of the Bedouin tribe ^eArab al-Wuhayb both *u* and *w* are dropped: *^eArab il-Hēb* 3. 10.

The personal names Suhayl and Suhayla are pronounced *Suhēl* and *Suhēvlā* 6. 15. The word *eḥṣayl* formed of *baṣal* 'onion' in a play of words (Text No. 8b, p. 158) compared with the other pairs *rozz-rayz* 'rice' and *^eadas-^eadays* 'lentil' is related to the diminutive form CuCayC-.

3. CaCVC-

a) In form CaCāC- the short *a* is generally preserved, e.g.: *sālām* 'peace' passim, *tāmām* 'complete' 3, *tāmāmān* 'completely' 6. 15, *kālām* 'speech' 6, *zāmān* 'time' 1. 2. 5. 15, *šāmā^e* 'group' 1. 10, *ṭāmānye* 'eight' passim, *tāmānye* id. 9. 10. 11. 15. 16, *ṭālāṭi* 'three' passim, *ṭālāṭi* id. 8. 10. 15. 16, 'āmān' 'safety' 10, 'āsās' 'basis' 1. 14, *ḥālāl* 'livestock' 16, id. 'legitimate' 13; *karāme* 'honour' 2, *šawāz* 'marriage' 8. 13, *ḥawāža* 'Sir' 5 × 14, *naḍāfe* 'cleanness' 10, *šadāqa* 'friendship' 6. 7, *Šalāḥ* personal name 10, *ḥarām* 'forbidden' 1. 6, *^eadālye* 'justice' 2, *^eamāra* 'building' 4. 6. 9.

The word *enhâr* 'day' 1. 6. 7. 15, has exceptionally lost the vowel of the first syllable. Further examples: *bi-nhâr* 'by day' 1, *kull inhâr* 'every day' 3 × 4, *lêl enhâr* 'night and day' 1. 6, *tôl en-nhâr* 'all the day long' 5. 6. 15. Another exception is the word *žâž* 'hens' 4. 10, *žâže* 'hen' 5 × 13, which has lost the whole first syllable (Cl. *dağâğ*-).

In broken plurals of the forms CawāCiC- and CaCā'iC- the vowel of the first syllable is always preserved, e.g.: *šawâri^{ca}* 'streets' 6. 10, *fawâki* (final *h* dropped) 'fruit(s)' 9. 14, *nawâdi* 'clubs' 16, *sâgâ^{yir}* 'cigarettes' 3, *kârâsi* 'chairs' 7. 15, *lâyâli* 'nights' 14, *daqâ^{yiq}* 'minutes' 14, *näsâ^{yib}* 'relatives' 9, *qarâ^{yib}* 'relatives' 7, *žârâ^{yid}* 'newspapers' 15.

In the nomina formed with the prefix *ma-* the vowel of the open first syllable is always preserved, e.g.: *manâh* 'climate' 14, *mâkân* 'place' 10. 11, *mațâr* 'airport' 6. 7. 15, *mâšâkil* 'problems' 1. 6. 10. 13. 15. 16, *manâdir* 'scenes' 1. 14, *mawâkel* 'fodder' 3, *mawâfir* 'savings' 2, *mawâši* 'cattle' 4 × 10, *ma^{am}ile* 'factories' 4 × 6, *ma^{ar}âⁱ* 'pastures' 16, *manâti* 'regions' 3 × 16, *ma^{at}i* 'cucumber fields' 16, *mâhâkim* 'trials' 7, *mädâris* 'schools' 3 × 3; *mâhâll* 'place' 15, *mâhâlli* 'local' 1. 6. 8. 10. 14, *maḥaṭṭa* 'station' 13, *mâžâlli* 'magazine' 5 × 15.

b) Most words of the form CaCiC- preserve their short *a* in the open unstressed initial syllable, e.g.: *žämî^{ca}* 'all' 7¹, *žârîde* 'news-

¹ A short or extra-short vowel often precedes a final *h* after *i*, *e* and *u*, but always follows *e*. Christie gives for Galilee *tebi^{ac}* and *rabi^{ah}* (p. 96), Bauer for Palestine *ğû^{ac}*, *yasû^{ac}*, *mli^{eh}* and *masi^{eh}* (Pal., p. 14), W. Marçais for Ūlâd Brâhîm (Algeria) *žû^{öc}*, *erbi^{öc}*, *âmlî^{öḥ}* (pp. 160 and 162). Driver compares these vowels with the *patâh furtivum* in Hebrew: *wâsi^{ac}* cf. Hebr. *hōšê^{ca}*, *rî^{ah}*, *rû^{ah}*, cf. Hebr. *rê^{ah}*, *rû^{ah}* (JRAS 1920, p. 307). Fleisch states (Zahlé, p. 79): »*cayn* facilement demande une voyelle de secours quand il ferme une syllabe: *ba^{ca}dên* au lieu de *ba^cdên*, *ma^{ca}* ou *ma^{ca}* au lieu de *ma^c*. On remarquera les voyelles 'furtives' à la manière de l'hébreu: *birrêb^{wâi^{ac}}*, *bâlê^{ac}*.» Landberg explains (Jeder tut, p. 79) that »*šan^c* ist ohne Hilfsvokal nicht aussprechbar, und *e* nimmt wieder sein hier notwendiges Vorschlags-*a* an: *â^c*, was die neue Silbenbildung *ša-na^c* hervorbringt. Dieser Fall ist auch ein guter Beweis dafür, dass es *â^c* ist und nicht z.B. *žâr^{cê}* wie Socin, hier s.v. *dhq*, schreibt.

paper' 1. 11. 15, *dālīl* 'guide' 3, *ẓārīme* 'burden' 1. 5, *yāmīn* 'right-hand' 1. 5, *šādīd* 'strong' 10, *bā^cid* 'far' 15, *lāmīn* 'precious' 6, *daqīqa* 'minute' 5, *ẓāmīl* 'beautiful' 1. 6. 15, *Ẓāmīl* personal name 6 × 6, *Sālīm* id. 6. 7, *Sāmīr* id. 9. 15, *Māsīh* 'Christ' 1. 5. 15, *Māsī^eh* id. 1. 5, *māsīhi* 'Christian' 5. 6. 7. 9. 15;

ḥādīqa 'garden' 6. 10, *ḥādītā* 'new (fem.)' 10, *ḥādīt* 'tradition' 4. 8, *ḥaqīqa* 'truth' 6. 7. 15, *ḥālīb* 'milk' 1. 16, *ḥākīm* 'physician' 1. 3, *ḥašīde* 'harvest' 6. 16, *ḥādīd* 'iron' 5, *ḥāmīr* 'donkeys' 5. 14, *ḥābībī* 'my friend' 6. 14, *ʿarīs* 'bridegroom' 5. 7, *ʿadīm* 'magnificent' 7, *ʿadīme* id. (fem.) 10, *ahīr* 'latest' 2 × 15, *ǧarīb* 'stranger' 2. 15, *ǧamīq* 'deep' 5. 6, *ḥafīf* 'light' 16, *raqīq* 'weak' 6, *ra'īs* 'president' 7. 14, *ra'īsī* 'main' 6, *marīd* 'sick' 1, *qalīl* 'a little' 1. 6, *qadīm* 'old' 5. 7, *qadīme* id. (fem.) 2. 6. 10. 15, *qarīb* 'near' 3. 4, *garīb* id. 14, *qatīl* 'dead body' 2 × 1, *qašīde* 'qašīda-poem' 6, *qašīr* 'short' 5. 6. 9, *ṭarīq* 'way' 10. 15, *ṭarī* id. 16, *ṭarīqa* 'way, means' 1, *ṭarīga* id. 13, *ṭabīb* 'doctor' 3. 6. 15, *ṭabī^ei* 'natural' 6. 15. 16, *ṭabīh* 'food' 13. 16, *ṭawīl* 'long, tall' 1. 5. 6. 15, *ṭawīle* id. (fem.) 6, *ḍamīr* 'conscience' 5. 6, *ḍāmīri* 'my conscience' 2 × 1, *ḍamīru* 'his conscience' 6, *ḍarībe* 'tax' 15, *šadīq* 'friend' 2. 11, *šadīqi* 'my friend' 11, *šahīh* 'true' 6. 15, *šahī^ah* id. 6, *ḥašīt* 'simple, small' passim, *ḥašīta* id. (fem.) 9, *ḥaṭīl* 'bad, inferior' 2, *faḡīr* 'poor' 2. 3, *farīq* 'team' 6, *wazīr* 'minister' 5. 6, *wakīl* 'confidential clerk' 6. 15, *wasīle* 'implement' 2 × 1, *wadīfe* 'employment' 5, *waḥīd* 'only' 1. 6. 9. 15, *waḥīde* id. (fem.) 6; *Rašīd* personal name 14, *Sa^cid* id. 2, *Fāhīm* id. 6. 7, *Lābīb* id. 5, *Ḥalīl* id. 7. 15, *Fārīd* id. 7. 15, *Wadī^{ca}* id. 15, *Laṭīf* id. 3, *Ḥafīda* id. 2 × 6.

The nomina formed with the prefix *ma-* preserve the *a* of the initial syllable: *mā^ciše* 'life' 2. 6. 15, *mā^cišt en-nās* 'life of the people' 2, *mādīne* 'town' 1, *mākīttu* 'his treachery' 13.

^c kann überhaupt, nach meinem Dafürhalten, keinen Nachklang haben, sondern wird sofort abgeschnitten. Dasselbe tritt im Hebr. bei Kehllauten ein, Strack Hebr. Gramm. § 28.» However, in relaxed colloquial, ^c is explicitly followed by a vocalic element (cf. Denz, ZDMG 114, p. 237: *sabac^a*). Otherwise it may become voiceless, especially in final position (e.g. *bāh* for *bā^c*, *infra*, Text No. 8, footnote 10).

In many words the short *a* of the initial syllable is dropped, and usually a prothetic vowel is pronounced before the cluster C¹C²-, e.g.: *imlīḥ* 'good' 6. 15, *imnīḥ* id. 9. 13, *imlī^{ah}* id. 1, *imlī^{eh}* id. 1. 7, *imlīḥa* id. (fem.) 15, *endīfe* 'clean' (fem.) 6. 14, *endīf* id. (masc.) 2, *insibnā* 'our relative' 5, *erhāṣa* 'cheap (fem.)' 6, *imrīḍ* 'sick' 6. 10. 16 (but: *marīḍ*, *supra*), *erfiqi* 'my comrade' 6, *izgār* 'small' 1. 3. 6, *iḏḏīd* 'new' 15. 16, *etqīle* 'heavy (fem.)' 9, *ikbīr* 'big' passim, *iktīr* 'much' passim, *iktīr* id. 9. 15. 16, *ktīr* *iktīr* 'very much' 3. 14, *frīqi* 'my team' 11, *frīqtēn* 'two teams' 14 (but: *fariq*, *supra*), *išrīt* 'tape' 6, *ešcīr* 'barley' 10. 14, *ešcīr* id. 2. 3, *ebcīd* 'far' 6, *ebcīd* id. 1 (but: *bācīd*, *supra*), *eḥīn* 'flour' 2 × 2.

The plural form of *seni/sini* 'year' is either *snīn/īsīnīn*, passim, or *sānawāt* 6. 9. 15.

c) In the words of the form CaCūC- the short *a* is preserved, e.g.: *ḥamūle* 'family, clan' 3 × 10, *ḥamūqa* 'fools' 1, 'akūl' 'big eater' 1, 'arūs' 'bride' 5. 6. 7. 8, *ḡānūb* 'south' 14, *yāhūd* 'Jews' 6, *yāhūdi* 'Jew' 9.

4. The demonstrative pronoun *hādāḥ(ā)* and the adverb *hunāk(ā)*

An open unstressed initial syllable precedes a long stressed syllable in following words: *hādāḥā* 'that' 2. 6, *hādāḥi* id. (fem.)¹ 10, *hādōl* 'those' 10, *hādōla* id. 6. 10, *hunāk* 'there' 2. 6, *hunākā* id. 7. 10. 11, *hināk* id. 2. 11, *hinākā* id. 6, *h^unāki* id. 16, *hnāk* id. 11.

5. Broken plurals of the form 'aCCāC-

Several words of this form are pronounced with 'a-, e.g.: 'anwā^{ca} 'kinds' 14, 'amrāḍ 'sick (pl.) 1. 10, 'amṭār 'rains' 1, 'aṣḥāb 'friends' 3 × 14, 'afrād 'persons' 6, 'awḍā^{ca} 'circumstances' 6, 'awqāt 'times' 14, 'awṣāf 'traits of character' 6, 'aṣwāt 'votes' 14, 'āšyā 'things' 6. 10, 'āsbāb 'reasons' 6, 'āšbāl 'cub scouts' 4 × 16, 'āflām 'films' 15, 'akbār 'older (pl.)' 6, 'ātrāk 'Turks' 7, 'āhrāš 'forests' 10. 16.

In many words 'a- is lost, and the word begins with an initial

¹ -i < ā; cf. Mattsson, *Études*, pp. 86f.; Blanc, *Studies*, p. 49; Fischer, p. 94, footnote 2, and pp. 119ff.

cluster CC-, usually preceded by a prothetic vowel, e.g.: *enfár* 'persons' 2. 3. 4, *eṣḥáb* 'friends' 5, *ṣḥáb* id. 2 × 10, '*innhä drâž idrâž* 'that it was arranged in steps' 5, *esbâb* 'reasons' 16, *l-ibwâb* 'doors' 10. 16, *esnân* 'teeth' 14, *ḥamist iyyâm* 'five days' 6. 7. 9, *sitt iyyâm* 'six days' 6. 7. 9, *eyyâm qabel* 'the days before' 3, *yôm m-el-eyyâm* 'one day' 11.

Similarly, the words (Cl.) '*awlād* 'children' and '*aytām* 'orphans' have lost the first element of the initial diphthong, e.g.: *ulād* passim, *l-iwlād* 2. 10, *sitt iwlād* 'six children' 4, *kânu ytām* 'they were orphans' 2.

6. The word *šī*/'*iši* (Cl. *šay*'-)

The most usual forms in my recordings are '*iši* and *šī*, proclitic *šī*, 'something, anything', passim. Other forms are '*eše*' 4. 15, in both cases pronounced by a woman, and with article *nāfs iš-šī* 'the same thing' 9. 16.

7. Loan words

Loan words beginning with two consonants are sometimes pronounced with a prothetic vowel, e.g.: *egram* 'gram' 15, *Sân eFrānsisko* 'San Francisco' 14, *ebrúmyâ* 'plums' 10. 14, *eFrânša* 'France' 13, *iBriṭányâ* 'Britain' 16, *eBriṭányâ* id. 3; sometimes without a prothesis, e.g.: *traktorât* 'tractors' 14, *traktor* id. (sing.) 3. 5, *stîrin* 'steering-wheel' 5, *brêk* 'brake' 5, *braywit* 'private car' 9, *trâk* 'truck' 11, *mušîqa l-klässikiyye* 'classical music' 14, *bi-l-brinġânât* 'with Bren-guns' 3 × 6, *el-blok* 'block' 15.

Some loan words with a short vowel in an open unstressed initial syllable: *ḥaṣanda* 'veranda' 5. 6. 14, *maḥâṃ* 'Mapam-party' 2. 5, *maḥây* 'Mapai-party' 2. 5. 12, *iknîse* 'church' 5. 7, *bulîš* 'police' 5. 10. 11, *sigâra* 'cigarette' 6, *ibrinžî* 'prima (Turk. *birinçi*)' 3. 4.

B. VERBA

1. Perfect of stem I

a) *Verba firma*. In sing. 2. masc. fem., 1., pl. 2. masc. fem., 1., and in all persons with a consonantal suffix, the verbs of the form

CiCiC- lose the vowel of the first syllable. When the verb is not preceded by a word ending in a vowel in close juncture, a prothetic vowel is usually pronounced before the two-consonant initial cluster, e.g.: *ismá^{ci}t* 'I heard' 10, *imsikt* 'I grasped' 5, *imsikit* id. 11, *imsiktu* 'I grasped it' 11, *iržá^{ci}t* 'I returned' 5. 13, *eržét* id. 5, *iržá^{ci}ná* 'we returned' 4. 6. 11, *iržéná* id. 4. 5. 6, *irkibt* 'I rode' 3. 14, *irkibit* id. 5. 14, *irkibná* 'we rode' 6. 11. 14, *erkibná* id. 11, *irkibhā* 'he rode on it' 5, *inzilt* 'I went down' 6. 11, *inzilná* 'we went down' 4. 11. 15, *ihsirnā* 'we lost' 10, *illá^{ci}t* 'I left' 6, *illá^{ci}ná* 'we left' 14, *etlā^{ci}ná* id. 4. 11. 12, *etlā^{ci}t* 'I left' 5, id. 'you left' 4, *etlā^{ci}tu* 'you (pl. 2.) left' 15, *ešribná* 'we drank' 6. 11. Once a stressed prothesis occurs in sing. 3. masc.: 'irkib 'he rode' 6.

The following words occur in the recordings without a prothesis: *skirt* 'you got drunk' 5, *skirnā* 'we got drunk' 5, *tlā^{ci}ná* 'we left' 5. 7, *fhimt?* 'did you understand?' 12, *fhimít?* id. 5. 9. 16, *fhimít* 'you understood' 5. 12, *ušilná* 'we arrived' 5.

When *C¹* is *e*, the vowel of the first syllable is preserved: *ʿirifit* 'I realized' 5.

In verbs of the form *CaCaC-* the vowel of the first syllable is usually preserved, e.g.: *žämä^{ca}nā* 'we collected' 10, *žämä^{ca}nāhā* 'we collected it' 10, *sarāhīt* 'I shepherded' 3, *sarahná* 'we shepherded' 5, *sā'ält* 'I asked' 9, *sā'altu* 'I asked him' 6, *sā'ālhā* 'he asked her' 2, *qa^{ca}dnā* 'we sat' 7, *qa^{ca}dnā* id. 14, *ṭalābit* 'I proposed' 14, id. 'you proposed' 13, *haražná* 'we went out' 14, *tarákit* 'I left' 7, *qatalūni* 'they assaulted me' 3, *kātābt* 'I wrote' 10, *kātābit* id. 5, *sākānit* 'I lived' 2. 3. 4. 12. 14, *ṭabāhīt* 'I cooked' 4, *ḥatābit* 'you betrothed' 13, 'ūkālīt 'you ate' 5, *zā^{ca}ālīt* 'you got angry' 6, *ḍabāhīt* 'you killed' 5, *qa^{ca}att* 'I sat' 4. 14, *qa^{ca}ādīt* id. 6. 10, 'aḥatt 'I took' 12. 15, id. 'you took' 2, 'ahādīt id. 4. 9, *wažatt* 'I found' 16, id. 'you found' 16, 'aratt 'I pointed out' 16.

In a few cases the first syllable has lost its *a*, and a prothesis is pronounced, e.g.: *etrākīt* 'you left' 3, *idbahū* 'they killed it' 11, *ās'ält* 'I asked' 9.

There are only three examples of the passive perfect: *wulidit* 'you were born' 3, *hliqīt* id. 7, id. 'I was born' 5.

b) *Verba tertiae infirmae*. In sing. 2. masc. fem., 1., pl. 2. masc.

fem., 1., the verbs of the form *CiCi-* lose the vowel of the first syllable before the stressed long-vocalic syllable. Unless the verb is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in close juncture, a prothetic vowel is usually pronounced before the two-consonant initial cluster, e.g.: *imšit* 'I walked' 5. 11. 16, *imšinä* 'we walked' 5. 11, *insit* 'I forgot' 5. 6. 14, id. 'you forgot' 2 × 14, 'eqrēnā 'we read' 5.

The verbs of the form *CaCa-* have usually preserved the vowel of the first syllable before the stressed long-vocalic syllable, e.g.: *hākēnā* 'we spoke' 6, *hākēthā* 'I said it' 6, *mā-hākētis* 'you didn't speak' 6, *hākēti* 'you spoke to me' 6, *hākētlak* 'I spoke to you' 6, *nawēnā* 'we intended' 14, *bānēnā* 'we built' 1, *bādēnā* 'we began' 7.

Exceptionally *a* is lost in *chkēnā* 'we spoke' 16, and *ibdinā* 'we began' 6. 16.

c) *The verb šy' / šy 'to come'*. The following perfect forms of this verb occur in my recordings: sing. 1.: 'āšēt passim, šit 1. 5. 13; sing. 2. masc.: 'āšēt 5; sing. 2. fem.: 'āšēti 6, 'āšēt 6; sing. 3. masc.: 'ešā 4 × 5, 'āšā passim; sing. 3. fem.: 'ešāt 5, 'āšāt 1. 6. 11. 16; pl. 1.: 'āšēnā 11. 14. 15, 'išinā 2 × 6, šinā 6. 7; pl. 2.: šitu 6. 15; pl. 3.: 'āžu 6. 7. 10.

2. Stems *V* and *VI*

a) *Perfect and imperative*. In most instances these forms are begun by a two-consonant cluster *tC¹*, preceded by a prothetic vowel, e.g.: 'iḥāssānāt 'it has been improved' 10, iḥāssān id. (masc.) 3 × 3, *w-iḥāddātnā* 'and we talked' 2 × 11, *itrazšētū* 'I asked him' 1, *w-it-källämnā* 'and we talked' 11, *idšawwāzīt* 'I married' 14, *idšawwāznā* 'we married' 14, *iḥawwašū* 'they got roused' 14, 'itnāqqu 'they chose' 2 × 10, *itmännā* 'hope (imperat.)' 5, *iṭṭalla^{ca}* 'look (imperat.)' 1 passim, 'itrāhanu 'they made a bet' 2 × 1, *iḥādātu* 'they talked to each other' 5.

Sometimes these forms are begun with the two-consonant cluster *tC¹* without a prothesis, e.g.: *tfaḍḍal* 'please' passim, *tharrāzīt* 'I graduated' 15, *tfarražnā* 'we watched' 15, *trayyāḥ* 'he sat down to rest' 1, id. 'sit down (and take your rest)' 1, *trayyāḥnā* 'we sat down' 11, *u-trakkēnā* 'and we leant down' 5 (cf. *w-it-*, *supra*), *tqaddām* 'it has developed' 2, *tjayyārat* 'it has changed' 14.

When C¹ is *e*, the vowel of the prefix is preserved, e.g.: *ta^eallāmit* 'I learned' 15, *ta^eallāmit* id. passim, id. 'you learned' 14, *ta^eallāmu* 'they learned' 6 × 7, *ta^eallām* 'he learned' 12, *ta^eawwad* 'he is rewarded' 3, *ta^eāl* 'come (imperat.)' 6, *ta^eaššēnā* 'we had dinner' 5, *ta^eašši* 'have your dinner (imperat.)' 2 × 5, *ta^earrafnā* 'we became acquainted' 15, *ta^eayyū* 'they cried' 6.

Some exceptions are to be found, e.g.: *i^ecallāmnā* 'we learned' 6, *i^ecallām* 'he learned' 6, *i^ecallāmit* 'I learned' 14.

b) *Infinitive*. As a rule the initial syllable *ta-* is preserved, e.g.: *tāmāddūn* 'urbanization' 1. 16, *taqaddum* 'progress' passim, *t^uquddum* id. 9, *tāṣāḥḥor* 'patience' 4, *tātāwcor* 'development' 3. 14, *taqārūb* 'approaching' 6. 14, *tūfāhum* 'mutual understanding' 13, *ta^eāwun* 'co-operation' 13, *tānās^sul* 'reproduction' 8, *ta^eāruf* 'acquaintance' 9.

3. Perfect and imperative of stems VII, VIII and X

a) *Stem VII*. The prothetic vowel *i* is usually pronounced, e.g.: *infātāh* 'it was opened' 1, *inkásrāt* 'it was broken' 10, *inžārāh* 'he was injured' 16, *indātārāt* 'it was ruined' 10; but *u-mbašā!na* (not *w-im-*, cf. *supra*, p. 72) 'and we had a good time' 7.

b) *Stem VIII*. In most cases the prothesis is pronounced, e.g.: *ištālāhu* 'they became reconciled' 14, *ihtālaṭu* 'they were mixed' 6, *ihtīl^fu* 'they began to quarrel' 13, *ihtaṣṣ* 'he specialized' 7, *ištiǧalt* 'I worked' passim, id. 'you worked' 6, *ištiǧálit* 'I worked' 3. 9. 13. 14. 15, *ištiǧalnā* 'we worked' 6, *ištarēt?* 'did you buy?' 1, *lēš eštarēt^u?* 'why did you buy it?' 1, *intāhā* 'it is in the end' 5, *eḥtārāmnā* 'we showed respect' 14. Only two instances are to be found without the prothetic vowel, one of them an optional variant *štarēt^u* 'I bought it' 1, the other beginning originally with a geminate: *(t)taṣal* 'he contacted' 13.

c) *Stem X*. Free variation seems to prevail between the presence and absence of the prothesis, e.g.: *stānnā* 'wait (imperat.)' 1. 3. 6, *stānnāni* 'wait for me' 2, but *istānnā* 'wait (imperat.)' 6, *istānnu* 'they waited' 6, *istānnēt* 'I waited' 13, *istrīh* 'sit down (imperat.)' 5, *istaḥṭat* 'she recognized her fault' 2, *stamarrēt* 'I continued' 3, *istaǧrab* 'he wondered' 1, *istaǧrabt* 'I wondered' 1.

4. *Imperfect of stems I C²w/y, med.gem., 4-rad., II, and III*

a) *Imperfect of stem I of verbs C²w/y.* The personal prefix has usually lost its vowel, except sing. 1., and a prothetic vowel is pronounced before the two-consonant clusters tC^1 and nC^1 if not preceded by a word ending in a vowel in close juncture, e.g.: *itrúh* 'you go' 1. 2. 3. 5, id. 'she goes' 6, *ilkún* 'you'll be' 1. 14, *itkún* 'it will be' 10, *'iḥkún* 'we'll be' 6, *itqúl* 'you say' 1. 5. 6, id. 'she says' 2, *it'úl* 'you say' 16, *in'úl* 'we say' 16, *itqullu* 'you say to him' 6, id. 'she says to him' 6, *itmút* 'you'll die' 5, *itfút* 'you come in' 12, *itšúf* 'you see' 6, *inšúf* 'we see' 6, *itnām* 'you sleep' 5, *itqúm* 'she stands up' 6. Two instances only have been found where no prothesis is used after a word ending in a consonant: *lāzim tráh* 'you must go' 6, and *btā^{cā}rif tsôq?* 'can you drive?' 5.

When C^1 is e , the vowel of the personal prefix is usually preserved, e.g.: *yā^eiš* 'he lives' 2 × 6, *tā^eiš* 'you live' 13. 15, *yā^eišu* 'they live' 6, *tā^eiš* 'it (fem.) lives' 10, *nā^eiš* 'we live' 14. Preceded by a vowel the personal prefix loses its vowel, e.g.: *tā-t^eišu* 'that you would live' 12, *bit^eiši* 'you (fem.) live' 15.

b) *Imperfect of stems I med. gem., 4-rad. and II.* Here, too, the personal prefix loses its vowel, and a prothesis is developed before the two-consonant cluster, e.g.: *itsawwi* 'you do' 5, *itjanni* 'you sing' 1, *itrawweh* 'you go away' 2 × 6, *itlābbes* 'you dress yourself' 6, *itkássru* 'you (pl.) break' 4, *insákker* 'we shut' 6, *inḥäyyif* 'we are glad' 10, *itfariq* 'you make a difference' 6, *itharriḥ* 'you talk' 6, *itsállmu* 'you leave to him' 16, *itmälli* 'you (fem.) fill' 10. In two instances no prothesis is heard: *tmälli* 'you (fem.) fill' 4, and *thäbbu?* 'do you like him?' 15. The laryngeal e seems here again to preserve the vowel of the personal prefix: *ya^eadd* 'he considers' 14, *ya^earbed* 'he brawls' 2 × 6.

In the sentence *šu kunt itsawwu?* 'what were you (pl.) doing?' 2 × 7, the prothetic vowel has caused elision of the preceding vowel (u ; the context shows that the subject is undoubtedly in plural).

c) *Imperfect of stem III.* The case is the same as in a) and b), e.g.: *itlāⁱ* 'you find' 2 × 16, *etsā^eidni* 'you help me' 1, *etsā^eidni* 'it helps me' 6, *itqarinhä* 'you compare it' 6, *itlā^eib?* 'do you play?' 5. The

prefix of sing. 3. masc. and pl. 3. is usually *i-* except cases where it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (in close juncture), and is then pronounced as *y-*.

5. Imperfect with the prefix *b(i)-*

a) *Verbs C¹*. In sing. 3. fem., 2. masc. fem., pl. 2., 1., the prefix *bi-* loses its vowel before the stressed long-vocalic syllable. The two-consonant cluster is often preceded by a prothetic vowel, e.g.: *ibtīzi* 'you come' 5, *imnīzi* 'we come' 14, *ebtōkel* 'they (coll.) eat' 3, *um-nūhud* 'we take' (context: not *u-mnūhud*) 3, but words without a prothesis occur, too, e.g.: *mnōklu* 'we eat it' 6 and *'aḥsam bīzi* 'you've better to come' 10.

The personal prefix of sing. 3. masc., pl. 3. loses its *y* after the prefix *b(i)-* (*bīzi*, *bōhud*, *biqra*, *buḷub*, *biqūl* etc.). In some cases the *i* resulting from *i + y* is dropped: *u-bkūn* 'and it will be' 16, *brāḥ* 'he goes' 6, *'illi bṣīr* 'which happens' 10, *brāhu* 'they go' 3 × 7.

b) *Verbs C¹ firm*. In the same persons as in a) the prefix loses its vowel, and a two-consonant cluster is formed. Often it is preceded by a prothetic vowel, e.g.: *ibtījdar* 'you can' 1. 6. 16, *ibtīlla^{ca}* 'you leave' 6, *ibtā^{ca}rif?* 'do you know?' 6, *ibtirbah* 'you gain' 11. 15, *ibtīqra?* 'can you read?' 15, *ibtis'ālu* 'you ask him' 10, *ibtīštīl* 'you work' 15, *emnä^{ca}rīfu* 'we know him' 5, *emniḥlif* 'we begin to quarrel' 13, *emnis'ālu* 'we ask him' 13, *emniṣrab* 'we drink' 14, *emniṣar* 'we lose' 10, *emninzāl* 'we go down' 6. In most cases where the prefix *b* is used without a prothesis before *t*, it has become voiceless, e.g.: *btīqra* 'you read' 15, *btā^{ca}rifīš* 'you don't know' 6, *btīlla^{ca}* 'you leave' 6, *btuq^{ca}ud* 'you sit' 9. Sometimes *b* has been weakened as a result of a partial assimilation of the preceding *n*: *minšām btījdar* 'in order to be able' 10, *lākim btā^{ca}rif* 'but you know' 15.

The cluster *mn-* occurs often without a prothesis, e.g.: *mništīl* 'we work' 16, *mninzāl* 'we go down' 6, *mnimši* 'we walk' 9, *mniḡdarš* 'we cannot' 6, *mniḡdar* 'we can' 6, *mniṭṭalla^{ca}* 'we look around' 2 × 1.

6. Participles of stems II and III

a) *The participle of stem II, and stem I of four-radical verbs*, lose

the short *u* of the prefix before a closed stressed syllable. In most cases a prothetic vowel is pronounced before the two-consonant cluster mC^1 , but it is optional, e.g.: *imkāyyif* 'glad' 6. 14, *imkāyyife* id. (fem.) 6. 15, *imkāyyifin* id. (pl. masc.) 6, *imṣawweḥ* 'going' 6, *iMḥämmäd* personal name 12, *Mḥämmäd* id. 5. 6, *imbäyyin* 'clear' 1. 5. 12. 15. 16, *imžäddäl* 'plaited (hair)' 2×16 , *imfättše* 'inspector (fem.)' 16, *emšaddiq* 'believing' 14, *miš imḥimm* 'not important' 5, (but: *muhimm* 'important' 3. 6. 15, *miš muhimm* 'not important' 2×15), *imžäddara* a dish of lentils, rice and onions 4, *mžäddara* id. 4×1 , *emfänzer* 'opening (one's eyes) as wide as a *finžân*' 4, *mḥämmül* 'carrying' 1.

If C^1 is *e*, the prefix does not lose its vowel as easily as in the cases mentioned above, e.g.: *m^eeallim* 'teacher' 4. 14. 16, *m^ueallme* id. fem. 6 (after a vowel: *m^eeallme* 6), *m^eeallmîn* id. pl. 3. (after a vowel). The other instances, *mu^eayyân* 'mentioned' 6. 15, *mu^eabbäd* 'paved' 6, *mu^easkar* 'military camp' 2, and the related instances with C^1 *h* or ' , *muhäyyde* 'neutral (fem.)' 7×14 and *mu'ähhälât* 'possibilities' 14, must be assigned to the group of *fušḥa*-loanings with such words as *musäžžäle* 'clerk (fem.)' 6, *muhayyâmât* 'camps' 7. 16, *mudäkkärât* 'notes' 6, *muzäkkärât* id. 15, *muqaddäsi* 'holy (fem.)' 2×14 , *mufaḍḍal* 'favourite' 1, *muhändis* 'engineer' 15.

b) In participles of stem III the short *u* of the prefix is lost before the following open long stressed syllable. This form is infrequently used in dialect, where the loss is complete, e.g. *imsäfrîn* 'travelers' 6. In 'aná *muwâfiq* 'I agree' 11. 14. 15 the loss is not so clearly provable. Most participles of stem III are loanings from the *fušḥa*, some of them already vehicles of everyday colloquial. In these words the vowel of the prefix is preserved or at the most a little reduced, e.g.: *munäs^säbât* 'circumstances' 6, *munäs^säbi* 'state of things' 6.9, *musâ^eade* 'help' 14. 15, *m^usâ^eade* id. 9. 16, *m^usâ^eid* 'helping' 6, *mužâware* 'neighborhood' 6, *muhâmye* 'lawyer's profession' 15, *musâwâ* 'equality' 3×2 , *muwâṭin* 'citizen' 2, *mužâmâli* 'courtesy' 6, *mukâtäbe* 'correspondence' 15, *m^uqâbale* 'meeting' 3×15 .

To the latter group belong without doubt the participles of stem IV of verbs C^2 *w/y*, e.g.: *mudîr* 'headmaster' 5. 10. 15, *Munîr* personal name 15, *mufid* 'useful' 2×16 , *muqâm* 'based' 15.

C. PARTICULA

1. *wa* has lost its vowel, and *w* is pronounced combinatorily as *u* before a word beginning with a consonant provided that the preceding word does not end in a vowel in close juncture. Before a settled prothetic vowel and not infrequently before the definite article, it is pronounced as a consonant, e.g. *w-ithāddātnā* 'and we talked' 2 × 11, *w-el-baqar* 'and the cows' 3. Before a word beginning with the laryngeal plosive ' the particle is usually pronounced as a consonant, and the *hamza* is lost, e.g.: *w-āžā* 'and he came' passim, *w-ānā* 'and I' passim. In passages spoken at a rather slow tempo the juncture is often looser, and *hamza* may be pronounced, e.g. *u-'ānā* 'and I' 1. In slow hesitating speech the particle is very often lengthened. In such cases the lengthening is regularly consonantal, e.g.: *uww-āžā* 'and he came' 6, 'uww . . . 'āštri 'and I should buy' 6. Before the prefix *i/y-* of sing. 3. masc., pl. 3. in the imperfect the particle is pronounced as a vowel, the prefix as a consonant, e.g.: *u-ykūn* 'and it will be' 10, *u-ybāhedlu* 'and they reproach' 10.

In the compound particle *wa-lā* 'and not, not even' the first syllable is stressed, and its vowel is preserved.

The swearing particle *wa-* has preserved its vowel, e.g.: *wa-llāhi* 'by God' 5, *wa-Muḥammad* 'by Muḥammad' 5.

2. *fā* has almost wholly disappeared from the dialect, but its use is gaining ground through the neoclassical *fušḥa*. In dialect it belongs only to the narrative style, but there, too, it may be a learned borrowing. The vowel is always preserved.

3. *kā* occurs only a few times in the recordings, mostly in a half-literate style: *kā-ummāl* 'as labourers' 16, *kā-sekretār* 'as a secretary' 16, *kā-ramz* 'symbolically' 8. In plain colloquial it occurs only seldom: *kinnu* (< *ka-'annahū*) 'as if' 4.13, *kā-'ännāk* 'as if you were like a black man' 4.

4. *bī* has usually lost its vowel in an open syllable. Often a prothetic vowel is pronounced before the two-consonant cluster *bC-*, e.g.: *ib-^cAkkā* 'in ^cAkka' 9, *ib-ḥān* 'in a khan' 6, *ib-kull^byāthin* 'with all of it' 9, *ib-ḥāyāt^{nā}* 'in our life' 6.9, *ib-ḥamis liḥāt* 'with five pounds' 4. In some cases no prothesis is audible, e.g.: *b-sura^a*

'quickly' 11, *b-ʿéš?* 'how much?' 4. 6, *b-éš?* id. 2, *b-Súlām* 'in Sūlam' 14. Sometimes the vowel is only shortened, e.g.: *b^e-rās iʿbāl* 'on mountain tops' 10, *b^e-ḥadd el-wād* 'on the side of the valley' 10.

Before a personal suffix the vowel of the preposition is lengthened: *biyyi* 6, *bīk* 7, *bīhā* 5, *bīhā* 10, *bīku* 6, *bīhin* 15.

5. *min* loses its *i* when it occurs in an unstressed position and is followed by a vowel, e.g. *mn-iš-šitā* 'from the rain' 10. Optionally a prothetic vowel is pronounced, e.g. *imn-el-aṛḏ* 'from the ground' 3. Another way to alleviate the two-consonant cluster is to drop *n*, e.g. *m-el-ḥäyā* 'with shame' 2, *yóm m-el-eyyām* 'one day' 11. Before a vocalic personal suffix, *n* is doubled: *minni*, *minnāk*, *minnik*, *minnu* passim.

6. The Cl. prepositions *li-/la-* and *'ilā* are represented by *l(i)-*, *la-* and *'il-*. *'ilā* occurs only as a *fuṣḥa*-loaning: *'ilā n-nās* 'to the people' 2, *'ilā l-'ābād* 'for ever' 6. In the dialect it has lost the prothetic *i*, e.g.: *lā-hināk lā^cand el-ḥurme* 'there to the woman' 2, *lā-l-bāb* 'to the door' 5, *ruḥāt lā-šāddi* 'I went to my grandfather' 1. As a proclitic, *li-/la-* is represented usually by *la-* or *l(i)-*, e.g.: *lā-ʿannu* 'because' passim, *li-ʿannu* id. passim, *léš?* 'why?' passim, *lʿéš?* id. passim. As a separate word it is preceded by a prothesis: *'ili*, *'ilāk*, *'ilik*, *'ilu*, *'ilhā*, *'ilnā*, *'ilku*, *'ilhin* (passim). After two consonants only the prothetic form appears if the suffix begins with a consonant, e.g.: *qultilhā* 6, *qultilnā* 15, *qultilhin* 6, *qultil^hin* 11. 15, but if the suffix begins with a vowel, two rival forms occur, e.g.: *qultilli*, *qultillāk*, *qultillu* passim, *qultillik* 4. 15; *qulti* 'you said to me' 7. 9, *qultu* 'he said to him' passim, *gultu* id. 12. 13, *qultak* 'I said to you' 6. After one consonant the prothetic form appears usually if the suffix is consonantal, e.g.: *ḥākētīlku* 'I told you' 1, *qāl^atīlnā* 'she said to us' 6. Before a vocalic suffix no prothesis is usually pronounced, e.g.: *smi^ctīlāk* 'I heard for you (dat. eth.)' 2, *bāšiblāk* 'I'll bring you' 6.

DISCUSSION OF PROTHESIS IN LGAL.

A. NOMINA

A cursory inspection is sufficient to observe a considerable irregularity in the preservation of the short vowel of the open pre-stressed syllable. No distinct group can be found where the loss of the vowel were complete, but it is relatively most frequent in the form CiC \bar{V} C-, next in CuC \bar{V} C- and last in CaC \bar{V} C-. The basic reasons for the loss here remain inexplicable, but the present stage of the still operative development makes some diachronic considerations possible. Most probably the tendency towards the loss began in the group of words where it is most complete, i.e. *i* was dropped first, then *u* and finally *a* in some cases. This sequence is the same as the relative quantity of these vowels. The shortest is *i*, the longest *a*.¹ The irregularity shows that the relative quantity cannot be the only factor which determines the course of the development. The other contributing forces are best traceable in separate cases.

1. CiC \bar{V} C-

In most cases *i* is dropped in the words of the form CiC \bar{a} C-. Some of the examples are classicisms or neoclassicisms and therefore have preserved the *i*. Such are *nikāh*, *ḡihātku*, *livā'i*, and *qitār*, probably also *hilāl*. The form *ḡiḡār* occurs twice in a story told with some effort to raise the style above plain colloquial, and is, then, suspect of being 'corrected'. The presence of *i* is difficult to observe in the words *ḡiyār*, *ḡiyāra*, *ḡiyāda*, *Riyād*, and *ḡiyāsi* (Cl. *sayāsīy-*) where *i* and *y* have been melt together, *y* has lost its consonantal character, and no initial 'cluster' of two consonants is formed. In *tiḡāra* the vowel is preserved, although the other words belonging to the same group have lost it: *eḡāca*, *iflāḡa*, *eḡdāde* etc. If *i* were dropped here, too, the word would be **dḡāra*, probably even **ḡāra/ḡāra* (cf. *ḡāḡ*

¹ According to Jespersen (Phonetik, pp. 181f.) this was first proved by E. A. Meyer, *Englische Lautdauer* (Uppsala und Leipzig 1903), and *id.*, *Zur Vokaldauer im Deutschen* (Nordiska Studier tillegnade A. Noreen, 1904).

from Cl. *daǰāǰ-*). This might affect the intelligibility of the word, and to avoid this, *i* is preserved. It is interesting to find that *i* is not dropped in such a common word as *šimâl* (Cl. both *šimâl-* and *šamâl-*), and that the adj. fem. is *šämäliyye* 6. 15. 16, not *šimäliyye*. The question here is either of a gradation between *a* and *i* in different positions, or of an influence of the two alternatives *šimâl/šämâl* which prevents the loss of the vowel in one case only: **šmâl/išmâl*, but *šämâl*.

2. *CuCV̄C-*

Among the few examples of the form *CuCāC-* two instances are found where *u* is preserved, in both of them before *'*. Here the laryngeal is, however, weakened to a mere syllable-boundary, i.e. the words are pronounced dissyllabic *su-âl* and *Fu-âd*, not monosyllabic **swâl* and **Fwâd*. The weakening of *'* between two different vowels in medial position has taken place before the loss of *u* in unstressed open initial syllables. Otherwise these words ought to be **s'âl/is'âl* and **F'âd/iF'âd*, because *'* is not weakened medially after a consonant, e.g. *'äs'äläk* 'I'll ask you' 3, *'em'ämmin* 'confident' 1. After this weakening, *u* could only be preserved or become non-syllabic.

In the form *CuCūC-* the loss of *u* is highly irregular. Some of the examples, viz. *muhâr*, *šurût*, *furûd*, *'umûr*, and *tuqûs*, belong to a passage where the general tone is intellectual. Thus these words can be regarded as loans from *fusha*. Nevertheless, the remaining instances are not uniform. Most persistently *u* survives after *w*, and before and after laryngeals. In the former case *C¹* tends to preserve its non-syllabic character. The latter case shows that the loss of *u* is advancing one step behind that of *i*, cf. *ħurûb* and *ħukûme*, but *ehšân*, *ehkâye* etc.

The diminutive forms drop the short *u* of the unstressed open initial syllable so regularly that exceptions are very rare. One of the reasons for this regularity is evidently that diminutive is a typically dialectal form, and therefore *u* is not reintroduced even in 'elevated' style. The personal name *Suhêl* is not treated as an

ordinary diminutive; in its feminine form *Suhêvlâ* one more 'classicism' can be found, viz. the pronunciation of the feminine ending as *â*. In the two place names *l-iB^cêvne* and *l-I^czêr*, *c* occurs in two different positions, as C² and as C¹. After a pause both of the words lose the *u*, and a new vowel is pronounced before CC- ($\$lCuC- > \$lVCC-$). In the latter word *c* has a vocalic element of its own. If the article is preceded by a vowel, i.e. the consonant cluster is shortened changing $\$$ for a vowel, as in *fi-l-^cÛzêr*, this element is strong enough to prevent the loss of *u*, as in *fi-l-iB^cêvne*. Thus, *u* is dropped before *c* as C² but not after *c* as C¹. Analogical to this is the preservation of *u* in *buq^cudu* (cf. *supra*, p. 56). In the tribe name *cArab il-Hêb¹*, the short *u* has been lost, *w* has become syllabic, and is then dropped ².

3. CaC[̄]V[̄]C-

The short *a* in an open unstressed initial syllable is regularly preserved if the vowel of the stressed syllable is *a*. The only applicable reason for this preservation is the greater relative quantity of *a* compared with *i* and *u*. The drift towards a uniform nominal group (CVC[̄]V[̄]C > CC[̄]V[̄]C/CVC[̄]V[̄]C > CC[̄]V[̄]C) is not strong enough to eliminate the influence of this difference.

¹ In the map 1 : 100,000 Palestine (Sheet 3 Safad) the name of this tribe living east of *cEilabun* is *cArab al-Wubeib*, in the Name List of SWP (p. 123) *cArab el-Waheib*, 'The Wubeib Arabs'. The syllable *wu-* is dropped in *cArab al-Heib* (1 : 100,000 Palestine, between Lake Tiberias and Lake Hula), and the article has been understood as C¹ in *cArab Luheib esh-Shemâlneh* (North of Lake Tiberias, SWP Name List, p. 123), *cArab Luheib al-Mureidat* and *cArab Luheib ar-Rusatima* (in Upper Galilee near the Lebanese border, 1 : 100,000 Palestine, Sheet 3 Safad). Ashkenazi refers to two tribes, one in Lower Galilee, *cArab el-Wheyb*, and one in Upper Galilee, *cArab el-Heyb* (Ashkenazi, *passim*). Both tribes have come from Northern Syria.

² The same development has occurred in the forms *halqêt* (Bauer, Pal. p. 89 'fell.', pp. 202 and 209 Nablus), *halkêt* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 48) and *hal'êt* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 38, id. Jäger, p. 17) 'now', all from **hâ-l-wuqayt*. The intermediate form *hâlukêt*, where *u* is dropped and *w* has become syllabic, appears in Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 58. *Vide*: Fischer, p. 146.

The loss of *a* in *nhâr* may be traced back to the use of this word in context. It appears often in idiomatic expressions like *lôl en-nhâr* and *lêl enhâr*, where the syllable *na-* falls between two especially heavily stressed syllables in a close combination of words. In this position *a* is dropped, and the form *nhâr/enhâr* is transferred to other contexts.

The reduction of **dâžâž* to *žâž* is difficult to explain as having happened in LGal., because *a* is here preserved and *ž* is pronounced without the dental element typical of *ġ*. It is more probable that the shorter form was developed in a dialect area where *a* was dropped, and the initial *d* concurred with the dental element of *ġ*. Another possibility is to explain it as a result of haplogy: *dâġâġ* (= *dâ^ažâ^až*) > *ġâġ*. This new dialectal word *ġâġ* gained ground in area where *a* was preserved, and in LGal. it was pronounced *žâž*.

In the nomina loci et temporis the prefix *ma-* has not lost its vowel in my recordings. One reason for that may be the fact that this vowel was originally long. More important is no doubt the concurrence of these words with participles of forms II and III if the vowel were dropped.

The nouns of the form CaCīC- can be divided into two fairly distinct groups. If C¹ is a laryngeal, a post-velar or an emphatic (*natura* or *positione*) consonant, *a* is preserved, otherwise it is dropped. Because *a* is preserved in the nouns of the form CaCāC- irrespective of the quality of the preceding consonant, and, consequently, of the allophone of *a*, it is most unlikely to suppose that the case would here be different. The cause is certainly to be found in the influence of the following vowel, i.e. in the regressive assimilation of *a* to the *i* of the stressed syllable. Thus it was actually *i* that was dropped.¹ After laryngeals, post-velars and emphatic consonants no assimilation occurred.

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, GvG I, p. 180: »In den Dialekten war sie noch weiter verbreitet, bei den Tamīm soll jedes *fa'il*, dessen 2. Radikal eine Laryngalis war, zu *fi'il* geworden sein, wie im *ra'i_i* > *ri'i_i* Dāmon, Anm. zu B. Hišām Sira 188, 6 usw., und die Grammatiker tadeln Formen wie *šic'ir*, *riġif*, *bihima*, *si'cid* . . . » The regressive assimilation occurs e.g. in Baghdad: *tiġil*, *rifiġ*, *zibib* (Malaika, p. 18).

This was the case elsewhere, too, if *a* was pronounced back, as after *w* and in the word *daqīqa*. Moreover the vowel is preserved in all the personal names, in the prefix *ma-* (cf. *supra*), and in loanings from *fušḥa*. The influence of *fušḥa* (probably e.g. *žārīde*, *žāmīca*, *ṣaḥīh*, *wazīr*, *wadīfe*, *wakīl*, *ra'īs*, *ṭabīci*) makes it unsafe to give instances where *a* is exceptionally preserved in the dialect, but examples of opposite cases are out of suspicion. Two of them are found in my recordings, *ṭhīn* and *izgīr* (Cl. *ṣagīr-*). Both remain inexplicable, because resorting to such isolated analogies as *š'ir* — *ṭhīn* and *kbīr* — *zgīr* is unsatisfactory.

In the form CaCūC-, *ū* has not such an assimilatory influence as *ī* in CaCīC-. An obstruction to the assimilation may be the resulting homomorphy with CuCūC-/CCūC-. The group is, however, too small to draw safe conclusions.

4. The demonstrative pronoun *hādāk(ā)* and the adverb *hunāk(ā)*

The vowel of the initial syllable *hā-* in the pronouns is etymologically long (*hādā-*). More problematic is the preservation of *u* in *hunāk(ā)*. BLANC (Studies, p. 41) explains it more as a result of the extension of *hōn* on the analogy of *hādū* vs. *hādāk/hādīk* than as a preservation of Cl. *u*, while *hnāk* represents the classical *hunāka*. This explanation is most probably correct, although it does not solve the question of why *i* occurs for *u* in *hināk*.

5. Broken plurals of the form 'aCCāC-

In the dialect no difference exists between the forms CiCāC- and 'aCCāC- in cases where *i* is dropped and 'a not pronounced. The concurrence is not complete, because *i* is preserved in a few words (cf. *supra*, pp. 79 f.). As for 'aCCāC-, the words occurring in my recordings with 'a are either loanings from *fušḥa* or have been pronounced as in *fušḥa*. The diphthong *a* plus C^l*w/y* is reduced to *u/i* as any else diphthong in the same position.¹ This is not, however, the case

¹ The general rules concerning the pronunciation of diphthongs in LGal. are: In a stressed syllable ending in or followed by a consonant, *aw* becomes *o* and *ay* > *e* (*yōm*, *bēt*; *calē* because *h* follows in the speaker's consciousness).

in *iyyâm*, *eyyâm* (not *iyâm*), which begins with a diphthong. The initial vowel might be regarded either as a prothesis (**aywâm* > *'ayyâm* > *yyâm* > *iyyâm*) or better as an intermediate form showing the dissimilatory development of *'aCCāC-* to *'iCCāC-* (> *CCāC-*).¹

6. The word *šī/išī*

Development from Cl. *šay'* to *šī/šī* has evidently occurred in unstressed position (*ay* > *i*; cf. footnote pp. 83f.), e.g. in proclitica: *šī-mliḥ* 'something good' 9, *šī-kūr* 'quite a lot' 6. One would expect the stressed form to be **šayy*, but instead, the unstressed form *šī/šī* is lengthened by a stressed prothesis: *'išī*. The main reason for this must be that because of the frequent use of this word as proclitic and, above all, as negative affirmative *-š/-iš*, the connection with

If the word ends in a stressed diphthong, this is lengthened (*'aww*, *laww*, *mayy*) before *š* and a vowel. If the diphthong *ay* is preceded by *e* or *h*, the monophthongization is not complete (*ĉe^yn*, *Ĥe^yfa*). In an open syllable before stress, *ó* and *ê* are shortened to *o* and *e* (*yomên*, *betên*). On the contrary, the non-monophthongized diphthongs *aw* and *ay* drop their first element in the same position (*Tuḥiq*, *ulâd*, *iûm*, *Šiḥân*). The classical diphthongs *aw* and *ay* are nowhere preserved unchangeable except if maintained by morphological systematization (*mawlûd*, *mawzûd*, *'awša^{ca}*).

New diphthongs are formed from *ā* plus *w/y* (*nâyme*, *rayḥîn*, *qaraybu*, *ṭawli*), and from prothesis or anaptyxis plus *w* (*l-iwlâd*, *bâdⁱw*). The new diphthong *uy* occurs in *'abuy*, *'ahuy*.

If the latter part of a diphthong is morphologically gemined, no monophthongization takes place (*mâyylu*, phonetically *mâylu* 'call on! (pl. 2.)' 6, *baqawmak*, phonetically *baqawmak* 'I let you get up' 5, *'awwal* 'first' passim).

The dropping of the second element of diphthongs in proclitica (proclitic words) discussed by Vilenčik in *Doklady Akademiji Nauk SSSR B* (1927), pp. 157–161 and in *MO* 31 (1937), pp. 16f. (*bat Ḥanna*, *mən ġar šârr*, *ḥar mænnak*, *ĉAn Tūrâ*, *'aš 'add*; cf. Feghali, *Kfar*, p. 85, id., *Syntax*, p. 301, *Blanc, Studies*, pp. 46f.) occurs in my texts only in the word *rah* < *râyh*; cf. *Text No. 8 c*, p. 160, line 14.

The only word where I have noticed the loss of *i* < *ay* is the personal name *Frûz Fayrûz* which I heard almost daily in *Turĉân*.

¹ Cf. Grotzfeld, *Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 30.

*šay'- became looser. A new rival prothetic form was born, apparently after the negative affirmative (*mā biddak šī* > *ma-biddakš*; pleonastically *ma-biddakš šī* > *ma-biddakš išī*).

B. VERBA

1. Perfect of stem I

The perfect forms (sing. and plur. 1. and 2.) of verba firma and C³ infirmae in stem I are, as to the syllabication, similar to the nominal forms which begin with a short open unstressed syllable. In verba firma *a* is followed by a short-vocalic (*a*), in C³ *w/y|l'* by a long-vocalic (*ay* > *ê*) stressed syllable. In both cases *a* is preserved. Only a few exceptions occur, and for them no other explanation than analogy with forms beginning with *Ci-* can be given.

There is a substantial difference between the initial syllable *Ci-* of perfect forms and the same initial syllable of nouns. In verbs, *i* is a result of regressive assimilation, and therefore it occurs only in dialectally pronounced words. This is one of the few cases where the «exceptions» are not suspect of being loans from *fušḥa* or of being pronounced as in *fušḥa*. Thus it can be safely stated that *i* is dropped everywhere, but, as in medial syllables, not after *e* (*ewrifit*). As for *u*, it occurs in perf. only in the passive, which is a practically extinct form in the dialect. In *hliqit* it is dropped, but in *wulldit* it is preserved, obviously for distinctness.

In the imperfect form *yağ'i'* the final ' was dropped after a long vowel¹. Then the long vowel was shortened, and the stress changed *yíži* (regr. assimilation, cf. *infra*, p. 87). Compared with the imperfect forms of verba firma (yiCCiC, yiCCaC, yuCCuC), *yíži* was too short, and it was lengthened: *yíži*.² Thus *ž* became C², and a new

¹ Cf. e.g. *šitā* 'winter' 1. 2. 5. 6. 10. 13 (Cl. *šitā'*-), *sāmā* 'heaven' 2. 3. 7. 9 (Cl. *samā'*-), *ḥāyā* 'shyness' 2 (Cl. *ḥayā'*-), *qūdama* 'earlier (pl.)' 10 (Cl. *qudamā'*-), *fugara* 'poor (pl.)' 13 (Cl. *fuqarā'*-). Cf. Bauer, Pal., p. 62, Cantineau, Hōrān, p. 140, Abul-Fadl, p. 181.

² *kūra* 'ball' 6 (Cl. *kura-*) and 'āna 'I' Abul-Fadl, p. 250, show that such

perfect 'äžä was formed. That the reason for this lengthening was indisputably the shortness of the word is clearly seen in the use of its perfect forms: 'äžä, 'äžät and 'äžu are never used without the prothetic lengthening, while in the other persons which have a long vowel after ž, the prothesis is optional.

2. Stems V and VI

In classical Arabic besides taCaCCaCa and taCāCaCa forms beginning with a prothetic vowel are also used, e.g. *issaqqaqa* (Cor. 2, 69), *iṭṭawwafa* (Cor. 2, 153), *iṣṣaddaqa* (Cor. 4, 94), *iddāra'a* (Cor. 2, 67). These result from analogy with imperfect forms where the *t* of the prefix was assimilated into the dental or sibilant as C¹ (cf. Brockelmann, GvG I, pp. 530f.; Caspari—Wright, stem V: pp. 36—38, stem VI: pp. 38—40).

Naturally the same two forms *ta-* and *it-* have been used in spoken dialects. Thus it could be supposed that the forms beginning with *it-* are based on this old prothetic form (cf. Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 154; Hōrān, pp. 265—267). If so, it would not be easy to explain why exceptions occur when C¹ is *e*. Such a form as *it^eallam* shows that the analogy — more probably the analogy with the modern dialectal imperfect and participle (*yit^eallem*, *mit^eallem*) than with the prothetic forms occurring when C¹ is a dental or a sibilant — plays an important role in the development of prothetic perfect and imperative forms. On the other hand, the examples *ta^eāl*, *ta^eašši*, *ta^eayyū*, *ta^eallam* etc. prove that the transition to the analogous prothetic forms is connected with the quality and quantity of *a* in *ta-*, i.e. before the first transitions *a* must have been shortened.¹

lengthenings are possible also without an analogy. For 'äžä-*yīžī*, cf. Cantineau, Hōrān, p. 181, and Abul-Fadl, p. 250.

¹ Thus Feghali (Kfar, p. 173) is right, in a way, when he explains *t^eallem* from *ta^eallama*. Cantineau rejects this definitely, and traces the origin of the prothetic forms to the old prothetic variant (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 154; Hōrān, 265—267).

3. Perfect and imperative of stems VII, VIII and X

The material is inadequate for a detailed discussion, and some instances are suspect of being learned borrowings, or are pronounced 'correctly' (cf. *ištálahu* and *ihlifu*). In all these stems the prothesis is facultative in the dialectally pronounced words. The use of a prothetic vowel seems to depend primarily on the sonority of the first consonant, i.e. in stem VII it is used most often, in stem X most rarely, while in stem VIII any consonant may begin the word, and thus the prothesis obviously occurs before the most sonorous consonants and before laryngeals.

4. Imperfect of stems I C² w/y, med.gem., 4-rad., II, and III

In imperfect forms of stems I (verba C² w/y), II and III the vowel of the prefix is dropped except the *a* of sing. 1. and before the laryngeal *ʿ* as C¹. In stems II and III the dropped vowel is *u*, but in stem I the prefix vowel in Cl. is always *a*. Because this *a* in corresponding forms of verba firma has been changed either into *i* (*yiktib*, *yifrah*) or into *u* (*yudrub*), and is preserved only before *ʿ* (*yücärif*, *yücämäl*), it is natural to suppose that here, too, the same change has taken place. In verba firma, the colour is determined by the following vowel: *i-i*, *i-a*, *u-u*. In the other stems only *i* occurs (*yithäd-dät*, *yiniḥsiṭ*, *yinibrud*, *yištri*, *yistaqbil*). This proves that *ya-* has not become *yi-* due to regressive assimilation, but more probably due to the influence of *y*. The only case of regressive assimilation is, then, the change **yiCCuC* > *yuCCuC* (cf. Text No. 2b 'elevated': *yinfuh*). In the verbs C² w/y the prefix formed a short open unstressed syllable, where *i* was dropped, and no intermediate stages with *yu-* (**yukün*, **yurüh*) have existed. Usually both initial clusters, *tC¹-* and *nC¹-*, are preceded by a short prothetic vowel *i*. Because *t* is never more sonorous than C¹, the prothesis is not demanded by syllabication and, therefore, cannot be explained purely phonetically. The elision of *-u* before the prothesis in the sentence *šū kunt(u) ṭsawwu?* shows that the prothesis often is a full vowel, but many examples can be found where it is omitted.

5. Imperfect with the prefix *b(i)-*

The imperfect prefix *bi-* occurs in an unstressed proclitic position and loses its vowel when immediately followed by a stressed syllable. After the loss of *i*, the two-consonant initial clusters *b'*-, *bt*-, *by*-, and *bn-* (> *mn-*) are formed. From these, *bt-* and *mn-* are optionally preceded by a prothetic vowel; ' and *y* are dropped, but the influence of *y* is often still audible in the following *u* (*bú suknu*, *bú qulu*). Before two consonants, *i* occurs in a closed syllable and is preserved (*bitrúh*, *minrúh*); if the prefix *i-/y-* follows, the resulting *-iy-* is shortened and often dropped (*bi + irúh* > **biyrúh* > *birúh/brúh*), but never preceded by a prothesis.

6. Participles of stems II and III

The participles of stems II and III have lost the *u* of the prefix *mu-* in dialectal words. The influence of laryngeals as C¹ is not clear. They may have retarded the loss of the preceding *u*, but no safe instance can be found where the vowel is preserved, because all these cases are suspect of being learned borrowings.

C. PARTICULA

The particle *wa-* is one of the few cases where the short *a* is dropped in an unstressed open initial syllable. The reason for the loss cannot be purely phonetic, although the position of *wa-* is usually proclitic. Such words as *fa-* and *ka-* have the same position, but they usually preserve their *a*. These two particles are, however, used much more infrequently than *wa-*, their meanings are more specialized and therefore more important for the communication. A similar difference exists between *w-/u-* and the swearing particle *wa-*.

The prepositions *bi-* and *min* lose their *i* in an open syllable. Followed by a personal suffix they are stressed and become lengthened (*bík*, *minnák*). The long forms *biyyi*, *bík* etc. are most probably analogical formations after *fiyyi*, *fík* etc., but this development has presumably been aided by a wider group of lengthenings such as *minnák*, *annák*, *qullák*; *dammák*, *idák*, *fimmák*.

The prothetic forms *'ili*, *'ilāk*, *'ilu* etc. are problematic. Because *'ilā* loses its prothesis in an unstressed position and becomes proclitic *la-*, one would expect that before a personal suffix the prothesis would be dropped, too, and such long-vocalic forms as **lêy/leyyi*, **lêk*, **lêh*, **lêhâ* would occur. In my recordings not a single instance of anything of this kind can be found. If the prothetic forms have come from *li-/la-*, one would expect also **'ibu*, **'ibhâ*, which I have not heard in LGal. Another possibility is lengthening of the vowel on the analogy of *fîk*, *bîk* : **lîk*. Even this does not occur in LGal. The starting point of the prothetic forms must be an unstressed position of the preposition *li-/la-* plus a personal suffix after a verb ending in *Ct*, e.g. **qûlt-lana* > **qûlt-lna* > *qultlânâ*; *qālatilnâ/qālat 'ilnâ* etc. Before a vocalic suffix a three-consonant cluster was formed: *qult-li*, *qult-lāk*, *qult-lik*, *qult-lu*. In LGal. these clusters have been preserved (except *-lil-*, where the first *l* is usually dropped), or longer forms *-illi*, *-ilāk*, *-illik*, *-illu* are used on the analogy of *-ilhâ*, *-ilnâ*, *-ilku*, *-ilhin*. As independent phonetic words *'ili*, *'ilāk*, *'ilu* etc. represent usually the Cl. *li-/la-*, and more rarely *'ilā*, but the prothesis is not a result of their contamination.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF PROTHESIS

A. NOMINA

1. *CiCVC-*

In the whole Syro-Palestinian dialect area the nouns of the form *CiCVC-* have usually lost the short *i* of the open initial syllable. In Syria and the Lebanon this loss seems, according to different descriptions, to be more regular than in Palestine.

For Palmyra CANTINEAU gives *lsên*, *drê^c*, *psât*, *frêš*, *ḥmâr*, *ḥḥsân* (Palmyre I, p. 180). The exceptional conservation of the vowel in *nekêh* (Palmyre I, p. 88) he attributes to the influence of written language. The same words are pronounced in Ḥōrân *lsân*, *drâ^c*, *bsât*, *frâš*, *ḥmâr*, *ḥsân* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 306), and the pronunciation in Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and the Lebanon is, according to

BARTHÉLEMY'S transcription, by and large the same: *lsên*, *ḍrâc*, *bšât*, *frêš*, *ḥmâr*, *ḥšân* (Dict., s.v.).

The transcriptions of the dialects spoken in the Lebanon are here unusually uniform. LANDBERG marks the prothesis: *aḥmâr* (Prov., p. 46), MATTSSON sometimes, e.g. *ḥmâr* (Tūlit, MO 8, p. 63), but generally he omits it, e.g. *lsân*, *flâḥa*, *zyâra* (Études, p. 96). FLEISCH transcribes the prothesis when it is most distinctly heard, e.g. *^aḥmâr* (Textes, p. 323), but usually he leaves it unmarked: *ḥmâr* (Zahlé, p. 83, Textes, p. 336). FEGHALI omits the non-phonemic vowels systematically, e.g. *ktâb*, *lsân*, *tyâb*, *ržâl* (Kfar, p. 90), *ḥmâr*, *ḡrâb* (Chahrour, p. 77). The same phonemic system is followed by NAKHLA: *rsâle* (p. 24), and EL-HAJJÉ: *ktâbe*, *flâḥâ*, *ḥšâd*, *šrâḥ* (p. 54), *ḥmâr*, and *šmâl* (p. 129).

The transcriptions of Palestinian dialects vary much more. BAUER states that »der in der *fi^eâl*-Form unterdrückte *i* tritt nicht selten als Vorsatzvokal wieder auf: *ilhâf* für *lihâf*, *ḥmâr* für *himâr*, *erḥâm* für *ruhâm*» (Pal., p. 50). LÖHR, too, gives several alternatives, e.g. *ḥisân*, *ḥšân* and *^aḥšân* (p. 8), while CHRISTIE marks all these *i*-vowels by *š^ewâ*, e.g. *ḥ^ešân* (p. 97).

DRIVER describes the reduction of the pre-stressed short open initial syllables in his article 'Linguistic Affinities' as »re-appearance of the half-vowel corresponding to *š^ewâ* in Hebrew . . . e.g. *ḥⁱšân*, *ilhâf* | *lⁱhâf*, *ḍⁱrâc* | *idrâc*. This phenomenon is of regular occurrence 1. where a word begins with two consonants of which the first is vowelless, and 2. where a syllable begins with two consonants and immediately follows a closed syllable» (JRAS 1920, p. 306). This 're-appearance of the half-vowel' occurs in my recordings, too, but usually only in passages where the speaker is trying to 'elevate' his speech. When the vowel is really lost, there is, instead of inserting a *š^ewâ*-vowel between the two consonants, an active tendency to form a closed initial syllable by using a prothesis. Such forms appear everywhere in Palestinian dialect literature, e.g.: *iḥšâb* (Baumann, p. 191), *ilhⁱmâr* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 6), *ilihšân* (p. 10), *hal-iḥšâi* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 32) These forms in Palestinian Arabic are described most exactly by BEN ZEEV (pp. 14, 68, and in the

texts), and BLANC (Studies, pp. 38 and 120 footnote 5), who deny the preservation of *i* in genuine dialectal words of the form CiCVC̄-.

2. CuCVC̄-

In Syria and the Lebanon the reduction of CuCVC̄- to CCVC̄- is as complete as that of CiCVC̄- to CCVC̄- as is proved by the best transcriptions, e.g.: *tráb*, *qmás̄*, *ǧráb*, *sqáq* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 180), *brúd*, *nzúl*, but *bólúǧ* (p. 182), *tráb*, *gmás̄* (Cantineau, Hōrân, p. 159), *tráb*, *ǧráb*, *znún*, *rṭúbi* (Mattsson, Études, p. 99), *hkúme*, *ṣ^eúbe*, *tráb* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *dhúl*, *nzúl*, *rkú^c*, *jlús*, *ṣ^eúbe*, *shúle*, *shúne* (el-Hajjé, p. 54); broken plurals: *hdúd*, *znúd*, *glúb*, *dyúl*, *syúf* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 85f.), *kfúf*, *qdúm* (p. 182), *shúr*, *trúš*, *grún*, *grúš*, *glúb*, but: *ḥǧúl*, *ḥdúl*, *ḥrúǧ* (Cantineau, Hōrân, p. 311), *ḥayún* (Tallquist, p. 131), *'lúb*, *'múr*, *'rúd*, *byút*, *bnúki* (Mattsson, Études, p. 99), *ḥyún*, *ḥlám*, *'múr* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *jlúd*, *znúd*, *jsúr*, *jdúd*, *hdúd*, *byút*, *tyús*, *whúš*, *ḥyún* (el-Hajjé, p. 132). Most probably the transcriptions ^eC- and ^rC- are phonemic; after a pause they are in all probability pronounced ^e°C- and ^r°C-, i.e. they have no prothesis.

In the great majority of cases *u* is lost also in Palestine, e.g.: *iflú^c* (Spoer u. Haddād, ZS 4, p. 217), *flán iflán iflán* (Blanc, Studies, p. 83), *imrād* (p. 103); *ikrúš* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 20), *ikfúfi* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 30), *iflúseh* (Baumann, ZDPV 39, p. 175), *ḥgrún* (p. 191), *byút*, *ḥyún*, *mlúk*, *shúr*, *šdúd*, *dyúk*, *ḥlám*, *qrúd*, *tyús* (Ben Zeev, p. 68), *dluwmi* (Blanc, Studies, p. 41), *ijyuwšak*, *nšuwš* (p. 84), *mluuck* (p. 100).

The lost or reduced *u* is transcribed by DRIVER by a small upscript vowel: *'^umúr* (Grammar, p. 13), *ṣ^uúbah* (p. 204). LÖHR uses even a full vowel: *ruhám* (p. 57; Barthélemy corrects it to *rhám*, *r^hám*, *r^uhám* in JA 10, p. 240). These examples are not, however, sufficient to show that *u* is not always lost in Palestinian dialect, but the fact that in BAUER'S Pal. and Wbch *u* is now preserved, now lost, is worthy of being noticed. It is only a small step to the assumption that the transcriptions depend on chance, but examined word by word they show surprising conformity with the forms recorded for LGal. Thus,

u is preserved e.g. in the following words: *wuhúš*, *šucábe*, *huráb*, *hudúd*, *hukáme*, *uyún*, *ulúm*, *umúr*, *su'ál* (Wbch, s.v.), (*h^udúd*.) *huráf*, *ulúm*, *ušúš*, *umúr* (Pal., p. 62); shortened or lost it is in *m^ulúk*, *b^uyút*, *syáf*, *lú^c*, *tyús*, *ǵdúd* (Wbch, s.v.), *m^ulúk*, *škál*, *byút*, *dyúk*, *ǵfúfe*, *lúme*, (Pal., p. 62). Taking into consideration possible inaccuracies, the preservative influence of laryngeals, especially that of *c*, on the following vowel is evident.

In the diminutive form CuCayC- the loss of the vowel of the initial syllable seems to be regular everywhere in the Syro-Palestinian dialect area. The examples given by CANTINEAU for Palmyra show that *u* is regularly dropped: *ḥsēy^wen*, *hlēy^wed*, *slēy^wem*, *ḥsēn* (Palmyre I, p. 187), *zǵayyer* (pp. 187 and 200), *ḥšēne^l* (p. 201), *šb^wēl*, *qlēb*, *šb^wēb*, *šwēh*, *šm^wēl*, *twēr*, *b^wāy*, *mrayye*, *šwāy*, *mawāy* (pp. 180f.), *šlēb* (Palmyre II, pp. 67f.), *Shēl* (II, p. 106). Before *ḥ* Cantineau has heard a prothetic vowel more distinctly than elsewhere, while before the other laryngeal, *c*, no prothesis is heard, but the vocalic element appears after it: *c^ašér* (Cantineau, Hōrân, p. 313), *cAb^wēd*, *cacēl*, *cačēle* (Palmyre I, p. 181). BARTHÉLEMY begins the diminutive forms systematically with CC-, e.g.: *kwayyes*, *mwayy*, *mway*, *šway^w*, *djnēne*, *bḥēra*, *Hsēn* (Dict., s.v.), but C^aC-/C^aC- if C^l is *c*: *c^arēše*, *c^alāyy*, although inconsistently: *c^bēd* (Dict., s.v.). Elsewhere in the Lebanon and Palestine *u* is lost, e.g.: *bsæḡni*, *bḥæḡra*, *zǵayy^w* (Mattsson, Études, p. 99), *hsēn*, *a^hsēn* (Löhr, p. 8), *išweij* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 19), *kweijis*, *šwoi*, *hleiija*, *zǵeijar*, *lseijin* (Bauer, Pal., p. 56), *iššēni*, *maij*, *šwaj*, *ǵnēne*, *hrēbe*, *bḥēra* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *ishēl* (Canaan, ZDPV 36, p. 297; Spoer u. Haddād, ZS 4, p. 217), *išwāya*, *ikwayyisi* (Blanc, Studies, p. 86), *išwayy* (p. 97). Only CHRISTIE inserts a *š^ewá*-vowel between C^l and C²: *ḥ^ešēⁿi* (p. 97).

3. CaC[̄]V[̄]C-

A vast majority of words belonging to the form CaC[̄]aC- have preserved their short *a* in Syria and Palestine. Thus, CANTINEAU writes for Palmyra *ṭalāq*, *čanāḥ* (I, p. 180), *zamēn* (II, p. 97), *camára* (II, p. 99), and for Hōrân *zamán*, *šābāb* (p. 300), *šabāḥ*, *'asās* (p. 301);

examples for Palestine are *zamân* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 18), *zamân*, *salâm*, *falâs* (Blanc, Studies, p. 33), *ḥarâmi* (Ben Zeev, p. 63), *karâsi*, *layâli* (p. 69). BARTHÉLEMY also transcribes *sâlâm*, *kâlâm*, *zâmân* (Dict., s.v.), but DRIVER does not seem to make any principal difference between *a* and *i/u*: *z^amân* (Grammar, p. 23), *ḥarâmîy* (p. 203), *q^aṭâr* (p. 204), even *ibnât/b^anât* (p. 18). Although BAUER writes (Pal., p. 50): »In allen drei Formen (*fa^câl*, *fi^câl*, *fu^câl*), besonders aber in *fi^câl*, wird der Vokal der ersten Silbe häufig verflüchtigt oder ganz ausgestossen: *š^amâl*, *lġâm*, *nĥâs*, *nġâfe*«, his texts show the general preservation of *a*: *sâlâme* (Pal., p. 170), *zâmân* (p. 172), *ġawâb* (p. 174), *ḥalâl* (p. 188); *salâm*, *zamân*, *ġawâb*, *ḥalâl* (Wbch, s.v.).

Most Lebanese dialects, too, preserve the *a* of the initial syllable: *ḥawâm* (Feghali, Chahrour, p. 77), *kvlâm*, *svlâm*, *zvmân*, *twmâm* (Mattsson, Études, p. 95), *kamâl*, *kalâm* (el-Hajjé, p. 54), *salâm*, *halâl*, *tamâm*, *zamân* (p. 126). Only in the countryside of Northern Lebanon is *a* dropped. FEGHALI gives a rule for Kfar ^cAbîda (Kfar, p. 90): »En règle générale toute voyelle brève en syllable ouverte inaccentué disparaît purement et simplement dans notre parler.» The border between these 'parlers différentiels' and 'parlers indifférentiels' has recently been examined by FLEISCH. According to his thorough study the line can be drawn approximately from Beirut to the east. On the northern side of this line *a* is frequently lost: *zmân* (Textes, p. 325, indiff.); in the south it is preserved: *zamên* (p. 359, diff.).

The two exceptions mentioned from LGal., *nhâr* and *šâš*, have lost their *a* almost everywhere in the neighbouring areas: *nhârak* (Bauer, Pal., p. 222), *nhâr* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v., Blanc, Studies, p. 33; Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 31), *nhâr* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *nhâr* (Cantineau, Hōrân, p. 301), *nhâr* (el-Hajjé, p. 129), *nhârak* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 47), *nhârkon* (Littmann, Hama, p. 47), *en-nhâr* (Bauer, Pal., p. 174), *kull in-nhâr* (Littmann, Hama, p. 31), *lêl u-nhâr* (Malinjoud, p. 318; Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *ṭûl in-(n)hâr* (Ben Zeev, p. 51), *ṭûl ennhâr* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.); but *n^ahâr* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 369, diff.) and *nahâr* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 180);

ǰâǰ, *dǰâǰ* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *džâž* (Mattsson, Études, p. 94), *dǰêdj* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.), *ǰâǰ* (el-Hajjé, p. 122), *žâž* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 31), *žâž* (Fleisch, Zahlé, p. 83), *edžâže* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 326), *had-džâž* (p. 322), *il-ǰâǰ* (Czapkiewicz, p. 19), *dǰâǰe* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 310), and *tšêče* (Palmyre II, p. 73).

In all the Syro-Palestinian dialects part of the words belonging to the form CaCĪC- lose the vowel of the initial syllable, while in the other part the vowel is preserved. The only exception is Kfar eAbīda, where *a* is lost in all words (Feghali, Kfar, p. 90). Elsewhere the preservation of the vowel depends on the quality of C¹.

Among the words where the loss is most common are *ktîr*, *kbîr* and *mlîh*. The loss seems to be complete in Palestine: *ktîr*, *ektîr*, *iktîr* (Bauer, Pal., p. 170 'städtisch'), *iktîr* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 34), *ktîyr* (Blanc, Studies, p. 32), *tšîr* ('fell.', Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *itšîre* (Bauer, Pal., p. 190 *el-Kubêbe*); even CHRISTIE who usually transcribes C^eC- instead of (v)CC-, writes here *ektîr* (p. 90); *kbîr* (Bauer, Pal., p. 50), *itšbîr* (p. 188 *el-Kubêbe*), *tšbîr* ('fell.', Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *ičbîr* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 1), *kbiyr* (Blanc, Studies, p. 32); *mlîh* (Bauer, Pal., pp. 50 and 188), *emlîh* (p. 192), *mlîh* and *mnîh* (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.), *mliyh* (Blanc, Studies, p. 32). Similarly, the examples from the Lebanon and the biggest cities of Syria show a complete loss: *ktîr* (Fleisch, Zahlé, p. 83; id., Textes, p. 369; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.); *kbîr* (Fleisch, Zahlé, p. 83; id., Textes, p. 363; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.); *mlîh* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 369), *mlîh* and *mnîh* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.).

In the dialects of the *fellahîn* living east of Palestine proper and the Lebanon, the vowel is better preserved, e.g.: *k^âtîr* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 163), but *ktîr* (p. 310); *k^etîr* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 77), but *ktîr* (p. 181); *ketîr* (Czapkiewicz, p. 20), but *ktîre* (p. 30); *čübîr* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 303), *k^ebîr* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 77 and 181), *k^öbîr* (II, passim), *kebîr* (Czapkiewicz, p. 18; Hamarne, p. 179); *m^ölîh* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 303; id., Palmyre I, pp. 64 and 77), *melîhe* (Czapkiewicz, p. 31), but *u-mlîh* (p. 31); *melîha* (Hamarne, p. 176).

According to these transcriptions the reduction is the strongest

in *k(a)t̄ir-*. Because C¹ is *k* both in *k(a)t̄ir-* and in *k(a)b̄ir-*, the reason for this slight difference might be found in the very frequent use of *k(a)t̄ir-* (cf. Cantineau, *Hōrān*, p. 310).

The fact that the vowel has often preserved its colour points to a less effective regressive assimilation in the last-named dialects. This difference appears also in the Egyptian province Šarqiyya, where ABUL-FADL gives for '1. Gebiet' *kaṭ̄ir* > *kiṭ̄ir* > *k^oṭ̄ir*, for '2. Gebiet' *kaṭ̄ir* (p. 285).

In the whole dialect area *a* is preserved after *c*, *h*, *ġ*, *ḥ*, and *qj*. In Damascus the vowel is dropped after all the other consonants in genuine dialect words, as is shown by GROTZFELD as a result of a detailed study (Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 103—106). Outside this group *a* is pronounced in several words, e.g.: *barīd*, *baṣīṭ*, *balīd*; *zarīde*, *ḡasīm*, *ḡalīd*, *ḡamīc*; *da'ī'a*, *dahīlak*; *ra'īs*, *rabīc*, *razīl*; *zarīf*, *za'īm*; *sa'īd*; *šarīca*, *šafi'*, *šahīd*; *šahīḥ*, *šalīb*, *šabīye*; *darīb*; *ṭabīḥ*, *ṭabīca*, *ṭarī'*, *ṭawīl*; *ḡarīf*; *fa'īr*; *kabīs*, *karīm*, *kafīl*; *laṭīf*, *lazīz*; *marīd*, *almasīḥ*; *naṭīze*, *naḡīf*, *naṣīb*, *naṣīḡa*; *hadīye*; *wazīr*, *wazīfe*; *yamīn*. However, Grotzfeld excludes all these words as *fusha*-loanings or reintroduced forms which have superseded the old dialectal pronunciation. This point of view cannot be overlooked when comparisons are made between the rules given by different authors.

According to MATTSSON both *natura* and *positione* emphatic consonants keep the following *a* in the dialect of Beirut. The only exception mentioned is *ṭḡīn*, besides which hesitation prevails between *ḡahīyi* and *ḡḡīyi* (*Études*, p. 94). Among the Druzes of Galilee the situation is by and large the same: *ṭawīyl*, *ṭabīyh*, but *ṭḡīym*, *ṭḡīyṣ*; *ḡariyr*, but *ḡ^cīyf*, *cīd id-ḡḡīyyi*, in addition to which BLANC finds hesitation also outside these two groups of consonants, e.g.: *'imīyr*/*'amiyr*/*miyr*, *hidiyyi*/*hdiyyi* (*Studies*, pp. 32f.). Mattsson has noticed the preservation of *a* also after *y*, *w* and *ḡ* (*Études*, p. 95), but in most cases the instances are learned borrowings. Blanc's only example for *y* is *yamiyn* (*Studies*, p. 33); for *w* he gives *wsiy^c* and *wakīl*, for *ḡ* (*j*) *jdīyd*, *ḡbiyn*, *ḡmiyli* (p. 32). In BARTHÉLEMY'S *Dictionnaire* the majority of forms follow the same rules, e.g.: *carīs*, *ḡalīb*, *ḡarīb*, *ḡafīf*, *qarīb*, *ḡahīḡ* ('true') and *ḡḡīḡ* ('entire'), *ḡḡīye*, *ḡ^cīf*, *ṭḡīn*, *baṣīr*,

bašîṭ, mrîḏ, ndîf, yâmîn/'emîn/'emîn, usîc, usîye, wakâl, wahâd, jâd, djbîn.

Thus, no considerable differences in this respect are to be found between the dialects described by MATTSSON (Beirut), BARTHÉLEMY (Aleppo, Damascus, Lebanon, Jerusalem), BLANC (Druzes of Western Galilee), and GROTZFELD (Damascus). The question is more of how carefully the recent loanings from *fusha* are excluded in different dialect studies.

Further examples from Palestine and the Lebanon show how difficult it is to draw any dividing line between these two areas on the basis of CaCiC- forms. In the 'différentiel' dialect of the Lebanese mountains *a* is preserved or shortened in *ba^eide, b^eeid* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 359), but lost in the dialect of Palestinian *fellahîn*: *b^eid* (Bauer, Pal., p. 188, *el-Kubêbe*); in Beirut *a* is preserved in *marîḏ* (Mattsson, Études, p. 95), similarly in the dialect of Galilean Druzes: *marîyḏ* (Blanc, Studies, p. 32), in LGal. now lost: *imrîḏ*, now preserved: *marîḏ* (*supra*, pp. 68 f.), but lost in Central and Southern Palestine: *ilmrîḏ* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 10), *mrîḏ* (Bauer, Pal., p. 188, *el-Kubêbe*); in Tripoli *a* is preserved in *madîne* (el-Hajjé, p. 127), lost in Central Lebanon: *ʔl-^emdîne* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 353, 'différentiel'), and regressively assimilated on the coastal plain near Jaffa: *midîni*, (Bauer, Wbch, s.v.).

4. *The demonstrative pronoun haḏâk(a) and the adverb hunâk(a)*

The demonstrative pronoun has everywhere preserved its *a* (< *ā*), whereas in the initial syllable of the adverb great variation occurs. In Damascus the vowel is lost: *hnâk, hnâke*, seldom *hunâke* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 47), and *hônâke* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.); in Palestine the forms are similar to those used in LGal.: *hunâk, hinâk* (Bauer, Pal., p. 88), *hônâk* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 16), *henâk* (Littmann, Jäger, p. 13); the Druzes of Western Galilee have both *hunâk, hinâk* and *hunîk* (Blanc, Studies, p. 41), the *fellahîn* of Central Palestine *hanâk* (Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas, p. 210, Tafel XLV, Karte 25; Bauer Pal., p. 180 *Lifta*), *hanâk* (Bauer, Pal., p. 178, *Bêtgâla*). In the Lebanon a diphthong occurs: *hawîk* (Feghali,

Chahrour, II, 16; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.); in Ḥōrān the forms are *h^onāk*, *h^onāka*, *hōnāk* (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, p. 392).

The forms *hnāk*, *h^onāk*, *h^onāka* come most probably from the Cl. *hunāka*; *hōnāk*, *hunāk* and *hināk* from **hāhunāka* (Fischer, p. 121), similarly also *hənāk*, *henāk*. It is not impossible that *hināk* (*hənāk*, *henāk*) is an extension of *hēn* 'here' (cf. the pronunciation of diphthongs, *supra*, pp. 83f.), which is used on the coastal plain of Central Palestine (cf. Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas, p. 210, Tafel XLV, Karte 25). The short forms used in Damascus are most problematic. GROTZFELD derives them from *hawnāk* through *hunāk* (Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 47f.), but such a difference in the reduction of the unstressed initial syllable as this explanation involves does not exist between Damascus and the Lebanon. The forms corresponding to *hawnāk* are *hōnāke*, *hunāke* and *hunāk*, and the further reduction of *hunāk* to *hnāk* is probably due to the analogy of *hunāk* > *hnāk*.

5. Broken plurals of the form 'aCCāC-

The development 'aCCāC- > ('iCCāC-? >) CCāC- has occurred in all the Syro-Palestinian dialects. It is true that most of the forms given by BAUER (Pal., p. 62) begin with *a*, e.g.: *ašhās*, *artāl*, *anwāc*, *alwān*, *aḥbār*, *awrāk*, *aḥwāl*, *afkār*, *akyās*, *ašgāl*, *arwāḥ*, *amrār*, but these are suspect of being loanings from *fusha*, while *ulād*, *ibwāb* and *ihmāl* are certainly genuine dialectal forms. Likewise, BEN ZEEV gives two kinds of examples: *wlād*, *zrār*, *bwāb*, *kyās* and *afkār*, *ašgāl*, *anwār*, *aḥbār* (p. 68). CHRISTIE states the regular loss of the initial 'a- and transcribes the forms *b^ezāz*, *z^elām*, *h^ewāto*, *snān* (p. 90).

The concurrence of CiCāC- and 'aCCāC- into CCāC- is practically complete in Beirut (Mattsson, Études, p. 96), in Damascus (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 30), in Palmyra (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 203), in Ḥōrān (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, p. 307), and scattered examples show that there are no noticeable differences in the whole area: *ilāt iyām* (Littmann, Hama, p. 28), *talalt iyyām* (Blanc, Studies, p. 87), *il-iyām* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 1), *li-wlād* (Hamarne, p. 177), *bi 'l-ewtād* (Czapkiewicz, p. 18).

6. *The word šī/išī*

If the assumption is correct that the prothetic form has its origin in the pleonastic use of *šī* after the negative affirmative *-(i)š* (*supra*, pp. 84f.), one would expect the form *'išī* to occur in the dialect areas where this affirmative is used. Actually this seems to be true. In the Lebanon, Damascus and Aleppo the negative affirmative is not generally (cf., however, Nakhla, pp. 111 f.) used, and *šī* has no prothesis: *šī* (Feghali, Kfar, p. 278; Nakhla, p. 94; Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 52), *šī* and *šī* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *šyy*). On the other hand the affirmative is general in Palestine, and both *šī* and *'išī* occur: *išī/šī* (Bauer, Pal., p. 77), *'išī* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 17), *'išī* ('Jerusalem', Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *'šy*), *išī* (Löhr, p. 8). This holds good also for *balgāwi*: *išī* (Czapkiewicz, p. 8), *ēšēšē* (p. 31; *'ayy šay* ?).

In *Hōrān* the affirmative *-š* is facultative (Cantineau, *Hōrān*, pp. 389f.), but the prothetic form *ēšī* occurs only in *ēAǧlūn*, 'sans doute pour allonger ce mot trop bref' (pp. 386f.), whereas in Palmyra *-š* appears in some idioms (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 225), and both *šē* and *'ōšē* are used.

B. VERBA

1. *Perfect of stem I*

In the perfect form CiCiC- the vowel of the initial syllable is generally dropped in unstressed position. The two-consonant initial cluster is facultatively preceded by a prothetic vowel, e.g. *lbes^{et}* (*-et*), *lbesne* (*-na*) (Cantineau, *Hōrān*, p. 207), *nsūt*, *nsūna* (Bauer, Pal., p. 33), *fhimt*, *fhimna* (Ben Zeev, p. 15), *ifhēmt* (Christie, p. 90), *irkibet* (Landberg, *Jeder tut*, pp. 14 and 40), *enzēllt* (Mattsson, *Ṭūlit*, MO 8, p. 36), *msikt*, *msiknō* (id., *Études*, p. 98), *nsūt* (el-Hajjé, p. 67; Fleisch, *Textes*, p. 352), *š^rrkābna* (Bloch u. Grotzfeld, 1,54), *šrābna*, *nsūna* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 56). Especially noticeable is the distinct prothesis occurring in Palmyra. The prothetic vowel is analogically transferred to sing. 3. masc., and the accent is un-

settled: 'ešreb/'ešrēb, 'örkeb/'örkēb, 'ēlbes/'elbēs (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 102f.).

In the form CaCaC- the vowel of the initial syllable is preserved except in Northern Lebanon. In Kfar 'Abīda this is in conformity with the statement that all the vowels of short open unstressed syllables are dropped (Feghali, Kfar, p. 90). In Tripoli *a* is preserved in the nominal form CaCāC- (*supra*, p. 93, el-Hajjé, p. 54), but, as a result of morphological analogy with CíCiC-CCiCt, dropped in the perfect: *ktab*^{at}, *ktabnā* (el-Hajjé, p. 39), *řmāt*, *wjatt* (p. 67).

The prothesis in the perfect of *ǧy*' has most probably first appeared in sing. 3. masc., where it occurs in most Syro-Palestinian dialects, e.g. *üǧü*, *iǧü* (Bauer, Pal., p. 35; Wbch, s.v.), *éǧā* (Christie, p. 78), 'aǧa, 'eǧe (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, pp. 245f.), 'eče (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 171), 'ádja, 'ádja (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. 'ǧy, but *jā* in the Lebanon and Central Syria, s.v. *ǧyy*), 'əža (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 77), 'éja (Feghali, Chahrour, p. 78), 'éža (Feghali, Kfar, p. 157), 'éjv (Mattsson, Ṭūlit, MO 6, p. 206), 'əjü (el-Hajjé, p. 71). Similarly, pl. 3. is usually prothetic, but it must have been formed only after the prothesis had become established in other persons, at least in sing. 3. masc., as a result of the analogy *ḥākā*: 'äžü = *ḥäku* : *x*; *x* = 'äžu (cf. Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 77).

When the personal ending is preceded by a long vowel, the prothesis occurs sporadically: *ǧūt*, *ǧinü* (Bauer, Pal., p. 35, Jerusalem), *iǧūt*, *iǧina* (ibid., Nablus), *dschīna* (Canaan, ZDPV 36, p. 291), *ǧina* (Linder 1931, p. 119), *ǧūt* (Baumann, p. 172), 'ijiyina (Blanc, Studies, p. 83), 'iǧūt (Saarisalo, p. 13; in the Arabic Appendix written with prothetic *älif*), 'eǧūt, 'eǧine (-na) (Cantineau, Ḥōrān, pp. 245f.), *čūt*, *čine* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 171), *dǧūt*, *dǧina* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. 'ǧy), 'žūt, 'žina (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 77), *žūt* (Mattsson, Ṭūlit, MO 6, p. 206), 'əjūt sing. 2. masc., *jūti* sing. 2. fem., *jūt* sing. 1., *jūtu*, *jūna* (el-Hajjé, p. 71), *žūt*, *žina* (Feghali, Kfar, p. 160).

The most difficult obstruction in the way of the explanation given for the prothesis *supra*, pp. 85f., is the fact that the imperfect form has

a short vowel in a large part of Syria and the Lebanon, e.g. *yádji*, *tádji* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. 'ǧy), *byeji*, *bteji* (el-Hajjé, p. 71), *biži*, *bötži*, *bži* (Feghali, Kfar, p. 160), *byəži*, *btəži* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 77), *ičéč*, *ətčéč* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 171). SCHMIDT and KAHLE allude to the bipartite structure of *ǧ* (= *dž*, *až*) as the cause of the prothesis (I, p. 57*), but this explanation is not applicable if *ǧ* is pronounced *ž*. CANTINEAU regards the prothesis simply as a lengthening of the too short forms **če*, **čo*^u (Palmyre I, pp. 107f.), FEGHALI as a metathesis of the Cl. *ǧā'a* (Kfar, pp. 157f.).

2. Stems V and VI

Usually the preformative *ta-* has lost its vowel. Through a purely phonetic shortening this could be possible only in the rural dialects of Northern Lebanon (e.g. in Kfar ^eAbīda). Elsewhere *a* is preserved as a rule in open initial syllables when followed by *a*. The loss of the vowel must have been occasioned by analogy (*supra*, p. 86)¹. An additional evidence supporting this assumption is the preservation of *a* in the imperative *ta^eál*, which occurs everywhere in Syro-Palestinian dialect area (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 171; id. Ḥōrān, p. 246; Landberg, Jeder tut, p. 14; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *čw*; Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 77; Bauer, Pal., p. 35). If the loss were phonetic, the form should be (*i*)*t^eál*, but in the absence of imperfect analogy the vowel is preserved.

Such forms as *t^akättāb* (Driver, Grammar, p. 67) and *t^afaḏḏal* (pp. 178 and 204) are 'corrected'. The genuine dialectal forms begin with (*i*)*tC-*, e.g. *iḥtalla^e*, *tfaḏḏal*, *tsäkkär*, *tšarak* (Bauer, Pal., pp. 43f.), *iḡatalu* (Ben Zeev, p. 63), *'iḥtalla^e* (Blanc, Studies, p. 81), *'əḥtalla^e*, *'ḥtalla^e* (Mattsson, Études, p. 101), § *'tdabbərna . . . labēn ma 'tdab-*

¹ The explanation given by Czapkiewicz (p. 16) is definitely impossible: »in den Präfixen *ta-* im Perf. der V und VI Klasse und im *mu-* im Mittelwort aber nur der V Klasse, wandeln sich von Zeit zu Zeit die Selbstlaute in *i* um und überdies kommt in ihnen die Erscheinung der Metathesis vor und *ta-* wird zu *it-*».

bərlna (Bloch u. Grotzfeld, 1, 79), *t^eallam*, *tražža*, *t^eálaž*, *tlá'a* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 81ff.), *t^eğamma^c*, *eššarraf*, *t^efarrağ*, *tbârak*, *tbâ^cad*, *eššâlah* (Cantineau, Hōrân, pp. 265—270), *öt^etâllâq*, *öt^efâddâl*, *öt^eğâddâm*, *öt^ešârak* (id., Palmyre I, pp. 154ff.)

Most infinitives are learned borrowings and are therefore pronounced with the classical *ta-*. A form like *tmōddon* (Nakhla, p. 155) is exceptional, but its occurrence is out of suspicion. The same form is given by BARTHÉLEMY (Dict., s.v. *mdn*). EL-HAJJÉ states (p. 91) the infrequent use of *t^eallom* in Tripoli where the infinitive of form II *t^elīm* is the equivalent (cf. Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 81f.).

3. Perfect and imperative of stems VII, VIII and X

According to different transcriptions the prothesis is heard more distinctly in Palestine and in the rural dialects of Syria than in the Lebanon and the Syrian cities. This difference may, at least to some degree, be attributed to disparities in principles of transcription. Thus prothetic forms are to be found e.g. in Palestine: *inğarah*, *inšarab*, *inbasat*, *ihtálah*, *iğtáma^c*, *ihtámm*, *istá^cğal*, *istá^cmal*, *istáğrab* (Bauer, Pal., pp. 45ff.), in Hōrân: *eñšarab*, *eñkasar*, *eñhabas* (Cantineau, Hōrân, pp. 262ff.), *öhtarag*, *öhtarām*, *öštáğal*, *ö^ctamad*, *em^ctana^c*, *entagal* (p. 264; the full prothetic vowel suggests a relatively weak stress of the infix *-ta-*), *e^cstagbal*, *e^csta^cmal*, *e^cstağrab* (pp. 270ff.), and in Palmyra: *eñğama^c*, *öñğâğ^c*, *öftakar*, *eštara*, *östağa*, *östa^cčel* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 152—157). On the other hand, no fixed prothesis occurs in Damascus: *nğarab*, *štáğal*, *sta^cžal* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 77, 79 and 83), in Beirut: *nkasar*, *ktasar*, *staksar* (Nakhla, pp. 120—127; cf. Mattsson, Études, pp. 96ff.), and in Tripoli: *nkasâr*, *ftakâr*, *stahsân* (el-Hajjé, pp. 98, 101 and 108). The infinitive forms are, however, prothetic, because they are not dialectal: *'anğiráb*, *'aštigál* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 77 and 79), *enftâh*, *ejtmâ^c*, *estehsân* (Nakhla, p. 155), *'aftikâr*, *'astahsân* (el-Hajjé, pp. 102 and 108).

4. Imperfect of stems I C^2w/y , med.gem., 4-rad., II, and III

In stem I, the short i ($< a$) of the prefix still appears in some dialects of the discussed area. Thus, the Bedouins living in the eastern and southern deserts of Transjordan say *yigûl* (Cleveland, p. 57), but also in Mādabā i is heard: *jikûn* (Czapkiewicz, p. 19), *yikûn* (Hamarne, p. 176). Elsewhere it is dropped, and a prothetic vowel precedes facultatively the two-consonant initial cluster.

BAUER transcribes the prefix of stems II and III $jî$: *jibarrir*, *jî'akkid*, *jîšawwir*, *jirabbi*, *jînâdi* (Pal., pp. 40f.). This suggests the change of yu - into yi - and the preservation of the vowel. Actually the preformative yu - has lost its u , and Bauer's transcription is most probably a practical solution in order to avoid three different preformatives yi -, y - and i . This becomes obvious from the transcription of 2. persons: *tʃahhîmni* (Bauer, Pal., p. 136), *i'akkidli* (p. 138), *thallšîni* (p. 174), *thattbi* (p. 186).

The forms given by CHRISTIE for Galilee (*térûh*, *jebajjin*; p. 98) are synchronically incorrect.

5. Imperfect with the prefix $b(i)$ -

When the prefix $b(i)$ - is followed by tC^1 - or nC^1 -, no initial cluster is formed, but if t or n plus a vowel follows, the word begins with bt -, mn - preceded by a facultative prothesis, e.g.: *btiktib*, *mniktib* (Bauer, Pal., p. 21), *'ibtijji* (Blanc, Studies, p. 100), *ibta^crif*, *imninjah*, *imninidbiḥ* (p. 86), *ibtisma^c* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 14), *ibtiswa* (p. 32), *(i)btimsik* (Jerusalem), *btimsik* (Syria) (p. 10), *bticirfeh* (Baumann, p. 163), *ptöktob*, *mnöktob* (Cantineau, Hōrân, p. 219), *ptoktob*, *bnoktob* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 132), *ibtîġi* (Littmann, Hama, p. 43), *btāšrab*, *mnašrab* (Grotzfeld, Laut, u. Formenlehre, p. 58), *btektob*, *mnektob* (el-Hajjé, p. 47).

The cluster bC^1 - occurs in sing. 1. in dialects where the preformative 'a- is dropped in an open syllable: *bḥətt* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 58), *bfatteš*, *brædd*, *bḍall*, *bšûf*, *bšûr*, *bnâm*, *bbasmer* (Grotzfeld, Grammatik, pp. 108—113), *brûh* (Mattsson, Études, p. 102),

bkûn (Nakhla, p. 109), *bšûf*, *bjîb*, *bbân* (el-Hajjé, p. 65), *bšûm*, *bnâm*, *b^eîš* (Feghali, Kfar, pp. 147f.).

When *iC¹* plus a vowel (*yCV-*) in sing. and pl. 3. masc. is preceded by *b(i)-*, the vowel of the initial syllable is preserved in Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside: *bihutt*, *bihuttu*, *bišidd*, *bišiddu* (Bauer, Pal., pp. 23f.). In Damascus the vowel is usually heard short: *bihətt*, *bihəttu*, but hesitation occurs between *ĭ* and *ī* (*ī*: phonemically long, *positione* half-long or short; Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, pp. 58f.). For the Lebanon mostly short-vocalic transcriptions are given: *bikûn*, *bikûnu* (Nakhla, p. 109), *bišûf*, *bijîb*, *binâm* (el-Hajjé, pp. 64f.), *bikallem* (p. 73), *bišûm*, *binâm*, *b^eîš* (Feghali, Kfar, pp. 147f.). This preservation of a historically long vowel (*bi + y- > bī-*) seems quite natural. In LGal., however, forms like *brûh*, *brûhu*, *bšîr* occur (*supra*, p. 75). Examples of such a loss can be found elsewhere, too, e.g. in Jerusalem: *ibfātu* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 14), and in Galilee: *li-bsuknu* (Blanc, Studies, p. 101). In Ḥōrân the loss is not complete: *b^ešedd* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 227), *b^ešûf* (p. 240), *b^ešammes* (p. 248), but in Palmyra even *b* may be assimilated into the following consonant: *b^ebîc*, *ffût*, *!îb*, *mmût* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 43 and 165), *pšed^e* (p. 160), *psakker* (p. 148).

The comparison of the nominal forms *CVCVC-* (*supra*, pp. 89 ff.) shows that *bī-* > *bi-* has hardly lost its historically long vowel in these dialects while the dialects spoken in the Lebanon and in Syrian cities have preserved it as short or half-long. The explanation of this difference must be found elsewhere. A further comparison shows that when the initial syllable is shut, *y* is pronounced after *b-* in the dialects where *i/ī* is preserved. e.g. *bjiktîb/biktîb* (Bauer, Pal., p. 21), *byəšrab* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 58), *byektbu* (Nakhla, p. 24), *byektob*, *byešrâb* (el-Hajjé, p. 47). Elsewhere it is dropped: *bimsik* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 10 'Jerusalem'), *bimšî* (Blanc, Studies, p. 83), *böktob*, *belbäs* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 219), *böktob*, *bešrab* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 132f.). Thus it can be supposed that in the latter dialects the morphemic character of *y-* has been weakened, and *y/i* could be dropped (*b-iCV- > bCV-*), but elsewhere it has been preserved for its more distinctive

character (sing. 3. masc. *bikân*, sing. 1. *bkân*; in Palestine, Ḥōrân, Palmyra: sing. 3. masc. *bkân/bikân*, sing. 1. *bâkân*). The forms *bC-* and *biC-* may also differ historically. The use of the prefix *b(i)-* might be younger in the dialects where *i* is dropped ($b + iC- > bC-$, and not $bi + iC- > biC-$). This assumption finds support especially in the fact that in Palmyra the preposition *bi-* has a long vowel in analogy with *fî* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 228). Furthermore, both Palestine and Palmyra are bounded from the east by dialects where the prefix *b(i)-* is not used (cf. *yigûl*, Cleveland, p. 57; Malaika, p. 80).

6. Participles of stems II and III

The preformative *mu-* has regularly lost its vowel in all the dialectal words. The initial cluster *mC¹-* is facultatively preceded by a prothesis. Some exceptions are found, e.g. *ma^cal^lme* (Fleisch, Textes, p. 341), but most of them are either learned borrowings or 'corrected' forms, e.g. *musâ^cade*, *minâsîbi* (Czapkiewicz, p. 28), *m^esahḥar*, *m^efarral*, *m^ebajjîn* (Christie, p. 98), *mukättib/mkättib/imkättib* (Löhr, p. 8), *mu'äkkid* (Bauer, Pal., p. 40), *m^u/im-* (Driver, JRAS 1920, p. 311).

C. PARTICULA

The conjunction *wa-* has most probably lost its *a* at an early stage. Before two consonants, especially before a definite article plus a consonant, it is pronounced *wu-* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 231; Ḥōrân, pp. 403f.; el-Hajjé, p. 174), before one consonant *u-* and before a vowel *w-* (passim). The conjunction *fa-* often occurs, according to BAUER, in the artistic colloquial (Pal., p. 95) while SCHMIDT and KAHLE observe its absence from the genuine dialect (I, p. 89*). Similarly, *ka-* belongs to the literate language, although traces of both these particles have remained in dialect: *fên* (*fa-'ayna*, Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *fyn*), *känni*, *kännno*, *kännak* (*ka-'anna-*, Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *knn*).

As a proclitic preposition used with a noun, the classical *bi-* is

represented throughout the area by *b-* except in Palmyra, where the vowel is lengthened analogically with *fî*, which is not used (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 228). A prothesis is often heard before *bC-*, e.g. *ʔbḵut-tên* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 36), *ibdōro* (Littmann, Volksp., p. 19), *ibyōmên* (p. 16), *ib-matlîk* (Littmann, DI, No. 303), *ʔib-nâr* (Blanc, Studies, p. 77), *ebbêtna* (Malinjoud, p. 278), *ḥbægrût* (Mattsson, Études, p. 101).

Used independently with a pronominal suffix, *b* is most often followed by a short vowel or a consonant: *bîjî* (*bîni*), *bak*, *bîk*, *bo*, *biha*, *bina*, *bikun*, *bihum* (Bauer, Pal., p. 85), *bni*, *bak*, *bek*, *bu*, *bü*, *bnä*, *bkon*, *bon* (el-Hajjé, p. 172), *bani*, *bak*, *baki*, *bo*, *baha*, *bana*, *bakon*, *bahon* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 129). A lengthening, as in LGal., occurs in Ḥōrân: *bîye*, *bîk*, *bîč*, *bîⁿ*, *bîhe* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 398). BAUER gives two prothetic forms *ibo* and *ibha* as used by *fellahîn* (Pal., p. 85).

The preposition *min/mæn* loses its vowel before a vowel in a proclitic position: *yôm mn el-iyjâm* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 402). It may also be preceded by a prothesis: *imnên* (Littmann, Hama, p. 21), *imni-š-šyuvḥ* (Blanc, Studies, p. 84). Before the article, *n* is sometimes dropped: *m-əl-* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v.).

The Cl. preposition *ʔilā* has dropped its short vowel and occurs in proclitic position. Before one consonant it is pronounced *la-*, before two consonants *la-/lə-*, e.g. *lähôn*, *lâğái*, *lahunák*, *labarra*, *lağúwa* (Bauer, Pal., p. 88), *la hôn*, *la gâd* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 399), *l^a-hôn* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 230), *la ^cand* (II, p. 31), *laḥalab*, *l^acando* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *l*), *lüz-zlâm*, *l^a-arús* (Bauer, Pal., p. 192), *ləbalad* (Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 127; cf. Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *l*). Followed by a pronominal suffix this preposition is found e.g. in Tripoli: *läyyi*, *läk*, *läyki*, *lä(h)*, *läyhä*, *läynä*, *läykon*, *läyⁿon* (el-Hajjé, p. 174), and rarely in Ḥōrân: *leyye*, *léi*, *lêha* (-he), *lêna* (-ne), *lékom* (-ko), *lékenⁿ* (-čenⁿ), *lêhom*, *lêhenⁿ*, but *ʔelak*, *ʔeleč*, *ʔelo* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 398).

The Cl. preposition *li-* has lost its vowel in an open unstressed syllable, e.g. *lêš* (Bauer, Pal., p. 86; Grotzfeld, Laut- u. Formenlehre, p. 51; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *ʔyš*), *lâš* (el-Hajjé, p. 165). On a syn-

chronic level, the preposition is *la-*. This is seen, for instance, in the difference between *léš* 'why?' and *la-éš* 'what for?' (cf. Bauer, Pal., p. 86), and even more distinctly in the pleonastic expressions *laléš* (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 102), *leléš* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 221 and 231).

After a verb ending in one consonant the Cl. *la-* plus a pronominal suffix occurs without a preceding vowel in Jerusalem: *-li*, *-lak*, *-lik*, *-lo*, *-laha*, *-lana*, *-lakun*, *-lahun* (Bauer, Pal., p. 85), and when the suffix begins with a vowel, in Ḥōrân, Palmyra and Tripoli: *-li*, *-lak*, *-leč*, *-lo* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 398), *-le^t*, *-lek*, *-le^h* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 230), *-li*, *-lak*, *-lek*, *-lu*, *-lä*, *-lon* (el-Hajjé, p. 173).

After a verb ending in two consonants an anaptyctic vowel is used, and *l* is gemined before a suffix beginning with a vowel: *djəbt-állak*, *gəltəllo*, *zəḥḥəlli* (Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *l*).

As an independent word with a pronominal suffix the Cl. preposition *li-/la-* is as a rule preceded by a prothesis: *ili*, *ilak*, *ilik*, *ilo*, *ilha*, *ilna*, *ilkun*, *ilhun* (Bauer, Pal., p. 85), *'eli*, *'elak*, *'eleč*, *'elo*, *'elha* (*-he*), *'elna* (*-ne*), *'elkon* (*-ko*), *'elkenⁿ* (*-čenⁿ*), *'elhom*, *'elhenⁿ* (Cantineau, Ḥōrân, p. 399), *'ele-*, *'el-* (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 229), *'əli*, *'əlak*, *'əlek*, *'əlo*, *'əlha*, *'əlna*, *'əlkon*, *'əlhon* (Grotzfeld, Lautu. Formenlehre, p. 127), *'əli*, *'əlak*, *'əlek*, *'əlu*, *'əlä*, *'əlnä*, *'əlkon*, *'əlon* (el-Hajjé, p. 173; cf. Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *l*).

Synchronically *'ilā* > *la-* and *li-/la-* are one preposition *la-* (*lə-*). The prothetic forms *'ili*, *'ilak* etc. are better explained as having developed from the cases where a stressed anaptyctic vowel occurs (*qultilnä*, *qalatilnä*), than as a contamination of *'ilā* and *li-/la-*.