Summary

LGal.

In LGal., as well as in all the Syro-Palestinian dialects, the anaptyctic and prothetic vowels are pronounced so as to form closed syllables (-C^{v}C, -C^{v}CC-, ^{v}CC-).

No indisputable minimal pair can be found to show the contrastive value of these vowels. However, they are so closely connected with morphological categories that their purely phonetic examination would be misleading.

In nomina of the form CVCC-, a final anaptyxis is pronounced if C^{3} is a liquid or a nasal, i.e. if it forms a second crest of sonority. On the other hand, the final cluster usually remains undissolved if C^{2} is more sonorous than C^{3}. Thus, the number of natural syllables is more decisive than the *iltiqā' as-sākinayn* without regard to the quality of the two consonants. The syllabic use of consonants (CVC-C̥) is avoided, and anaptyctic vowels have developed to form new closed final syllables (CV·C·^{v}C > CV-CVC). The syllabication is, however, not determined by the relative sonority alone, but also the absolute sonority here plays a certain role.

Another group where an anaptyxis is regularly pronounced between C^{2} and C^{3}, consists of words having a laryngeal as one of them. Because the presence of the anaptyxis is not conditioned by the position of the laryngeal or by the quality of the other consonant of the group, the cause must lie in the character of the laryngeals. It is most natural to suppose that the anaptyxis here is a transitional sound produced to facilitate the pronunciation of two consequent hetero-organic consonants.

In addition to the anaptyxis caused by different places of articulation, another group can be distinguished where a zero-vowel is

pronounced between two consonants because of a difference in the manner of articulation. Most usually this occurs to avoid voiceless pronunciation of voiced consonants.

No phonetic explanation can be found for the anaptyxis inserted before *w*, but it must be understood as resulting from an aspiration to make the morphological position of *w* as C^3 more prominent.

The colour of the final anaptyxis in nouns usually varies between the neutral *ə* and *i*, but in some cases it is determined by the progressive assimilation. Most commonly this happens after *u*, and so regularly that confusion is possible between CuCC- and the broken plural CuCuC-. If C^2 is *b*, no progressive assimilation takes place. After *a* the anaptyctic vowel is assimilated only in emphatic surroundings between a laryngeal and C^3r, after *i* usually if no anaptyxis is demanded for syllabication.

The suffix *-t* of perf. sing. 1. and 2. masc. is optionally preceded by an anaptyxis, the feminine nominal suffix *-t* (in final position preceded by one consonant) never. The latter occurs only in status constructus and is therefore not used in pre-pausal position. Thus the pre-pausal origin of the anaptyxis before the verbal suffix *-t* seems apparent. The comparatively fixed colour, usually *i*, more rarely *e* (*i-ə*), not susceptible to progressive assimilation, shows a tendency to distinguish between morphological divisions. This special character is proved by cases where the anaptyxis separates two morphemes in words such as *qaᶜádit* and *futit*.

The vowel of the negative afformative is usually a pure *i*. No difference is to be found in the relative frequency of *-š* and *-iš* in pre-pausal and contextual positions. The afformative is occasionally stressed. Thus it is doubtful if this *i* can be classified as an anaptyxis. It seems more correct to regard *-š* and *-iš* as rhythmic variants of one morpheme.

The most noticeable difference between the final and the medial anaptyxis is that the latter shows more stability, because the internal clusters are less than the final ones exposed to the influence of pre-pausal phenomena. A final cluster followed by a consonantal suffix is dissolved according to the rules given for nomina of the form CVCC-, but with less exceptions.

In imperfect forms of stem I with vocalic suffixes, the characteristic vowels *i* and *u* are dropped except after ᶜ. The resulting three-consonant medial cluster is regularly dissolved by an anaptyctic vowel having the same colour as the preceding one. The presence of the anaptyxis is here no longer bound to relative sonority or transition between two hetero-organic consonants. The systematization is proved by occasional stressing of anaptyxis. The preservation of the characteristic vowel *a* has led to two morphological systems in the imperfect.

The imperfect, imperative and active participle forms of stems VII and VIII have the word stress on the preformative. The vowel of the following syllable (*a*, after assimilation *i*) is dropped and a three-consonant medial cluster is formed. In stem VII the cluster nC^1C^2 is occasionally dissolved; in stem VIII no need for anaptyxis is felt, because the middle consonant of the cluster is always the least sonorous *t*. In stem X, two different clusters occur. One of them, stC^1 never needs an anaptyxis, the other one, formed of $C^1C^2C^3$, is dissolved similarly to the same cluster in stem I. In both cases the clusters are the result of dropping *i* from an open unstressed syllable. In the infinitive forms the short *i* is preserved. Usually they are loans from the *fuṣḥa* and are pronounced unchanged.

In nomina of the form CVC$\overline{\text{V}}$C-, *i* and *u* are generally dropped, but the loss is not absolute. Most regularly the *u* of an open unstressed syllable is dropped in diminutive words of the form CuCayC-. The only exception, besides words borrowed from the *fuṣḥa*, is after ᶜ (and ʾ) as C^1. For its greater relative quantity, *a* is normally preserved in the initial syllables of CVC$\overline{\text{V}}$C-. In words of the form CaC$\bar{\text{i}}$C- the front allophone of *a* is often regressively assimilated and then dropped. This does not happen in the words formed with the prefix *ma-*. One reason for this may be an avoiding the concourse of these words with participles of stems II and III where the prefix *mu-* has lost its vowel.

In the pronominal adverb *hunâk/hinâk*, *u* and *i* are usually preserved. Most probably these forms do not represent the classical *hunāka*, but are analogical formations from *hôn* (and *hên* ?) like *hâd̲ä* : *häd̲âk*.

In LGal. the forms CiCāC- and ʾaCCāC- have almost completely run together into (i)CCāC-.

All the nominal forms CC$\overline{\text{V}}$C- are optionally preceded by a prothetic vowel which most usually ranges from $^{a}/_{ə}$ to *i*, and is to some extent bound to the sonority of C^1. The prothesis is not susceptible to regressive assimilation.

In perfect forms of verba firma and tertiae infirmae in stem I the short vowel of the initial syllable is preserved in unstressed position if followed by *a* (form CaCaC-) but assimilated to *i* and dropped if followed by *i* (form CaCiC- > CiCiC-). The only exception is if C^1 is the laryngeal ^{c}.

There is no absolute certainty about the explanation given for the prothetic forms *ʾäžä* and *ʾiši*. The former is evidently an analogical formation, and the latter most probably originated from the pleonastic use of *ši* in a stressed position after the negative afformative *-(i)š*. The prime reason has certainly been the dropping of C^{3}ʾ and the subsequent shortening of the words to a single open syllable.

The prefix of the perfect forms of stems V and VI is *it-*, which is based upon the analogy of imperfect and participle forms and not upon the old prothetic variant. If only the old prothetic perfects have survived, the preservation of the prefix *ta-* before ^{c} in several dialectal words cannot be explained.

In imperfect forms of stems I (C^2w/y), II and III, the vowel of the prefix is dropped, except for the *a* of sing. 1. and before the laryngeal ^{c} as C^1. In stems II and III the dropped vowel is *u*, but in stem I the classical *a* changed into *i*, which was dropped.

The old prothetic forms VII—X have an optional prothesis, which is generally dependent on the sonority of the first consonant.

Followed by one consonant the imperfect prefix *b(i)-* loses its vowel (if the prefix ever was *bi-* in LGal.). The resulting two-consonant clusters *bt-* and *mn-* are optionally preceded by a prothetic vowel.

The participle prefix *mu-* in stems II and III has lost its vowel in all the dialectal words.

The conjunction *wa-*, which has lost its vowel at an early stage, occurs as *w-*, or combinatorily as *u-*. It is never preceded by a pro-

thesis, but often it is lengthened: *uww-*. Used as a swearing particle *wa-* most often preserves its vowel.

The proclitic particles *fa-* and *ka-* are mostly learned borrowings and have therefore preserved their vowel. In dialectal words such as *kinnu* the vowel is dropped.

The preposition *bi-* loses its vowel in an unstressed open initial syllable. Similarly, the vowel of *min* is dropped in an unstressed position before a vowel. Both have an optional prothesis. Sometimes the cluster *mn-* is alleviated by dropping *n*.

The preposition *ᶜa(la)-* has taken part of the functions of the Cl. *ʾilā*, which is dying out in the dialect. It has lost its *ʾi-* and run together with the proclitic *l(i)-/la-*. A new prothetic form has been developed most probably from cases where the preposition was used in an unstressed position after a verb.

Comparison

In spite of the great diversity in the observation and transcription of the final anaptyxis in different Syro-Palestinian dialects there seems to be sufficient material to show that it is more distinct in the group of dialects called by Cantineau 'parlers S2' (Central Palestine) and 'parlers S1' (Galilee, Southern Lebanon, rural dialects of Syria) than in 'parlers S1ʾ' (Northern Lebanon, biggest towns of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine). In the former group the influence of the progressive assimilation upon the anaptyctic vowel is greater, although nowhere probably as great as in Cantineau's transcriptions for Palmyra and Ḥōrân.

The medial anaptyxis is more stable, because it is less exposed to the influence of pre-pausal phenomena. Therefore its transcription is more uniform than that of the final anaptyxis. Several instances of a stressed anaptyxis in Galilean dialects show that the anaptyxis is fixed. Bauer's assertion that the medial anaptyxis is optional in towns but regularly used by the *fellaḥîn* suggests that a difference could be found between the same groups as in final anaptyxis. In stems VII and VIII the preformative of the imperfect is stressed in the whole area except in Damascus and Tripoli, with some hesitation elsewhere in Syria and the Lebanon, e.g. in Ḥōrân, Palmyra

and Beirut. Forms with a stressed preformative and a three-consonant medial cluster occur, however, in some frequently used words in all the Syro-Palestinian dialects. Probably these forms were earlier predominant, and the stress changed place in analogy with the perfect.

As a rule both CiC$\overline{\text{V}}$C- and CuC$\overline{\text{V}}$C- are reduced all over the area into CC$\overline{\text{V}}$C-. This reduction is probably not complete in Palestine and in Southern Transjordan. In diminutive forms the loss of the short vowel is complete; even the syllabic C^1w can be dropped. The forms CiCāC- and 'aCCāC- have run together into CCāC-. CaC̄iC- drops its *a* only after a regressive assimilation. In Transjordan, Ḥōrân and Palmyra its influence is weaker than in the other Syro-Palestinian dialects, and *a* is usually preserved. Between Central Palestine, Galilee, Southern Lebanon, and Damascus no considerable differences are to be found in the preservation of *a* in these forms. In all these dialects the *a* of a short open pre-stressed syllable is preserved, but *i* (< *a*) is dropped. CaCāC- has regularly dropped its short *a* only in rural dialects of Northern Lebanon.

The demonstrative pronoun *haḏāk(a)* has preserved its etymologically long vowel of the initial syllable. The adverb corresponding to the Cl. *hunāka* has many different forms. In Damascus a short *u* is dropped in *hnîk(e)*, in Ḥōrân it is shortened: *hᵒnâk(a)*. The Palestinian forms *hunâk*, *hinâk* are most probably formed of *hôn*, *hên* plus *-âk*, and do not represent the Cl. *hunāka*. In Ḥōrân and in the Lebanon long-vocalic forms occur: *hōnâk* (Ḥōrân), *hawnîk* (Lebanon).

The prothetic form *'iši* (used side by side with *ši/ší*) seems to occur mainly in the dialect areas where the negative afformative *-(i)š* is used, i.e. in Palestine and sporadically in Transjordan. In Ḥōrân and Palmyra this association is not as distinct.

In the whole area the perfect forms CiCiC- drop the vowel of the initial syllable if a consonantal suffix follows. In Palmyra this loss occurs analogically in all persons, and the prothetic vowel is often stressed. In Northern Lebanon CaCaC- loses the vowel of the pre-stressed open initial syllable in the local dialects also, where it is preserved in the nominal form CaCāC-. The analogical change of the reflexive preformative *ta-* in stems V and VI has taken place in all

the Syro-Palestinian dialects. Exceptions are few, e.g. *taᶜâl*, which is not used in imperfect form, and has thus remained unaffected by analogy. The prothesis of stems VII—X is more distinctly heard in Palestine and in the rural dialects of Syria (S2 and S1) than in Syrian cities and Northern Lebanon (S1').

The prothetic forms *ʾäžä*, *ʾäžu* occur in the whole area. Only in the Lebanon and Central Syria can *žâ* be found. The imperfect vowel is short in a large part of Syria and the Lebanon; in Kfar ᶜAbîda and Palmyra the stress is on the latter syllable.

Followed by a consonant the imperfect preformatives are everywhere *y-/i-*, *(i)t-* *ʾa-*, and *(i)n-*. Only in the Bedouin dialects of Southern Transjordan and possibly in the dialect of the *fellaḥîn* of the same area is *i* preserved after *y*. In Damascus and Northern Lebanon even the preformative *ʾa-* of sing. 1. is dropped. Besides the initial clusters *bt-* and *mn-*, a cluster bC^1- occurs in the last-mentioned dialects in sing. 1. The cluster bC^1- in sing. 3. masc. and pl. 3. sometimes appears in Palestine and regularly in Palmyra, i.e. in the dialects where *y* is usually dropped after *b-*. It might be assumed that the preposition *bi-* found its way into the imperfect forms in these dialects only after having dropped its *i* and having lost its connection with the preposition.

The participles of stems II and III regularly drop the vowel of the preformative in all the genuine dialectal words, and the initial cluster mC^1- is usually preceded by a prothetic vowel.

The Cl. conjunction *wa-* is everywhere *w-/u-*, and is never preceded by a prothesis. Before two consonants, *wu-* is used in Palmyra, Ḥōrân and Tripoli, but elsewhere *u-* or *w* plus *ə/i* is more usual. The Cl. preposition *bi-* is *(i)b-* except in Palmyra, where it is lengthened analogically with *fî* : *bî*. With a personal suffix the prothetic forms *ʾibo*, *ʾibha* occur sporadically in Central Palestine. The Cl. prepositions *li-/la-* and *ʾilā* have concurred into one preposition *l(i)-/la-*. With a personal suffix prothetic forms *ʾili*, *ʾilak* etc. are regularly used. These have probably come from the Cl. *li-/la-*, while forms of *ʾilā* plus a suffix are found e.g. in Tripoli (*läyyi*, *lâk* etc.) and rarely in Ḥōrân in some persons (*leyye*, *lêi*, *lêha*).