The Arabic Dialect of Шɛтɔba/Shaykh Taba (northern Lebanon) in its Regional context

Mahmut Ağbaht
Abstract

This study provides the first grammatical description of a sedentary type of Arabic from Akkar (محافظة عكار), the northernmost governate of Lebanon. It deals with the Arabic dialect spoken in Šɛ̄xṭɔ̄ba/Shaykh Taba (الشيخ طابا) and covers the main features of its phonology (with focus on pausal phenomena) and morphology, as well as selected semantic fields within the lexicon. In addition to general comparative notes in relation to dialects of Levant and beyond, the study provides a comparison in Phonology to four dialects in the governorate of North which borders Akkar to the south. These are Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta. It also includes a comparison in Morphology to Tripoli, Bišmizzīn and Kfar-Ṣghāb. Furthermore, the study examines where ŠṭA stands within Henri Fleisch’s survey of the Lebanese dialects.

Šɛ̄xṭɔ̄ba has a rather complex pausal system, which affects not only consonants and vowels, but also diphthongs. There are also pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations. Besides filling a gap in our knowledge of Arabic dialects in Lebanon, this work adds a new case study of pausal forms to Arabic and Semitic. The results of the investigation of pause in Šɛ̄xṭɔ̄ba, as well as a few other case studies, lead us to identify pausal forms involving retentions, as well as new pausal processes, and thus to propose a revision to the current classification of the pausal forms in modern Arabic dialects.

Keywords: Language documentation, Levantine Arabic dialects, Šɛ̄xṭɔ̄ba/Shaykh Taba, northern Lebanon, pausal phenomena

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Le imme w le beyye
anneme, babama
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Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviations
pl plural
sg singular
m masculine
f feminine
fn footnote
IPA The International Phonetic Alphabet
MSA Modern Standard Arabic
OA Old Arabic
ŠṭA The Arabic Dialect of Šēxtōba/Shaykh Taba
الشيخ طابا

Symbols
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person (3sgm, e.g., refers to third person singular masculine)
C consonant
v short vowel
vv long vowel
< developed or originates from (not necessarily diachronic)
> developed to
√ Radicals of a word (e.g., *katab* ‘to write’ √ ktb).
Transcription signs

Below is the transcription used in this work. I give approximate IPA values for each sign. The full range of allophones for each phoneme is given in §2. Throughout the thesis, symbols given in square brackets are IPA unless otherwise indicated. The reader can refer to the IPA chart for such symbols, where not listed below.

Consonants

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**Semi-vowels**

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**Vowels**

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**Diphthongs**

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<td>aw</td>
<td>[ao]</td>
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</table>
Suprasegmental signs, diacritics and other phonetic symbols

\begin{itemize}
  \item Stress
  \item Long
  \item Short
  \item Syllable break
  \item Minor break/stop in speech flow
  \item Major break/stop in speech flow
  \item Pausal form
  \item Voiced
  \item Voiceless
  \item Aspirated
  \item Retracted
  \item Palatalised
  \item Nasalised
  \item No audible release
\end{itemize}

Notes on Transcription

Cases of voicing and devoicing assimilation are marked under a consonant by IPA modifiers _ and _, respectively, e.g., ҳdam’t ‘I served’, ҳhıbб ‘I like’. Nasal assimilation is also indicated and the underlying form given in a footnote, e.g., _mın bëtna ‘from our house’, in the footnote ‘< _mın bëtna’. Emphasis spread is transcribed and the underlying form given in a footnote, e.g., ɻam-ıtsalli ‘she/you (msg) are praying’ and ɭlaṭṭ _mṣ̱fi ‘three strainers’ (in footnote ‘< ɻam-ıtsalli’ and ‘< ɭlaṭṭ’ respectively). Loss of emphasis of original consonants is also transcribed and a footnote given, e.g., in texts baʃti ‘I give’ (in footnote ‘< baʃtı’). Elisions of one or more sounds are also shown in texts and a footnote is provided. In cases where elisions occur in frequently used words, e.g., halla? > hala? ~ halla ~ hala ‘now’, yaʃni > yani ~ yini ‘that is to say’, baddi > badi ~ bidi ‘I want’ a footnote is provided only when they appear first in the text. Changes in final syllables related to pause have been presented in square brackets, e.g., _knis[e]# (< knisи ‘church’) – except when the pausal change consists of only deleting a word-final consonant, e.g., _siyyɔrɔ# (< siyyɔrɔ ‘cars’). The square brackets are not used in pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations (in the 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes) and pause-conditioned vowel alternations (in Pattern I Imperfect verbs), as well as in the pausal realization of original diphthongs in final syllables, e.g., _kiʃuʃ# (non-pausal alternation: _kiʃin ‘all of them’), yɛkuʃ# (non-pausal alternation: yɛkil ‘he eats’), bayt# (non-pausal alternation: bɛt, bat ‘house’). The square brackets
also have not been used in cases where a context form has spread to pause, e.g., \( b\text{ê}th \). In cases where it is less easy for the reader to predict the non-pausal pronunciation of the word a footnote is provided, e.g., \( \text{wê}[	ext{ê} \j] \) (footnote: < \( \text{wê}hïd \)), \( \text{dikkë}[	ext{n}] \) (footnote: < \( \text{dikkë}n \)), \( \text{sn}[	ext{e} :] \) (footnote: < \( \text{snë}n \)). Tilde ~ indicates apparently free variation between forms, e.g., \( \text{lë}sh \sim \text{la}sh \) ‘why?’. Parentheses enclose optional elements, e.g., \( \text{had}ïk(i) \) ‘that (fsg)’.

I used the original transcription of other authors except for the following:

a) \( /\text{ay}/ \) (IPA [\text{ai}]) and \( /\text{aw}/ \) (IPA [\text{au}]) are represented by <\text{ai}> and <\text{au}> respectively in Fleisch (1974, 123-39, 221-62). These have been changed to \( /\text{ay}/ \) and \( /\text{aw}/ \) respectively.

b) \( /\text{i}/ \) (IPA [\text{i}]) is represented by <\text{e}> in El-Hajjé (1954), by <\text{e}> in Fleisch (1974, 126-39, 221-62), by <\text{e}> in Grotzfeld (1964), Aro (1979), Arnold (1998, 2005), Naim (2006), by <\text{e}> in Cowell (2016). All have been changed to \( /\text{i}/ \).

c) \( /\text{ʔ}/ \) (IPA [\text{ʔ}]) is represented by <\text{e}> in Fleisch (1974, 123-39, 221-62), Aro (1979) and Klimiuk (2016), and by <\text{e}> in Retsõ (1994), Arnold (1998), and Watson (2009). All have been changed to \( /\text{ʔ}/ \).

d) \( /\text{x}/ \) (IPA [\text{x}]) is represented by <\text{h}> in Fleisch (1974, 123-39, 263-70), Aro (1979), and Wardini (2002). This has been changed to \( /\text{x}/ \).
1 Introduction

1.1 Background and aim of research

Academic works on the Arabic dialects of Lebanon are limited. Not a single one is comprehensive, in that it covers the main features of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of one dialect. Most of them deal with just one or two of these fields. The data available about Lebanon is also quite limited in the two dialect atlases of the region, Bergsträsser’s *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina* (1915) and Behnstedt’s *Sprachatlas von Syrien* (1997).

Moreover, there is no grammar of a sedentary-type of Arabic from the governorate of Akkar (محافظة عكار), the northernmost governorate of Lebanon. The only available study from Akkar deals with a Bedouin-type dialect of Arabic, namely the dialect of ʿAtīğ (Wādī Xālīd), by Younes and Herin (2013). Fleisch’s survey (1974, 123–39) of the Lebanese dialects includes only two locations (Menjez and Beit Mellate) from Akkar.

There are three grammars of dialects in the governorate of North ( محافظة الشمال), bordering Akkar to the south. These are Feghali’s study (1919) of the dialect of Kfar-ʿAbīda, el-Hajjé’s work (1954) on the dialect of Tripoli, and Jiha’s work (1964) on the dialect of Bišmizzīn. These studies are limited to morphology and phonology. There are also two shorter studies from North governorate, i.e., Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta by Fleisch (1974, 221–62, 263–70).¹

In his survey of the dialects in Lebanon, Fleisch proposes six groups (1974, 123–39):² North, Central-North, Central-South, South, Béka, and Cities. Tripoli is considered to belong to the Cities group, while the dialects of Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta are placed in the North group in the survey (ibid, 138–39). The study on Bišmizzīn was published after the Fleisch’s study originally came out.

Pausal phenomena are a well-known but not well-studied phonological feature that is documented to have existed in Classical Arabic, some other ancient Semitic languages, including Biblical Hebrew, and some Arabic dialects, including some dialects in Yemen and Egypt, as well as dialects (particularly

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¹ The studies of Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta were first published in 1963-1964 and in 1970 respectively.

² First published in 1959.
rural ones) of the contemporary Levantine group. There are only a few academic studies that focus on this feature, e.g., Arnold (2010), and Zuniga (2015).

Given the fact that the area is underdocumented, I chose to study a dialect from the governorate of Akkar, and select the village of Šēxtɔba/Shaykh Tabã³ (شیخ طابا), because its dialect displays a rather complex system of pausal phenomena. This study aims at documenting the Arabic dialect spoken in Šēxtɔba, covering the main features of its phonology (with a special focus on pausal phenomena) and morphology, as well as selected semantic fields within the lexicon. It also aims at positioning the dialect in a regional context. In addition to general comparative notes in relation to dialects of the Levant and beyond, the study also provides a phonological comparison with four dialects in the governorate of North, which borders Akkar to the south, these being geographically the closest documented dialects. These are Tripoli, Bišmizzín, Kfar-Šgháb and Zgharta. It also includes a morphological comparison with Tripoli, Bišmizzín and Kfar-Šgháb. Furthermore, the study will examine where ŠtA stands within above-mentioned Fleisch’s survey. This will be also done for Bišmizzín.

Besides filling a gap in our knowledge of Arabic dialects in Lebanon, this work adds a new case study of pausal forms to Arabic and Semitic. The results of the investigation of pause in Šēxtɔba, as well as a few other case studies, lead us to identify pausal forms involving retentions, as well as new pausal processes, and thus to propose a revision to the current classification of the pausal forms in modern Arabic dialects, put forward by Retsö (1994).

1.2 Notes on fieldwork and methodology

I conducted fieldwork in different places in Akkar for about three months, between February 2 and May 5 of 2016. During this period, I stayed for two months in Šēxtɔba village, where I carried out my main field research. All residents of Šēxtɔba belong to the Greek Orthodox Christian community. The historical center of the Archdiocese of Akkar (فلكات) is also in this village. I conducted initial interviews with over twenty people from the village, both male and female, of different ages and educational backgrounds. I continued interviewing the consultants (around ten) who were most available. For this study, I analysed data only from people aged over forty, choosing to focus on the dialect of this older age group, who, in my experience, show

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3 The name of the village is commonly spelled as Cheikh Taba.
4 The short study of Zgharta (Fleisch 1974, 263–70) includes only a few notes on morphology.
5 At the beginning of my stay in Akkar, I first spent two weeks collecting data in Halba, I-Ḥīsa, I-Ḥasṭûd and Tall Šibbās il-Ǧarbī. Then, during my stay in Šēxtɔba, I also conducted fieldwork on the neighbouring dialects spoken in Šēx Mḥammad, Mińyra, BŻarzla, Mišmî, Šibbîl and Raḥbi.
less influence (although still considerable) from French and other urban Arabic dialects, and more use of pausal forms, which I wished to investigate. This group included six women and four men. Information on the profiles of the consultants is given in 1.3.

All the recordings were made using a H4Zoom recorder, with the highest quality wav format. The voice recording was done in an ethically responsible and transparent manner: all the interviewees were informed about the study and their consent was taken during the recording. The sociolinguistic profiles of the interviewees were obtained during the natural flow of the interview, rather than by making a survey.

During the preliminary phase, recordings were made about any random subject. In the second phase, work continued with more detailed interviews that would follow in accordance with the accessibility of the interviewees. A number of recordings were made about personal memories from childhood to old age, as well as recipes, the history of the region, special occasions, and cultural and religious rituals.

In addition to the texts, I undertook some elicitation sessions, particularly on verbal morphological features. I used part of the questionnaire in Behnstedt’s (1997) atlas, as well as a verb list I prepared from neighbouring dialects. I present these elicited verbs only if they are also attested in non-elicitation sessions, as speakers are sometimes influenced by the researcher’s questions. For instance, I asked a consultant, “Do you use ġalaʔ (‘to close’)?”. He replied yes and gave forms indicating that this verb behaves like other verbs of the Pattern I Perfect a Imperfect i – u# type (§3.3.3.1.1), i.e., ġalaʔ > ġal[eʔ]#, yiģliʔ – yiģluʔ#. The non-elicitation sessions from this and nine other consultants, however, do not give any form of the lexeme ġalaʔ. In fact, texts from three consultants give instead occurrences of its synonym sakkar ysakkir ‘to close’. These indicate that ġalaʔ is most probably not part of the inherited vocabulary, even though the speaker recognizes the verb – probably from his knowledge of MSA.

During the interviews, I used Arabic to communicate with the speakers. I noticed that my dialect was perceived as a Syrian variety. I did not get the impression that they attempted to accommodate or level their speech to mine. During the analysis, however, I was always on the watch for any signs of accommodation. The only cases identified occur in elicitation (as in the example of ġalaʔ above). For instance, we find that simʕīn (msg) and simʕīni (fsg) are each used once by two consultants in an elicitation session on the verb simʕ ‘to hear’. The consultants, however, used these forms only and directly after I used them in the question. In non-elicitation sessions, as well as later in the elicitation session, these consultants gave forms only with pattern CēCīC, e.g. sēmʕī (msg), sēmʕa (fsg), sēmʕīn (pl). Moreover, texts from another three consultants give only forms with CēCīC. These indicate that the form CēCC5n is not normally used for this verb, thus it is not presented here.
Apart from these recordings, image files, belonging to diverse themes such as clothes, food, and house items, were prepared and these were used in elicitation and updated throughout the research for the lexicon.

I have aimed at presenting the data analysed in its complexity, not leaving out any feature or occurrence that might seem ‘irregular’, ‘rare’ or not ‘original/inherited’. In other words, I avoided overgeneralisations.

In my analysis, I have considered the variation factors related to, e.g., sex, age, and education that might have affected language usage. Thus, when it might be relevant, I provide information on metadata, usually in a footnote. This is in order to facilitate a starting point for further research on language variation and language change in ŠṭA, as well as language contact and comparative studies in the region.

1.3 The consultants

(W) Female. Born in 1930. Middle school. She went to school in Žibřyil/Jeb-rayel, a village ca. 9 km away. Her grandfather moved to ŠľxtSynopsisba from Žibřyil when she was a child. In her early fifties she lived in Brazil for seven years. She lived in Ždayydi in Beirut for one year.

(M) Female. Born in 1937. No formal education. Housewife. She lived a few years in Tripoli, where her husband was working in the army.

(Su) Female. Born in 1941. Housewife.


(L) Male. Born in 1940. Farmer. His grandparents were from ŠľxtSynopsisba.

(B) Male. 1946. Elementary school. Retired. He used to work in the civil defence.

(D) Female. Born in 1969. High school. She works for the municipality.

(Ž) Female. Born in 1970. High school. She went to school in Halba for Middle school, and continued her education afterwards in the village. She runs a clothes shop in the village.

(F) Male. Born in 1970. Middle school. In his youth he worked for a few years in Beirut. He works as a generator mechanic.

(A) Male. Born in 1974. High school. He is a retired soldier. He usually spent three days a week in the place where he was assigned and the other days in the village.
2 Phonology

This chapter covers the phonology of the Arabic dialect of Šɛxtɔba (henceforth ŠṭA). It starts with introducing the consonant inventory, followed by remarks on some consonants. The following sections deal with pausal treatment of consonants, assimilation, vowel inventory, diphthongs, minimal pairs, syllabification and phonotactics as well as stress respectively. The chapter ends with a summary on findings and a comparison to the geographically closest dialects, namely, Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta. When relevant, comparative notes in relation to other dialects of Levant and beyond are also provided. The summary-comparison section also covers pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations, generalisations of pausal forms, and processes and retentions in pausal forms and their conditions.

Pausal forms are variant forms of words found in speech, which involve changes in final syllables. They usually occur at the end of a sentence or major phrase or a pause or stop in the speech flow (waqf) (Hoberman 2008, 564). Pausal forms, which somewhat have been neglected in research on Levantine dialects, are given special attention, given their complexity in this variety. The above-mentioned changes affect vowels, consonants, and diphthongs in final syllables in ŠṭA.

2.1 Consonants

The inherited⁶ consonants of ŠṭA consist of twenty-four phonemes. There are additionally four consonants, namely /p/, /g/, /ḳ/, and /ẓ/, which can be considered to have gained phonemic status, as they are found in many established loanwords. These ‘new’ phonemes have already been allophones of other inherited phonemes (§2.1.1.1). Five additional consonants, which are given in parentheses in the table below, have no, uncertain or marginal phonemic status. These consonants are attested only in a few loanwords (§2.1.1.3, §2.1.1.2) or they occur as allophones of other inherited phonemes (§2.1.1.6, §2.1.1.7, §2.1.1.5). Many phonemic consonants have also allophones conditioned by pause. These will be dealt in §2.1.1. The consonant inventory of ŠṭA is presented in Table 1. Voiceless plosives and fricatives are given on the left and voiced to the right.

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⁶ I use the term ‘inherited’ for phonemes which are not borrowed from another language or Arabic variety.
Table 1. Consonant inventory of ŠṭA

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<th>Fricatives</th>
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</table>

2.1.1 Remarks on the consonant inventory

This section gives further information on the consonants given in parentheses in Table 1, as well as selected phonemic consonants given in the table.

2.1.1.1 The new phonemic consonants /p/, /g/, /k/ and /z/

The consonants p, g, k and z (IPA [p], [g], [k], and [z]) occur both as allophones and (due to loanwords) as phonemes in their own right.

The sounds p, g, and z are allophones of /b/, /k/ and /ṣ/ respectively: The sound p occurs as an allophone of /b/ in word-final position in pause, e.g., zbīb > zbī[bʰ]# ‘raisin’ (§2.1.2.1.1). It also emerges through assimilation before a voiceless consonant, e.g., žiḥta ‘I brought her’ (§2.2.1.2).

The g and z occur as allophones of /k/ and /ṣ/ respectively through assimilation before a voiced consonant, e.g., ḏirna ‘we grew up’ (§2.2.1.1), ṣ̬īr ‘small’ (§2.2.1.1).

A post-velar k occurs as an allophone of velar /k/ in the vicinity of back vowels, byīh[k]u ‘they talk’ and ḥa[k]it ‘she talked’, and as an allophone in pause: l-ʔatr̥5k – l-ʔatr̥5[kʰ]# ~ l-ʔatr̥5# ‘the Turks’ (§2.1.2.1.14), ʔakal – ʔa[kɔ]# (§2.1.2.2).

These consonants are also found in many established loanwords, primarily from French, English, Ottoman Turkish and MSA, e.g., plastik ~ plāstik ~ plēstik8 ‘plastic’, parfī~parfān9 ‘perfume’, šōmpō10 ‘shampoo’, šappo11 ‘hat’,

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7 In Arabic dialectological literature the articulation of the emphatics “was traditionally described as velarization, although experimental studies have revealed that at least in most cases, emphatic sounds involve constriction in the upper pharynx (Broselow 2008, 610).” See also Watson (2002, 1–23), and Ladefold & Maddieson (1996, 365).
8 < French plastique.
10 Cf. French shampooing, English shampoo.
11 < French chapeau.

...
suppress margit\textsuperscript{12} ‘supermarket’, \lêptôp\textsuperscript{13} ‘laptop’, spôr\textsuperscript{14} ‘sport’, grîp\textsuperscript{15} ‘flu’, mgarrap ‘having (msg) the flu’, gatto\textsuperscript{16} ‘cake’, ʔargîli ‘nargile/hookah’, gravât ‘framed’ - grafât ‘tie’, gimruk\textsuperscript{17} ‘customs’, gazon\textsuperscript{18} ‘grass’, ʔinglîzi\textsuperscript{19} ‘English’, magana\textsuperscript{20} ‘machine (e.g., sewing)’, lagan ‘metal bowl’; ḥafaz\textsuperscript{21} ‘to memorise’, zôbi\textsuperscript{22} ‘officer’, zabat ‘to fit (intr.)’, zabbat ‘to tidy up’, zahar\textsuperscript{23} ‘to manifest’, zirîf\textsuperscript{24} ‘situations’, mwazzaf\textsuperscript{25} ‘employed (usually at a state institution)’, waẓîfi ‘duty/job (usually at a state institution)’, twazzaf ‘to be employed’, ẓôz\textsuperscript{26} ‘stove’, ẓil ‘naked’, zarf ‘an envelope’, birwöz ‘kad’\textsuperscript{27} ‘frame’, būza\textsuperscript{28} ‘ice cream’; šokola\textsuperscript{29} ‘chocolate’, balkôn\textsuperscript{30} ‘balcony’, kwaffōr\textsuperscript{31} (rīżżelî) ‘(male) hairdresser’ (pl kwaffōrîyi), ẓavokā ẓaboka ‘avocados’, rokka\textsuperscript{33} ‘rocket/arugula’, kolla\textsuperscript{34} ‘cola’, vōṭkâ ‘vodka’, kottê ‘cocktail’, kakâw ‘cacao’\textsuperscript{37}, kôlyê, ẓokîṣên\textsuperscript{39} ‘oxygen’, kîsa\textsuperscript{40} ‘hall’.\textsuperscript{41}

For other words that contain these consonants, see §4.

There are also a few cases where these consonants form minimal pairs with their voiced/unvoiced counterparts, e.g., ẓîp ‘jeep’ vs. ẓîb ‘bring (msg)!’; lagan ‘metal bowl’ vs. lakan ‘of course’; gatto ‘cake’ vs. katt[o] ‘they cut’; zarf ‘envelope’ vs. sarf ‘spending (e.g., money)’. The /z/ also forms a minimal pair with non-emphatic /ʔz/: būza ‘ice cream’ vs. bûzâ ‘her muzzle’. No minimal pair has been found contrasting the post-velar /k/ with /k/.

\textsuperscript{12} < English supermarket.
\textsuperscript{13} < English laptop.
\textsuperscript{14} < French sport.
\textsuperscript{15} < French grippe.
\textsuperscript{16} < French gâteau.
\textsuperscript{17} < Turkish gimruk (Procházka 2009, 593).
\textsuperscript{18} < French gazon.
\textsuperscript{19} < MSA إنكليزي.
\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Turkish makine, MSA ماكينة.
\textsuperscript{21} < CA/MSA ححفظ.
\textsuperscript{22} Cf. OttomanTurkish zabut, CA/MSA ضابط.
\textsuperscript{23} Cf. CA/MSA طهير.
\textsuperscript{24} Cf. CA/MSA طروش.
\textsuperscript{25} Cf. MSA موظف.
\textsuperscript{26} Cf. MSA غاز.
\textsuperscript{27} < French cadre.
\textsuperscript{28} Cf. MSA بوطنة.
\textsuperscript{29} < French chocolat.
\textsuperscript{30} < French balcon.
\textsuperscript{31} < French coiffeur.
\textsuperscript{32} < French avocat.
\textsuperscript{33} Cf. French roquette.
\textsuperscript{34} < English cola.
\textsuperscript{35} Cf. English vodka, French vodka, Turkish votka.
\textsuperscript{36} Cf. French cocktail, English cocktail.
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. English cacao, French cacao.
\textsuperscript{38} < French collier.
\textsuperscript{39} Cf. French oxygène.
\textsuperscript{40} < MSA قاعة.
\textsuperscript{41} A big hall, located next to the church, is used for the communal events, e.g., condolence, in the village.
2.1.1.2 The reflexes of uvular *q in loanwords

While in the inherited vocabulary the reflex of the uvular *q is /ʔ/, e.g., *qāl > ʔāl ‘he said’, in words borrowed from MSA the *q is usually articulated as a post-velar k (IPA [k]), e.g.

- l-kāf ‘the hall’
- murāhaka ‘adolescence’
- ḥixāf, ḥiṭṣ ‘feudalism’

This is usually also the case even for indigenous words when used in a more formal context. The example below is taken from liturgy, namely, church prayer, therefore the reflex of *qām, for instance, is ḫɔ̄m. In ordinary dialect speech, however, this word would be pronounced ʔɔ̄m: biʔīlla l... l-xūri l-ṃasīḥ ḫɔ̄m minʔillu ḥaḳḳan ḫɔ̄m# ‘The priest says to us: “Christ is risen.” We say to him: “Truly he is risen.”’ There are a few occurrences of loanwords, however, where the original pronunciation of the q is optionally preserved:

- l-qawmīyi ‘a name of a political party’
- ḥaʕwī qaqāʔi ‘a court case’
- muqābāli ḥaʔbāli ‘interview’
- ṣaqāfi ‘culture’
- ṭaqālīd ‘customs’

2.1.1.3 The consonant v

There are a few loanwords that contain the consonant v (IPA [v]) in the data analysed for ŠṭA:

- virūs ‘virus’
- ġrāvat ~ grafāt ~ grawāt ‘tie’
- veranda ‘balcony/terrace’
- vāz (, mazharīyi) ‘vase’
- silvīr ~ silfīr (, fiḍḍi) ‘silver’
- mūv (, ḏanafṣāzi) ‘purple/violet’
- vangē ~ vāngē ‘wenge colour’
- ṭivori ‘ivory’

2.1.1.4 The reflexes of OA interdentals */t/, */d/ and */ɖ/

The historical fricative interdentals */t/, */d/, and */ɖ/ (IPA [θ], [ð], and [ð]) correspond with /t/, /d/ and /ɖ/ respectively, e.g. (*tлаτи >) tλέτι ‘three’, (*ʔaxad >) ḥaʔad ‘he took’, (*ʔaħr >) ḥaʔr ‘back’. In loanwords from MSA, the */t/, */d/ and */ɖ/ are represented mostly by /s/, /z/ and /ẓ/ (IPA [z]) respectively,

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42 A big hall, located next to the church, is used for the communal events, e.g., condolence, in the village.
e.g. (mattaltu >) missalṭ ‘I performed’, (dawq >) zāʔ ‘taste’, (buṣd naḍar >) bīsḍ đ nuẓar ‘foresight’.

2.1.1.5 **The labial nasal /m/ and emphatic ṭ**

The labial nasal /m/ has an emphatic allophone ṭ (IPA [m̴]). It usually occurs in the near vicinity of another emphatic consonant, e.g., ṭiṭrɔ̄n (pl ṭɔ̄rni) ‘archbishop’. The /m/ in the following words is usually also realised emphatic: ṭɔ̄ma ‘mother’, ṭayy ‘water’, ṭɔ̄lnya ‘Germany’.

2.1.1.6 **The dental lateral /l/ and emphatic ṁ**

The dental lateral /l/ has an emphatic allophone ṁ (IPA [l̴]). This allophone is represented with ṁ except in square brackets where the IPA symbol is used, i.e. [l]. It usually occurs in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant, e.g., ṭa[l] ‘he remained/stayed.

The distribution of emphatic /l/ shows a degree of free variation even within the speech of a single consultant. The following examples come from a single speaker: ṭaš[a][l]i ‘he is praying’, ṭiš[a][l]i ‘we pray’, ṭa[l]a ~ sa[l]a ‘prayer’.

The /l/ is also found in the word ṭal[a] ‘God’. One example has been attested where the dental lateral /l/ forms a minimal pair with its emphatic counterpart, showing that they are, at least marginally, phonemically distinct:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ṭal[a]</th>
<th>‘God’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭalla</td>
<td>‘he told her’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.7 **The dental trill /r/ and emphatic ṟ**

The dental trill /r/ has an emphatic allophone ṟ (IPA [r̴]). While no minimal pair has been found to give it phonemic status, its distribution is not entirely predictable, so it will be indicated in the transcription with ṟ, except when given in square brackets, when the appropriate IPA transcription is used: [r̴].

The ṟ usually occurs in the vicinity of the emphatics, pharyngeal /ʕ/ and ḥ, glottal /ʔ/ (<*q) and post-velars /x/ and /ɣ/, e.g., ṭrɔ̄bliṣ ‘Tripoli’, maraḍ ‘illness’, șiḍra ‘her chest’, xwɔrni ‘priests’, (*q > ṟ) ṭɔ̄ybīn ‘relatives’.


The distribution of emphatic ṟ, however, shows a degree of free variation even within the speech of a single consultant, e.g., waɾa ~ waɾa, siyyɔɾa ~

[^43]: Cf. MSA rɔ̄mansi and English romance.
[^44]: Cf. bronchite French.
[^45]: Cf. microbe French.
siyyāra, mara ~ mara. There are also indications of a possible correlation between the emphatic realization of the /r/ and pause in some words, e.g., ḥak[ar] – ḥak[ar]~ ‘more’, ḥa[ræ]b – ḥa[ræ]b# ‘Arabs’ (§2.1.2.1.8, §2.1.2.2).

2.1.1.8 The pharyngeal /ʕ/

The /ʕ/ is sometimes weakly articulated or may even be omitted, e.g.

*ṭiṇi ~ tīni  ‘give me’
*ʔar’b̜a ~ ʔar’ba ~ ʔarba  ‘four’
*ʔar’b̜în ~ ʔar’bîn ~ ʔarbîn  ‘fourty’
*ʔarbaʕ ~ ʔarba  ‘four’
*žîmʕa ~ žīma  ‘week’

In some cases, the elision of /ʕ/ might lead to lengthening of the preceding vowel or the vowel in the preceding syllable, e.g.

*yaʕni ~ yāni ~ yani  ‘that’s to say’
*byaʕrif ~ byārif  ‘he knows’
*dağʕa ~ dāya ~ ḏaya  ‘village’

In intervocalic position, the /ʕ/ is sometimes replaced by glide /w/ or glottal /ʔ/, e.g.

*byiržafu ~ biržawu  ‘they return’
*byaʔrfu ~ byaʔrfu  ‘they know’
*ʔišîʔt ~ ʔišit  ‘I saw’
*ziʔāʔa ~ ziʔāʔa  ‘agriculture’

This also sometimes occurs over word boundaries, e.g.

*b-bēṭna ḥanna (< ẓanna)  ‘at our home, we have’
*ʔe ʔinda (< ẓinda)  ‘yes, she has’
*sa ʔīdna (< ẓīdna)  ‘by our feast’

The possibility that the aforementioned-realizations (i.e. weakening, elision or replacement by /w/ or /ʔ/) of non-word-final /ʕ/ are conditioned by pause has been considered, but evidence suggests that there is no correlation. Word-final /ʕ/, on the other hand, has allophonic variations in pause, which include glottal /ʔ/ (§2.1.2.1.17).

2.1.1.9 Loss of emphasis

Loss of emphasis in originally emphatic consonants occurs sporadically in ŠṭA, e.g.

√dyṣ ḏēṣṭi ~ dēṣṭi  ‘my village’
√xlt xēltīmu  ‘they have mixed it (msg)’
√ṣwt sēṯ ~ ṣēṯ  ‘sound’
√ḥṭṭ ḥṭṭīn ~ ḥṭṭīn ‘they have put’
√ndx ṃḍf ~ ṃḍf ‘clean (pl)’
√ḍyf bida’yfū ~ bida’yfū ‘they serve’
√bṭx batṭīx ~ batṭīx ‘watermelon’

In some verbs this is very common:
√ṣṭy baṣṭi ‘I give’
√ḍḥk taḍḥḥak ‘he laughed’

In some words, e.g., ṭīẓ vs. tiẓ ‘butt’, the loss of emphasis is so far attested only with women speakers. More research is needed to confirm whether this is a more general pattern or not.

2.1.2 Consonants in pause

Almost all inherited consonants (§2.1), as well as the new phonemic consonants /p/ and /ẓ/ (§2.1.1.1), are affected by pause in word-final position. There are also a few consonants which are affected by pause in non-word-final position.

All these consonants are subject to diverse processes, sometimes having opposing effects, that is, making the final syllable longer/heavier or shorter/less heavy. The processes which result in longer syllables are usually associated with higher intonation than the processes which result in shorter syllables. The voiced obstruent consonants /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /z/, /ẓ/ and /ž/ are usually devoiced in pause. The voiceless obstruent-plosives /t/, /ṭ/, /k/, /ʔ/, and devoiced /d/ and /ḍ/ are usually aspirated in pause. The plosive velar /k/ sometimes shifts to a fricative velar /x/ in pause. The voiceless obstruent-fricatives /f/, /s/, /ṣ/, /š/, /x/ and devoiced /z/, /ẓ/ and /ž/, on the other hand, are sometimes realised (mid) long in pause.

The obstruent-fricative /ʕ/ is usually replaced by a glottal stop with facultative release to /ḥ/ in pause. The obstruent-fricatives /ʕ/ and /ḥ/ sometimes cause triphthongisation of a preceding vowel. The sonorant consonants /m/, /n/, /r/, and /y/ are devoiced in pause too. The /r/ is sometimes realised (mid) long as well. The sonorant-approximant /y/ (IPA [j]) sometimes replaced by a plosive-palatal [c] or fricative-palatal [ç] in pause.

The majority of the obstruent and sonorant consonants are alternatively deleted in pause. In cases where deletion of a consonant occurs, the preceding vowel is sometimes aspirated or lengthened, or a different consonant is released (§2.3.1.2.2). This could be considered as a compensatory process, which restores the syllable length.
2.1.2.1 Word-final consonants in pause

The following consonants are affected by pause in word-final position: /p/, /b/, /m/, /v/, /l/, /ʔ/, /d/, /ʕ/, /n/, /r/, /s/, /ʃ/, /z/, /ʔ/, /k/, /x/, /h/, /š/, and /ʔ/ (<*q).

2.1.2.1.1 The consonant /b/ in pause

Word-final /b/ is usually devoiced and facultatively aspirated in pause, e.g.

\[ \text{ḥaṭab} > \text{ḥaf[b]}# \]
\[ \text{‘wood’} \]
\[ \text{ṣaṭb} > \text{ṣṭ[b]}# \]
\[ \text{‘difficult’} \]
\[ \text{ṭihlib} > \text{ṭihl[ỹ]}# \]
\[ \text{‘(that) she milks’} \]
\[ \text{ḥalīb} > \text{ḥal[b]}# \]
\[ \text{‘milk’} \]
\[ \text{zbīb} > \text{ṭb[ỹ]}# \]
\[ \text{‘raisin’} \]
\[ \text{ṣalīb} > \text{ṣal[b]}# \]
\[ \text{‘crucifix’} \]
\[ \text{ṣabīb} > \text{ṣab[ỹ]}# \]
\[ \text{‘youth’} \]

Alternatively, the /b/ is deleted in pause, e.g.

\[ \text{ḥalīb} > \text{ḥal#} \]
\[ \text{‘milk’} \]
\[ \text{mizrīb} > \text{mizr#} \]
\[ \text{‘gutter’} \]

2.1.2.1.2 The consonant /p/ in pause

Word-final /p/, like devoiced /b/, facultatively deleted in pause:

\[ \text{lėptop} \sim \text{lėptop} > \text{lēptō#} \sim \text{lēptō#} \]
\[ \text{‘laptop’} \]

2.1.2.1.3 The consonant /m/ in pause

Word-final /m/ is usually devoiced in pause, e.g.

\[ \text{ʕɔ̄lam} > \text{ʕɔ̄l[m]}# \]
\[ \text{‘people’} \]
\[ \text{ḥakīm} > \text{ḥak[m]}# \]
\[ \text{‘doctor’} \]
\[ \text{ʔislēm} > \text{ʔīsl[e][m]}# \]
\[ \text{‘Muslims’} \]
\[ \text{ṣyēm} > \text{ṣy[e][m]}# \]
\[ \text{‘fasting’} \]

Alternatively, it is deleted in pause, e.g.

\[ \text{ʔiyyēm} > \text{ʔiyy[e][b]}# \]
\[ \text{‘days’} \]
\[ \text{ʕɔ̄lam} > \text{ʕɔ̄l[e][b], ʕɔ̄l[e]}# \]
\[ \text{‘people’} \]

2.1.2.1.4 The consonant /f/ in pause

Word-final /f/ is sometimes realised mid-long in pause, e.g.

\[ (Yusif) > \text{Yus[f]}# \]
\[ \text{‘Joesph’} \]
\[ (kəfūf) > kəf[f]# \]
\[ \text{‘gloves’} \]

Alternatively, it is deleted in pause, e.g.

\[ xɔ̄rūf > xɔ̄rū[w]# \]
\[ \text{‘sheep’} \]
\[ mʒaфф[ʃ]# \]
\[ \text{‘dried’} \]

\[ ^{46} I \text{ use the word facultatively when no rule has been established.} \]
2.1.2.1.5 The consonants /t/ and /ṭ/ in pause

Word-final /t/ and /ṭ/ (IPA [t]) are usually aspirated in pause (like devoiced /d/ and /ḍ/). In some cases, the aspiration may be light e.g.

- \textit{laḥmēt} > \textit{l-ḥmē[th]}\# ‘the meat’
- \textit{Bayrūt} > \textit{Bayrū[th]}\# ‘Beirut’
- \textit{kalsēt} > \textit{kalsē[th]}\# ‘a pair of socks’
- \textit{xilʔit} > \textit{xilʔ[et]}\# ‘she was born’
- \textit{mitt} > \textit{mīṭ[th]}\# ‘I died’
- \textit{žāt} > \textit{žā[t]}\# ‘plastic bowl’
- \textit{šbāt} > \textit{šbā[t]}\# ‘February’
- \textit{maẓbūt} > \textit{maẓbū[th]}\# ‘correct’

Alternatively, they are deleted in pause, e.g.

- \textit{kalsēt} > \textit{kalsē}\# ‘a pair of socks’
- \textit{Bayrūt} > \textit{Bayrū}\# ‘Beirut’
- \textit{maẓbūt} > \textit{maẓb[ɔː]}\# ‘correct’

2.1.2.1.6 The consonants /d/ and /ḍ/ in pause

Word-final /d/ and /ḍ/ (IPA [d]) are usually devoiced, and aspirated or slightly aspirated in pause, e.g.

- \textit{Mahmūd} > \textit{Mahmū[d̥]}\# ‘Mahmoud’
- \textit{bištīḍid} > \textit{bištī[ḍ]d̥}\# ‘I believe’, ‘I think’
- \textit{ʔaḥad} > \textit{ʔaḥ[ɔd̥]}\# ‘sunday’
- \textit{ḥadīd} > \textit{ḥadī[d̥]}\# ‘iron’
- \textit{wlēd} > \textit{wlē[d̥]}\# ‘children’
- \textit{ʔar’d} > \textit{ʔar’[d̥]}\# ‘land’
- \textit{bitbīḍ} > \textit{bitbī[d̥]}\# ‘It lays eggs’
- \textit{mirīd} > \textit{mir[e̞d̥]}\# ‘he become ill’

Alternatively, they are deleted in pause, e.g.

- \textit{wlēd} > \textit{wlē[j]}\# ~ \textit{wlē}\# ‘children’
- \textit{waḥīd} > \textit{waḥ[a̞j]}\# ‘only child’
- \textit{ʔaḥad} > \textit{ʔaḥ[ ]}\# ‘sunday’
- \textit{ʔar’d} > \textit{ʔar’}\# ~ \textit{ʔar’[ ]}\# ‘land’

2.1.2.1.7 The consonant /n/ in pause

Word-final /n/ is usually devoiced in pause, facultatively causing a nasalisation of the adjacent vowel, e.g.

- \textit{dafn} > \textit{dāf[ʊn]}\# ‘burial’
- \textit{zaytūn} > \textit{zay[t̥ʊn]}\# ‘olive’
- \textit{kamēn} > \textit{kam[e̞n]}\# ~ -[e̞n]\# ‘also’
Alternatively, they are dropped, facultatively causing nasalisation and/or aspiration, e.g.

- \textit{lakan} > \textit{lak}[\text{æ̃-h}]# ‘of course’
- \textit{zaytūn} > \textit{zayt}[\text{ʊ-}]# ~ -[\text{ʊ-}]# ‘olive’
- \textit{kamēn} > \textit{kam}[\text{ɛ-h}]# ~ -[\text{ɛ-}]# ‘also’
- \textit{dikkēn} > \textit{dikk}[\text{ɛ-h}]# ‘shop’
- \textit{snīn} > \textit{sn[ɛ]}# ‘years’

2.1.2.1.8 The consonants /r/ and \textit{r} in pause

Word-final /\textit{r}/ and its allophone \textit{r} (IPA [\text{r}]) are usually devoiced in pause, e.g.

- \textit{bakkūr} > \textit{bakkī[\text{r}]}# ‘early’
- \textit{ktūr} > \textit{ktī[\text{r}]}# ‘a lot’
- \textit{zñr} > \textit{zñ[\text{r}]}# ‘flute’
- \textit{niḍr} > \textit{niḍ[\text{r}]}# ‘vow’
- \textit{bahr̃r} > \textit{bah̃[\text{r}]}# ‘sea’
- \textit{biḍdir} > \textit{biḍd[ɛ \text{r}]}# ‘I am able to’, ‘I can’
- \textit{mixṭɔ̄r} > \textit{mixṭ[ɔ̄]}# ‘headman’

Alternatively, they are deleted in pause, e.g.

- \textit{bakkūr} > \textit{bakkī#} ‘early’
- \textit{ktūr} > \textit{ktī#} ‘a lot’
- \textit{mixṭɔ̄r} > \textit{mixṭ#} ‘headman’

There are also examples where a devoiced \textit{-r}/ and -\textit{r} are realised long or mid-long in pause, e.g.

- \textit{niḍr} > \textit{niḍ[\text{r}]}# ‘vow’
- \textit{bahr̃r} > \textit{bah̃[\text{r}]}# ‘sea’
- \textit{fiẓr} > \textit{fiẓ[r]}# ‘poverty’
- \textit{ktūr} > \textit{ktī[\text{r}]}# ‘a lot’
- \textit{zñr} > \textit{zñ[\text{r}]}# ‘flute’
- \textit{ktɔ̄r} > \textit{ktɔ̄[\text{r}]}# ‘many’
- \textit{muxtabar} > \textit{muxtab[ɔ̄r̴]}# ‘laboratory’

There are also some indications of a possible correlation between the emphatic allophone of \textit{r} (\textit{r}, IPA [\text{r}]) and pause. Texts from some consultants give the
following instances, where a word final /r/ is found only in context while its emphatic allophone [ɾ] is found in pause:\(^{47}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʕas[kær]</td>
<td>ʕas[kær][ɾ]#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔakt[ar]</td>
<td>ʔakt[ɑɾ][ɾ]#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔahm[ar]</td>
<td>ʔahm[ɑɾ][ɾ]#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also instances of the same words (in texts from other consultants), where, however, the -r – -ɾ alternation in pause has not been attested, in other words, the /r/ is realised with emphasis in both context and pause: ʔahm[ar] – ʔahm[ɑɾ][ɾ]# ‘red’. It seems that word-final r – r alternation in pause is lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation. Note that the /r/ is also affected by pause in non-word-final position, see §2.1.2.2.

2.1.2.1.9 The consonants /s/ and /ʃ/ in pause

Word-final /s/ and /ʃ/ (IPA [ʃ]) are sometimes realized long – and optionally are aspirated – in pause, e.g.

- hadīṣ > ḥadī[ʃ]# ~ ḥadī[ʃː]# ‘conversation’
- hūdis > ḥūdi[ʃː]# ‘accident’
- Žiržiš > Žirži[ʃː]# ‘Georg’
- yēbis > yēbi[ʃː]# ‘dry (msg)’
- lyēṣ > lyē[ʃ]# ‘Elijah’
- xalas > xal[ʃ]# ‘enough/this is it’

Alternatively, the /-s/ is deleted in pause, e.g.

- makbūs > makbū[h]# ‘pickles’

Note that the /s/ and /ʃ/ are also affected by pause in non-word-final position, see 2.1.2.2.

2.1.2.1.10 The consonants /z/ and /ʒ/

Word-final /z/ and /ʒ/ (IPA [ʒ]) are usually devoiced in pause, e.g.

- nhazz > nha[ʒ]# ‘he shook’
- źinnēz > źinn[ŋ][ʒ]# ‘funeral’
- mʒz > mʒ[ʒ]# ‘banana’
- źimbāz > źimb[ʒ]# ‘acrobat’

---

47 Note that each example (in both context and pause) is attested in texts from the same consultant: Texts from (W) give two occurrences of the word ʕaskar, each found once in context and once in pause. Texts from (M) give four occurrences of the word ʔaktar, which found twice in context and twice in pause. Texts from (D) give five occurrences of the word ʔahmar, one in context, and four in pause, of which one has its final /ɾ/ deleted.
Alternatively, they are deleted, e.g.

\[(m\emph{žawwaz} >)\ m\emph{žawwa}[\cdot]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘married (msg)’

They are sometimes also aspirated and/or realized long in pause, e.g.

\[m\emph{ž}z > m\emph{ʒ}[\mathbf{h}]\#\sim m\emph{ʒ}[\cdot]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘banana’

\[(m\emph{ižwiz} >)\ m\emph{ižwi}[\mathbf{h}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘double (e.g., bed)’

\[žimb\emph{ʒ}z > žimb\emph{ʒ}[\cdot]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘acrobat’

2.1.2.1.11 The consonant /š/ in pause

Word-final /š/ (IPA [ʃ]) is sometimes realised long in pause, e.g.

\[\emph{ʔm}ɛ̄\emph{š} >\emph{ʔm}ɛ̄\emph{š} [\cdot]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘fabric’

2.1.2.1.12 The consonant /ž/ in pause

Word-final /ž/ (IPA [ʒ]) is usually devoiced in pause, e.g.

\[t\emph{ęž} > tɛ[\mathbf{3}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘crown’

\[\emph{daž}raž > \emph{da}r[ə\emph{3}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘stairs’

\[\emph{tfαr̩}raž > \emph{tfαr}r[ə\emph{3}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘he watched’

2.1.2.1.13 The consonants /l/ in pause

Word-final /l/ is usually devoiced in pause, e.g.

\[\emph{fαlɛ̄f}il > \emph{fαlɛ̄f}[i][\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘Falafel’

\[Br\emph{ʒ}zil > Br\emph{ʒ}zil[i][\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘Brazil’

\[l\emph{-}masʔu\emph{l} > l\emph{-}masʔ[ʊ:\]#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘the contact person’

Alternatively, it is deleted in pause, e.g.

\[\emph{fαlɛ̄f}il > \emph{fαlɛ̄f}[\mathbf{h}]\#\sim \emph{fαlɛ̄f}[\mathbf{e}][\cdot]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘Falafel’

\[žiz\emph{ɛ̄l} > žiz\emph{ɛ̄}l[\mathbf{h}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘Jisella’

2.1.2.1.14 The consonants /k/ in pause

Word-final /k/ is usually aspirated in pause, e.g.

\[\emph{ʔalamik} > \emph{ʔalamik}[\mathbf{h}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘your (fsg) pen’

Alternatively, it is deleted in pause, e.g.

\[bαṭr\emph{αrk} > bαṭr[ɔ]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘patriarch’

\[bιt\emph{dαh}hik > bιt\emph{dαh}[e\emph{j}]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘she/it (fsg) makes s.o. laugh’

There are also a few occurrences where the /k/ is fricativized:

\[(k\emph{ɛsak} >)\ k\emph{ɛs}[ekx]\#\sim k\emph{ɛs}[ɛx]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘(to msg) Cheers!’

\[hawn\emph{ik} > hawn[ɪ:\x]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘there’

\[(\emph{ʔ}ir\emph{wilik} >)\ \emph{ʔ}ir\emph{wil}[ɛx]\#\]  \hspace{1cm} ‘(that) I tell you (msg)’
There is also one case where a word final /k/ is found only in context, while its retracted allophone k (IPA [k]) is facultatively found in pause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-ʔatr5k</td>
<td>l-ʔatr3[kʰ]# ~ l-ʔatr5#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the Turks’

The k – k alternation in word-final position in pause is lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation. Note that the /k/ is also affected by pause in non-word-final position, see §2.1.2.2.

2.1.2.1.15 The consonant /x/ in pause

Word-final /x/ is sometimes realized long in pause, e.g.

| battīx, battīx > batt[ːx:]#, batt[ːx:]# |

‘watermelon’

2.1.2.1.16 The consonant /ḥ/ in pause

Word-final pharyngeal /ḥ/ (IPA [h]) is sometimes deleted in pause, e.g.

| mbērih > mbēr[eʰ]# |

‘yesterday’

| kaws kūzāh > kaws kūza[h]# ~ kaws kūz[eʰ]# |

‘rainbow’

The pausal change is sometimes a combination of diphthongisation of the preceding vowel and the deletion of /ḥ/, with optional insertion of a short vowel after the diphthong – resulting a kind of triphthong, e.g.

| mbērih > mbēr[ejaʰ]# |

‘yesterday’

2.1.2.1.17 The consonant /ʕ/ in pause

Word-final pharyngeal /ʕ/ is usually replaced by a glottal /ʔ/ in pause, with a facultative release to /ḥ/ (IPA [h]), e.g.

| žemīc > žemiʔ[#] |

‘mosque’

| diyaʔ > diy[eʔ]# |

‘villages’

| rabī > rab[ʔ]# ~ rab[ʔʰ]# |

‘spring’

| yasū[ʕ] > yasū[#] |

‘Jesus’

This /ʕ/ is sometimes devoiced in pause. These cases, however, are much less common, e.g.

| yasū[ʕ] > yasū[#] |

‘Jesus’

Similar to the case with its voiceless counterpart /ḥ/ (§2.1.2.1.16), the pausal change is sometimes a combination of diphthongisation of the preceding vowel and the shift of /ʕ/ to [ʔ] ~ [ʔʰ], with optional insertion a short vowel in between – resulting a kind of triphthong. In a few occurrences, where the [ʔ] (< ʕ) is deleted, the inserted vowel is also aspirated, e.g.

| rabī > rab[ejʔʰ]# ~ rabī[jeʔʰ]# ~ rabī[jeʰ]# |

‘spring’

| yasūc > yasū[waʔ]# |

‘Jesus’

| simiʔ > simi[jeʔ]# ~ simi[jeʰ]# |

‘he heard’
2.1.2.1.18 The consonant /ʔ/ (<*q) in pause
Word-final /ʔ/ (<*q) is sometimes aspirated in pause, e.g.
- tariʔ > tariʔ[ʰ]# ‘road’
- briʔ > briʔ[ʰ]# ‘teapot’, ‘pot’
- madʔūʔ > madʔūʔ[ʰ]# ‘grinded/ground’

2.1.2.1.19 The semi-vowel /y/ in pause
Word-final /y/ is sometimes aspirated or deleted in pause, e.g.
- šɔ̄y > šɔ̄[ʰ]# ‘tea’
- Ṣɔ̄y > Šɔ̄[ʰ]# ‘water’

There are also a few occurrences where the /y/ (which is a palatal approximant) is facultatively replaced by an aspirated palatal fricative [çʰ] or palatal plosive [cʰ] in pause:
- Ṣɔ̄y > Šɔ̄[ʲeˑ]# ‘water’

2.1.2.2 Non-word-final consonants in pause
So far, we have looked at how word-final consonants are affected by pause. There are also cases where a non-word-final consonant can be affected. The /k/, /t/, /ʈ/, /s/, /ṣ/, /že/ and /š/ in non-word-final position in the vicinity of front vowels are sometimes palatalized in pause:
- hadīki > hadīk[ɐ] ‘that (f)’
- ḫaydīlīki > ḫaydīlīk[ɐ] ‘those’
- hawnīki > hawnīk[ɐ] ‘there’
- ḫeṭīh > ḫeṭ[tʰ]# ‘light (colour)’
- bɒṭīx ~ bɔṭīx > bɔṭ[ːx]# ~ bɔṭ[ːx]# ‘watermelon’
- yɛ̄bsi > yɛ̄bš[ɐ] ‘dry (f)’
- nɔ̄ṣi > nɔ̄š[ɐ] ‘bright’
- byirža > byirž[ɐ] ‘he returns’
- ši > š[ɾ]# ~ š[ɾʰ]# ~ š[ɾʰ]# ‘something’

In addition, there is a possible correlation between the retracted allophone of /k/, i.e., ḫ (IPA [ḵ]), and pause in non-word-final position. Texts from one consultant give the following instances, where a non-word-final /k/ is found only in context while its retracted allophone [ḵ] is found in pause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡa[kal]</td>
<td>ḡa[kɔ] ‘he ate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a possible correlation between the emphatic allophone of /ɾ/ (r, IPA [ɾ]) and pause, in both word-final (§2.1.2.1.8) and non-word-final positions. Texts from some consultants give the following instances, where a
non-word final /r/ is found only in context while its emphatic allophone ṛ is found in pause:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiz[raʕ]</td>
<td>yiz[ṛoʔ#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik[raʔ]</td>
<td>bik[ɾaʔ#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕa[raʔ]</td>
<td>ʕa[ɾaʔ#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b[ɾoːd]</td>
<td>b[ɾoː#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndū[ra]</td>
<td>ndū[ɾa#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da[ɾaʒ]</td>
<td>da[ɾaʒ#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaẓ[ra]</td>
<td>ḥaẓ[ɾa#]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following instance, a correlation between the above-mentioned allophones of both /k/ and /r/ and pause is found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʕas[kær]</td>
<td>ʕask[ɾaɾ#]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Texts from consultants where the r – ṛ# alternation has been attested also give, however, instances where such alternations have not been attested in similar positions in other words, e.g., far[ɾa]s > far[ɾa#] ‘horse’, ʕar[ɾa]b > ʕar[ɾa]b# ‘arak’. As we have seen in these examples, the /r/ is realised with emphasis both in context and pause. There are also instances of the same words (in texts from other consultants) where r – ṛ# or k – ƙ# alternations in non-word-final position have not been found, i.e., ʕar[ɾa]b > ʕar[ɾa#]b#, ʕask[ɾa] > ʕask[ɾa#]a. Thus, non-word-final r – ṛ and k – ƙ alternations in pause are lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation.

### 2.2 Assimilation

Consonant assimilation is a process where a consonant takes on one or more of the features of another consonant in its vicinity. This is common in ŠṭA. The process results vary, including voicing, devoicing, nasal, and emphatic.

---

48 Note that each pair of examples are attested in texts from the same consultant: Texts from (Su) give nine occurrences of the word yizraʕ, of which eight were found in context and one in pause, and three occurrences of bikra two in context and one in pause. Texts from (W) give six occurrences of the word sarab, of which five were found in context and one in pause, two occurrences of the word brūd, which each of them found once in context and once in pause, and two occurrences of the word ndūra, which each of them found once in context and once in pause. Texts from (M) give nine occurrences of the word daraż, of which two found in context and two in pause. Texts from (L) give two occurrences of ḥaẓra, which each of them found once in context and once in pause.
spread. It results sometimes in complete assimilation. Assimilation occurs not only within words but also across word boundaries.

The regressive assimilation is the usual type found in ŠtA. There are also a few occurrences where the assimilation process goes in the other direction, i.e., progressive assimilation. These are, however, very few.

2.2.1 Partial regressive assimilation

2.2.1.1 Voicing assimilation

Voiceless consonants /t/, /ṭ/, /x/, /k/ and /ṣ/ are usually become voiced before a voiced consonant, as in the cases below:

\[ td > t̬d \]

\[ biṭdiʔʔ \]

‘you (msg) ring’

(across a word boundary)

\[ ṣ̬̬r̬iṭ d̬̬e̬r̬̬z[e]# \]

‘it became popular/common’

\[ ṭz > t̬z \]

\[ Šam-bit̬ẓabbit \]

‘she is arranging’

\[ ṭb > t̬b \]

\[ maṭbax \]

‘kitchen’

\[ xd > x̬d \]

\[ ḥ̬̬dam‘t \]

‘I served’

\[ ʔa̬x̬dit \]

‘she took’

\[ ʔa̬x̬dar \]

‘green’

\[ kb > k̬b \]

\[ ti̬k̬bis \]

‘press’

\[ ma̬k̬bū[ʰ]# \]

‘pickles’

\[ k̬birna \]

‘we grew up’

\[ k̬b̬5̬r \]

‘big (pl)’

\[ s̬̬g̬ > s̬̬g̬ \]

\[ s̬̬g̬5̬r \]

‘small (pl)’

\[ ẓ̬̬h̬ > ẓ̬̬h̬ \]

\[ ẓ̬̬he̬š̬ \]

‘donkeys’

(across a word boundary)

\[ ḥ̬̬f̬ > ḥ̬f̬ \]

\[ ṭ̬̬a̬ ż̬̬e̬š̬ \]

‘he went to the army’
2.2.1.2 Devoicing assimilation

Consonants /b/, /d/ and /ž/ usually become voiceless before a voiceless consonant, as in the cases below:

\[
\begin{align*}
bs & > b̥s & & \text{‘they dressed us up’} \\
bt & > b̥t & & \text{‘I brought her’} \\
bh & > b̥h & & \text{‘I love’, ‘I like’} \\
\text{bitsa} & b̥b̥[oˑ]# & & \text{‘they swim’} \\
dt & > d̥t & & \text{‘I took her’} \\
\text{madxal} & & & \text{‘entrance’} \\
\text{žt} & > ž̥t & & \text{‘societal’} \\
\text{limmi l žt} & \text{‘Fransa} & & \text{‘when France came’} \\
& & \text{(across a word boundary)} & \\
\text{hal-wižž iḍ-ḍḥūk} & & & \text{‘the smiling face!’} \\
\text{ʔarbaṣ ŋabbēt} & & & \text{‘four items (of fruit or vegetable)’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.1.3 Nasal assimilation

\[
\begin{align*}
nb & > mb \\
& & \text{(across a word boundary)} \\
\text{mim bikūn} & & & \text{‘who is this person (m)’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.1.4 Emphatic spread

Non-emphatic consonants are realised emphatic in the vicinity of emphatic or back consonants, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṣam-itsalli} & > \text{ṣam-ṣaṣa} & & \text{‘she is praying’} \\
\text{ṣr̥ṣ} & > \text{ṣr̥ṣ} & & \text{‘weddings’} \\
\text{b(y)ištigil} & > \text{b(y)ištigil} & & \text{‘he works’} \\
& & \text{(across a word boundary)} \\
(\text{tlatt} >) & \text{ṭlatt} \text{mṣˤf[εʰ]}# & & \text{‘three tea strainers’} \\
(\text{ʔinta} >) & \text{ʔinta dillēt} & & \text{‘you (msg) stayed’} \\
(\text{xdamt} >) & \text{xdamt ŋb Šayda[ˑ]}# & & \text{‘I served in Saida’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.2 Full regressive assimilation

\[
\begin{align*}
rn & > rr \\
\text{minrūḥ} & > \text{mirrūḥ} & & \text{‘we go’} \\
t\dd & > ź̥ \dd & & \text{‘you (msg) will bring to us’}
\end{align*}
\]
(across a word boundary)

nl > ll

mdawwrīn li-msażżlit > mdawrīl li-msażżlit... ‘they have turned on the recorder…’

Ln > nn

ṣa maṭraḥ il nēdra > ṣa maṭraḥ in nēdra ‘at the place where she had made

the vow’

nm > mm

kēn mirtēh > kēm mirtēh ‘it was comfortable’

ḏh > ūṣ

fi ḵemīṣ hawnīki > fi ḵemīṣ ġawnīki ‘there is a mosque there’

2.2.3 Progressive assimilation

*ważh > wiżž ‘face’
biratbu > biratbu ‘they tidy up’
bīɡaṭṭsu ~ bīɡaṭṭsu; bīɡaṭṭsu ‘he immerses him’; ‘they immerse (trans.)’

(across a word boundary)
minkitt ḫaṣli ‘we chop an onion’
bass ṣīt ‘when I came’

2.3 Vowels

The inherited\(^ {49} \) vowel inventory of ŠṭA consists of six phonemes, two of them

short, /i/ and /a/, and four of them long, /ī/, /ū/, /ē/ and /ā/. There are two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, which only occur in open syllables. There are additionally three short vowels, /e/, /u/ and /o/, and three long vowels, /ē/, /ō/ and /ā/, which arguably have gained phonemic status, as they are found in many estab-

lished loanwords.\(^ {50} \) There are also a few vowels, namely ū, ū, ŏ, ŏ, ŏ, and ŏ, (IPA [y], [yː], [œ], [œː], [ʒ], and [ʒː]) which are only found in a few loan-

words in the data analysed (§2.3.1.5). The phoneme vowel inventory of ŠṭA

is presented in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 I use the term ‘inherited’ for vowels which are not borrowed from another language or Arabic

variety.

50 Some of these loanwords can be found in §2.1.1.1 and §4.
These phonemes have allophonic variations related to the consonantal environment or pausal phenomena. Long vowels and diphthongs have additional allophones occurring due to shortening in allegro speech – long vowels are also sometimes shortened due to losing the stress (§2.3.2, §2.4). French loan-words are sometimes pronounced with nasalized ŏ or ŏ̄, but sometimes this is realised as a non-nasal o or ŏ, e.g., pōntalŏn ‘pants’, pappiyŏn ~ pappiyŏn ‘bow tie’, ḡazŏn ‘grass’.

Generally, there is a phonetic overlap between allophonic variants of the inherited vowel phonemes and the ‘new’ phonemic vowels found in loan-words. This may have facilitated the adoption of the new phonemes. The following are the cases identified:

i. The /e/ occurs as a pausal allophone of word-final /i/ as well as /i/ in final closed syllables, e.g., hinni > hinn[e]# ‘they’, xilīt > xilī[et]# ‘she was born’ (§2.3.1.1.1, §2.3.1.1.2) and is found in loanwords, e.g., bebe ‘baby’, buke ‘bouquet’ (§4).

ii. The /e/ occurs as an allophone of /i/ in final closed syllables in pause, e.g., Brīzīl > Brīz[e:]# ‘Brazil’ (§2.3.1.1.2), and in loanwords, e.g., modēl ~ modēl ‘model’, sirkitēră ‘secretary (f)’ (§4). It also occurs as a pausal variant of the /e/ in pause, e.g., bebe > bebe[ :]# ‘baby’, buke > buke[ ]# ‘bouquet’.

iii. The /u/ occurs as an allophone of long *ū in word-final position, e.g., ḍaklu ‘they ate’ vs. ḍaklūwa ‘they ate it (f)’; as an allophone of /ū/ due to allegro speech or stress loss, e.g., Bayrūt > Bayrūt ‘Beirut’, mawzūd ‘exist (msg)’ mawzudīn ‘exist (pl)’; as a pausal reflex of original *u in the Imperfect Form I verbs and in the 2nd / 3rd pl suffixes, e.g., yēkul# ~ yēkol#, -kun# ~ -kon# / -un# ~ -on#, and in loanwords, e.g., muḥsīb ‘accountant’, suppīr mārkīt ‘super market’ (§2.3.1.4, §4).

iv. The /o/ occurs as an allophone of word-final short u in pause, e.g., baytu > bay[t]o# ‘his house’, as a pausal reflex of original *u in the Imperfect Form I verbs and in the 2nd / 3rd pl suffixes, e.g., yēkul# ~ yēkol#, -kun# ~ -kon# / -un# ~ -on#, and in loanwords, e.g., bonžūr ‘Good evening’, bonṣwa ‘Good evening’, gatto ‘cake’ (§).

v. The /ö/ occurs as a pausal allophone of word-final /ū/ as well as /ū/ in final closed syllables, e.g., byišt’mū > byišt’m[o:]# ‘they make it (msg)’ (§2.3.2.2.3), zaytūn > zay[t]o:n# ‘olive’ (§2.3.2.2.4), in msg form of the Imperative of Pattern I verbs, e.g., ktōb ‘write (msg)!’, kōl ‘eat (msg)!’, and in loanwords, e.g., tīlfizyōn ‘television’, pappiyōn ~ pappiyŏn ‘bow tie’ (§4). It also occurs as a pausal variant of the /o/ in pause, e.g., gatto > gatto[ ]# ‘cake’.

vi. The /ă/ is found in some words as a facultative variant of the monoph- thongs /ē/ (<ay) and /ă/ (<aw), e.g., hēk ~ hāk ‘like that’, yām ~ yām ‘day’ (§2.4.2), and in loanwords and personal names, e.g., gravāt ~ grafāt ~ grawāt ‘tie’, Ḯomonyāk ‘ammonia’, Māy ‘Maj (person
name)’ (§2.3.2.1.7, §4). It also occurs in cases where the /ā/ (=<*ā̈) is pronounced as /ā/ due probably to influence from MSA or the dialects of Beirut or Damascus, e.g., ḥṣān ‘horse’ (§2.3.2.1.6).

2.3.1 Short vowels

Short vowels are usually elided in unstressed open syllables, e.g., kātab ‘he wrote’ vs. ktāb⁰ t ‘I wrote’, fāṭah ‘he opened’ vs. flāb⁰ t ‘I opened’, šīrib ‘he drank’ vs. širib⁰ t. In the Imperfect of Pattern I verbs of a–a (§3.3.3.1.2) and i–a (§3.3.3.1.4) types, the second pattern vowel is stressed and therefore the elision does not occur, e.g., byiftāḥu ‘they open’, byīštābu ‘they drink’. In other types of Pattern I verbs, an epenthetic vowel is optionally inserted which does not carry the stress, e.g., byīktāḥu ‘they write’ (§3.3.3.1.1), byīrdītāu ‘they go down’ (§3.3.3.1.5). In the Perfect the /a/ and /i/ of the second syllable are usually elided when a pronominal object suffix with an initial vowel is attached, e.g., ḍarab ‘he hit’ vs. ḍarbā ‘he hit her’, mawwat ‘he killed’ vs. maw(w)tā ‘he killed him’, šīrib ‘he drank’ vs. širbu ‘he drank it (m)’, simīṣ ‘he heard’ vs. simʕak ‘he heard you (msg)’ (§3.6).

The unstressed short vowels in open syllables, however, are sometimes retained in classicisms, e.g., *riyāda > riyāda ‘sport’, *biḍā’ā > ḍaḍa > baḍa > baḍā ‘goods’, *ḥiṣān > ḥşān ‘horse’.

2.3.1.1 Short /i/ and its allophones

The short /i/ is found in all initial, middle and final syllables in both open and closed syllables. Diachronically it is a reflex of *i, *ī, *u, *-a and *-a(t).

The realization of short /i/ in context depending mainly on the consonantal environment, and on in which type of syllable the vowel is. The /i/ usually is realized around [i] in non-emphatic environments in closed syllables, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>limman</td>
<td>ˌlɪ millennials</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killin</td>
<td>ˌkɪ</td>
<td>all of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayyin</td>
<td>ˌbæi</td>
<td>‘their father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕiyyēm</td>
<td>ʕiyyīm</td>
<td>‘days’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The /i/ in non-emphatic environments in final open syllables is realized around [i], e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔimmi</td>
<td>ʔi’mi</td>
<td>‘my mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knīsi</td>
<td>knīsī</td>
<td>‘church’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔinti</td>
<td>ʔīntī</td>
<td>‘you (fsg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēbsi</td>
<td>lēbsī</td>
<td>‘she is wearing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

51 In Arabic dialectological literature, dialects where this is the case are called (parlers) non-différentiels, after Cantineau (1936, 49 cited in Fleisch 1974, 127 fn 1).
This /i/ in non-final open syllables – where it is stressed –, however, is realized around [i], e.g.

\[ \text{šini} \quad \text{š}[-i]\text{n[i]} \quad \text{‘year’} \]
\[ \text{biki} \quad \text{b}[i]\text{k[i]} \quad \text{‘he cried’} \]

The /i/ in emphatic environments in both closed and open syllables is usually realized around [ə], e.g.

\[ \text{ših}[^0r] \quad \text{š}[-ə]\text{h[^0r]} \quad \text{‘brother in law’} \]
\[ \text{mirid} \quad \text{m}[-ə]\text{r[ə]d} \quad \text{‘he became sick’} \]
\[ \text{tiši}’ \quad \text{t[ə]/f[ə]}’ \quad \text{‘he went up’} \]

The /i/ in the near vicinity of pharyngeal /ʕ/ has /a/ as an allophone, which it freely alternates with, e.g.

\[ \text{ṣih} \quad \text{ṣ}[-ə]\text{i} \quad \text{‘he has heard’} \]
\[ \text{ʔiši}’ \quad \text{ʔi}[-ə]\text{ši’} \quad \text{‘he saw’} \]

2.3.1.1.1 Short /i/ in final open syllables in pause

The short /i/ in final open syllables has also allophones related to pausal phenomena. The /i/ in final open syllables generally has two realizations in pause where it is also may be aspirated or lengthened (or occasionally devoiced). In the first one, this /i/ is centralized to a range of [i], [æ], [ə] or sometimes further to [ɜ] or [ɐ]. In the second, it is lowered to [e], somewhere between [e] and [æ] or sometimes further to [ɛ] or [æ]. In the transcription in this thesis, this will be represented by [ə] and [e] respectively, with the understanding that the actual phonetic value is somewhere in the aforementioned range. Centralisation of the /i/ in pause occurs in both emphatic and non-emphatic environments, while, lowering of the /i/ occurs almost always in non-emphatic environments. The possibility of conditioning based on historical origin has also been considered, but no clear evidence for it has been found.\(^52\)

\(^{52}\) As data below (collected from a variety of texts and consultants) illustrates, /i/ s with different origins have similar phonetic ranges.

/\i/ (\</*i/\)

\[ \text{žiti} > \text{ž}[-i]\text{t[i]}\# \sim [ə]\# \quad \text{‘you (fsg) came’} \]
\[ \text{rihti} > \text{r}[-i\text{ht}[ə]’}\# \quad \text{‘you (fsg) went’} \]
\[ \text{ʔinti} > \text{ʔ}[-i\text{nt}[ə]’}\#; [e’]\# \quad \text{‘you (f)’} \]
\[ \text{maši} > \text{ma}[-i\text{š}[ə]\# \sim [ə]\# \sim [æ]\# \sim [ɜ]\# \sim [e]’}\# \quad \text{‘on foot’, ‘to walk’} \]

/\i/ (\</*a/\)

\[ \text{hiyi} > \text{h}[-i\text{y}[ə]\# \sim [ə]\# \sim [æ]\#; [e’]\# \quad \text{‘she’} \]
\[ \text{hūwi} > \text{h}[-u\text{w}[ə]\# \sim [ə]\# \sim [æ]\# \sim [ɜ]\# \sim [e]’}\# \quad \text{‘he’} \]

This was investigated in two ways. The first one was to examine all occurrences of selected words both in context and pause in texts from two speakers. The second way was to examine all occurrences of word-final /i/ both in context and pause in texts from two different speakers.

\(^{52}\) This was investigated in two ways. The first one was to examine all occurrences of selected words both in context and pause in texts from two speakers. The second way was to examine all occurrences of word-final /i/ both in context and pause in texts from two different speakers.
hinni > hinn[əʰ]#; [eˑ]# ~ [eʰ]#  ‘they’

/i/ (</*i/):

šihri > šühr[əʰ]#  ‘my brother-in-law’
minṣal[li] > minṣal[ə]# ~ [əʰ]#  ‘we pray’
faršṭi > farš[ɪ]#  ‘my bed’
binti > bint[eʰ]# ~ [e]#  ‘my daughter’
maši > maʃ[æ]#  ‘with me’
ḥɔ́l > ḡɔ́l[ɛː]# ~ [æː]#  ‘myself’

/i/ (</*iyy):

ṣabi > ʃab[ə]# ~ [əʰ]#; [eˑ]#  ‘boy’
ḡani > ɣan[e]# ~ [e]#  ‘rich (msg)’

/i/ (</*a(t)/):

knīsi > knīs[ɪ]# ~ [ɪ]# ~ [ɪʰ]# ~ [ɾ]# ~ [ɜʰ]# ~ [ɜˑ]#  ‘church’
tlēti > tlēʔ[ɪ]# ~ [ɪ]# ~ [ɾ]# ~ [ʃ]#; [eʰ]#  ‘three’
(macg’sli >) maCarrier > maCarrier[ɪ]# ~ [ɪ]# ~ [ɾ]# ~ [ʃ]# ~ [ʃ]#  ‘sink’
salli > sall[l]#  ‘basket’

There are also some occurrences where the final open syllable with /i/ is closed with a glottal /ʔ/ in pause:

hēd̥i > hēd̥[ʔ]#  ‘this (f)’
(šaʔfi >) šaʔfi’[ʔ]#  ‘piece’

2.3.1.1.2  Short /i/ in final closed syllables in pause

Short /i/ in final closed is facultatively lowered to [e] and/or lengthened in pause, e.g.

Žiržis > Žirž[eˑ]s#  ‘Georg’
xilʔit > xilʔ[etʰ]#  ‘she was born’
šɔ̄yim > šɔ̄y[e unmarried]#  ‘fasting (msg)’
mirid > mir[eʰ]#  ‘he become ill’
šɔ̄ʔil > šɔ̄ʔ[e]#  ‘sensible (m)’
biʔdir > biʔd[eˑ]r#  ‘I am able to’, ‘I can’

An epenthetic vowel i or a may be affected by pause too, e.g.

bin’t > bin[etʰ]#  ‘girl’
niʔr > niʔ[eˑ]r#  ‘vow’

daʔn > daʔ[eˑ]n#  ‘burial’

53 Word-final /i/ in sabi is centralized to [ə] in pause in all occurrences of this word in texts from two consultants. Texts from another consultant give five occurrences in pause where the /i/ is also centralized to [ə], and only one occurrence where it is lowered to [e].
In cases where a word-final consonant is deleted in pause, the /i/ is facultatively aspirated, e.g.

falēfil > falēfil[ʰ]#

Falafel

mšallim > mšall[ə]#

‘teacher’

Alternatively, it is sometimes diphthongized, e.g.

wēhid > wēh[ə]j#

‘one (m)’

mbērih > mbēr[ə]j#h#

‘yesterday’

bitdaḥhik > bitdaḥh[ə]j#

‘she/it (fsg) makes s.o. laugh’

In cases where the word ends with pharyngeal /ḥ/ or /ʕ/ triphthongisation might also occur (§2.1.2.1.16, §2.1.2.1.17).

Short /i/ found in 2nd and 3rd cpl suffixes (§3.1.1.3) and in the Imperfect of Pattern I verbs (§3.3.3.1.1) alternates with u ~ o in pause. The vowels in the pausal variants are facultatively lengthened and/or (in the vicinity of a nasal consonant) nasalized. Note also the word-final consonants in these variants are also affected by pause (§2.1.2), and in cases where a word-final consonant is deleted, the preceding vowel is facultatively aspirated. The following are some examples:

(*ʔalam-kun) ʔalam-kin – ʔalam-kōn#

‘your (pl) pen’

(*kitt-hun) kittin – kittōn#

‘chop them!’

(*kill-hun) kill-in – kill-ōn#

‘all of them’

(*baṣd-hun) baṣd-in – baṣd-ōn# baṣdōn# ~ baṣdōn#

‘each other’

(*yē-hun) yē-hin – yē-hōn# ~ yēho#

‘them’

(*min-hun) min-in – min-ūn# ~ minū#

‘from them’

(*yākul) byēkil – byēku# ~ byēko# ~ byēko#

‘he eats’

(*yarkuḍ) yirkid – yirkuḍ# ~ yirkūḍ#

‘to run’

There is also one case where the /i/ alternates with u (<*u) in a noun: while the /i/ is found in context, the u is retained in pause:

kitib – kitub#

‘books’

This is, however, lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation.54

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54 Data is available in texts from four consultants: Texts from one consultant give four kitūb which are in context and two kitūb which are in pause. Text from two other consultants each give two occurrences of this word, where there is no such alternation: The second vowel is /i/ in both context and pause. Texts from the other consultant give one kitūb which is also in pause. There is a comparable case, which is also lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation: mahlis – mahlbas ‘ring’ (§2.3.1.2.2).
2.3.1.2 Short /a/ and its allophones

The short /a/ is usually realized around [æ] or somewhere between [a] and [æ] in non-emphatic environments, and around [a] or somewhere between [a] and [α] in emphatic environments. It has also allophones related to pausal phenomena. Diachronically it is a reflex of *a, *ā, *a(t), and *u.

The move of stress shifts /a/ to /i/ in prestressed syllables, e.g., sákkar ‘he closed’ vs. sikkár ‘I closed’, mistášfa ‘hospital’ > mistišfayét ‘hospitals’.

2.3.1.2.1 Short /a/ in final open syllables in pause

Short /a/ in final open syllables in a non-emphatic environment is usually realized around [æ] or somewhere between [a] and [æ] in non-emphatic environments, and around [α] or somewhere between [a] and [α] in emphatic environments. It has also allophones related to pausal phenomena. Diachronically it is a reflex of *a, *ā, *a(t), and *u.

The move of stress shifts /a/ to /i/ in prestressed syllables, e.g., sákkar ‘he closed’ vs. sikkár ‘I closed’, mistášfa ‘hospital’ > mistišfayét ‘hospitals’.

2.3.1.2.1 Short /a/ in final open syllables in pause

Short /a/ in final open syllables in a non-emphatic environment is usually raised to [ɛ] and/or aspirated or lengthened in pause, e.g.

- fiyya > fiyy[ɛ]# ~ fiyy[ɛʰ]# ~ fiy[ɛ]#  ‘in it (f)’
- nihno > nihn[ɛ]#  ‘we’
- tγadda > tγadd[ɛʰ]#  ‘have (msg) lunch!’
- bētna > bētn[ɛ]# ~ [ɛʰ]#  ‘our house’
- ḫana > ḫan[ɛʰ]#  ‘I’
- hēda > hēd[ɛʰ]# ~ [ɛʰ]# ~ [ɛ]# ~ [ɛː]#  ‘this (m)’
- sawda > sawda[ɛ]# ~ [ɛ]# ~ [ɛ]# ~ [ɛʰ]#  ‘black (f)’
- žiwwa > žiww[aː]# ~ [ɛ]#  ‘inside’

This /a/ in an emphatic environment, as in a non-emphatic environment, is also sometimes lengthened or aspirated in pause, e.g.

- bayḍa > bayḍa[ɛ]#  ‘an egg’
- bayḍa > bayḍa[ɛ]# ~ bayḍa[ɛʰ]#  ‘white (f)’
- dayša > dayš[a]#  ‘village’

In some occurrences, the /a/ in an emphatic environment is sometimes further back and rounded in pause, e.g.

- dayša > dayš[aː]#  ‘village’
- zirāša > zirā[t]#  ‘agriculture’

There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /a/ is closed with a glottal /ʔ/ in pause:

- badda > badd[daʔ]#  ‘she wants’
- sawda > sawd[ʔaʔ]#  ‘black (f)’

There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /a/ is closed with a fricative velar /x/ in pause:

- buṭa > buṭa[x]#  ‘ice cream’

55 This is in line with the shift of historical *a to /i/ in prestressed syllables, e.g., *naẓẓār > niẓẓār ‘carpenter’.
56 For the /i/ > /ʔ/ change, see §2.1.1.8.
As we have seen above, word-final short /i/ and /a/ have various allophones in pause, and there is some overlap, namely in the shared allophone [ɛ]. This does not, however, cause syncretism in the words below, as a difference is usually audible. Thus, these vowels are marginally phonemic in pause. The following pairs, fiyi vs. fiya, ḥedi vs. ḥeda and śindi vs. śinda, are each found in texts from the same speaker:

fiyi > fiy[ɛ]# ‘in me’
fiya > fiy[ɛ]# ‘in her/it (f)’

ḥedi > ḥed[ɛ]# ~ ḥed[ɛ]# ~ ḥed[ɛː]# ‘this (f)’
ḥeda > ḥed[ɛ]# ~ ḥed[ɛ]# ~ ḥed[ɛː]# ‘this (m)’

śindi ~ śandi > śand[ɛ]# ~ śind[ɛ]# ‘I have’
śinda ~ śanda > śand[ɛ]# ~ śind[ɛ]# ‘she has’

In one occurrence, however, no difference was audible to the researcher:

maʃi > maʃ[æ]# ‘with me’
maʃa > maʃ[æ]# ‘with her’

2.3.1.2.2 Short /a/ in final closed syllables in pause
Short /a/ ([a]~ [æ] §2.3.1.2) in final closed syllables in a non-emphatic environment is facultatively raised to [ɛ] and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened) in pause, as in the following examples:

biʔbal > biʔb[ɛ]# ‘I accept’
hallaʔ > hall[ɛ]# ~ hall[ɛː]# ~ hall[ɛː]# ‘now’
ʕinda > ʕinda > ʕind[ɛ]# ~ ʕind[ɛ]# ‘people’
walač > ḡal[ɛ]# ~ ḡal[ɛ]# ‘child’

When the word-final consonant is deleted (§2.1.2), the vowel is usually aspirated and/or nasalized (and optionally lengthened), e.g.

lakn > lak[ɛ]# ~ lak[ɛ]# ‘of course’
ʕinda > ʕinda > ʕind[ɛ]# ‘people’

There is also one instance where a plosive velar [k] emerges in pause (when the word-final consonant is deleted):\(^{57}\)

haykal > hayk[ɛ]# ~ hayk[ɛk]# ‘altar’

Short /a/ ([a]~[a]) §2.3.1.2) in final closed syllables in the immediate vicinity of the emphatics, as well as after post-velars /x/ and /ɣ/, pharyngeals /ʕ/ and /h/, and glottal /ʔ/ (< *q), however, is facultatively realized around [ɔ] or

\(^{57}\) Texts from the same consultant give three of hayk[ɛ]# and one hayk[ɛk]# in pause. There is also a similar case for each /u/ and /u:/ mwaʃṣxīn > mwaʃṣxīn[ɛk]# ‘dirty (pl)’ (§2.3.2.2.2), šarṣb > šarṣ[ɛ]# ~ šarṣ[ɛ]# ~ šarṣ[k]# ‘alcohol’ (§2.3.2.2.7), ʔɛɛ > ʔɛɛ[ɛk]# ‘yes’. These and the above-mentioned cases are each attested in texts from different consultants.
somewhere between [ɑ] and [ɔ], and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened) in pause. A few occurrences have also been attested, where the /a/ has undergone such changes after post-velar k (IPA [k̠]), which is an allophone of velar /k/, and after the original glottal /ʔ/.

(i) /a/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatics /š/, /ʒ/, /ψ/, /d/ and /v/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basal &gt; bašal[ɔMJ]# ~ bas[ɔMJ]# ~ bas[ɕMJ]#</td>
<td>‘onion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faras &gt; fara[ː]s# ~ far[ɔː]s#</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwazzaf &gt; mwazz[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘officer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafar &gt; maf[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?axdar &gt; ?axd[ɔʃ]# ~ ?axd[ɕʃ]#</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?abyad &gt; ?aby[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fara &gt; fær[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘arak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biṣrab &gt; biṣr[ɔʃ]# ~ biṣr[ɔ]#</td>
<td>‘I drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) /a/ after pharyngeals /ʃ/ and /h/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiṣab &gt; tiṣ[ɔb]#</td>
<td>‘(that) you play’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) /a/ after post-velar /x/ and /ɡ/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?axad &gt; ?ax[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘he took’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) /a/ after a post-velar k

As has been mentioned earlier, velar /k/ has k̠ (IPA [k̠]) as its retracted allophone (§2.1.1.1). The /a/ is realized around [ɔ] after the post-velar k in pause:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?akal – ?ak[ɔ]#</td>
<td>‘he ate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iiiii) /a/ after glottal /ʔ/ (< q*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>btūʔaf &gt; btūʔ[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘you (msg) stop’, ‘she stops’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʔar &gt; baʔ[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘cows’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a case where the /a/ has also undergone change after original /ʔ/ (<*ʔ). This is probably by analogy to /ʔ/ (<*q).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saʔal &gt; saʔ[ɔʃ]#</td>
<td>‘he asked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also one case where the /a/ alternates with /i/: while the /i/ is found in context, the /a/ (<*a) is retained in pause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maḥbis – maḥbas#</td>
<td>‘ring’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is, however, lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation. In the following case, while the /a/ is found in context, the /i/, /e/ and /a/ (<*a) are found in pause:

šawbak – šawba kʰ# ~ šawba:# ~ šawbikʰ# ~ šawbe k# ‘rolling pin’

2.3.1.3 Short /i/ and /a/ in final syllables closed with two consonants in pause

Until now we have discussed the pausal realisation of /i/ and /a/ in final open syllables, and /i/ and /a/ in final closed syllables ending in one consonant. In ŠtA, vowels in final syllables closed with a geminated consonant or a semi-vowel plus consonant are facultatively lengthened in pause, e.g., tihma[q]# ‘it becomes red’, maḥa[ ], ‘place’, biḥitt > biḥi[ #]# ‘he puts’, bēt – bāyr# ‘house’.

2.3.1.4 Remarks on the short /u/

The short /u/ is found only in final syllables in the inherited vocabulary, while in loanwords it is found in various positions. Its origin varies.

It occurs as an allophone of long /ū/ in word-final position, e.g., ḫaklu ‘they ate’, ḫakluwa ‘they ate it (f)’. The /u/ also occurs as a retention of an original *u in final closed syllables in the Imperfect Form I verbs and in the 2nd and 3rd plural suffixes in pause, e.g., yēkil – yēkul# ~ yēkol#, -kin – -kun# ~ -kon# and -in – -in# ~ -on# (§2.3.1.2). It also emerges as an allophone of /ū/ due to allegro speech or stress loss, e.g., Bayrūt > Bayrūt ‘Beirut’, mawžūd ‘exist (msg)’ mawžudīn ‘exist (pl)’ (§2.3.2.2). Finally, the /u/ is also found in many established loanwords (§4). The pausal realisation of the word-final /u/ (<*ū) and the short /u/ (<*u) found in loanwords is given in §2.3.1.4.1.

While, in inherited vocabulary, the /u/ in initial syllables is shifted to /i/, e.g., *kull > kīl ‘all’, *šumʕa > žimʕa ‘week’, ‘Friday’, *tuffāḥ > tiffēh ‘apples’, this /u/ is usually retained in loanwords from MSA, of which many are in the labial environments, e.g.

muḥšdarā ‘session’
muḥšsib ‘accountant’
muxallalēt ‘vinegar’
musalsal ‘(tv) series’
murāhaḳa ‘adolescence’

58 Data is available in texts from three consultants: Texts from one consultant give two maḥbis which are in context and one maḥbasʰ# which is in pause. Texts from another consultant give only one occurrence of this word in which the /a/ is retained in pause. Texts from the other consultant give three occurrences of this word two in context and one in pause, where the /a/, however, is retained throughout. There is a comparable case, which is also lexically conditioned and is subject to idiolectal variation: kitīb – kitīb# ‘books’, see §2.3.1.1.2.

59 Data is available in texts from one consultant only. These texts give only one occurrence of the word in context that is šawbak, while there are one šawba kʰ#, one šawba:#, two šawbikʰ#, and two šawbe k# which are in pause.
In some loanwords from MSA, on the other hand, the /u/ alternates with /i/:  

- muḥimm ~ muḥumm ‘important’
- luġa ~ liġa ‘language’
- ṣuwar ~ ściwar ‘pictures’

There are also loanwords from MSA where the /u/ is retained in final closed syllables, e.g.  

- tabarruš ‘donation’
- taxalluf ‘retrogression’
- taʔʕud ‘retirement’

In one case, the /u/ alternates with /o/ and /i/:  

- Ṭrībluš ~ Ṭrīblos ~ Ṭrīblis ‘Tripoli’

In another case, the /u/ alternates also with /a/:  

- fistuʔ ~ fistoʔ ~ fistaʔ ~ fistiʔ ‘pistachio’

There is also a case of original *i which has /i/ and /u/ alternating:  

- hāmuḍ ‘lemon’

The /u/ is also found in some loanwords from French, e.g.  

- buke ‘bouquet’
- duplēks ‘duplex’
- modēl ‘model’

2.3.1.4.1 Short /u/ in pause

Word-final short /u/ (< *ū) in pause is lowered to [o] and/or diphthongized (with optional lengthening or aspiration), e.g.  

- stavu > stav[o#] ~ [oʰ]# ‘they are cooked’

---

60 The word lsēn, which is in the inherited vocabulary, is also attested in the data analysed in the meaning of both ‘language’ and ‘tongue’.
61 Occurrences of fistaʔ or fistiʔ are found only before a modifier, e.g., fistaʔ ḥalabi ~ fistiʔ il-ḥalabi, while fistuʔ ~ fistoʔ is also found in other contexts.
62 Consultants relate that people in ŠṭA used to use only ṭrōkbi for ‘lemon’, whereas currently both words are used.
wlēdu > wle[d]ə # ‘his children’
martu > marto [ow] # ‘his wife’
byižu > byi[ə]'[ow] # ~ [ow] # ‘they come’
nhakkmu > nhakkmə [o] # ‘we take him to the doctor’
šiftu > šif[to] # ~ [ow] # ‘I/you (msg) saw him/it (m)’
fūtu > futo [ow] # ‘enter! (pl)’
byižu > byi[ə]'[o] # ‘they come’

The first element in the diphthong is usually a when u is preceded by a pharyngeal /ʕ/ or /ḥ/, e.g.

mafsū > mas[f]ə[w] # ~ masfə[w] # ‘with him’
wiʔsū > waʔsū > wiʔs[ə][w] # ~ waʔs[ə][w] # ‘they fell’
yizrašū > yizraʃ[ə][w] # (that) they plant’
(šahhu >) šah[ə][w] # ‘they are healed’

There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /u/ is closed with a fricative velar /x/ in pause:
layku > layku[x] # ‘here it (msg) is’

Short /u/ (<*u) in final closed syllables in loanwords sometimes is also affected by pause, namely lowering and/or lengthening:
taʔɔ̄rū > taʔɔ̄rū[d] # ‘retirement’

2.3.1.5 Other vowels found in loanwords

The ĩ, ũ, ō, and ŵ (IPA [y], [yː], [œ], and [œː]) found in a few loanwords primarily from French, e.g., selülēr ‘cell phone’, virūs ‘virus’, manikūr ‘manicure’, brōfē ‘certificate’, parfō (~ parfân) ‘perfume’, kwafōr ~ kwaffōr (rižžēli) ‘(male) hairdresser’.

2.3.2 Long vowels and their allophones

The inherited vowel inventory of ŠtA consists of four long vowel phonemes /ī/, /ū/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (§2.3). They are usually realised, in context, around [r:], [u:], [e:] (or somewhere between [æ:] and [e:]), and [ɔ:] (or somewhere between [o:] and [ɔ:]) respectively. These vowels have allophonic variants related to pausal phenomena which will be dealt later under this section (§2.3.2.2). They are also usually shortened in allegro speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lento context</th>
<th>Allegro context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>șɔ́r</td>
<td>șar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɔ́hit</td>
<td>rɔ́hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakīm ~ hakim</td>
<td>hakim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayrūt ~ Bayrūt</td>
<td>Bayrūt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The length is usually retained in pause, e.g.
Long vowels are also facultatively shortened when they lose their stress. When shortened, /ɔ̄/ and /ū/ optionally shift to /a/ and /i/ respectively. The following are some examples:

siyyāra siyyāritkun ~ siyyaritkun ‘car’; ‘your (pl) car’
žiʕɔ́n žiʕān ‘hungry (msg)’; ‘hungry (pl)’
xaši bit?ālu bit?ulā[ʔo̞]# ~ bit?ilāl[ʔo̞]# ‘you (pl) say’; ‘you (pl) call’
maw̱zhūd maw̱zdūn ‘exist (msg)’; ‘exist (pl)’
bʒibù bʒibūwa ‘they bring’; ‘they bring it (f)’
masîh masîḥiyi ~ masîḥiyyi ‘Messiah’; ‘Christians’

Long /ū/ has /u/ as an allophone in word-final position, e.g., ʔaklu ‘they ate’ vs. ʔaklūwa ‘they ate it (f)’ (§2.3.1.4).

The phonemes /e̞/ and /e̞/ emerge from split of OA long *ā as well as from monophthongisation of original diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. The treatment of the diphthongs and the rules conditioning the split are given in §2.3.2.1 and §2.4 respectively. The reflex of the *ā is sometimes ā (§2.3.2.1.6) or ī (§2.3.2.1.9). A long ā is also found in some loanwords (§2.3.2.1.7).

2.3.2.1 Remarks on the reflexes of OA *ā

As has been mentioned, /e̞/ and /e̞/ emerge from split of OA long *ā. The split is conditioned on the consonantal environment and in some cases, it is also morphologically conditioned, namely, some word patterns also have a role in this split. The *ā has shifted to /5/ in the immediate vicinity of emphatics, as well as after post-velar /x/ and /ʔ/, pharyngeals, and glottal /ʔ/ (< *q). Otherwise, it has been raised to /e̞/, known in Arabic linguistic terminology as ʔimāla (‘inclination’).

2.3.2.1.1 */ā/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatics /ʃ/, /z/, /t/ and /d/

The */ā/ has shifted to /5/ in the immediate vicinity of emphatic /ʃ/, /z/, /t/ and /d/ (IPA [s], [z], [t] and [d]), e.g.

*ḥșān > ḥș̱ān ‘horse (m)’
*šābūni > šbūnī ‘a soap’
*šāhib > šḥib ‘friend’
*šāyim > šyim ‘fasting (m)’
*šāymīn > šymīn ‘fasting (pl)’
*mšāfī > mš̱fī ‘(tea) strainers’
*ẓāhira > ẕ̇hra ‘has manifested (f) (herself)’
*zābūt > ẕbūt ‘officer’

63 Literally: you say it (m).
The */ā/ also usually shifts to /ɔ̄/ even if it is not closely adjacent to the emphatic consonant in the word, and there is another emphatic, post-velar, glottal /ʔ/ (<*q) or pharyngeal consonant, e.g., l-ḥfʕfɪd ‘the diapers’.

The */ā/ does not shift to /ɔ̄/ after an emphatic if preceded by glide /w/, as in the following instances:

- *dēwyīn > dēwyīn ‘they have lightened’
- *ṭewli > ṭewli ‘table’

/*ā/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatic r
The */ā/ has shifted to /ɔ̄/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatic r (IPA [ɾ]) as well, e.g.

- *rāḥīn > rāḥīn ‘they are going’
- *ṭrāblis > ṭrāblis ‘Tripoli’
- *brāzīl > brāzīl ‘Brazil’
- *rāṣ > rāṣ ‘head’
- *rābiʕ > rābiʕ ‘fourth’
- *niżżār > niżżār ‘carpenter’
- *niżżārin > niżżārin ‘carpenters’
- *ktār > ktār ‘many’, ‘much’
- *ṭrāb > trāb ‘soil’
- *nār > nār ‘fire’
- *xwārni > xwārni ‘priests’
- *siyyāra > siyyāra ‘car’

As has been mentioned earlier, emphatic r shows a degree of variation in whether it occurs, even in the same words from the same consultants (§2.1.1.7). In these cases, however, *ā > /ɔ̄/ split occurs regularly even though the /ɾ/ is sometimes pronounced without emphasis, e.g., siyyāra ~ siyyāra ‘car’.
2.3.2.1.2 */ā*/ in the vicinity of the emphatics /l/ and /m/<

The */ā*/ has shifted to /ɔ̄/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatic /l/ (IPA [ɭ]) or /m/ (IPA [m]) as well, e.g.

* /nšālla > nšɔ̄lla/ ‘If God permits’
* /ʔalmānya > ʔalmɔ̄nya/ ‘Germany’
* /māma > mɔ̄ma/ ‘mother’

2.3.2.1.3 */ā*/ after post-velars /x/ and /ɣ/<

The */ā*/ has shifted to /ɔ̄/ after post-velars /x/ and /ɣ/ (IPA [x] and [ɣ]), e.g.

* /nxāf > nxɔ̄f/ ‘we are scared’
* /xāmis > xɔ̄mis/ ‘fifth’
* /xābyi > xɔ̄byi/ ‘barrel’
* /gāli > gɔ̄li/ ‘expensive (m)’
* /gālyi > gɔ̄lyi/ ‘expensive (f)’
* /gāmiʔ > gɔ̄miʔ/ ‘dark (colour)’
* /sgār > sɡɔ̄rt/ ‘small’

The patterns fāʕil C.CV.CiC and fāʕūl C.CV.CūC, however, block the effect of the split in some words, and instead /ɛ̄/ occurs, e.g.

* /xāliʔ > xɛ̄liʔ/ ‘he was born (m)’
* /xālʔīn > xɛ̄lʔīn/ ‘they were born (pl)’
* /xārūf > xɛ̄rūf/ ‘sheep’

2.3.2.1.4 */ā*/ after glottal /ʔ/ (<*q)<

The */ā*/ has shifted to /ɔ̄/ after glottal /ʔ/, when it is a reflex of historical uvular *q, e.g.

* /qāl > qɔ̄l/ ‘he said’
* /qāšād > qɔ̄šad ~ qâstad/ ‘he is sitting’
* /qâstɔ̄di > qɔ̄stɔ̄di/ ‘she is sitting’
* /xilqān > xilɛ̄n/ ‘he was born’
* /rifqâti > rifiɛ̄t̄i/ ‘my friends’

The pattern fāʕil C.CV.CiC and fāʕūl C.CV.CūC again block the effect of the split in some words, and instead /ɛ̄/ occurs, e.g.

* /ʔāšʕa > ʔɛ̄šʕa/ ‘I am seeing’
* /qâšūš > qâšuš/ ‘sickle’
* /qânnûniyyi > (d-dëyi) l-ʔēnûnûyi/ ‘licensed (midwife)’

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64 Data available in texts from two consultants. Texts from one consultant give thirty-one occurrences of xørûf where the /r/ is realized without emphasis. Texts from the other consultant give two occurrences of this word where the /r/, however, is realized with emphasis, thus */ā*/ > /ɔ̄*/ change occurs regularly: *xārûf > xɔ̄rûf.

65 It is likely that */ā*/ > /ɔ̄*/ shift happened before the */q > /ʔ/* change occurred, since the original glottal /ʔ/ (*<ʔ) triggers a different shift, i.e., */ā*/ > /ɛ̄*/.
2.3.2.1.5 /*ā/ after pharyngeals /ḥ/ and /ʕ/

The /*ā/ has also shifted to /ɔ̄/ after the pharyngeals /ḥ/ (IPA [h]) and /ʕ/, e.g.

*ḥāl > hɔ̄l ‘case’
*ḥāž > hɔ̄ži ‘need’
*ʔašḥāb > ʔašɔ̄həb ‘friends’
*laiḥhām > lihɔ̄mən ‘butcher’
*laiḥhāmīn > lihɔ̄mən ‘butchers’
*mḥārim > mḥɔ̄rım ‘napkins’

*bɔ̄d > bɔ̄d ‘far (pl)’
*ɔ̄lī > òlī ‘high’
*mɔ̄s > mɔ̄s ‘salary’
*ɔ̄ləm > ɔ̄lmə ‘earth’, ‘people’
*lɔ̄fi > lɔ̄fi ‘the health’, ‘the welfare’

The pattern fəʕil CVC, however, blocks this effect of the pharyngeals in some words, and instead /ɛ̄/ occurs, e.g.

*ḥāmil > hɛ̄mil ‘he is carrying’
*ḥālif > hɛ̄lif ‘he has sworn’
*ʕāmil > ʕɛ̄mil ‘he has done’
*ʕārif > ʕɛ̄rif ‘knowing (msg)’

In the following word where the /*ā/ is followed by a glottal (? <*q), however, the pattern does not block the affect:

*ʕaʔil > ðɔ̄ʔil ‘sensible (m)’

In some loanwords from MSA the pattern does not block the shift too, e.g.

*ḥādis > hɔ̄dis ‘accident’
*ḥāziz > hɔ̄ziz ‘barrier’

2.3.2.1.6 Occurrences of ְā (<*ā)

The reflex of *ā in the above-mentioned consonantal environments, however, is sometimes pronounced as ְā (IPA [aː]). This is probably under the influence of MSA and/or urban dialects of Beirut or Damascus. The following are some examples:

ḥṣɔ̄n, ḫṣān ‘horse’
baṭɔ̄ṭa, baṭāṭa ‘potatoes’

---

66 Data available in texts from two consultants. These texts give a great number of occurrences where the reflex of the *ā is /ɔ̄/, and only a few occurrences where the reflex of *ā is ְā. There is also one occurrence of ḥṣɔ̄n. The latter occurrence, where the unstressed /i/ in open syllable is retained, is probably under the influence of MSA.

67 Data available in texts from four consultants. Texts from one consultant give many occurrences where the reflex of *ā is /ɔ̄/ and only one occurrence where the reflex of *ā is ְā. The reflex of *ā in texts from other three consultants, however, is /ɔ̄/.  

55
ktār, ktār  ‘a lot’ 68
šbāt, šbāt  ‘February’ 69

2.3.2.1.7 Loanwords and personal names contain long /ā/

The vowel /ā/ is also found in many loanwords or personal names, e.g.
l-kāša (~ l-kāša)  ‘the hall’ 70
talfizyān (~ talifizyōn 71)  ‘television’
ʔomonyāk  ‘ammonia’
Šontāl  ‘Chantal’
Māy  ‘Maj (person name)’

For other loanwords that contain long /ā/, see § 4.

2.3.2.1.8 */ā/ in non-emphatic environments

The */ā/ has been raised to /ɛ̄/, known in Arabic linguistic terminology as ʔimāla (‘inclination’), in non-emphatic environments, e.g.

*kān > kɛ̄n  ‘be (perf.)’
*bās > bɛ̄s  ‘he sold’
*nās > nɛ̄s  ‘people’
*wāhid > wɛ̄hid  ‘one’
*tāni > tɛ̄ni  ‘second’
*sādis > sɛ̄dis  ‘sixth’
*lābis > lɛ̄bis  ‘wearing’
*wlād > wɛ̄lɛ̄d  ‘children’
*flān > flɛ̄n  ‘someone’
*bnāt > bnɛ̄t  ‘girls’
*kamān > kɛ̄mɛ̄n  ‘also’

2.3.2.1.9 /ī/ as a reflex of */ā/

There are also occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is /ī/. 72 These, however, are rare:

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68 Data available in texts from six consultants. Texts from one consultant give many occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is /ɪ/ and only a few occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is ā. The latter occurrences are found in pause: ktār > ktw# ~ ktw#f#. The reflex of */ā/ in texts from other five consultants, however, is /ɔ̄/ (both in pause and in non-pause).
69 Data available in texts from three consultants. Texts from one consultant give one occurrence where the reflex of */ā/ is /ɪ/ and two occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is ā. The reflex of */ā/ in texts from two other consultants, however, is /ɔ̄/ (both in pause and in non-pause).
70 A big hall, located next to the church, is used for the communal events, e.g., condolence, in the village.
71 ~ telifizyōn ~ tilfizyōn §4.2.10.
72 This is possibly under influence of another dialect. The first two examples given above could be explained by a further ʔimāla triggered by the neighbouring vowel.
wēḥid, wihid ‘one (m)’
tlēti, tliti ‘three’
sīfarna ‘we travelled’

2.3.2.2 Long vowels in final syllables in pause

2.3.2.2.1 The /ī/ in final open syllables in pause

Long /ī/ in final open syllables is optionally aspirated in pause, e.g.

\[ \text{fī} \rightarrow [\text{fī}]^h \] # ‘there is in it (msg)’

2.3.2.2.2 The /ī/ in final closed syllables in pause

Long /ī/ in final closed syllables is sometimes lowered to [eː] and/or diphthongized in pause, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Brīṣīl} & > \text{Brīṣ[e:j]}^h \# \quad \text{‘Brazil’} \\
\text{mnīh} & > \text{mn[e:j]}^h \# \quad \text{‘well’} \\
\text{masīh} & > \text{masī[j]}^h \# \sim [e:j]h \# \quad \text{‘Christ’} \\
\text{snīn} & > \text{sn[e:n]}^h \# \quad \text{‘years’} \\
\text{ktīr} & > \text{kt[i]r}^j \# \quad \text{‘much’, ‘many’} \\
\text{ʔakīd} & > \text{ʔak[e:jd]}^b \# \quad \text{‘certain’} \\
\text{zbīb} & > \text{zb[e:jb]}^b \# \quad \text{‘raisins’} \\
\text{ʔar̥b̥īn} & > \text{ʔar̥b̥[e:jn]}^j \# \quad \text{‘forty’}
\end{align*}
\]

The /ī/ may be lowered further to [æ] or [a] when it is preceded by pharyngeal /h/ or /ʔ/, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wahīd} & > \text{wah[a:j]}^j \# \quad \text{‘only child’} \\
(\text{thīn} >) \text{th[a:jn]}^j \# \quad \text{‘flour’} \\
\text{ʔar̥b̥īn} & > \text{ʔarb[a:jn]}^j \# \quad \text{‘forty’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is one instance where a velar /k/ emerges in pause, when the word-final consonant is deleted:

\[ \text{mwaṣṣxīn} > \text{mwaṣṣxī[k]}^j \# \quad \text{‘dirty (pl)’} \]

73 Texts from two consultants give many occurrences of this word where the reflex of */ā/ is /ī/, and only one or a few occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is /Ī/. The reflex of */ā/ in this word in texts from five other consultants, on the other hand is always /ē/.

74 Texts from two consultants give many occurrences of this word where the reflex of */ā/ is /ī/, and only a few occurrences where the reflex of */ā/ is /Ī/. The reflex of */ā/ in this word in texts from four other consultants, on the other hand is always /ē/.

75 Data available give only one occurrence of the word, i.e., sīfarna. Texts from one consultant in which sīfarna is attested, also give, however, two occurrences of msēfra. Texts from four other consultants include the following relevant occurrences, where the reflex of */ā/ is always /ē/; two sēfar, two sīfrīt, one tsēfrī, one sīfrī, three msēfar and one msēfra.

76 The /s/ is sometimes omitted, see §2.1.1.8.

77 There is also a similar case for each /a/ (§2.3.1.2.2) and /Ī/ (§2.3.2.2.7).
2.3.2.2.3 The /ū/ in final open syllables in pause
The /ū/ in final open syllables is sometimes lowered [oː] or diphthongized, e.g.

byiʕʷmlū > byiʕʷm[oː]# ‘they make it (msg)’
(?atlū > ?atlū[w]# ‘they killed him’

2.3.2.2.4 The /ū/ in final closed syllables in pause
The /ū/ in final closed syllables is sometimes lowered to [oː] and/or diphthongized.

The /ū/ is occasionally also nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, e.g.

tūm > tū[w̥]# ~ tū[w]# ‘garlic’
zaytūn > zayt[ʊ̃ːn̥]# ~ zayt[ʊːn̥]# ‘olive’
maṭḥūn > maṭḥ[ʊ̃ːw̥]# ‘milled’

2.3.2.2.5 The /ɛ̄/ in final open syllables in pause
The /ɛ̄/ in final open syllables is optionally aspirated in pause, e.g.

dē > dɛ̄# ~ d[ɛːʰ]# ‘his hands’
yē > yɛ̄# ~ y[ɛːʰ]# ‘him’

2.3.2.2.6 The /ɛ̄/ in final closed syllables in pause
The /ɛ̄/ in final closed syllables is sometimes diphthongized in pause. The /ɛ̄/ is occasionally also nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, e.g.

zamēn > zam[ɛːn̥]# ~ -[ɛn̥]# ~ -[ɛːʰ]# ‘in the past/long time ago’
niswēn > nisw[ɛːn̥]# ~ -[ɛn̥]# ‘women’
žinnēz > žinn[ɛːz]# ‘funeral’
l-ḥaṁmēt > l-ḥaṁm[ɛːt]# ~ -[ɛːt]# ~ -[ɛːʰ]# ‘the meat’
l-ḥaṁmēt > l-ḥaṁm[ɛːt]# ~ -[ɛːt]# ~ -[ɛːʰ]# ‘the coal’

In cases where the final consonant is deleted the aspiration of /ɛ̄/ has also been attested, e.g.:

zamēn > zam[ɛːb̥]# ~ -[ɛːb̥]# ~ -[ɛːʰ]# ‘in the past/long time ago’, ‘a while ago’
dikkēn > dikke[ɛːb̥]# ‘shop’
ʔiyēm > ʔiy[eːb̥]# ‘days’

There are also a few occurrences of aspiration even though the final consonant is retained:

wlēd > wle[ɛːd̥]# ~ -[ɛːd̥]# ~ -[ɛːʰ]# ‘children’
wēz̥bēt > wēz̥b[eːθ]# ‘duties’

2.3.2.2.7 Long /ɔ̄/ in final closed syllables in pause
The /ɔ̄/ in final closed syllables is sometimes diphthongized in pause. The /ɔ̄/ is occasionally also nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, which is devoiced or deleted, e.g.

58
There is one instance where a velar /k/ emerges in pause, when the word-final consonant is deleted:78

\[\text{šar}ğb \rightarrow \text{šar}ğ[b]# \sim \text{šar}ğ# \sim \text{šar}ğ[k]#\]

‘alcohol’

### 2.4 Diphthongs

This section presents the reflexes of original diphthongs */ay/ and */aw/ in various positions. It further deals with how pause conditions their realization. New diphthongs also occur, where original long monophthongs are diphthongized in pause, but these are discussed in §2.3.2.2.

#### 2.4.1 Diphthongs in non-final syllables

The diphthongs */ay/ and */aw/ (IPA [ai] and [aʊ]) in ŠṭA are preserved in non-final open syllables and shift to monophthongs /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in non-final closed syllables. The /ɛ/ is realised around [ɛː] or somewehere between [æː] and [ɛː], whereas /ɔ/ is realised around [ɔː] or somewhere between [ɒː] and [ɔː].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open syllables</th>
<th>Closed syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| bay.tin        | bēt.na           | ‘their house’   | ‘our home’ \
| ġay.ru         | ġēr.na           | ‘other than him’| ‘other than us’ \
| day.ša         | dēš.ti           | ‘village’       | ‘my village’ \
| yaw.mën        | y5m.na           | ‘two days’      | ‘our day’ \
| law.nu         | l5n.na           | ‘his colour’    | ‘our colour’ \
| daw.ri         | d5r.na           | ‘my time’       | ‘our time’ \
| šaw.ta         | š5t.na           | ‘her voice’     | ‘our voice’ \
| maw.zi         | m5z.tayn         | ‘a banana’      | ‘two bananas’ \
| šaw.bak        | š5b.kēn          | ‘a rolling pin’ | ‘two rolling pins’ |

In syllables closed by a second /y/ or /w/, there is no monophthongisation, and the latter is sometimes elided, e.g.

\[\text{tayybīn} \sim \text{tay.bīn}\]

‘alive (pl)’

\[\text{mžawwzi} \sim \text{mžaw.zi}\]

‘married (f)’

---

78 There is also a similar case for each /a/ (§2.3.1.2.2) and /i/ (§2.3.2.2.2).
### 2.4.2 Diphthongs in final syllables

Monophthongisation occurs also in final syllables, except in pause, when the diphthong is preserved with a facultative lengthening.\(^7\)\(^9\) The optional lengthening might be slight, e.g., \(ba[\cdot]yt\#\) ~ \(ba[\cdot]yt\#\) ‘house’. Note also that the second element of the diphthong is sometimes weak.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēt</td>
<td>bayt# ~ bāyt#</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēd</td>
<td>bayd#</td>
<td>‘eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zēt</td>
<td>zayt# ~ zāy#</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēr</td>
<td>dāy#</td>
<td>‘monastery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žēš</td>
<td>žayš#</td>
<td>‘army’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēf</td>
<td>šayf#</td>
<td>‘summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫōḍēn</td>
<td>ḫōḍayn# ~ ḫōḍāyn#</td>
<td>‘two rooms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waldēn</td>
<td>waldayn#</td>
<td>‘two kids’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnēn</td>
<td>tnāy#</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>lāyk# ~ lāyk#</td>
<td>‘look!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lān</td>
<td>lāw# ~ lāw# ~ lā#</td>
<td>‘colour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dār</td>
<td>dawr#</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tām</td>
<td>tāw# ~ tāw#</td>
<td>‘twin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēt</td>
<td>sawr#</td>
<td>‘voice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēk</td>
<td>šawr#</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žēz</td>
<td>žawr#</td>
<td>‘walnut’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some words, the resulting monophthong is not to ē or ō, but ā (from both *ay and *aw).\(^8\)\(^0\) This /ā/ is realised usually around [aː], or somewhere between [aː] and [æː] (\(/ā/ < *ay\)) or between [aː] and [ɑː] (\(/ā/ < *aw\)), e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hēk ~ hāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żēš ~ żāš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēr ~ gār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēn ~ wān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The context form of the diphthongs is being generalised, so is occasionally found in pause too. The generalisation is probably under the influence of neighbouring urban dialects, i.e., Beirut or Damascus (§2.8.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēt</td>
<td>bāyt# ~ bēt#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\)\(^9\) The preservation of the diphthongs in pause is also found in irregular imperative fsg form of the anomalous verb ʔa ‘to come’: ʔa – ʔay\# ‘come (fsg)!’ (< *taʔālay) (§3.3.3.4.1).

\(^8\)\(^0\) It is noticeable that this facultative sound shift is mostly found in function words.
zāt \(\sim\) zayt\# \~\ sim\# \~\ zēt\# \~\ ‘oil’

hēk \~\ hāk \(\sim\) hayk\# \~\ hāy\# \~\ hēk\# \~\ hāk\# \~\ ‘like that’

žēš \~\ žāš \(\sim\) žayš\# \~\ žēš\# \~\ ‘army’

wēn \~\ wān \(\sim\) wayn\# \~\ wēn\# \~\ wān\# \~\ ‘where’

lān \(\sim\) lān\# \~\ ‘colour’

fēʔ \~\ fēʔ \(\sim\) fēʔ\# \~\ ‘upper’

hān \~\ hān \(\sim\) hān\# \~\ hān\# \~\ ‘here’

šēk \(\sim\) šēk\# \~\ ‘thorn’

žēz \(\sim\) žēz\# \~\ ‘army’

yōm \~\ yām \(\sim\) yōm\# \~\ yām\# \~\ yāw\# \~\ ‘day’

hān \~\ hān \(\sim\) hān\# \~\ hān\# \~\ hān\# \~\ hān\# \~\ ‘here’

In few cases, aspiration occurs instead of the diphthong, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| dēr    | dēyr\# \~\ dēyr\# \~\ dēr\# \~\ dē\# | ‘monastery’
| lēk    | lēyk\# \~\ lēk\# \~\ la\#k\# | ‘look!’
| sēf    | sēf\# \~\ sēf\# | ‘sumer’
| žēš, žāš | žayš\# \~\ ža\#š\# \~\ žēš\# | ‘army’
| bēt    | bēt\# \~\ bēt\# | ‘house’

In allegro speech the monophthongs /ē/ and /ē/ are further reduced to /a/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allegro</th>
<th>Lento</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| bat     | bēt    | ‘house’
| ġar     | ġeř \~\ ġar    | ‘other’
| wan     | wēn \~\ wān    | ‘where’
| yam     | yōm \~\ yām    | ‘day’
| han     | hān \~\ hān    | ‘here’

This reduction has also been found in lento speech in a few words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allegro</th>
<th>Lento</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| bat     | bat \~\ bēt | ‘house’

2.5 Minimal pairs between long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels /ī/, /ē/, /õ/ and /ū/, and diphthongs ay and aw form minimal pairs as, for instance, in the following words:

fēʔ \~\ fawʔ\# | ‘upper’; fēʔ | ‘he woke up’; fīʔ | ‘wake up (msg)’

fawʔu | ‘above him’; faw(y)ʔu | ‘wake (msg) him up!’; fēʔu | ‘they woke up’; fīʔu | ‘wake up (cpl)’!

mēt | ‘he died’; mōt | ‘death’; mūt | ‘die (msg)’; mō(t) | ‘hunderd’
mētu ‘they died’; maw(w)tu ‘kill (msg) him’; mūtu ‘die (cpl)!’
mayyit ~ mayit ‘dead (msg)’; mawwit ~ mawit ‘kill (msg)!’
mētit ‘she died’; mawtit ‘she killed’
xayłun ‘their horses’; xālun ‘their maternal uncle’
layyni ‘soft (f)’; lawwni ‘paint (fsg)’!
šawru ‘you (msg) take a picture of him!’; šūru ‘you (cpl) become/start!’
hawli ‘come on in (fsg)!’; hōli ‘situation’; hīli ‘trap’
hawlu ‘come on in (cpl)!’; hālu ‘his situation’
dēr – dyr # ‘monastery’; dār – dawr # ‘time’
xēl – xayl # ‘horses’; xāl ‘maternal uncle’
tām – tawm # ‘twin’; tūm ‘garlic’
šēf ~ šayf # ‘summer’; šūf ‘wool’

2.6 Syllabification and phonotactics

The following are the syllable types attested in ŠtA:

- Cv: ka.tab ‘he wrote’
- CvC: niḥ. na ‘we’
- Čv: šā. hib ‘friend’
- ČvC: zay. tūn ‘olive’
- ČCv: šra. bi ‘drink (fsg)!’, byi. ži ‘he comes’, tta. faʔ ‘he agreed’
- ČČv: st?5. mit ‘she became pregnant’
- ČČvC: šrib. na ‘we drank’, tīgas. sal ‘he had a shower’
lbin(lo) ‘the girl’, ššabb ‘the boy’, ššaʕ(lo) ‘the hair’
- ČČvC: stxab. ba ‘he hid’, strav. na ‘I bought’
- Čv: tē. ti ‘three’
- ČČvC: flēn ‘someone’, llēl ‘the night’
- ČČČvC: žždīd ‘the new one’, štēt ‘you (msg) bought’

Word-initial clusters of two consonants occur regularly in ŠtA, while word-final clusters of CC are usually avoided. The common prevention strategy is inserting an epenthetic vowel (anaptyxis) between the two consonants. The epenthetic vowel is a short i, or in the vicinity of pharyngeal /ḥ/ or /ʕ/, a short a (transcribed with a superscript: ′ and ″ respectively), e.g., ḥab ⌠ ‘before’, kin’t ‘I was’, baḥr # ‘sea’, žāh’s# ‘donkey’, šaʕr # ‘hair’. The phonetic realization of the i ranges between [ɪ] and [ɛ] and of the a between [æ], [a] and [ɑ] depending on the consonantal environment. They may also be affected by pause, e.g., nid′r > nid[ɛ ṭ]# ‘vow’, baḥr > baḥ[a’r]# ‘sea’ (§2.3.1.1.2, §2.3.1.2.2). Across word boundaries, a word-final cluster of two consonants may be tolerated if
the following word starts with a CC. In these cases, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two words, e.g., baš’d ŕswayah ‘soon after’. Word-final CC may also be tolerated where the CC is geminated, e.g., diirt ŕaduwwi ‘(that) I hurt my enemy’, sitt bêt ‘housewife’.

Word-initial consonant clusters of CCC are usually not permitted. They are, however, found in certain verb patterns, where the prefix include a sonorant, e.g. stxabb’a ‘he hided’, štrēt ‘I bought’, or in words where the C1 and C2 are alike, e.g. żždīd ‘the new one’. Non-word-initial clusters of CCC are also usually avoided in words, as well as over word boundaries, by inserting an epenthetic vowel between C1 and C2, e.g., byir’butt ‘they tie’, ḥahl’na ‘our family’, taḥ’t has-sindyē[ ][# ‘under the oak tree’, lāš’t talēf ‘ten thousand’, kūr ‘mnīḥa ‘very well (fsg)’. In cases where the first word ends with vC, the preceding vowel of the C1 is usually deleted, e.g., wēḥd (< wēḥid) ‘mhandis ‘one engineer’, hēml (< hēmīl) ‘mxaddi ‘carrying pillow’, btēx(d < btēxd) ‘wlēda ‘she takes her children’, kēnt (< kēnit) ‘mrīda ‘she was sick’. In these cases, deletion of a consonant sometimes takes place instead, e.g. wēhi (< wēḥid) tnyyn ‘one, two’,81 In some forms of Pattern II verbs (§3.3.4) where C1 and C2 are alike one consonant is optionally deleted, e.g., bisakkr(u ~ bisakru ‘they close’ (§3.3.4). With some combinations of consonants, where a sonorant is involved, a three-consonant cluster may be avoided, e.g., byindru ‘the make vow’, bištṛīlīn ‘I buy for them’, yir’kdu ~ yirkdu ‘(that) they run’, τanţlra ~ τanţlza ‘saucenpen’, kint xōbī ‘I was engaged’, bīnt hēmla... ‘a girl is carrying...’. There are also occurrences where a non-epenthetic vowel is deleted letting to emerge a three-consonant cluster involve as sonorant, e.g., kēnt (< kēnit) binti ‘my daughter was’.

Clusters of four consonants are not tolerated. An epenthetic vowel is inserted between C2 and C3 to break the cluster, e.g., lāš’t snīn ‘ten years’. There are also occurrences where a consonant is deleted, e.g., lāš snīn (< lāš(r) ‘ten years’.

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), one of the variables used to distinguish between Central-North (CN) and Central-South (CS) is whether three successive short syllables are permitted or not. According to him, CN dialects do not allow three successive short syllables in nouns or verbs, while CS dialects do, e.g., CN sāmkē (sāmk’tō); CS sāmkē (samāḵto) ‘a fish [un poisson]’ (‘his fish [son (m) poisson]’); CN dárho, CS dárho ‘he hit him [il l’a frappé]’ (ibid, 126). Fleisch also remarks that this feature of CN is also found in the dialects of the North group (ibid, 132–33). In this respect, ŠtA fits in both CN and North groups, as three successive short syllables in nouns and verbs are generally not permitted, e.g., samki ‘a fish’ (sam’ktēn ‘two fishes’), darbu ‘he hit him’ (§3.6). This is also the case for Bišmizzīn, e.g., darbu ‘he hit him’ (Jiha 1964, 146).

81 In some words where a consonant deletion (optionally) takes place, the epenthetic vowel may still be kept, e.g., lārbiā ~ lārba ~ lārba ‘four’ (§2.1.1.8).
2.7 Stress

The stress falls on the last superheavy syllable (CV̄C or CvCC) or on the last CV in a word, e.g., biʔāl ‘he says’, bisfārr ‘I turn yellow’, katbū ‘they wrote it (m)’. In the absence of a superheavy syllable or a CV, the first syllable carries the stress (without considering helping vowels or proclitics), e.g., kātab ‘he wrote’, ktāb/t ‘I wrote’, xīḏ mtī ‘my service’, la-l-wālād ‘to the kid’. This is the general rule concerning the stress. Pause conditioned changes which might affect the syllable type, does not shift the stress, e.g., bāṣal > bāṣa[ ][# ~ bāṣ[ɔ][# ‘onion’.

Exceptions to the general rule are as follows: a) the stress falls on the syllable before the pronoun suffixes -a and -in/-un, e.g., štarīta ‘she bought it (f)’, kilmītin ‘their word’;82 b) the stress falls on the middle light syllable in the imperfect and participles of Pattern VII and Pattern VIII of sound and defective verbs, e.g., byinkisir ‘he breaks’, byiḥtirīm ‘he respects’, mištīgil ‘(having) worked’.

In this work, stress will only be indicated when it does not follow the general rule.

2.8 Summary-Comparison-Discussion and implications for Arabic dialectology

This section will summarize the findings for the phonology of ŠṭA, with focus on pausal phenomena, and compare them to those of other documented Levantine dialects, especially those which are geographically closest, namely, Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb, and Zgharta. When relevant, comparative notes in relation to other dialects of Levant and beyond are also provided. It will also cover pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations and generalisations of pausal forms, as well as processes and retentions in pausal forms and their conditions.

2.8.1 Consonants

As we have seen, ŠṭA has twenty-eight phonemic consonants, including the /p/, /g/, /k/ and /z/, which can be considered to have gained phonemic status, as they are found in many established loanwords. These ‘new’ phonemes have already been allophones of other inherited phonemes (§2.1.1.1). There are also five consonants with uncertain or marginal phonemic status. These consonants

82 This is because historically it was a closed syllable due to the * h- in these suffixes. There are also occurrences of -ha and -hin/hun in ŠṭA §3.1.1.3.
are attested only in a few loanwords (§2.1.1.3, §2.1.1.2) or they occur as allophones of other inherited phonemes (§2.1.1.6, §2.1.1.7, §2.1.1.5). Many phonemic consonants also have allophones conditioned by pause.

As we have seen, the pharyngeal /ʕ/ in ŠṭA is sometimes not or only weakly articulated, or replaced by /w/ or /ʔ/ (§2.1.1.8). Comparable cases are mainly found in the peripheral Arabic dialects, see Watson (2002, 18). Whether the afore-mentioned realisations of the /ʕ/ will lead to its disappearance or replacement by another consonant, as is the case in some peripheral dialects, like Nigerian or Chadian Arabic, remains to be seen.

Almost all consonants in ŠṭA are affected by pause in word-final position. There are also several consonants which are affected by pause in non-word-final position.

Voiced consonants /b/, /m/, /d/, /ḍ/, /n/, /r/, ṭr, /z/, /ẓ/ and /l/ are usually devoiced or deleted word-finally in pause. Voiceless consonants /f/, /k/, and /ḥ/ may also be deleted.

A devoiced /b/ may be aspirated: \(b > [bʰ]\#\). The /b/, /m/ are facultatively not audibly released in pause: \(b > [b̥]\#, m > [n̥]\). Meanwhile for /b/ and /m/, visual evidence from one consultant shows lips closure.

Devoicing of /n/ may cause nasalisation of the adjacent vowel: \(-an > [ên]\#\sim [ẽn]\#\).

A devoiced /r/ and its emphatic allophone ṭr (IPA \([ᵶ]\)) may be realised long in pause: \(r > [r̥ˑ]\#, ṭr > [ᵶ̥ˑ]\#\). This is also the case for their voiceless equivalents, /t/ and /ṭ/ (IPA [ᵶ]): \(t > [tʰ]\#, ṭ > [ᵶʰ]\#\). Consonants /k/ and /ʔ/ may be aspirated in pause: \(k > [kʰ]\#, ʔ > [ʔʰ]\#\).

There are also a few occurrences where the /k/ is fricativised in pause, e.g., \(k̠ɛ̄sak > k̠ɛ̄s[kx]\#\sim k̠ɛ̄s[ex]\#\ ‘(to msg) Cheers!’, hawnik > hawn[ɪx]\#\ ‘there’.

In some consultants’ speech, a word-final /k/ in one case facultatively alternates with its retracted allophone ḫ (IPA [k]) in pause, e.g., l-ʔatr5k \(\sim l-ʔatr5[k]\#\ ‘the Turks’.

Consonants /š/ (IPA [ʃ]) and /x/ may be realised long in pause, i.e., \(š > [ʃ]\#\sim [ʃ̥]\#, x > [x̥]\#\).

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83 Cf. (Watson 2002, 18), who writes: “In a number of peripheral Arabic dialects, including Nigerian and Chadian, the *ʕ* and *ḥ* have been de-pharyngealized to */ʔ* and */b* respectively.”

84 Cf. bnǟt > bnǟts# ‘girls’ in Nefza Arabic (Northwest Tunisia) where affricativisation of a plosive has also been noted (email communication from Alexandra Naddari, 4 July 2023, Vienna University).
Semi-vowel /y/ (IPA [j]) may be aspirated in pause: \(-y > [j^h]\)#. There are also a few occurrences where the /y/ (which is a palatal approximant) is facultatively replaced by an aspirated palatal fricative \([ç^h]\) or palatal plosive \([c^h]\) in pause: \(may(y) > ma[ç^h]\)# \(-[ç^h]\)# \(-[c^h]\)# ‘water’.\(^{85}\) The \(-y\) may be deleted in pause too.

The pharyngeal /ʕ/, when word-final, is usually replaced by a glottal stop in pause, with a facultative release to pharyngeal \(h\), i.e. \(-ç > [ʔ]\)# \(-[ʔ]\)#.

There are also occurrences where the pausal change is a combination of diphthongisation of the preceding vowel, the shift of /ʕ/ to \([ʔ]\), and inserting a short vowel in between, which results a kind of triphthong, e.g., \(rabiʕ > rabî[jeʔ]\)# ‘spring’, \(yasūʕ > yasû[waʔ]\)# ‘Jesus’.\(^{86}\)

A similar process has also been attested for pharyngeal /h/ as well, e.g.: \(mbēriḥ > mbēr[jeʔ]\)# ‘yesterday’.

We have discussed how word-final consonants are affected by pause. There are also a few non-word-final consonants that are affected by pause.

A non-word final \(k/\), \(l/\), \(r/\), \(s/\), \(ʃ/\) or \(h/\) in the vicinity of front vowels is sometimes palatalized in pause, e.g., \(hadīki > hadīk[ɛ̄]\)# \(‘that (f)’\), \(fētīh ‘light (colour)’\), \(batṭîx > bat[t][i.x]\)# ‘watermelon’, \(fētīh > fêt[ɪh]\)# ‘light (colour)’, \(yēbsi > yēbs[ɛ̄]\)# ‘dry’, \(nāsîṣ > nās[ɛ̄]\)# ‘bright’, \(byiržaṣ > byirzept[ɛ̄]\)# ‘he returns’, \(šī > š[ɪ]\)# ‘something’.

In some consultants’ speech, non-word-final /r/ and /k/ in some words alternate with their allophones, emphatic \(r\) (IPA [ɾ]) and retracted \(k\) (IPA [k]) respectively, in pause, e.g., \(ṣa[ɾæb] – ṣa[ɾæb̥]\)# ‘Arabs’, \(ṣa[kal] – ṣa[kəl]‘he ate’. The \(r – r\) and \(k – k\) alternations in pause are lexically conditioned and subject to idiolectal variation.

There is no mention of pause-conditioned changes in consonants for Tripoli, Zgharta, Bişmizzîn and Kfar-Ṣghab (El-Hajjé 1954; Fleisch 1974; Jiha 1964), but further investigation is warranted.

The /ʕ/ > /ʔ/ change in pause has also been documented in some other dialects of Levant, e.g., Antioch (see fn 92), in which it was presented under the term glottalisation. In Arabic dialectological literature, however, this term, namely glottalisation, is used for different processes – even in a single study. These include (a) (as in ŠtA) closing an open final syllable with glottal /ʔ/, (b) the insertion of /ʔ/ after a vowel in final closed syllables, (c) the insertion of

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\(^{85}\) This reminds of the /k/ found in a variant of indefinite pronoun in some varities of Cilician Arabic, namely šayh ‘something [etwa]’. Other variants noted are šī, šayt, šay, šīt, and šīyani (Procházka 2002, 73). The question arises whether the /k/ is pause conditioned or a relic of a pausal form.

\(^{86}\) Comparable examples have also been documented in Gozitan dialects of Maltese, see Lipnicka (2022, 234).

\(^{87}\) A comparable case for /k/ is attested in the dialects spoken by Alawi community in Çuku-rova/Cilicia: bakkîr ‘early [früh]’, kîl ‘eat (msg) [iβ]’ (Procházka 2002, 19).
glottal /h/ after a vowel in final closed syllables, (d) adding /ʔ/ after the word-final consonant in final closed syllables (which in some cases leads to non-articulation of the word-final consonant), and (e) (as in ŠṭA) replacing a word-final /ʕ/ with /ʔ/. The following are some examples:

(a) yitguiadden > yitɡaddaʔ ‘he eats lunch [er isbt zu Mittag]’, nașarna > našarnaʔ ‘we went in the afternoon [wir gingen am Nachmittag]’, xarajna > xarajnaʔ ‘we went out [wir gingen hinaus]’ (Ṣa’dah North Yemen) (Behnstedt 1987, 18).

(b) ṛās > ṛaʔs, kṭūr > kṭiʔr (Syria) (Behnstedt 1997 map 67); kal > kāʔl (#, mōz > moʔs (#) (Egypt) (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985 maps 41-42); ǧal > ǧaʔl (# ~ ǧaʔl, ǧr > ǧiʔr ~ ǧiʔr (# (North Yemen) (Behnstedt 2016 map 26).

(c) tēs > teʔhs, nisēʃ > niseʔhš (North Yemen) (Behnstedt 2016 map 26).


(e) rabīʕ > rabiʔḥ ~ rabiʔ # (Egypt) (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985 map 44).

Some overviews mention no pause-conditioned change in consonants at all for Levantine dialects see, e.g., Behnstedt (2009), Grotzfeld (1980, 174–90), Naïm (2011). Other overviews, e.g., Watson (2011, 873), note only a few cases of pause-conditioned change in consonants or mention only that pause can cause devoicing in Levantine dialects, without giving information on how widespread it is, e.g., Brustad and Zuniga (2019, 410). Prochážka (2018, 272) points out, on the other hand, that devoicing of word-final consonants before a pause is a particularly common phenomenon of both the Bedouin and sedentary types of dialects in the Fertile Crescent, and is more prevalent in the dialects spoken on the northern edges of the region.

The treatment of some word-final consonants in pause, for instance, in the dialects of Latakia, and Çukurova/Cilicia, is reminiscent of the consonant treatment in pause in ŠṭA. Reduction of word-final consonants /b/, /f/, /d/, /t/, /s/, /l/, /r/, /ḍ/, /ṭ/, /ṣ/, /š/, /k/, /x/ and /h/ in pause has been noted for the dialect of Latakia. The reduction of the nasal /n/ and /m/ leads to nasalisation of a preceding vowel (Klimiuk 2011, 58, 63–64). Devoicing of consonants is only mentioned for /z/, /ź/, and /b/, in rare cases (pp. 62-63). Exceptionally, cases

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88 Watson (ibid, 109) remarks that “In the case of a sonorant (/n/, /l/, or /r/), glottalization often results in nonarticulation of the sonorant, as in: /samn/ = samʔ ‘ghee’, /fār/ = fāʔ ‘mouse’.”
89 Pause-conditioned change in consonants in the Arabic dialects is not covered in the entry on Pausal Forms in Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics by Hoberman (2008). This is, however, more focused on Classical Arabic.
90 The people consulted in the study belong to the Sunni Muslim community.
91 In the dialects spoken by Alawi community in three cities of the Cilician Plain (Çukurova), namely Adana, Tarsus, and Mersin as well as in about 25 villages situated to the south of these towns.
of pausal voicing are given, namely /h/ > /ʕ/# (p. 62). This is not attested in ŠṭA. Devoicing of word-final /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /z/, and /ʕ/ in pause is attested in Cilicia/Çukurova, and /n/ is often weakly articulated in pause and causes nasalisation (Procházka 2002, 63).92

Some dialects in Yemen are known to have widespread pause-conditioned consonantal change (Jastrow 1980, 110–11). Despite the impression one might get from the above-mentioned overviews, evidence from ŠṭA shows that widespread pause-conditioned change in consonants is not unique to the dialects in Yemen.

2.8.2 Vowels

The inherited vowel inventory of ŠṭA consists of six phonemes, two of them short, /i/ and /a/, and four of them long, /ī/, /ū/, /ɛ̄/ and /ɔ̄/. There are two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ which occur only in open syllables. These phonemes have allophonic variations related to the consonantal environment and pausal phenomena.

There are additionally three short vowels, /e/, /u/ and /o/, and three long vowels, /ē/, /ō/ and /ā/, which arguably have gained phonemic status, as they are found in many established loanwords. There are also a few vowels, namely ɨ, ʉ, ȯ, ȍ, ǭ, and ӧ, (IPA [y], [yː], [œ], [œː], [ǭ], and [ǭː]) which are only found in a few loanwords.

2.8.2.1 Short vowels

Short /i/ in final open syllables generally has two realizations in pause. In the first one, this -i is usually centralized to a range of [ɨ], [a], [e] or sometimes further to [ɛ] or [æ] In the second, it is usually lowered to [e], somewhere between [e] and [ɛ] or sometimes further to [ɛ] or [æ]. In both realizations, the /i/ is also sometimes aspirated or lengthened (or occasionally devoiced). The possibility of conditioning based on historical origin has also been considered but no clear evidence for it has been found.

There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /i/ is closed with a glottal /ʔ/ in pause, e.g., hēdi > hēdiʔ# ‘this (f)’.

92 We could also mention a few sedentary-type dialects in Antioch where pause-conditioned change in consonants is documented. The /ʕ/ in pause shifts to /h/ in Ulucınar (Christians) and Koyunoğlu (Alawis), e.g., simiş > simiḥ# ‘he heard [er hörte]’, bâc > bâḥ# ‘he sold [er verkauft]’; or is realized as glottal in Altnözü (Christians), e.g., simis > simisʔ#, bâc > bâḥ#; or as a combination of both in Yayladağ (Christians) and Erbaş (Sunnis), e.g., simis > simisʔ#, bâc > bâḥ#. (Arnold 1998, 43–44). Devoicing of /r/, /d/, and /b/, and nasalisation in pause is attested in a published text from a speaker of Christian dialect of is-Swaydi/Samandağ (Klimiuk 2016, 130–31). Emergence of glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ in pause is attested in Ḥbablī/Eriklikuyu village (but not with all speakers in the village), e.g. tın > tinʔ# ‘figs [Feigen]’, and devoicing of /b/ is also noted, e.g., sinib > sinibʔ# ‘grape [Trauben]’ (Arnold 2005, 92). In Ḥarbî/Harbiye examples where word-final /g/, /t/, /d/, /m/, /n/ and /l/ is devoiced in pause are attested (author’s fieldwork).
Short /i/ in final closed syllables is facultatively lowered to [e] and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened). Short /i/ in final closed syllables in the Imperfect Pattern I verbs and the /i/ in 2nd and 3rd plural suffixes, on the other hand, alternates with u ~ o in pause, e.g., yēkil – yēkul# ~ yēkol#, -kin – -kun# ~ -kon#, -in – -un# ~ -on#. There is also one case where a similar alternation is found in a noun: kitib – kitub# (<*kutub) 'books'. This is, however, lexically conditioned and is subject to idiolectal variation.

Short /i/ in final closed syllables in non-emphatic environments is facultatively raised to [ɛ], and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened) in pause. Possible syncretism in pause, as a result of overlap between the pausal allophones of -i and -a, is usually avoided, e.g., fiy > fiy[e]# ‘in me’ vs. fiya > fiy[e]# ‘in her/it (f)’; ṣandi > ṣand[y]# ‘I have’ vs. ṣanda > ṣand[e]# ‘she has’. Thus, these allophones, i.e. [e], [o] and [ɛ], are marginally phonemic. The /a/ in an emphatic environment, like in a non-emphatic environment, is optionally lengthened or aspirated in pause. The /a/ in emphatic environments may occasionally be further backed and rounded, i.e. [o].

There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /a/ is closed with a glottal /ʔ/ in pause, e.g., badda > badd[daʔ]# ‘she wants’. There are also a few occurrences where the final open syllable with /a/ is closed with a fricative velar /x/ in pause, e.g., buṭa > buṭa[x]# ‘ice cream’.

Short /a/ in final closed syllables in non-emphatic environments is facultatively raised to [ɛ] and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened) in pause. This /a/ in the immediate vicinity of the emphatics, as well as after velar /x/ and /ɣ/, pharyngeals /S/ and /h/, glottal /ʔ/ (< *q), and post-velar k (IPA [k]) however, is facultatively realized around [ɔ] or somewhere between [ɛ] and [ɔ], and/or diphthongized (and optionally lengthened) in pause.

There are a few instances where a plosive velar [k] emerges in pause when the word-final consonant is deleted: haykal > hayk[ɛ]# ~ hayk[ek]# ‘altar’.93 There is also one case where i ~ a# (<*a) alternation is found pause: maḥbis – maḥbas# (<*maḥbas) ‘ring’. This is, however, lexically conditioned and is subject to idiolectal variation. In the following case – found in texts from only one consultant – while the /a/ is found in context, the /i/, /e/, and /a/ (<*a) are found in pause: šawbak – šawba k# ~ šawba:# ~ šawbak# ~ šawbe k# ‘rolling pin’.

All short vowels in final closed syllables in pause are facultatively nasalized if they are in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, which is itself devoiced or deleted.

Short -u in final open syllables is lowered to [o] and/or diphthongized (with optional lengthening or aspiration) in pause.

93 There is also a similar case for each /i/, /ɔ/ and /e/: mwaṣṣxiḥ > mwaṣṣxi[k]# ‘dirty (pl)’ (§2.3.2.2.2), šarḥb > šarḥ[b]# ~ šarḥ# ~ šarḥ[k]# ‘alcohol’ (§2.3.2.2.7), ʔɛɛ > ʔɛɛ[k]# ‘yes’.
These vowels underwent similar processes in the neighbouring dialects, e.g., Zgharta, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb. For instance, in Zgharta, as in ŠṭA, short /i/ in final open syllables has undergone lowering in pause. In Zgharta this /i/ is realised as ə in pause (Fleisch 1974, 266). In Kfar-Ṣghāb the /i/ is diphthongized in pause, e.g. samki > samkay# ‘a fish [un poisson]’, bayk > byak# ‘he cried [pleurer]’, byebki > byebkay# ‘he cries [il pleure]’, habʔōti > habʔotay# ‘my basil [pl] [my basilics]’, xuri > xuray# ‘priest [curé]’, ḍonti > ḍontay# ‘you (m.)’, huwwi > huwway# ‘he’, hiyyi > hiyyay# ‘she’, ḍenni > ḍennay# ‘they [eux]’ (Fleisch 1974, 222).96

The pausal realization of short -i and -a in final open syllables in the neighbouring as well as in some other Levantine dialects, is sensitive to the diachronic origin of the vowels. In Zgharta and Kfar-Ṣghāb, for instance, /a/ in final open syllables in pause is realized differently depending on its origin. In Zgharta short /a/ in final open syllables which corresponds to old /*-ā/ (ʔalif mamdūda or ʔalif maqṣura), when in contact with dental or prepalatal consonants, is realized as ä̱ or e̱ in pause. The /a/ phoneme, otherwise, regardless of its origin is realized as o̱ in pause, e.g.:

- båṛṛå > båṛṛo# ‘outside [dehors]’
- xåḍå > xåḍo# ‘green [verte]’ (Fleisch 1974, 266).
- hawa > hawä# ‘air [air, vent]’
- laʔa > laʔo# ‘he found [il a trouvé]’ (Fleisch 1974, 222).

In some dialects in Antioch the realization of word-final /i/ in pause depends on its origin, as the examples in Table 3 show (Arnold 1998, 87–89, 268–69 map 30):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final /i/ in pause in some dialects in Antioch</th>
<th>(i&lt;*i)</th>
<th>(i&lt;*I)</th>
<th>(i&lt;*a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inti &gt; intey# ‘you (fsg)’</td>
<td>kili &gt; kiley# ‘eat! (fsg)’</td>
<td>hīyi &gt; hīya# ‘she’</td>
<td>(Samandağ)97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inti &gt; intay#</td>
<td>kili &gt; kita#</td>
<td>hīyi &gt; hīye#</td>
<td>(Limanköyü)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inti &gt; inay#</td>
<td>kili &gt; kiyay#</td>
<td>hūwi &gt; hūwe# ‘he’</td>
<td>(Altınözü)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inti &gt; intey#</td>
<td>kili &gt; kiley#</td>
<td>hūwi &gt; hūwo#</td>
<td>(Yaylıca)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94 Note that there are no pausal forms documented for Tripoli.
95 Therefore syncretism occurs: (*-a(t) >) kalbi ‘a bitch [une chienne]’, (*I >) kalbi ‘my dog [mon chien]’ > kalbe# (Fleisch 1974, 266).
96 Fleisch notes that in Kfar-Ṣghāb, /a/ after a dental can be realized as ə in pause, e.g., ḍana > ḍanə ‘[moi]’, nəḥma > nəḥme ‘we [nous]’ (1974, 222).
97 The first example, inti > intey#, is from both Christians and Alawis living in Samandağ, while, the second example, hīyi > hīya#, from Alawis living in Samandağ (Arnold 1998, 228–31 maps 10-11).
As we see in the examples, final /i/ is realized differently in pause depending on its origin: The realization of /i/ (,<*i), (,<*ī) and /i/ (,<*a) differs in pause.98

There is also a comparable case from Galilee where the diachronic origin of /i/ plays a role in its realization in pause (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019, 97–98).

As we have seen, the pausal realization of short /a/ and /i/ in final open syllables in some Levantine dialects is sensitive to (conditioned by) the diachronic origin of these vowels, and sometimes it is not just sensitivity which is involved, but actual retention of an original vowel. This is the case, for instance, in Bʔarzla,99 where /i/ (,<*-a(t)) retains its historical/original realization /a/ in pause while /i/ (,<*ī) is lowered, e.g., /i/ (,<*a(t)) – /a/# başlı – başla# ‘onion’, laḥmi – laḥma# ‘meat’, kibbi – kibba# ‘meatball’, cf. /i/ (,<*ī) > /e/# włędi > włęde# ‘my children’, kibbi > kibbe# ‘throw! (fsg)’ (Ağbaht 2017).

We should note that, in a later study, Arnold considers the above-mentioned case in Samandağ and Yaylıca in Antioch (see Table 3) as partial preservation/retention of the vowels and mentions the similarity with Biblical Hebrew (2010, 230–31), where he also provides other examples of pausal forms or possible pausal forms attested in other Semitic languages.

Short u in final open syllables is affected by pause in the neighbouring dialects too. In Zgharta short u in final open syllables is lowered to o̱ in pause (Fleisch 1974, 266). In Kfar-Ṣghāb, this u is diphthongized in pause, e.g.: ḏarbu > ḏarba# ‘they hit’, ḏarḍōtu > ḏarḍōtaw# ‘his fields [ses terres] (= son champ)’, byelʕabu > byelʕabaw# ‘they play [ils jouent]’ (Fleisch 1974, 223).

As for short vowels in final closed syllables, these vowels also underwent similar processes in the neighbouring dialects, e.g., Zgharta, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb. In Zgharta the /a/ is realized as ġ or e, except when in contact with emphatic consonants (including r), when it is realized as ǧ. A pausal position also triggers (usually medium) lengthening in short vowels (which is indicated in Fleisch’s transcription with underlining). In Bišmizzīn short vowels /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables are realized as ġ and ǧ in pause, while short /a/ has two variants, ā and ġ, in pause (Jiha 1964, 120).

In Kfar-Ṣghāb, as in ŠṭA and Zgharta, /a/ in final closed syllables is raised (to ġ) in pause, except before or after an emphatic, after a velar, laryngeal, glottal /ʔ/ which comes from /q/,

98 More cases from Antioch have been documented in recent studies: (i<*i) nimti kayyis? ‘Did you (fsg) sleep well? [İyi uyudun mu? (diş.)]’ > ān nimta#? ‘Where did you (fsg) sleep? [Nerede yattın? (diş.)]’ vs. (i<*ī) ḥmāti > ḥmātey# ‘my mother in low [kaynanam]’ (Darsūn/Dursunlu) (Ağbaht and Arnold 2014, 12); (i<*a) tāni > tāney# ‘second’ vs. (i<*a) hūwi > hūwe# ‘he’ (Christians in Samandağ) (Klimiuik 2016, 130). Another related finding from Antioch should also be mentioned where an accoustic difference between /i/ (,<*i) and /i/ (,<*a(t)) emerges in pause in the dialect of il-Ǧillī (Zuniga 2015, 168). This difference, however, is/was not audible for the researcher which leads the question whether the difference is perceivable to the speech community of il-Ǧillī or not (email communication to Emilie Zuniga, 3 June 2021).
99 Bʔarzla is situated c. 7 kms from Şextṣba to the south, in Akkar governate.
100 Note that these are the only pausal forms documented for Bišmizzīn.
or /k/, in which case it is realized as o, e.g., tšallam > tšallam# ‘he learned [il a appris]’, samak > samāk ‘fish (coll. pl) [poisons (coll.)]; xaṭar > xaṭar# ‘danger [danger]’, taṣab > taṣab# ‘fatigue [fatigue]’, nakaz > nakaz# ‘he stung [il a piqué]’ (Fleisch 1974, 223). Fleisch notes that /a/ can be raised to e or even further to i in pause in contact with a dental: ṣaḥsan > ṣaḥṣin# ‘better [meilleur]’, ṣawwat > ṣawwät# ‘[fout]’ (1974, 223).101 As we have seen, vowels underwent similar processes in the neighbouring dialects. Studies on these dialects, however, do not report nasalisation in pause.

Pausal nasalisation, on the other hand, has also been attested in few other Levantine dialects, namely in Latakia, Cilicia, and Antioch. In Latakia and Cilicia, similarly to ŞtA, the reduction or ‘weakly articulation’ of a nasal in pause leads to nasalisation of the preceding vowel, e.g.: laban > labāw# ‘laban [laban]’ (Klimiuk 2011, 58, 63–64), (killāyti >) killāyi# ‘they all [sie alle]’ (Procházka 2002, 63). A published text from a speaker of the Christian dialect of is-Swaydī/Samandağ in Antioch includes examples where a short vowel in final closed syllable in pause is lengthened, and nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal, e.g. minnīn > minnī:n '# from them’, ṣanam > ṣanā:m# ‘idol’ (Klimiuk 2016, 131).102

In some Levantine dialects, vowels in final syllables closed with two consonants are also affected by pause, e.g., milh > mēlh#, xubz > xōbz#, ṣamāḥ > ṣāmāḥ, zayt > āyti#, lawz > lōwz (Blūdān); šibr > šēbr ‘span [Spanne]’, ṣumt > ŋmī#: brāmt > brāmt# ‘I looked for [ich suchte]’, baṭ > bāyti# (Qṣarnaba)103 (Grotzfeld 1980, 179); ir-ruzz > ir-rozz# ‘the rice’, minḥibb > minhebb# ‘we like’ (Nazareth) (Zu’bi 2017, 163).105

Pause-conditioned vowel changes have also been attested in non-final syllables which have the stress, e.g., haṭab > ḥaṭab# ‘firewood [Brennholz]’, sini

101 Further fronting and raising of /a/ in final closed syllables in pause occur also in few dialects in Lebanon and Antioch: ẓallam > ẓallam# ‘he taught [il a enseigné]’ Khirbet Salem (Fleisch 1974, 315), Saraq > Šarik# ‘Arrack [Arrak]’ Eriklikuyuköyü (Arnold 2005, 92); in non-emphatic environments hallaq > hallaqi# ~ hallaqi# ‘now [şimdi]’, with further backing and raising in emphatic environments: baṣal > baṣal# ~ baṣal# ‘onion [soğan]’ Dursunlu/Darsun (Ağbaht and Arnold 2014, 13); in non-emphatic environments saqar > saqar# ‘trees’, in emphatic environments ẓakbar > ẓakba# ‘bigger’ Samandağ-Christians (Klimiuk 2016, 130). We could also mention ez-Zrēriyye (Lebanon) where this a is further raised in ‘lento’ forms: (Allegro) ẓahlak, (Lento) ẓahlık ‘your (msg) family’ (Aro 1979, 31).

102 An example where the same process occurs also in open final syllable has been noted: ṣana > ṣanā:n# ‘I’ (Klimiuk 2016, 131). Pausal nasalisation of a short vowel in final open syllable has been attested also in another dialect in Antioch: hinta > hintā#: ‘wheat [buğday]’, bandāra > bandārā#: ‘tomatoes [domates]’, wlādna > wlādnā#: ‘our children [çoçuklarımız]’ (Dursunlu/Darsun) (Ağbaht and Arnold 2014, 12, 14).

103 Note that Grotzfeld (1980, 179) provides translation for only some of the examples.

104 Qṣarnaba is situated 61 kms to the north-east of Beirut. Blūdān is situated c. 52 kms to the north-west of Damascus. Both places are close to the borders.

105 Similar cases have also been noted for few dialects in Egypt: milh > mēlh#, swift > sóift#. See Behnstedt and Woidich (1985 map 39).
As we have seen, the OA long *ā in ŠtA has split into /ɔ̄/ and /ɛ̄/, mainly under the influence of the consonantal environment. In some cases, some word patterns also have a role in this split. The *ā has been backed and rounded to /ɔ̄/ in the immediate vicinity of emphatics, as well as after post-velars, pharyngeals, and glottal /ʔ/ (< *q). Otherwise, it has raised and fronted to /ɛ̄/, so called ʔimāla. In some words where the *ā is preceded by a post-velar or glottal /ʔ/ (*<q), however, the patterns fāʕil C̣v̄ CiC and fāʕūl C̣v̄ CūC prevent the *ā > /ɔ̄/ shift, and instead /ɛ̄/ occurs.

Note that Retsö drew attention to a parallel pausal process found in the Arabic dialect of Blūdān (Lebanon) – as the examples above show – and Tiberian Hebrew where “the vowel under pausal accent is lengthened (sometimes with change of quality), which does not necessarily take place in the last syllable” (1994, 103): (Tiberian Hebrew) *šāmar > šāmā́r, *qāṭalū > qāṭ ā́lū, *ʾattā > ʾā́ttā, *ḥādelū > ḥā́dēlū, *ʾarṣ > ʾā́rṣ, *yākulī, yākūlī. In a genre of oral poetry, called fann, in Antiochian Arabic, however, some pausal forms occur in non-final syllables: ganni > gannē# cf. xiḍr > xḗ# | ḍr | (The Korean war, Mizraḥ/Mišrāq); hīki > hīkē# cf. gīri > | gḗ# | ri, ʕī | (The workers, Yeniçağ/Tawaqlī). In prose, non-word-final /i/ in gīri and xiḍr would not be affected by pause in these dialects ( Ağbaht and Martin forthcoming; Ağbaht 2018, 190–91).
The split of historical *ā into two phonemes has been attested not only in ŠṭA but also in the neighbouring dialects, e.g., Tripoli, Zgharta, Bišmizzīn and Kfar-Šghāb (El-Hajjé 1954; Fleisch 1974; Jiha 1964).

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), the reflexes of *ā are one of the variables used to distinguish between the Central-North and Central-South dialects: CN marrēt, rāḥbēt; CS marrāt (~ marrā) ‘times [fois]’, rāḥbāt (‘sometimes’ rāḥbā)108 ‘nuns [religieuses]’ (p. 128). Even though there is an ambiguity with regard to the given examples, it is apparently the case that CN dialects do not have the *ā > ā / ṣā shift in the vicinity of an emphatic or back consonant, while some CS dialects do. Under a separate point,109 Fleisch gives źīšān for CN, and źūšān (‘sometimes’ źūšān) for CS (ibid, 128): we see that CN has ā as the reflex of *ā after pharyngeal /ʕ/, while CS has ā or ā. Moreover, later in the study, Fleisch remarks that, although there are shared features between the North and CN groups, the reflexes of *ā are what distinguishes those two groups (ibid, 132–33): in the North group we see the effect of the emphatic consonants on the *ā, e.g., xībīḥɛ vs. ḍorṭān, both ‘baker [boulanger]’, ṣḥōbo ‘his friends [ses amis]’, ẓōlef ‘outgoing [sortant]’, rōhbāt ‘nuns [religieuses]’, and (in the dialects of Beit Mellâte and Šhr Dâniè of the North group) also the effect of some back consonants, e.g., xōlī ‘my maternal uncle [mon oncle]’, gōlī ‘expensive [cher]’, ḥōl ‘state [état]’, ḥ̣āl ‘he said [il a dit]’ (ibid, 132–33). We see that ŠṭA fits in the North group.

The shifts of ā > ē or ā > ī (a kind of ʔimāla)110 and ā > ṣ in Levantine dialects are generally conditioned by various rules related, e.g., to the consonantal environment and/or adjacent vowels, see, for instance, Arnold (1998, 65–68), Behnstedt (1997 maps 32–62), Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019 maps 50–53), Grothfeld (1980, 175–76).

These shifts are also conditioned by pause in some dialects. In Antioch, for example, the raising and fronting of ā in final closed syllables in pause has been attested in the dialect of il-Ġillī/Tekebaṣī (Zuniga 2015, 34).111 A final -āC > -āC# shift in pause is attested in dialect of Šlīm in Lebanon (Fleisch 1974, 206),112 in Bēt Fağğâr village south of Bethlehem (Shachmon, 2013), and in Nazareth (Zu’bi 2017, 166). The shift of the reflexes of *ā in final

108 In the original source: (q.q. f. rāḥbāt).
109 He seemingly examines the state of the diphthong in ʾawṣān ‘hungry’.
110 The term ʾimāla was used by the medieval Arab grammarians for the fronting and raising of OA */ā/ and */a/ but only a few of the sources deal with short */a/ (Aryeh 2007, 311). Studies on modern dialects, however, deal with both see, e.g., Behnstedt (1997 maps 43–62, 68).
111 In il-Ġillī/Tekebaṣī, attestation of an -āC > -āC# shift has also been noted (Zuniga 2015, 179). The case, however, has not been included in the result table in p. 34. In a published text from a speaker of Christian dialect of is-Swaydi/Samandağ, a neighbouring dialect to il-Ġillī/Tekebaṣī, two attestations have been noted of raising, fronting, and nasalisation (due to nasal environment) of ā in final closed syllables in pause: nīṣān > nīṣ̣ɛːn# ‘April’, kāmān > kāmɛːn# ‘also’ (Klimiuk 2016, 31). The case, however, has been noted only as diphthongisation (and nasalisation).
112 First published in 1962.
closed syllables in pause occur also with further fronting and raising in few dialects in Lebanon and Antioch: šibbēk > šibbīk# ‘window [fenêtre]’, ḡāb > gīb# ‘he was/became absent [il a été absent]’, źān > źīn# ‘he betrayed [il a trahi]’, ġān > ġīn# ‘he helped [il a aidé]’, ḥād > ḥīd# ‘he walked away [il s’est écarté]’ Khirbet Salem (Fleisch 1974, 314); in non-emphatic environments: ḥwāš > ḥwīš# ‘harvest (olives etc.) [koparma (zeytin vb.)], kīlīyāt > kīlīyīt# ‘kilos [kilolar]’, with further backing and raising in emphatic environments: ṣābūn ġār > ṣābūn ġūr# ‘Laurus (nobilis) soap [defne sabunu]’ Dursunlu/Darsünũ (Ağbaht and Arnold 2014, 13, 15).113

In ŠṭA the long vowels in final open syllables are facultatively affected by pause: the -ī and -ɛ are aspirated, and the long -ū is lowered or diphthongized. In ŠṭA the long /ī/ and /ū/ in final closed syllables are facultatively lowered and/or diphthongized in pause. The /ī/ may be lowered further to [æ] ~ [a] in pause when /ī/ is preceded by pharyngeal /ʕ/ or /ḥ/. The long (*ā >) /ɛ̄/ and /ɔ̄/ in final closed syllables is sometimes diphthongized in pause.

The /ɛ̄/ is sometimes aspirated in cases where the word-final consonant is deleted. There are also a few occurrences where the /ɛ̄/ is aspirated even though the final consonant is retained.

There are a few instances where a plosive velar [k] emerges in pause when the word-final consonant is deleted: mwaṣṣxīn > mwaṣṣxī[k]# ‘dirty (pl)’, śarṣb > śarṣ[b]# ~ śarṣ# ~ śarṣ[k]# ‘alcohol’, ṭēē > ṭēē[k]# ‘yes’.114

Long vowels in ŠṭA are shortened in context in allegro speech. The shortening might also occur in some consultants’ speech in lento. But, as we have seen, their length is usually preserved in pause. In cases where diphthongisation occurs, the (preservation of) length might be slight or optional. Long vowels in final closed syllables in pause are facultatively nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, which is devoiced or deleted.

There is no mention of pausal change of long vowels in final closed syllables in Zgharta. In Kfar-Ṣghāb, similarly to ŠṭA, long vowels are preserved in pause, even if they may be shortened in context (Fleisch 1974, 223).

Preliminary results from an ongoing research on another Levantine dialect, namely the dialect of Ḥarbī/Harbiye in Antioch, on the other hand, indicate that regardless of speech speed -āC is regularly reduced to -aC in context, while the lengthening is retained in pause, although the vowel quality may change, depending on the consonantal environment: -ɔ̄C# or -ɛ̄C# ~ -āC# (author’s fieldwork).115 This pausal process in Harbī/Harbiye, which exhibits retention

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113 We could also mention a study on ez-Zrēriyye (in Sidon district, southern Lebanon) by Aro Jussi, who prefers to use the terms ‘allegro’ for context and ‘lento’ for pause. In ez-Zrēriyye -āC is shortened in ‘allegro’ forms, and is further raised in ‘lento’ forms: harbān ‘fled [geflohen]’, harban (Allegro), harbīn, harbīn (Lento), bāb ‘door [Tür]’, bab (Allegro), bīb (Lento) (1979, 30–31).

114 There is also a similar case for /a/ in final closed syllable: haykal > hayk[ɛl]# ~ hayk[ɛk]# ‘altar’ (§2.3.1.2.2).

115 For first preliminary phonological findings in Ḥarbī/Harbiye dialect see Arnold (1998, 74).
of original length in pause, and change in vowel quality depending on the consonantal environment, is reminiscent of a process found in the Gozitan dialects in Malta. In the Gozitan dialects, vowels which are etymologically long are diphthongized (which can be seen as sort of length or a compensation of length), and are treated differently in pause depending on the diachronic consonantal environment, namely etymologically emphatic environments vs. etymologically nonemphatic environments, e.g., (OA ʕaṣfūr >) asfur – asfowr# ‘bird’ vs. (OA qulūb >) ʔlup – ʔlɔwp# ‘hearts’; (OA șaḷīb >) salīp – saloilp# ‘cross’ vs. (OA sinīn >) snen – sneyn ‘years’ (Lipnicka 2022, 231–32).116 As we have seen the diachrony of the vowel is involved in a pause-conditioned change in some Arabic dialects. The case in Malta however, shows that the diachrony of the consonant or consonants can also be relevant for vowel realization in pause even when the emphatic/non-emphatic distinction in consonants has been neutralised.117

Behnstedt has documented pausal nasalisation of vowels before a final /n/ in many dialects in Yemen (2016 map 25).118 He remarks that nasalisation in pause has been found only in dialects in Yemen and Bahrain (2016, 55). It, however, has also been attested in few Levantine dialects, namely Latakia, Antioch, and Cilicia. In these dialects, similarly to ŠṭA, it affects both short (§102) and long vowels in final syllables, e.g., ăš-Sām > ăš-Sāw# ‘Damascus [Damaszek]’, ʕišrīn > ʕišrīw# ‘twenty [dwadzieścia]’ (Latakia) (Klimiuk 2011, 63–64), ʔirbān > ʔirbāːn# ‘sacrifice’ (is-Swaydī/Samandağ, Antioch) (Klimiuk 2016, 131), (gūʕān >) gūʕā# ‘hungry [hungry]’ (Cilicia) (Procházka 2002, 63).

Pause-conditioned change of long vowels in final closed syllables is also attested in other neighbouring Levantine dialects, see, e.g., Behnstedt (1997 maps 65-67),119 Arnold (1998, 90). This is, however, not restricted to Levantine dialects, but it is also found in other dialects known to have pausal phenomena, for instance in Egypt and Yemen, see, e.g., Watson (2009, 109), Behnstedt (2016 map 26), Behnstedt and Woidich (1985 maps 39-42).

2.8.3 Diphthongs

In ŠṭA original diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ (IPA [ai] and [aʊ]) are preserved in non-final open syllables, and monophthongised in non-final closed syllables, e.g., lɔ̄w.na ‘her colour’ vs. lɔ̄n.na ‘our colour’. In syllables closed by a second /y/ or /w/, there is no monophthongisation, and the latter is sometimes elided

116 Lipnicka compares findings from Gozitan dialects to Zaḥlé.
117 For pausal forms in Maltese varieties see also, e.g., Borg (1977), Klimiuk (2022), Klimiuk and Farrugia (2022).
118 First version of this work published in 1985.
119 Map 65 gives a survey about pausal lowering and lengthening of short /a/, /u/, /i/, and long /ū/ in final closed syllables. Map 66 gives a survey about pausal diphthongisation of short /u/, and long /ū/ in final open syllables, and long /ū/ in final closed syllables.
instead, e.g., tyardbîn ~ tyardbîn ‘alive (pl)’, mżawwzi ~ mżawzi ‘married (f)’. Monophthongisation occurs also in final closed syllables, except in pause, when the diphthong is preserved, with facultative (slight) lengthening, e.g.: bêt ~ bayt# ~ bêt# ‘house’, yêm ~ ya𝑤n# ~ yawn# ‘day’.\(^{120}\) The context form of the diphthongs, has been sometimes generalised, so is found in pause too. In allegro speech /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are sometimes further reduced to /a/, e.g., yam ‘day’, bat ‘house’.\(^{121}\) This reduction has also been found in lento speech in some words, e.g., bêt ~ bat.

The treatment of the reflexes of original diphthongs in ŠṭA display more complexity than is documented for other neighbouring dialects, e.g., Tripoli, Zgharta, Bişmizzîn, Kfar-Ṣghab. It shares, however, the basic facts with most of them, i.e., Tripoli, Zgharta, and Kfar-Ṣghab, that is preserving the diphthongs in open syllables and monophthongising the diphthongs in closed syllables.

In Tripoli the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are apparently monophthongised in closed syllables, e.g., ďaf (< dayf) ‘host [hôte]’, māt (< mawt) ‘death [mort]’ (El-Hajjé 1954, 21, 30). In open syllables diphthongs are retained, e.g., bān vs. baynåtö̂n, nāk vs. nawfān.\(^{122}\) In Kfar-Ṣghab (Fleisch 1974, 227),\(^{123}\) and Zgharta (Fleisch 1974, 265),\(^{124}\) as in Tripoli, the diphthongs are monophthongised in closed syllables, and retained in open syllables, e.g.: bāt ‘house [maison]’ vs. baytān ‘two houses [2 maisons]’, mōz ‘banana (col.) [bananes (coll.)]’ vs. mawt ‘a banana [une banane]’ (Kfar-Ṣghab). Fleisch also notes a further shift to a short vowel in the (presumably unstressed) preposition fa? in Kfar-Ṣghab. In Bişmizzîn both diphthongs are preserved throughout (Jiha 1964, 119–20).\(^{125}\)

As we have seen, the majority of the neighbouring dialects, like ŠṭA, preserve the diphthongs in open syllables and monophthongise the diphthongs in closed syllables. This is a shared feature also among the majority of the documented dialects in the Syrian provinces of Tartus, Banyas, and Latakia, which are immediately north of ʕakkār, see Behnstedt (1997 map 31). What seems distinctive in ŠṭA is, however, retaining of original diphthongs in pause.

The retention has also been also documented in Maʃwānî, in Tartus, where both diphthongs are monophthongized to /ā/ (< *ay, *aw) in context, while the original diphthongs are retained in pause, see Behnstedt (1997 map 31). Except for Maʃwānî there is no mention of a sedentary Levantine dialect where the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are retained in pause in previous overviews,

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\(^{120}\) The preservation of the diphthongs in pause is also found in irregular imperative fsg form of the anomalous verb ḍaṭa ‘to come’: ḍa – ḍay# ‘come (fsg)!’ (< *taʕālay) (§3.3.3.4.1).

\(^{121}\) Reduction of diphthongs in rapid speech has also been documented in other Levantine dialects, see, e.g., Kfar’abîda (Feghali 1919, 85).

\(^{122}\) The examples are taken from Text I, Text II, Text VI, and Text XII respectively (El-Hajjé 1954, 177, 185, 197).

\(^{123}\) First published in 1963.

\(^{124}\) First published in 1970.

\(^{125}\) Jiha notes, however, that the second element of the diphthong /ay/ can be very short.

Retaining of the diphthongs in pause has also been attested in some dialects in Egypt, see Behnstedt and Woidich (1985 map 2).

Shachmon (2017, 300) also notes pause alternation of original diphthongs in final weak verbs in a text from North Yemen: ē – ay# and ō – aw#, e.g., tijē – tijay# ‘you (fsg) become’, taʕālē – taʕālay# ‘come on! (fsg)’, sawwō – sawwaw# ‘they did’, ḏawō – ḏawaw# ‘they returned’.

2.8.4 Pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations and generalisations of pausal forms

There are also pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations in the morphology of ŠṭA, which are additional to the general phonological rules. There are two alternations each for the 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes, and for Pattern I Imperfect verbs.

The 2cpl suffix -kin and the 3cpl suffix -(h/y/w)in alternate with -kun ~ -kon and -(h/y/w)un ~ -(h/y/w)on respectively: -kin and -(h/y/w)in occur in context, while -kun ~ -kon and -(h/y/w)un ~ -(h/y/w)on are used primarily in pause (§3.1.1.3). The pausal alternation of these suffixes is sometimes being generalised, so is found in context too, e.g., kill-in ~ kill-un – kill-un# ~ kill-on#.

The /i/, which generally goes back to an original *u, in Pattern I Imperfect verbs alternates with u (or sometimes with o). This /i/ occurs in context, while u ~ o is used primarily in pause, e.g., yēkil – yēkul# ~ yēkol# (§3.3.3.1.1). We also find that the pausal alternation of these vowels is sometimes being generalised, so is found in context too, e.g., yēkil ~ yēkul – yēkul# ~ yēkol#.

126 As Lentin (2018, 182 fn 42) points out, there has been insufficient attention paid to the two studies by Jussi Aro.
127 Aro prefers to use the terms ‘allegro’ for context and ‘lento’ for pause. He argues the terms allegro and lento would fit better, as the pausal forms have come to be found also in context, and, according to him, it avoids presupposing a diachronic relationship (1979, 29). As we have seen in ŠṭA, however, the lento-allegro distinction is also present, e.g. Context-Lento: bēt ‘house’; Context-Allegro: bat, Pause: bayh#.
128 Shachmon (2017, 300 fn 3) notes that “a comparable alternation was documented in Eastern North-Yemen (Behnstedt 2001, 29), as well as in the dialect of the Duwāśir, who hail from the area of Najrān (Johnstone 1961, 260).” It is not clear from the sources, however, whether pause is involved.
Alternations in 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes have similarly also been documented in ez-Zrēriyye: -kən, -hən (‘allegro’/context) -kən, -hən (‘lento’/pause) (1979, 29, 42), §3.1.1.3.

As for the pausal alternation of vowels in Pattern I Imperfect verbs in ŠṭA, comparable examples have also been documented in Zgharta (Fleisch 1974, 267) and ez-Zrēriyye (Aro 1979, 45), §3.3.3.1.1.

As has been mentioned, the pausal variants presented above are sometimes generalised so are found in context too. There is also a parallel case of generalisation in the treatment of the diphthongs in final syllables. Here, however, the context form is the generalised form, e.g., bêt – bêt# ~ bayt# ‘house’ (§2.4). The above generalisations have probably taken place under the influence of the urban dialects, namely, Beirut or Damascus. This would explain the two different directions of generalisation: the vowel in the above-mentioned suffixes and verbs is u in Beirut and o in Damascus, and the historical diphthongs are monophthongs throughout in both dialects, see Naïm (2006, 277, 279), and Grotzfeld (1964, 27–28, 44, 71–72).

In this context, a note by Werner Arnold should be mentioned. He pointed out that “the vowels /e/ and /o/ (as opposed to /i/ and /u/) in closed final syllables in Damascus Arabic can be explained as original pausal forms, which suggests a productive pausal system at some point in the history of Damascus Arabic”.129 Damascene Arabic strong verbs have the following types: katab yəktob, kamaš yəkmeš, fataḥ ḥyəftaḥ, nəzel yənzel, ləfəb yələfəb, see Grotzfeld (1964, 69–72) and Cowell (2016, 55, 57, 65, 69, 71). The case in ŠṭA lends plausibility to Arnold’s scenario: the o found in the Imperfect verbs in Damascus corresponds to the pausal variant, i.e., u ~ o, in the Imperfect in ŠṭA. The e found in final closed syllables in Damascus corresponds to the facultative pausal variant of /i/ in final closed syllables in ŠṭA.

A case of generalisation has been documented for the final -a in Cairene Arabic. Until the second half of the 19th century the -a was raised to -eh or -ih in pause. Blanc (1973) explains that the context variant -a had been generalised to pause around the turn of the century, leading to the disappearance of the pausal variant.130 Shachmon (2011) proposes a similar scenario for the pausal treatment of the final -a in central Palestinian dialects. She suggests that in some dialects the context allophone was generalized, while in others the pausal one was generalized (2011, 159).

Whether the generalisation of the above-mentioned pausal forms in ŠṭA will lead to the disappearance of the relevant form (i.e., the non-generalised form), as is the case in Cairene Arabic, or not remains to be seen. Further studies on the speech of younger speakers of ŠṭA could answer this.

129 Through personal communication with Zuniga (2015, 20 fn 8).

130 Recent findings indicate that its disappearance occurred ‘somewhat earlier than Blanc indicated’ (Zack 2016, 566).
2.8.5 Processes and retentions in pausal forms and their conditioning

As we have seen, ŠṭA has a rather complex pausal system, which affects not only consonants and vowels, but also diphthongs. There are also pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations. ŠṭA displays more complexity in the pausal treatment of consonants and vowels than any other documented Levantine dialect – and probably beyond –, both in terms of number of the sounds which are affected by pause and the number of processes.  

The pausal forms include one or more of the following processes: raising, lowering, fronting, backing, rounding, centralisation, diphthongisation, triphthongisation, nasalisation in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, closing of a final open syllable with /ʔ/ or /x/, insertion of /ʔ/ after a vowel in a final closed syllable, lengthening, aspiration, devoicing, shift of word-final /ʕ/ to /ʔ/, insertion of /ʔ/ after a consonant in a final closed syllable, deletion/elision (or non-audible release), retraction of velar /k/, emphaticisation (velarisation or pharyngealisation), palatalisation, fricativisation of an approximant, plosivisation of an approximant, fricativisation of a plosive. The first eleven processes typically affect vowels (up to insertion of /ʔ/ after a vowel in a final closed syllable). Lengthening, aspiration, and devoicing affect both vowels and consonants. The other processes affect consonants.

As we have seen, some of these processes are also found in other Levantine dialects and beyond, and many dialects with a pausal system, like ŠṭA, exhibit a combination of the processes, in other words, they use more than one process together.

In his overview of the treatment of final syllables in Arabic, Retsö classifies the pausal forms in modern Arabic dialects into the following eight types (1994, 101–3). We will examine whether they suffice to cover all the phenomena discussed above:
1) Lengthening of short vowels which affects final CVC and CV (which is often accompanied by qualitative changes, viz. raising or lowering)
2) Lowering of long high vowels which affects final CVVC

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131 We must note, however, that in many studies of Levantine dialects, it cannot be assumed that the behaviour of the consonants and/or vowels is thoroughly examined with regard to pausal phenomena. Researchers might mention changes of certain sounds in pause that they encounter within the limitations of the available data – this should not necessarily imply that all other sounds are not affected by pause. The expectation of the researchers might also have prevented them from noticing or identifying an ‘unusual’ pausal form, perhaps because these forms have not been mentioned in previous studies on closely related dialects. Some researchers perhaps have simply not been aware of pausal phenomena in the first place.

132 Retsö uses # to refer to final syllables in type 1, while in type 2-6, and 8 he does not use #. It is clear, however, from the examples that he refers to final syllables (1994, 101–2).

133 Retsö provides milh > mēlḥ ‘salt’ and byiftah > byiftēḥ ‘he opens’ as examples, of which only the second would match precisely CvC; the vowel in the first example is in a syllable ending with two consonants (ibid, 101–2).

134 No example has been provided for that syllable.
3) Diphthongisation which affects final CV and CVVC  
4) Closing with /h/ which affects final CV  
5) Glottalisation which affects final CV and CVVC\(^\text{135}\)  
6) Nasalisation which affects final CV  
7) Detonalisation (devoicing) which affects both final consonants and vowels  
8) Anaptyxis which affects final VCC\(^\text{136}\)  

Regarding (1), vowel lengthening is not restricted to vowels, but it can also affect word-final consonants. Furthermore, in some dialects, pause-conditioned qualitative changes in final vowels are not necessarily accompanied by lengthening. Thus, the lengthening and quality changes in vowels should be listed as distinct types, which may or may not co-occur.  

Retsö’s classification (1994) was not based on all available dialect documentations: some documentations have been missed, e.g., ez-Zrēriyye. Later documentations, e.g., Latakia and ŠṭA, have furthermore allowed us to identify new processes. For a more comprehensive and updated classification new processes also need to be added, e.g., centralisation, triphthongisation, deletion/elision, emphaticisation, palatalisation, fricativisation and plosivisation. Note also, unlike what Retsö implied, some processes are not necessarily restricted to a particular syllable type. For instance, as we have seen in ŠṭA that nasalisation may affect final -Cv, -CvC, and -C̣vC.  

Thus, I suggest a revision of Retsö’s classification as follows:  
1) Raising  
2) Lowering  
3) Fronting  
4) Backing  
5) Rounding  
6) Centralisation  
7) Diphthongisation  
8) Triphthongisation  
9) Nasalisation in the vicinity of a nasal consonant  
10) Closing of a final open syllable with /ʔ/ or /x/  
11) Insertion of /ʔ/ after a vowel in a final closed syllable  
12) Lengthening  
13) Aspiration  
14) Devoicing  
15) Shift of word-final /ʕ/ to /ʔ/  
16) Insertion of /ʔ/ after the word-final consonant in final closed syllables  
17) Anaptyxis  
18) Deletion/elision or non-audible release

\(^{135}\) Retsö provides katabna > katabnaʔ, ḍâma > ḍâmeʔ, gâl > gaʔl, mōz > moʔz as examples (1994, 101–2). Note that in Arabic dialectological literature, the term glottalisation is also used for other processes (§2.8.1).

\(^{136}\) Retsö provides bahr > bahr and ktəbt > ktəbət as examples (ibid, 103).
19) Retraction of velar /k/
20) Emphaticisation (velarisation or pharyngealisation)
21) Palatalisation
22) Fricativisation of an approximant
23) Plosivisation of an approximant
24) Fricativisation or affricativisation of a plosive

It is noticeable that some of these processes are going in opposite directions. Some involve fortition, e.g., 22 and 23, and others lenition, e.g., 24.

It is also worth noting that certain processes are so far not found in pause. These are monophthongisation, voicing,137 and de-emphaticisation.

In these processes the outcome is usually innovative in ŠtA. Pausal forms could, however, also involve the preservation of an archaic or earlier realization, as in Samandağ, Yaylıca (Antioch), B?arzla (Akkar) (see p. 71), or as is attested in another Semitic language, namely, Biblical Hebrew, see Arnold (2010). Changes in consonants, such as devoicing or deletion, represent a later development, where the context/non-pausal form represents the earlier stage, e.g., zbīb > zbi[ʰ]# (§2.1.2). Some changes in vowels are also cases where the pausal form is a later development, e.g., binti > bint[e]# ‘my daughter’, hēda > hēd[e]# ‘this (m)’ (§2.3.1.1, §2.3.1.2, §2.3.1.4.1, §2.3.2.2).

The pausal variants of vowels in 2pl and 3pl suffixes, Pattern I Imperfect verbs and diphthongs in final syllables, however, represent the more archaic or earlier stage, compared to their non pausal variants,138 e.g. ?alam-kin – ?alam-kun ‘your (pl) pen’ (<*qalam-kun), kill-in – kill-un# (<*kull-(h)un) ‘all of them’ (§3.1.1.3); byēkil – byēkul# (<*yaʔkul) ‘he eats’ (§3.3.3.1.1); bēt – bayt# (<*bayt) ‘house’, wēn ~ wān – wayn# ‘where’ (<*ʔayn)139, lēk – layk# ‘look!’ (<*ʔilayk), hēk – hayk# ‘like that!’ (<*hā kadhā (?)), lēn – lawn# (<*lawn) ‘colour’, hān ~ hān – hawn# ‘here’ (<*ʔānum (?)) (§2.4.2, §2.8.3), ṭ̄a – ṭ̄ay# ‘come (fsg)’ (<*ʔaʔalay) (§3.3.3.4.1). Retention of original length in pause, as described above (§2.8.2.2), is a similar case.

As Retsö (1994, 103) points out, some of the processes above are mentioned already by medieval Arabic grammarians for Classical Arabic. These are lengthening, closing-# (aspiration), nasalisation, anaptyxis and detonalisation (devoicing) of vowels. Other pausal forms mentioned in medieval sources are the raising of -a to -i, and insertion of glottal stop (Zuniga 2015, 17). These phenomena suggest continuity in pausal processes between OA and modern dialects (Hoberman 2008, 568–69). Further support for the age of the pausal

137 There are, however, cases of /h/ > /v/# in Latakia, but these are noted as ‘exceptional’ (Klimiuk 2011, 62).
138 This is the simplest and thus most likely explanation. However, it is also possible that the diphthongisation of -CVC is a new development which, by chance, coincides with the OA form. There are examples of diphthongisation where the historical form did not have a diphthong, e.g., (*zamān) zamān > zamēyn# (§2.3.2.2.6). However, the vowel goes to /ēy/ and not to /ay/ as in bayt# (§2.4.2).
139 See Watson (2011, 18) and Fischer and Jastrow (1980, 39).
phenomena, especially those involving retentions, can be found in the close parallels documented across a wide geographical area, i.e., Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Yemen (§2.8.2.1, §2.8.4). It is highly unlikely that these pausal phenomena would have developed independently.

Finally, I will list the factors which can be involved in conditioning the pausal forms in Arabic varieties, based on the findings for ŠṭA and other dialects mentioned in this study. Firstly, a break or stop in the speech flow (waqf) and syntactic boundaries are factors involved in conditioning whether pausal forms are present or not (Hoberman 2008, 564). As we have seen, there are also a number of other factors that can be involved in conditioning whether pausal forms occur, as well as which precise form they take. These are:

i. Syllable type: final vs. non-final, open vs. closed
ii. Vowel or consonant length: short vs. long
iii. Vowel quality: high vs. low vowels
iv. Consonant quality: backness vs. frontness
v. The diachronic origin of the vowel or consonant
vi. The diachrony of the morphemic unit
vii. Stress

Pausal forms do occasionally occur where there is no break or stop in the speech flow, often marking a syntactic boundary. It seems that, in these cases, some processes are less likely to occur in ŠṭA, namely, aspiration and devoicing.

As we have seen, in ŠṭA the pausal form of some vowels has more than one variant: for instance, the word-final -i generally has two realizations in pause, -[e]# and -[a]#, resulting from two different phonetic processes, lowering and centralisation (§2.3.1.1.1). The question arises whether one of these variants or processes is associated with certain types of syntactic boundaries – where there is no break in the speech flow. In the data analysed, we find, for example: ... yizraʕu fiṣṭoʔ/w daraʔ/ w bēm[ε̄][# w lūby[ē][# || ʔē w baṭṭi[j][# || kām[ɛ̄][n][# || ‘... they were farming pistachio, corn, okra, and peas, yes, and watermelon too’. In this example, the word for ‘okra’ (bēmi) occurs in its pausal variant -[e]# (not -[a]#) after a certain type of syntactic boundary, namely when a list of events or items is presented. Further research is needed to draw firm conclusions on this, however.

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140 As is the case in Negev Bedouin Arabic, see Blanc (1970, 122 cited in Zuniga 2015, 40).
141 For a description of syntactic locations of pause in an Arabic dialect in Antioch, see Zuniga (2015, 48–58).
142 For comparable examples in another Semitic language, namely Neo-Aramaic, see Coghill (2009, 276; 2003, 69).
3 Morphology

This section represents the main features of ŠṭA morphology. The findings presented in each section are often followed by comparative remarks from neighbouring dialects, namely from Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, and Kfar-Ṣghāb. In some sections further comparative remarks are provided when relevant.

3.1 Pronouns

This section presents the different types of pronouns in ŠṭA. The pausal realizations of final consonants and vowels in the forms are given only occasionally, as they can be found in the relevant Phonology sections, namely §2.1.2 and §2.3. Pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations, however, are given (i.e., pausal alternations in the morphology that are not entirely predictable from the general pausal rules). Some pronouns occur in two forms, a long form and short form. Both will be presented here.

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

3.1.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns attested in ŠṭA are given in Table 4. The pausal forms are given in parenthesis:¹⁴³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c ʔana (ʔan[e]#)</td>
<td>1c niḥna¹⁴⁴ (niḥn[e]#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ʔinta (ʔint[e]#)</td>
<td>2c ʔintu (ʔint[o]#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f ʔinti (ʔint[ǝ]# ~ ʔint[e]#)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m hūwi (hūw[e]# ~ hūw[ǝ]#), hū</td>
<td>3c hinni (hinn[e]# ~ hinn[e]#), hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f hīyi (hīy[e]# ~ hīy[ǝ]#), hī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal pronouns attested in ŠṭA are similar to the pronouns in the neighbouring dialects, e.g., Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb. The (long) forms for 2msg and 2fsg in Bišmizzīn and Kfar-Ṣghāb, however, are the same, i.e. ʔinti

¹⁴³ Word-final vowels in these pronouns, however, have a wider range of pausal variants, which can be found in §2.3.1.2.1, §2.3.1.1.1, and §2.3.1.4.1.

¹⁴⁴ niḥin and niḥni are also attested in the analysed data, but these rare: each is attested only once, and both are found in texts from the same consultant.
and ḥənti ‘you (m/fsg)’ respectively (Jiha 1964, 126; Fleisch 1974, 228). Recent studies show that syncretism in these two forms in Levantine dialects is not rare, see Behnstedt (1997 map 251) and Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019, 174–75). Syncretism of these forms is also noted as a result of pause in few dialects in Galilee (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019, 174–75). In ŠṭA, however, the pausal forms are usually distinct, e.g., ḥənta ‘you (msg)’ > ḥənt[e]#, ḥənti ‘you (fsg)’ > ḥənt[a]# ~ ḥənt[e]# (§2.3.1.2). In ŠṭA three short forms have been encountered in the data analysed, namely the 3msg, 3fsg and 3cpl pronouns. Similar forms are also attested in Tripoli: hu, hi (El-Hajjé 1954, 33), and Bišmizzīn: hū, hī, and hin. In Bišmizzīn ḥənt for 2msg is attested too (Jiha 1964, 126).

### 3.1.1.2 Enclitic personal pronouns

The enclitic personal pronouns attested in ŠṭA are all third person: -u ~ -ūwi (<ḥūwi) (3msg), -i ~ -ī ~ -īyi (3fsg) (<ḥīyi), and -inni (3pl) (<hinni). These are used with some interrogative pronouns (§3.1.3), interrogative adverbials (§3.8.2), and presentatives (§3.13). They function as a kind of present tense copula, e.g., mīn-u bayyyha ‘who is her father?’

### 3.1.1.3 Pronominal suffixes

There are variants of the pronominal suffixes in ŠṭA. The selection of the variant depends primarily on the final sound of the stem to which the suffix is attached. Moreover, with the 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes pause plays a role. The suffixes used after a consonant are given in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-i, -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-a ~ -ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are used on nouns ending in a consonant and marked feminine nouns, which take a -t- inflection before suffixes (§3.7.1).

The 1csg suffix -i occurs with nouns and prepositions, e.g., ḥalam-i ‘my pen’, maʃ-i ‘with me’, ḥmêt-i ‘my mother-in-law’, while -ni occurs with verbs, e.g., kabb-ni ‘he threw me out’. The 3fsg suffix is -a or -ha. The 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes -kin and -in ~ -hin occur in context, while -kun# ~ -kon# and -un#
~ -on# ~ -hun# ~ -hon# occur primarily in pause respectively.\textsuperscript{145} The forms with /h/ in 3sg and 3cpl are much less common in the data analysed. There is no apparent conditioning of the two forms each in 3cpl and 3fsg, e.g., \textit{bayy-a} ~ \textit{bayy-ha} ‘her father’, \textit{ʔiddêm-ha} ~ \textit{ʔiddêm-a} ‘in front of her’, \textit{yʕayyišt-on#} ~ \textit{yʕayyišt-hun#} ‘may (God) grant them life’, \textit{kill-in} ~ \textit{kill-hin} ‘all of them’.\textsuperscript{146} The suffixes used after a vowel are given in Table 6.

Table 6. Pronominal suffixes used after a vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-yi, -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-v̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-ya; -ha; -wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1cpl and 2cpl suffixes after a vowel are the same as the suffixes after a consonant, e.g., \textit{ʔalam-na} ‘our pen’, \textit{dawē-na} ‘our medicine’, \textit{ʔalam-kin} ‘your (pl) pen’, \textit{dawē-kin} ‘your (pl) medicine’. The 2msg is -k, the 2fsg is -ki, and the 1csg is -yi or -ni.\textsuperscript{147} The 3msg morpheme is non-segmental. It is indexed by (restoring) the length of the final vowel and the shift of stress to the final vowel, e.g., \textit{dawē} (<*dawāhu) ‘his medicine’, \textit{xadīī} (<*xadīīhi) ‘you (fsg) saw him’, \textit{šēfū} (<*šēfūhu) ‘they saw him’. The suffixes for 3fsg and 3cpl vary depending on the preceding vowel as presented in Table 7.

Table 7. 3fsg and 3cpl pronominal suffixes after certain vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>after ĕ</th>
<th>after ũ</th>
<th>after ţ</th>
<th>after ū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>-ya; -ha</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>-ycin, -yun#</td>
<td>-ycin, -yun#; -hin, -hun#</td>
<td>-ycin, -yun#; -hin, -hun#</td>
<td>-win, -wun#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronominal suffixes attested in \textit{ṢṭA}, like the independent personal pronouns, resemble the pronominal suffixes in the neighbouring dialects of Tripoli, Bišmizzīn and Kfar-Šghāb. \textit{ṢṭA}, however, has a few distinctive features.

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\textsuperscript{145} The vowels in the pronominal variants are facultatively lengthened and/or nasalized in pause. Word-final /n/ is also usually devoiced or deleted in pause (§2.3.1.1.2). Note also that the pronominal variants are sometimes generalized so is found context too – under the influence of neighbouring urban dialects, namely Beirut or Damascus, see §2.8.4.

\textsuperscript{146} There might be, however, age and/or sex related variation in the usage of forms with \textit{h}. The above given examples that have -ha, -hin and -hon# are found in texts from three elderly women. Forms without \textit{h} are found in texts from all the ten consultants.

\textsuperscript{147} The -ni occurs with verbs, e.g., \textit{šarbē-ni} ‘he made me drink’, with the pseudo-verb \textit{ʔiss-} as in \textit{ʔissē-ni mawzūˈa} ‘I am still ill (f)’, or with the auxiliary verb \textit{fi}, e.g., ma \textit{fi-ni} ‘I cannot’.
El-Hajjé (1954) notes for Tripoli ‘a very weak’ -h as 3msg suffix after a vowel: ُغاَث ‘his dinner [son dîner]’, ُغابُ ‘his father [son père]’, ُكرُث ‘his chair [sa chaise]’ (p. 34–35). This occurs also in ŠṭA, e.g., ُدَه ُثَاوث ُثَاوث ‘his hands’. However it is part of a general facultative aspiration of vowels before a pause, which is not restricted to cases of historical *h (§2.3.2.2.5, §2.3.1.1.1, §2.3.1.2.1).

In ŠṭA, the /h/ in 3fsg suffix (<*hā) and in 3cpl suffix (<*hun) do not occur only when the word ends with a vowel but even after a consonant. This is not attested in Tripoli or Bišnizzīn – also apparently nor in Kfar-Šghāb –, see El-Hajjé (1954, 34–36), Jiha (1964, 126–27) and Fleisch (1974, 228, 232). Note also that in the majority of documented sedentary Levantine dialects co-occurrence of two variants (e.g. -a and -ha or -un and -hun) after a consonant in each 3fsg and 3cpl is not attested, see Behnstedt (1997 maps 264-265), Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019, 192–93, 196–97).148

Pause-conditioned alternations in 2cpl and 3cpl suffixes are another distinctive feature of ŠṭA. These have not been mentioned for any other Levantine dialect in the dialect surveys, i.e., Behnstedt (1997 maps 270-272; 2009), Grotzfeld (1980, 174–90), Naím (2011), Brustad and Zuniga (2019), Watson (2011), Zuniga (2015, 17–23), Hoberman (2008). These overviews, however, do not consult Jussi Åro’s research on ez-Zrēriyye where the same alternations were also documented: -كَن, -حَن (‘allegro’/context) -كْوَن, -حْوَن (‘lento’/pause) (1979, 29, 42).149


3.1.1.4 Independent object pronouns

Independent object pronouns are formed on يِ- with pronominal suffixes (§3.1.1.3). These are used in double object constructions (§3.6.3). They are also used with the pseudo-verb bad(d)- ~ bid(d)- ‘to want’ (§3.5.3).

The يِ- pronoun is also used as a pronominal subject following an independent personal pronoun, in the structure: [pronoun] ُو يِ-، e.g., ُرِهِنا

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148 The co-occurrence of h and h-less forms is attested in Damascene Arabic, for a sociolinguistic study of the variable see, Hanadi (2009).
149 In some other sedentary Levantine dialects, on the other hand, similar variants are used to distinguish between masculine and feminine – in various categories, apparently a retention from Old Arabic, usually associated with Bedouin dialects. These dialects are located in northern and central Syria. For information about these dialects see Behnstedt (1997 maps 271-272; 2000, 110), Behnstedt and Woidich (2005, 173–74), Lewin (1969, 18), and Procházka (2014, 138–39). And for a discussion on the final -n in these forms see Procházka (2014, 133–35), Behnstedt (1991), and Diem (1971).
3.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives in Arabic varieties are generally used to mark near and far deixis. They distinguish number and gender in the singular form, and the sedentary-type dialects have a common plural form. The variants of demonstrative pronouns attested in ŠṭA are given below followed by a comparison with the neighbouring dialects.

3.1.2.1 Near deixis

The most common variants of near deixis demonstrative pronouns in ŠṭA are hēda (msg) and hēdi (fsg). Short forms hada (msg) and hadi ~ hē (fsg) are also occasionally also used. The variants hayda (msg) and haydi (fsg) have also been attested but are less common. There are also a few occurrences of other variants for fsg: hay(y) ~ hāy ~ hēy, and (only) one occurrence of hāy (fsg).150

The following are the variants of the common plural forms that are attested in the data analysed: hidāl(i) ~ hadāl(i) ~ hūdā ~ hadā ~ hadal(i) and a variant without /d/, hūl(i). There are also a few occurrences of haydāl(i). The consultants for which there is sufficient data to draw conclusions tend to strongly prefer either forms with /d/ or hūl(i). Overall, forms with /d/ are most common.151

There is a short form common in gender and number, which is the prefix ha-. This is used as an attributive before a noun with definite article, e.g. haš-šēx ‘this Shaykh’, hal-mara ‘this woman’, haš-šābēb ‘these youth (m)’, han-niswēn ‘these women’. The other variants, however, may also be used attributively.

150 Texts from all consultants frequently give hēda (msg) and hēdi (fsg). Short forms hada (msg) and hadi ~ hē (fsg) are also found in texts from all consultants. The forms hayda (msg) and haydi (fsg), however, are less frequent than hēda and hēdi, and are not found in texts from all consultants. Texts from (F), (B), (D) and (Su) each give only one hayda and/or one or two haydi. Texts from (L), (J) and (W) do not give any hayda or haydi. Only texts from three consultants, namely (Sa), (A) and (M), give multiple examples of hayda and haydi but their occurrences are still much less than hēda and hēdi. A few occurrences of the fsg variants hay(y), hāy and hēy are found in texts from (M), (F) and (Sa). The one occurrence of hāy (fsg) is found in texts from (D).

151 Data is available from eight out of the ten consultants. Four only have /d/ forms, one only has hūl(i) and the rest have both but tend to prefer one or the other. The form haydāl(i) occurs in texts from one consultant only.
3.1.2.2 Far deixis

The most common variants of the singular far deixis demonstrative pronouns in ŠṭA are hidēk (msg) and hadīk(i) (fsg).152 There is also one occurrence each of ħdēk (msg), haydēk (msg) and ħēdīk (fsg) in the data analysed.

The following are the variants of the common plural forms that are attested in the data analysed: hidīlīk, haydlīk(i), halīk, hawlīk(i). Most consultants only use one of these.153

3.1.2.3 Comparative remarks

The variants of near and far deixis demonstrative pronouns documented for neighbouring dialects Tripoli (El-Hajjé 1954, 164), Bišmizzīn (Jiha 1964, 127–28) and Kfar-Ṣghāb (1974, 228) are given in Table 8, alongside the ŠṭA forms.

Table 8. Demonstrative pronouns in Tripoli, Bišmizzīn, Kfar-Ṣghāb and ŠṭA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tripoli</th>
<th>Bišmizzīn</th>
<th>Kfar-Ṣghāb</th>
<th>ŠṭA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Near deixis</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msg hādā</td>
<td>hāḍa, hād, hā</td>
<td>hēda</td>
<td>hēda, hada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fsg haydi</td>
<td>haydi, hay, hay</td>
<td>haydi, īāy</td>
<td>ħēdi, hadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl hidāl, hidālī</td>
<td>hawdi, hawd, haw</td>
<td>hawdi, haw</td>
<td>hidīl(i), hadīl(i), hadal(i), hidī, hadī, hōl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Far deixis** | | | |
| msg ħedēk | ħidēk, ħidīk | ħādēk | sidīk |
| fsg haydīk, haydīki | haydīk, haydīk, ħidīk, ħidīki | haydīk, haydīki | hadīk |
| pl hidālīk, hidālīke | hawdīk, hawdīk, ħudīk, ħudīk | hawdīk, hawdīk | hidīlīk, haydlīk(i), halīk, hawlīk(i) |

What is most noticeable, from a comparative point of view, is that in these three dialects, the near deixis singular pronouns have *hād- for msg and *hayd- for fsg. In ŠṭA, by contrast, speakers have only one of these for both genders, usually *hād- (>ḥēd-). Bišmizzīn and Kfar-Ṣghāb have plural forms beginning with hawd-, but these are not attested in Tripoli or ŠṭA (the latter has a variant with hawl-, however).

The short attributive proximal form that is uninflected for gender and number, ha-, is also attested for Tripoli and Bišmizzīn, see El-Hajjé (1954, 164) and Jiha (1964, 127). In Bišmizzīn a distal short common form ħāk, which is

152 Data is available from nine out of the ten consultants.
153 Data is only available from five out of the ten consultants. Texts from (J) and (M) each give only hawlīk. Texts from (A) give only halīk. Texts from (B) give only hidīlīk. Texts from (F) give only hidīlīk and haydlīk(i).
154 Jiha (1964) remarks that these short forms in Bišmizzīn, i.e. the near deixis short forms hā (msg), hay (fsg) and haw (cpl), are often used at the end of a sentence or otherwise before a pause (p. 127). We have not encountered such restriction in the usage of the short forms of the near deixis hada (msg) and hādī – ħē (fsg) in ŠṭA.
sometimes shortened to hāk or hik, has also been attested: hāk ir-riżāl ‘that man [jener Mann]’, hāk il-mara ‘that woman [jene Frau]’, hāk in-niswān ‘those women [jene Frauen]’ (Jiha 1964, 128).

For surveys and overviews of the demonstratives, see Fischer (1959), Behnstedt (1997 maps 275-279; 1993), Vincente (2006) and Fischer and Jastrrow (1980, 81–83); for a sociohistorical study of the Arabic demonstratives, see Magidow (2013; 2016).

### 3.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA are given below. The pausal variants tend to follow the rules outlined in §2.4.2.

#### 3.1.3.1 mīn ‘who?’

ŠṭA has the form mīn ‘who’. There are a few occurrences of this form where it takes enclitic personal pronouns: mīn-u (< mīn hūwi ‘he’) ‘who is that (msg)?’ and mīn-i (< mīn hīyi ‘she’) ‘who is that (fsg)?’

#### 3.1.3.2 ʔašu, ʔaš, šu – ʔayš# ‘what’

The variants ʔašu, ʔaš and šu have been attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA. There are also a few occurrences of ʔayš, which are all found in pause, and a few occurrences of forms used with personal pronoun enclitics: ʔaš-ūwi ‘what is he?’ for msg (< ʔaš + hūwi) and ʔaš-i ‘what is she?’ (< ʔaš + hīyi) for fsg.

There might be sex-related variation in the usage of ʔašu/ʔaš and šu: almost all male consultants have a strong preference for šu, while women consultants either have a weaker preference for šu compared to men or have no preference.

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155 These have been encountered in texts from three consultants. One consultant gives four occurrences of mīn-u (msg) and two of mīn-i (fsg). The other consultant gives one occurrence of mīn-i (fsg). Texts from the last consultant gives two of mīn-u in the following instance, where the form is, however, also used to index fsg: mīnu bayyaha mīnu ʔimmu mīnu flɛ̄n hɛ̄da…? ‘Who is her father, who is his mother, who is that (msg) person…?’

156 There is one occurrence of ʔašūwi and three of ʔaši.

157 Three elderly women consultants do not have a strong preference between ʔašu/ʔaš and šu. One elderly woman and two middle-aged women have a slight preference for šu. Apart from one, who has a strong preference for ʔašu/ʔaš, all male consultants strongly prefer šu. The following shows the number of occurrences of each ʔašu/ʔaš and šu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>The number of ʔašu/ʔaš</th>
<th>The number of šu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-70</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-70</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3.3 ṣay(y)a ‘which?’
The most common form for ‘which?’ is ṣay(y)a. There are also a few occurrences of ṣay(y) and ṣayy. In one case we also find ṣayyēha ‘which one (f)?’, where the interrogative form takes a pronominal suffix.¹⁵⁸

3.1.3.4 Comparative remarks
The interrogative form mīn ‘who?’ is shared by the neighbouring dialects, Tripoli, Kfar-Šghāb and Bišmizzīn (El-Hajjé 1954, 165; Fleisch 1974, 229; Jiha 1964, 128). It is also typical for the dialects across the border in western Syria, see Behnstedt (1997 map 289). In almost all Levantine dialects, as in ŠṭA, the form takes enclitic pronouns, e.g., mīn-u (msg) and mīn-i (fsg), and in some dialects the form for msg is used invariably, see Behnstedt (1997 map 289). This is also attested in some other Arabic dialects, see Versteegh (2004, 244–45; 2007, 387–88). In Bižmizzīn, other forms with suffixes/enclitics are also attested: mīnī (1sg), mīnāk (2msg), mīnik (2fsg), mīnna (1pl), mīnkun (2pl), mīnu, mīnuwwi (3msg), mīnī, mīniyyi (3fsg), mīninn, mīniinn, mīnun (3pl) (Jiha 1964, 128).

In Tripoli šu is the most common form for ‘what?’ There are also traces of ṣāš, particularly before a preposition, e.g., ūn ṣāš šamtoḥku? ‘What are you (pl) talking about? [de quoi êtes-vous en train de parler?]’(El-Hajjé 1954, 165).¹⁵⁹ The corresponding forms in the other neighbouring dialects are (Bižmizzīn) ṣāš, ṣayš and (Kfar-Šghāb) ṣāš, ṣaš (Jiha 1964, 128; Fleisch 1974, 229). In Bižmizzīn, as in ŠṭA, these forms are also used with enclitics or suffixes, e.g., ṣayši (ṣayšiyi) il-ʔadiyyi haydi ‘What kind of matter is that (f)? [Was ist das für eine Angelegenheit?]’, ṣašik mabhūli ‘What a stupid you (fsg) are! [Was bist du (f.) blöd!]’ (Jiha 1964, 128).

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon, the exponent of the interrogative ‘what?’ is one of the variables used to distinguish between the Central-North and Central-South dialects, i.e., CN ṣayš (~ ṣāš ~ ṣāš) and CS šu (1974, 128).¹⁶⁰ Fleisch also remarks that this is a shared feature between the CN and the North group (where the dialects in the North group have ṣāš) (ibid, 132–33). As we have seen, this feature shows variation within ŠṭA, such that

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40-70</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40-70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁵⁸ Data is available from seven consultants.
¹⁵⁹ There are also a few rare traces of the interrogative ma ‘what’, for example in the following expressions: mālaš? ‘What do you (msg) have? [qu’est-ce que tu as?]’, mālkon ‘what do you (pl) have? [qu’est-ce que tu as?]’, mālton? ‘What do they have? [qu’est-ce qu’ils ont?]’ (El-Hajjé 1954, 165).
¹⁶⁰ Fleisch notes that ṣāš is rare. It is documented for Beit Chbāb (ibid, 128 fn 1).
it does not fit into any one group in this respect. It also has a variant, ḏašu, which Fleisch does not mention.

As for the interrogative forms for ‘which?’ in the neighbouring dialects, el-Hajjé (1954) gives the following forms for Tripoli: ḏaynu (msg), ḏayni (fsg), ḏaynunne (cpl) (p. 165). Historically these also derive from ḏayna plus enclitic personal pronoun, but apparently function simply as interrogative pronouns/adjectives, see el-Hajjé (ibid, 165). The form ḏayni has been attested as invariable (in gender and number) in Kfar-Ṣghāb (Fleisch 1974, 229). Bižmizzīn has both ḏaya and ḏana as invariable adjectival forms (‘which ___?’). As in Tripoli, forms with enclitics or suffixes are also attested in Bižmizzīn, apparently functioning simply as interrogative pronouns: ḏaynu, ḏaynuwwi (msg), ḏayni, ḏayniyyi (fsg), ḏaynīn, ḏayninmi (cpl) (Jiha 1964, 129). We have not encountered exponents of ‘which?’ with enclitics in the data analysed for ʾṬA. As we have seen, there is one occurrence where the form takes a pronominal suffix.

3.1.4 Relative pronoun

ʾṬA has the relative pronouns (ʔ)i, li, (ʔ)i, li and hal(li). There are also two occurrences of yalli in the data, of which one is found in a proverb. The (ʔ)i, li and (ʔ)i, li are the most common, of which the first two identical to the definite article (§3.7.2).

The relative pronouns have been attested in neighbouring dialects are as follows: Tripoli ʔall (ʔ, l, yalli) (El-Hajjé 1954, 166); Bišmizzīn: ʔill, yalli, hall, ħal, li (Jiha 1964, 129), Kfar-Ṣghāb: l and ʔl. There is also ʔl but it is rare (Fleisch 1974, 229).

3.1.5 Indefinite pronouns

ʾṬA has the following indefinite pronouns: ḥa ~ ḥada ~ ḥadan ‘anyone’, ‘someone’; wēḥid ~ wēḥad162 (m), wiḥdi (f) ‘one’, ‘someone’; flēn (m), flēni (f) ‘someone’; ši ‘something’; kill wēḥid ~ wēḥad (m), kill wiḥdi (f) ‘everyone’. There are also occurrences of hay(y)alla ~ hay(y)alla ‘any’ (lit. ‘God is alive’), e.g., ḥayalla maṭrah ‘anywhere’, ḥayalla ši ‘anything’.

The corresponding forms of these pronouns in the neighbouring dialects are similar: ḥād; wāḥid, wahde, flān, flāne; ši; koll (Tripoli) (El-Hajjé 1954, 167–68),163 ḥada; wāḥid, wāḥdi; flān, flāni, ši (Bišmizzīn) (Jiha 1964, 129).

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161 Fleisch remarks that only one consultant used ʔoll and three times ʔoll, and once halli (ibid, 229 fn 2).
162 The form wēḥid is more common than wēḥad (§3.12).
163 El-Hajje also lists bāšd, nafs, wahd, ħāl, zāt and gār under indefinite pronouns. These, however, should be dealt with under different grammatical categories (ibid, 167–68).
Jiha also notes nās ‘some [einige, manche]’ and hūnīk, hawnīki ‘any [irgendeine(r)]’ (ibid, 129).

3.1.6 Reflexive pronouns
The reflexive pronoun is ḥɔ̄l, e.g., ḥam-bisʔal ḥɔ̄li ‘I am asking myself’, hūwi ma byaf'il 164 yilʕab la ḥɔ̄lu ʔinta lašbi ‘he does not know how to play by himself, you (msg) play with him!’

3.2 Quantifiers
The quantitive modifiers in ŠtA include kill ‘every’, ‘the whole…’, ‘all the…’, kam166 ‘some’, ‘a few’, šway(y), nitfi ‘some’, ‘a little bit’, kūr ‘many’, kaza ‘several’, ‘a number of’, e.g., halla167 kill bēt fi ṣarba 168 xam's siyyɔ̄ṛɔ̄t ‘now every house has four or five cars’, kill id-dayšā ‘the whole village’, kill is-šiwi[ə]170 ‘all the pictures’, šinid kam ʃaʃfur ‘I have some/a few birds’, nitfit naʃnaʃ ‘a little bit mint’, nitfit ʃarə ‘a little bit Arrak’, šwayt ʃrɔb ‘some soil’, kūr siyyɔ̄ʃɔ̄t171 ‘many cars’, kaza šanta ‘several/a number of bags’, kaza sini ‘several/a number of years’.

3.3 Verbs
3.3.1 Verbal morphophonology
In this section various morphophonological issues, including pause will be introduced. There will also be notes about how the illustrative examples are presented.

As we have seen in the Phonology section, pausal phenomena are a dominant feature in ŠtA. Almost all word-final consonants, as well as vowels and diphthongs in final syllables are affected by pause. There are also ceses where a non-word-final consonant is affected by pause. Thus, the effects of the phenomena are, not surprisingly, also relevant for verbal morphology: consonants and vowels in final syllables, whether suffixes or part of the stem, go through various processes in pause, such as, centralisation, lowering, fronting, backing, raising, lengthening, aspiration, diphthongisation, devoicing, and deletion, e.g., minṣaḷḷi > minṣaḷḷ[ə]~ minṣaḷḷ[əh] ‘we pray’ (§2.3.1.1.1), xilʔit

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164 The latter is used only as attributive: b-hūnīk lhāf ‘in any blanket [in irgendeine Decke]’, bi-hawnīki bāxra ‘with any ship [mit irgendeinem Schiff]’ (Jiha 1964, 129).
165 < byaʕrif. Allegro.
166 The kam is sometimes used as an interrogative too, see §3.8.2.6.
167 < hallaʔ.
168 < ṣarbaʕ.
169 < siyyɔ̄ʃɔ̄t.
170 < šiwar.
171 < siyyɔ̄ʃɔ̄t.
> xil[etʰ]# ‘she was born’, biḍdir > biḍd[eːɾ]# ‘I am able to’, bitdaḥḥik > bit-
dahh[eːɾ]# ‘she/it (fsg) makes s.o. laugh’, ʕaʔil > ʕaʕ[e]# ‘sensible (m)’, ‘I
can’, yēbis > yēbi[sʰ]# ‘dry (msg)’ (§2.3.1.1.2, §2.1.2.1.5, §2.1.2.1.8,
§2.1.2.1.14, §2.1.2.1.13, §2.1.2.1.9), stavu > stav[o]# ~ stav[0ʷ]# ‘they are
cooked’, byiżu > byiž[w]# ~ byiž[ow]# ‘they come’, fūtu > fūt[ow]# ‘enter!
(pl)’, yizraʕu > yizraʕ[aw]# ‘they plant’ (§2.3.1.4.1), t̬gadda > t̬gadd[eʰ]# ‘he
had lunch’, ‘have (msg) lunch!’ (§2.3.1.2.1), maṭḥun > maṭ[0ːwʔ]# ‘milled’,
‘granulated’ (§2.3.2.2.4, §2.1.2.1.7). These are universal changes and not re-
stricted to verbs. Therefore, in the illustrative examples in this section the
pausal variants of vowels and consonants are generally not presented.

The pausal realization of /a/ in final closed syllables, creates morpho-
phonological subclasses within particular verb types. For instance, in Pattern
I verbs of the type Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o#, there are two classes: Class I
katab > k[æb]# ‘to write’ vs. Class II natař > n[æɾ]# ‘to wait’. In Pattern
I verbs of the type Perfect i Imperfect a, there are also two classes: Class I
(fīḥim ‘to understand’) yīfham > yīf[æŋ]# vs. (Class II) (šīrib ‘to drink’)
yišrab > yišr[æb]#. As we have seen in the Phonology section, however, the
/a/ in final closed syllables has a wide range of pausal variants (§2.3.1.2.2),
on optionally including, for instance, diphtongisation. The full range will not be
presented in the illustrative examples of this section, and instead we will pre-
sent the pausal variants of this /a/ simply as e or ɔ.

As we have also seen before, the pause also plays a role in the treatment of
diphthongs in final syllables. Diphthongs in final syllables are monophthong-
ised in context, while in pause they are preserved, e.g., bēt – bayt# ‘house’,
see §2.4. In particular verbs groups, forms for 2msg and 1sg tend to follow the
general rule concerning the diphthongs, e.g., simmēt – simmayt# ‘you (msg)/I
named’, šillēt ~ šillāy# ‘you (msg)/I prayed’.

There are also pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations in the
morphology of ʕṭA, which are additional to the general phonological rules.
The /i/ in Pattern I a type verbs (including initial-ʔ verbs) and in Pattern I i
type verbs alternates with u in the Imperfect, e.g., (katab) yiktib – yiktub# ‘to
write’, (ʔakal) byēkīl – byēku# ~ byēko# ~ byēkoʰ# ‘he eats’, (rikid) yirkid –
yirkuμ# ~ yirkūq# ‘to run’ (§2.3.1.1.2, §3.3.3.1.1).

ʕṭA also has two pause-conditioned morpheme alternations each for the
2cpl and 3cpl suffixes. The 2cpl suffix -kin and the 3cpl suffix -(h/y/w)in alter-
mate with -kun ~ -kon and -(h/y/w)un ~ -(h/y/w)on respectively, e.g.,
(*ʔalam-kun) ʔalam-kin – ʔalam-kôn# ‘your (pl) pen’, (*kitt-hun) kittin –
kitt̬n# ~ kítτ̬n# ‘chop them!’ (§2.3.1.1.2, §3.1.1.3).

In the illustrative examples in this section the pausal variant of the
diphthong will be shown simply as ay and the pausal affect on the word-final
consonant will not be shown, e.g., simmayt#, šillayt#. Similarly the pausal
variant of the above-mentioned verbs and suffixes will be shown simply, e.g., ḳeḵul# ~ ḳeḵol#, yirkid ~ yirkud# ~ yirkod#, -kin ~ -kun# ~ -kon#.

Data available indicate that the pausal realization of the vowel in the Imperative msg form of these verbs is usually used also in context, e.g., ḳašb ~ ʾlšb ‘play! (msg)’; ḳabis ~ ḳbēs ‘wear! (msg)’. In many verbs the only attested occurrence is the pausal variant in both context and pause, e.g., ṭōl ‘eat! (msg)’ instead of unattested ḳil, xōd ‘take! (msg)’ instead of unattested xid.172 For this reason, in the tables the long imperative will always be given, the short variant only when attested.

In ŠṭA two consonant clusters in word-final position, and three consonant clusters in word-medial position are usually avoided. The resulting epenthetic vowel found in 1cpl and 2msg Perfect forms as well as in 3cpl, 2fsg and 2cpl Imperfect forms is always shown in the illustrative examples in this section, e.g., kaš ‘I ate’, ‘you (msg) ate’; byin’tru ‘they wait’, byin’tri ‘you (fsg) wait’, byin’tru ‘you (pl) wait’. Other strategies of avoiding clusters of two or three consonants or cases where these clusters are optionally allowed can be found in §2.6.

Active Participle conjugations of verbs, regardless of their group, follow general rules regarding the split of historical long *ā into /ē/ or /ē/ (§2.3.2.1), e.g., verbs of Pattern I, Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type: *kātib > kētib (Class I), *nāṭir > nōṭir (Class II) but *ḥāriʔ > ḥēriʔ (Class II); verbs of Pattern I, Perfect i Imperfect a type: *fāhim > fēhim (Class I), *ṭāliʕ > ṭāliʿ (Class II) but *šārib > šērib (Class II).

The feminine singular inflection of the active participle is either -i or -a in context. This is usually predictable from the preceding consonant of the verb. If this consonant is an emphatic, pharyngeal, post-velar or glottal /ʔ/ (*q) the feminine ending is -a, e.g., xōla, sēmīa, ḳēsīa, ḳētha, ḳōba, lēḥa, mēṛa. The feminine ending is also -a if the third radical is /ʔ/ (apparently regardless whether the /ʔ/ is realised with emphasis or not), e.g., nōṭra, saḥhīra, nēdra. Otherwise the ending is -i, e.g., dērsi, xēbzi, ḳēfī, sēlī, lēši, šērbi, fēhmi, ṭēkli, rēkdi, xōbī, xōdmi, zīlēni. There are cases, however, where the ending is -a even though the preceding consonant is not an emphatic, pharyngeal, post-velar or glottal (*q), e.g., ḳēdā, ḳōba, wōṣla, mēśka. There are also cases where both -i and -a are used, e.g., kēthī ~ kēṭba, even in texts from the same consultant, i.e., ḳēmlī ~ ḳēmla, nēzli ~ nēzla.

It is interesting to note that, for those participles which have both -a and -i attested, where they are found in pause, only the reflexes of -i, namely -[e]# or -[e]# (§2.3.1.1.1), have been found, e.g., nēzla, nēzli, nēz[ e]# ~ nēz[ e]#.

172 Imperatives occur in the data much more commonly before a pause, thus the pausal forms are most common. Their frequency may have led to them spreading to context situations. Influence from urban Levantine dialects may also play a role, as these typically only have the forms with long vowels, e.g., ḳötib, xōd; see Cowell (2016, 55–56) and Grotzfeld (1964, 62–63).
This suggests that -a is possibly a very recent development in some participles, which has not yet spread to pause.

3.3.2 Verb patterns with inflectional paradigms
Strong verbs, unlike weak verbs, are verbs with roots containing consonants that do not elide or become vowels in any forms.

3.3.3 Pattern I
3.3.3.1 Strong verbs
3.3.3.1.1 Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o#
Verbs in this group have a as pattern vowel in the Perfect and i – u# ~ o# in the Imperfect. The pausal variants of the /a/ in final-closed syllables (§3.3.1) creates two morphophonological subclasses:
(i) Class I
CaCaC > CaCcC# yiCCiC – yiCCuC# ~ yiCCoC#
katab > kateb# yiktib – yiktub# ‘to write’

Other attested verbs that behave in the same way are: xabaw ‘to bake’, xadam ‘to serve’, kamaš ‘to hold’, šažam ‘to knead’, sakab ‘to pour’, dalaw ‘to pour’. The verb šazam ‘to invite’, with pharyngeal /ʕ/ as first radical, also conforms to this type, except for the prefix vowel /i/, which alternates sometimes with /a/, e.g., yiʕzim ~ yaʕzim ‘to invite’. Other attested verbs that behave in the same way are: xabaw ‘to bake’, xadam ‘to serve’, kamaš ‘to hold’, šažam ‘to knead’, sakab ‘to pour’, dalaw ‘to pour’. The verb šazam ‘to invite’, with pharyngeal /ʕ/ as first radical, also conforms to this type, except for the prefix vowel /i/, which alternates sometimes with /a/, e.g., yiʕzim ~ yaʕzim ‘to invite’.

(ii) Class II
CaCaC > CaCcC# yiCCiC – yiCCuC# ~ yiCCoC#
naṭar > naṭar# yinṭir – yinṭur# ‘to wait’

Other attested verbs that behave in the same way are: baram ‘to look for’, daras ‘to study’, nakaš ‘dig up’, tabax ‘to cook’, talaβ ‘to want’, harab ‘to escape’, nadar ‘to make vow’, rabat ‘to tie’, ḥaraβ ‘to burn’, darab ‘to hit’, xaṭab ‘to engage’, raʔaš ‘to dance’, šašar ‘to squeeze’, athaf ‘to pick (e.g., a fruit)’. Table 9 gives the context inflection of strong verbs of the type Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o#. These are the same for both Class I and Class II of this type.

Note also that the /ʕ/ is sometimes weakly or not articulated, which might cause lengthening in the preceding vowel, e.g., btāzim (< btaʕzim ~ btiʕzim) ‘you (msg) invite’, see §2.1.1.8.
Table 9. Inflection of natar ‘to wait’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3msg</th>
<th>2msg</th>
<th>1 msg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>b-Imperfect</td>
<td>Ø-Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>natar</td>
<td>byinṭir</td>
<td>yinṭir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>nāṭrit</td>
<td>bṭir</td>
<td>tīṭir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>nāṭru</td>
<td>byinṭru</td>
<td>yinṭru174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>nṭar‘</td>
<td>btir</td>
<td>tīṭir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>nṭarti</td>
<td>btir</td>
<td>tīṭir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>nṭartu</td>
<td>btinṭru</td>
<td>tīṭru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>nṭar‘</td>
<td>bṭir</td>
<td>ṭinṭir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>nṭarna</td>
<td>mniṭir</td>
<td>nniṭir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: nṭir, nṭra, nṭrīn; (*ā > ē) dēris, dērsi, dērsin; hirbēn, hirbēni, hirbēnin

It is important to note that the /i/ found in the Imperfect context form of these verbs, generally goes back to OA/MSA *u (but not restricted to *u).175 Comparable examples have also been documented in Zgharta and ez-Zrēriyye. In Zgharta*/u/ in final closed syllables reappear in pause, e.g., byekmās – byekmuṣ# ‘he holds, he catches [il saisit]’, byēkāl – byēkūl# ‘he eats [il mange]’, byēʔt – byēʔtul# ‘he kills [il tue]’, byenṭor – byenṭur# ‘he waits [il garde]’, byeḍrob – byeḍrub# ‘he hits [il frappe]’ (Fleisch 1974, 267). In ez-Zrēriyye ə is found in ‘allegro’/context, while ɔ is found in ‘lento’/pause, e.g., tarak yatrāk – yatrōk ‘to leave [verlassen]’, rakad yarāk – yarōk ‘to run [laufen]’, sara? yaṣrə? – yaṣrō? ‘to steal [stehlen]’, sakat yaskət – yaskot ‘to become silent [schweigen]’, ťana? yaṣnə? – yaṣnō? ‘to hang [hängen]’, yaḡlə? – yaḡlō? ‘to close [schliessen]’, ʔakal yēkāl – yēkōl# (Aro 1979, 45, 48).

The pausal alternation mentioned above is sometimes generalised so is found in context too, e.g., yēkīl ~ yēkul – yēkul# ~ yēkōl#. This is probably under the influence of neighbouring urban dialects, namely, Beirut or Damascus, see §2.8.4.

174 byinṭru ~ byindru; byirbū ~ byirbhū (§2.6).
175 Note also that the initial-? verbs also have the above-mentioned pausal variants, e.g., ʔatāl > ʔatel# yiṭil – yiṭul# ‘to kill’ (Class I); ʔakal > ʔakl# yēkāl – yēkul# ‘to eat’ (Class II) (§3.3.3.1.1). This is also the case in one Pattern ƛ type verb group (§3.3.3.1.3), e.g. rikid yirkid – yirkud# ~ yirkōd# ‘to run’. The following are the correspondences of verbs in CA: Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type verbs in ŠṭA where the *u corresponds to CA *u: kataba yaktabu, sakaba yaskabu, dalaqa yaddašu, kamaša yakmušu, barama yabrumu, darasa yadrusu, nakaša yankusu, ṭabasa yatbusu, ṭalaba yatlušu, ṭaraba yahrusu, ṭaṭaba yaxṭubu, (One verb does not have a cognate in CA: natar); ṭakala yaṭkulu, ṭakala yaxṭudu, ṭamara yaṭmuru, qatala yaqṭulu; Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type verbs in ŠṭA where the *u corresponds to CA *u/i: xadama yaṭ-summary/yaxdimu, nadara yanduru/yandiru, haraqa yahrbu/yahriq, qaṭaqa yasqitu/yagtiṣ; Perfect a Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type verbs in ŠṭA where the *u corresponds to CA *i: ṭazama yatzimun, xabez yaṭbuzu, ṭażama yaxṭinu, ṭalafa yahlīśu, daraba yadrībū; Perfect i Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type verbs in ŠṭA where the *u corresponds to CA *u: rakaqa yarkudu, maraqa yamruq/yamriqu?; Perfect i Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type verbs in ŠṭA where the *u corresponds to CA *i: masaka yamsiku.

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In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), the treatment of the unstressed short vowel in the 1sg and 2msg Perfect is one of the variables used to distinguish the Central-North and Central-South groups: CN dialects delete the vowel, while CS dialects maintain it: CN ־דרבット (־דרבット) ‘I/you (msg) hit [j’ai/tu as frappe]’; CS ־дарבット (p. 126). Fleisch also remarks that this important feature of CN is also found in the dialects of the North group (ibid, 132–33). ŠṭA fits in the CN and North groups in this regard, e.g., (as we have seen) ־דרבット ‘I/you (msg) hit’. This is also the case for Bišmizzīn, e.g., ־דרסט (־דרסט) ‘I/you (msg) studied’ (Jiha 1964, 130).

Under a separate point, Fleisch examines the treatment of the short /a/ in the Imperfect in Pattern I a-type verbs. In CN, but not in CS, it is elided in an open syllable: CN ־ביילח, ־בייללח; CS ־ביילח, ־בייללח ‘they plow [ils labourent]’ (1974, 127). Fleisch also shows that the /a/ is preserved in the North group: ־בייללח ‘they plough [ils labourent]’, ־ביירזאטו ‘they return [ils reviennent]’, ־ביישקור ‘they get drunk [ils s’envrient]’ (ibid, 133).

In ŠṭA short vowels are usually elided in unstressed open syllables – as has just been shown, i.e., ־דרארב 드раб (see also §2.3.1). In the Imperfect of Pattern I verbs of a – a (§3.3.3.1.2) and i – a (§3.3.3.1.4) types, the second pattern vowel is stressed and therefore the elision does not occur, e.g., ־בייתלהו ‘they open’, ־ביישראבו ‘they drink’. Fleisch, however, does not show the stress in these examples, so it can’t be excluded that it is also a factor in the preservation of the vowel in his data.

3.3.3.1.2 Perfect a Imperfect a

Verbs in this group have a as pattern vowel in the Perfect and a in the Imperfect. The pausal variants of the /a/ in final closed-syllables (§3.3.1) creates two morphophonological subclasses:

(i) Class I

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CaCaC} & \rightarrow \text{CaCɛC#} & \text{yiCCaC} & \rightarrow \text{yiCCɛC#} \\
\text{šalaḥ} & \rightarrow \text{šalɛḥ#} & \text{yišlaḥ} & \rightarrow \text{yišleḥ#} & \text{‘to undress’}\tag{178}
\end{align*}
\]

Verb ־פתאח ‘to open’ conforms to this class.

(ii) Class II

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CaCaC} & \rightarrow \text{CaCɔC#} & \text{yiCCaC} & \rightarrow \text{yiCCɔC#}
\end{align*}
\]

176 Under the same point, Fleisch additionally looks at Pattern I verbs for ‘to eat’ and ‘to take’ with initial ־ת, where the initial syllable is deleted in CN, while in CS it is kept: CN ־כ蓮 (־כ蓮), ־כט; CS ־צוקלט (־צוקלט), ־צאת ‘I ate [j’ai mangé]’, ‘I took [j’ai pris]’ (1974, 126). In this regard too, ŠṭA fits both in the CN and the North groups (since the deletion is also found in the North group (ibid, 132–33): ־כט, ־כאת (see §3.3.3.3.1). This is also the case for Bišmizzīn, e.g., ־כעל ‘I ate’ (Jiha 1964, 136).

177 Both CN and CS dialects, however, have ־בייקתב byiktib (Fleisch 1974, 127). In Bišmizzīn we also find ־ביודרס byudrsu ‘be studies’, ־ביודרסו (byudrsu) ‘they study’ (Jiha 1964, 130). ŠṭA – as we have seen – has pause-conditioned i – u ~ o#: ־בייקתב – byiktib# ~ byiktob# ‘he writes’ ־בייקתב ‘they write’.

178 The verb is also used in the meaning of ‘to throw’.
Other attested verbs that behave this way are: *zarā*¹⁷⁹ ‘to plant’, *ṭaḥาน* ‘to grind’, *ṣaḍāl* ‘to ask’. Table 10 gives the context inflection of verbs of the type Perfect *a* Imperfect *a*. These are, except the imperative msg form, the same for both Class I and Class II of this type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>O-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td><em>fataḥ</em></td>
<td><em>byiftaḥ</em></td>
<td><em>yiftaḥ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td><em>fatha†</em></td>
<td>(bifatha)¹⁸⁰</td>
<td><em>tifatha</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td><em>fathu</em></td>
<td><em>byiftahu</em></td>
<td><em>yiftahu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2msg   | *fiḥa†* | (bifitha)    | *tifatha*   | *fiḥ (Class I); shāb (Class II)*
| 2sg    | (fathiti) | (bifthiti) | (tifithi) | *fiḥi* |
| 2cpl   | (fathitu) | (bifthitu) | (tifithu) | *fiḥu* |
| 1csg   | *fiḥa†* | *bifih*     | *ʔiftaḥ*    |            |
| 1cpl   | *fiḥnah* | (mniftaḥ)   | (niftaḥ)    |            |

Active Participles: *fāthih, fēthā, fēthīn; (*ā > /ā/) (tīḥīn, tīḥana,) tīhnīn*

### 3.3.3.1.3 Perfect i Imperfect i – u# ~ o#

Verbs in this group have *i* as pattern vowel in the Perfect and *i* – *u# ~ o#* in the Imperfect, i.e., CiCiC *yiCCiC – yiCCCuC# ~ yiCCCoC#. Verbs attested in this group are *rikid* ‘to run’ and *misk* ‘to hold’, ‘to catch’.¹⁸¹

The verb *miriʔ* ‘to pass by’ also behaves in the same way. The pattern vowels in the Perfect, however, are unstable, each sometimes alternating with /a/: *miriʔ ~ mariʔ* ‘he passed by’, *miriʔt ~ mraʔt* ‘I/you (msg) passed by’.¹⁸² Table 11 gives the context inflection of verbs of the type Perfect *i* Imperfect *i* – *u# ~ o#*.

---

¹⁷⁹ Note that /z/ has some peculiarities in context and pausal positions, see §2.1.1.8 and §2.1.2.1.17.

¹⁸⁰ Unattested forms, which are reliably extrapolated from attested forms, are given in round brackets.

¹⁸¹ The msg imperative form is unstable. One consultant gives *msōk*, which conforms to the type, another consultant, however, gives *msik ~ msēk*.

¹⁸² Data available in texts from three consultants suggest that the pattern vowel in the Perfect is primarily /i/, so occurrences of /a/ may be facultatively conditioned by the phonetic environment. Texts from another consultant give one occurrence of a form with only /a/: *mar[ā]ʔ#* (unattested < marāʾ).
Table 11. Inflection of rikid ~ rikid\(^{183}\) ‘to run’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>rikid</td>
<td>byirkid</td>
<td>yirkid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>rik'idit</td>
<td>b'tirkid</td>
<td>tirkid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>(rik'du)(^{184})</td>
<td>byir'kdud</td>
<td>yir'kidu ~ yirk'du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>(rik'dit)</td>
<td>b'tirkid</td>
<td>tirkid</td>
<td>rkōd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>(rik'diti)</td>
<td>(b'tir'kdidi)</td>
<td>tir'kidi</td>
<td>rkid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>(rikidu)</td>
<td>(b'tir'k'dudu)</td>
<td>tir'k'du</td>
<td>rk'du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>(rik'dit)</td>
<td>birkid</td>
<td>?irkid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>(rikidna)</td>
<td>(mnirkid)</td>
<td>nirkid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active Participles: rēkid, rēkdi, rēkdīn; mēsik, mēska, mēskīn

Verbal noun: rak'id

3.3.3.1.4 Perfect i Imperfect a

Verbs in this group have i as pattern vowel in the Perfect and a in the Imperfect. The pausal variants of the /a/ in final closed syllable (§3.3.1) creates two morphophonological subclasses.\(^{185}\)

(i) Class I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yiCCaC &gt; yiCCɛC#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fihim</td>
<td>yifham &gt; yifhem#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'to understand'

Other verbs conforming to this class are simiʕ ‘to hear’, rižiʕ ‘to return’, ğibil\(^{186}\) yiʔbal ‘to accept’, and ?išiʕ\(^{187}\) yiʔšaʕ ‘to see’.

(ii) Class II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yiCCaC &gt; yiCCɔC#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>širib</td>
<td>yišrab &gt; yišrɔb#(^{188})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'to drink'

\(^{183}\) The /k/ usually becomes voiced before a voiced consonant (§2.2.1.1), e.g., rikidit ‘she run’.

\(^{184}\) Unattested forms, which are reliably extrapolated from attested forms, are given in round brackets.

\(^{185}\) Note that word-final /s/ and non-word-final /ʃ/ each have some peculiarities in pause, e.g., simiʕ > simi[jeʔ]# ~ simi[jeʰ]# ‘he heard’ (§2.1.2.1.17), byiržaʕ > byirž[jeʰ]# ‘he returns’ (§2.1.2.2). Note also that the /s/ is sometimes weakly or not articulated, see §2.1.1.8.

\(^{186}\) The first pattern vowel in some Perfect forms, however, is unstable, e.g., ğibil ~ ğabıl, ğiblu ~ ğablub.

\(^{187}\) Note that the second pattern vowel /i/ sometimes alternates with /a/ (§2.3.1.1), e.g., rišiʕ ~ rišaʕ, and that word-final /s/ have some peculiarities in pause, e.g., rišiʕ > riši[jeʰ]# (§2.1.2.1.17).

\(^{188}\) Texts from three consultants give several occurrences of Imperfect forms, as well as occurrences of šrɔb ‘drink (msg)!’, confirming the -raC > -ɾɔC# change in the Imperfect. Texts from another consultant, which provide only a few occurrences of this verb, however, give one occurrence in pause, where the /a/ has been fronted and raised instead: biš[ɾɛˑ]# ‘I drink’.
Other verbs behave the same way in this group are: _MESH ‘to laugh’, _LI_K ‘to play’, _ZI_K ‘to be sad’, _LI_? ‘to go after’, ‘to follow’, _XIL_S ‘to come to an end (intr.)’, _SI_H ‘stay up the night’, _TI_L ‘to go up’. The pattern vowel /i/ in the near vicinity of /ʕ/ sometimes alternates with /a/ in some Perfect forms, e.g., _TI_L ~ _TI_L (§2.3.1.1). Table 12 gives the context inflection of verbs of the type Perfect _P and Imperfect a. These are, except for the imperative msg form, the same for both Class I and Class II of this type.

**Table 12. Inflection of _ŠIRIB_ ‘to drink’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td><em>ŠIRIB</em></td>
<td><em>BYIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>YIŠRAB</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td><em>ŠIRBIT</em></td>
<td><em>BTIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>TIŠRAB</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td><em>ŠIRBU</em></td>
<td><em>BYIŠRABU</em></td>
<td><em>YIŠRABU</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td><em>ŠIRIBT</em></td>
<td><em>BTIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>TIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>ŠRAB</em> (Class II); <em>FHÉM</em> (Class I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td><em>ŠIRBIT</em></td>
<td><em>BTIŠRABI</em></td>
<td><em>TIŠRABI</em></td>
<td><em>ŠRABI</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td><em>ŠIRBUT</em></td>
<td><em>BTIŠRABU</em></td>
<td><em>TIŠRABU</em></td>
<td><em>ŠRABU</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td><em>ŠIRIBT</em></td>
<td><em>BIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>?IŠRAB</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td><em>ŠIRBNA</em></td>
<td><em>MINIŠRAB</em></td>
<td><em>NIŠRAB</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active Participles: _ŠIRIB_; _ŠIRBI_; _ŠIRBÎN_; _ŠÉMIŠ_, _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŠ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;_ _ŠÉMIŞ;

3.3.3.1.5 **Perfect _I_ Imperfect _I_**

Verbs in this group have _I_ as pattern vowel both in the Perfect and in the Imperfect, i.e., CiCiC yiCiCiC. Verbs attested in this group are _NIZIL_ ‘to go down’, _HIMIL_ ‘to carry’, _LIBIS_ ‘to dress’ and _ʕIMIL_ ‘to make’, and _ʔIDIR_ _yʔDIR_ ‘to able to’.

The verb _ŠIRIF_ ‘to know’, with pharyngeal /S/ as first radical, also conforms to this type, except for the prefix vowel which is /a/: _yaʕrif_. For the verb _ʕIMIL_ the /a/ is optional: _yʕIMIL_ ~ _yaʕIMIL_. The pattern vowel /i/ in the near vicinity of /ʕ/ occasionally alternates with /a/ in some Perfect forms too, e.g., _ʕIMIL_ ~ _ʕIMIL_ (§2.3.1.1). Table 13. Inflection of _NIZIL_ ‘to go down’ gives the context inflection of verbs of the type Perfect _I_ Imperfect _I_.

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189 Note that the /i/ sometimes alternates with /a/ in the near vicinity of pharyngeal /ʕ/ (§2.3.1.1): _sémiš_ ~ _sémaʕ_; _ṯiš_ ~ _tišaʕ_.

190 The verb _ʕIMIL_ is also used in the meaning of ‘to be’, e.g., _ʕIMIL_ _x̌r̄I_ ‘he became priest’.

191 Note also the /S/ is sometimes weakly or not articulated, which might cause lengthening in the preceding vowel, e.g., _byaʕrif_ ~ _byarif_ ‘he knows’, _byʕIMIL_ ~ _byʕIMIL_ ~ _byaʕIMIL_ ‘he makes’. See §2.1.1.8.
Some forms attested for these verbs are somewhat unstable. Data available from the majority of consultants indicate that the verbs nẓil and libis in ŠṭA have i as a primary pattern vowel in the Imperfect: yinẓil and yilbis. There are, however, attestations of yinzan and yilbus too.

As expected, the attested imperative forms are: nzël, lbēs, ḫmēl, ʕmēl (msg); nzil, ḫmil, ʕmil (fsg); nzilu, ḫmilu, ʕmilu (pl), but there are also occurrences of each nzōl, ḫmol, ʕmol (msg); nzal (fsg) and nzalu (pl).

The instability in these forms are probably through analogy to other verb types, namely, to Perfect i Imperfect a type, Class II (§3.3.3.1.4), e.g., lihiʔ yilhaʔ; lbäʔ, lhabāʔ, lhabāʔu ‘to go after’, ‘to follow’, and to Perfect i Imperfect i – u# ~ o# type (§3.3.3.1.3), e.g., rikid yirkid – yirkud# ‘to run’. Influence of neighbouring dialects might also have played a role.

As for Pattern I verb types in the neighbouring dialects, in Tripoli we find katāb byektob, šoreb byešrabḥ.

Table 13. Inflection of nẓil ‘to go down’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ō-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>byinzil</td>
<td>yinzil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>byinzil</td>
<td>yinzil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>byinzil</td>
<td>yinzil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>binzil</td>
<td>tnzil</td>
<td>nzēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>binzil</td>
<td>tnzil</td>
<td>nzili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>bünzil</td>
<td>tnzil</td>
<td>nzilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>nẓil</td>
<td>binzil</td>
<td>ōnzil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>nẓilna</td>
<td>mninzil</td>
<td>ninzil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Activive Particles: nẓil, nẓiʔ ~ nẓl, nẓl; ḫmēl, ḫmēli ~ ḫmēla, ḫmēla; lbēs, lbēsi ~ lbēsa, lbēsa; ṭēdir, ṭēdra, ṭēdrēn

Verbal noun(s): nẓūl

---

192 El-Hajjé also notes a third type in the Imperfect: byeftel (ibid 47).
193 The imperative forms of these types are: kmāš, ḩrōb; skōr, rāšt; kēb; dbāh, žrōh.
Type III:

*nażel* (*nażil#*) *byenzel* (*byenzil#*) *byen'zlu*

*kaṭeb* (*kaṭib#*) *byekteb* (*byektib#*) *byek'tbu*

*ṣωmel* (*ṣωmil#*) *byṣωmel* (*byṣωmil#*) *byṣω'mlu*

Type IV:

*dabaḥ* (*dabāḥ#*) *byedbaḥ* (*byedbāḥ#*) *byidbaḥu* ‘to slaughter [tuer]’

*žaṛaḥ* (*žaṛoḥ#*) *byežṛaḥ* (*byežṛoḥ#*) *byežṛaḥu* ‘to injure [blessed]’

The above-mentioned types resemble the verb types in ŠṭA. Verbs in Type I correspond to verbs in §3.3.3.1.1, but only in the Perfect – in ŠṭA, unlike in Kfar-Ṣghāb, the Imperfect has -iC – -uC# ~ -oC#. Verbs in Type II correspond to verbs in §3.3.3.1.4, verbs in Type III correspond to verbs in §3.3.3.1.5, and verbs in Type IV correspond to verbs in §3.3.3.1.2.

The pausal form of the second pattern vowel in the Perfect of Type II verbs, e.g., *sǝkir#*, and in the Perfect and Imperfect of Type III, e.g., *nażil#* *byenzil#*, corresponds to the context form in ŠṭA. The context form of this vowel in Kfar-Ṣghāb, namely *e*, is the optional pausal variant in ŠṭA (§2.3.1.1.2).

### 3.3.3.2 Geminate verbs

Verbs in this group have the second and third radical consonant identical. They can be put into two classes depending on their pattern vowel in the Imperfect:

**Class I**

CaCC yCiCC ḥabb yḥibb ‘to love’

**Class II**

CaCC yCaCC ʕaḍḍ yʕaḍḍ ‘to bite’

Other verbs of Class I include ḥaṭṭ ‘to put’, ṣabb ‘to pour’, ṣaff ‘to’, ḍarr ‘to harm’, ṣamm ‘to sharpen’, ṣamm ‘to poison’, daemon ‘to criticise’, ḥarr ‘to spill’, ｒaḍḍ ‘to return’, ｒaｍm ‘to ring’, ｌａｍm ‘to collect’, ‘to gather’, ｈａｚ ‘to shake (tran.),’ ｋａｂb ‘to pour’, ‘to spill’, ‘to throw’, ｓａdd ‘to pull’, ｍａdd ‘to stretch’, ‘to lengthen’. Another verb in Class II is ｄａll ‘to remain’. Inflection for 2msg and 1sg tends to follow the general rule concerning the diphthongs, e.g., ḥibbēt – ḥibbayt# ‘you (msg)/I loved’ (§2.4.2, §3.3.1). Table 14 gives the context inflection of ḥabb.

### Table 14. Inflection of ḥabb ‘to love’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td>bḥibb</td>
<td>ḥibb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>ḥabbit</td>
<td>bithibb</td>
<td>thibb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>ḥabbu</td>
<td>bithibbu</td>
<td>yḥibbu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>ḥibbēt</td>
<td>bithibb</td>
<td>thibb</td>
<td>ḥibb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>ḥibbayti</td>
<td>bithibbi</td>
<td>thibbi</td>
<td>ḥibbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>ḥibbaytu</td>
<td>bithibbu</td>
<td>thibbu</td>
<td>ḥibbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>ḥibbēt</td>
<td>bḥibb</td>
<td>ḥibb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>ḥibbayna</td>
<td>minhibb</td>
<td>nhibb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: ḥēbib, ḥēbbi, ḥēbbīn
According to Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), one of the variables that differentiates the dialects of Central North group from the Central South is the /a/ > /i/ shift in the Perfect stem of Pattern I geminate verbs (which occurs when the syllable becomes unstressed). CN dialects change the vowel, while CS do not: CN ḥabb ḥebbayt; CS ḥabb ḥabbayt ‘he loved [il a aim̱é]’ ‘you (msg) loved [tu as aim̱é]’ (ibid, 126). Fleisch also remarks that this is a shared feature between the dialects of CN group and the North group (where the dialects in the North group have ḥebbāt) (ibid, 132–33). As we have seen, ŠṭA fits in both the CN and North groups in this regard.194

3.3.3.3 Weak verbs
3.3.3.3.1 Initial-ʔ (<*ʔ) verbs
Verbs in this group have initial /ʔ/ which is a reflex of OA *ʔ.195 They include ḥakal and ḥaxad, though not ḥamar (see fn 195). They have short forms in second and first person, where the first syllable is omitted, e.g., xadu (2msg), xadtu (2pl), xad’a (1sg), xadna (1cpl). The initial radical /ʔ/ (<*ʔ) of these two verbs fuses with the prefix of the Imperfect to produce ṇ, e.g., yékil – yékul#, yéxid – yéxudo#, and disappears in the Imperative, e.g., xidu ‘take (pl)!’. Table 15 gives the context inflection of ḥakal and ḥaxad.

194 The shift of /a/ to /i/ in prestressed syllables, due to the movement of stress, is a general rule in ŠṭA (§2.3.1.2), e.g., the Pattern II verb sállam ‘he greeted’ silla’m’t ‘I/you (msg) greeted’ (§3.3.4.1). This is also the case for Bišmizzīn, e.g., ḥabb ḥibbayt ‘to love [lieben]’, maddad middad ‘to extend [verlängern]’ (Jiha 1964, 137–38). Under a separate point, Fleisch also considers this change in the perfect of Pattern II verbs: sállam ‘he greeted [il a salu̱é]’ silla’m’t ‘you greeted [tu as salu̱é]’ (1974, 128). According to him, this is a feature of the dialects in the North group, but is also found in Tripoli, in the CN dialects located approximately at 1000 m. altitude, and in one dialect of CS (ibid, 128).

195 The /ʔ/ which comes from *q is always stable in all positions, e.g., (*q>ʔ) ḥat’ ‘I killed’, biʔtil ‘I kill’. One other verb with original *ʔ also has a stable /ʔ/, namely, ḥar’ ‘I commanded’, biʔmir ‘I command’.

196 There are also a few occurrences of long froms but these are apparently due to classicism, as for instance, one consultant gives naḥnu ḥakalna, and when asked how it would be in the dialect he replies: bil-šəməyi niḥna kalna. Texts from the majority of the consultants give only short forms.
Table 15. Inflection of ʔakal ‘to eat’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg ʔakal</td>
<td>byēkil</td>
<td>yēkil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg ʔaklit</td>
<td>btēkil</td>
<td>tēkil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl ʔaklu</td>
<td>byēklu</td>
<td>yēklu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg kal’t</td>
<td>btēkil</td>
<td>tēkil</td>
<td>kōl ~ kūl;</td>
<td>xid ~ xōd ~ xod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg kal’ti</td>
<td>btēkli</td>
<td>tēkli</td>
<td>kili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl kal’tu</td>
<td>btēklu</td>
<td>tēklu</td>
<td>kilu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg kal’t</td>
<td>bēkil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl kal’na</td>
<td>mēnkil</td>
<td>nēkil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active Participles: ʔēkil, ʔēkli, ʔēklīn; ʔēxid, ʔēxda, ʔēxdīn

Verbal noun: ʔak’l

3.3.3.3.2 Initial-w verbs

Initial-w verbs conform to their corresponding verb types in strong verbs in the Perfect, i.e., waCaC corresponds to Class II verb type in §3.3.3.1.2, while wiCiC corresponds to Class II verb type in §3.3.3.1.4. These verbs, however, are subject to variation in the Imperfect: The prefix vowel i in the Imperfect optionally merges with the initial radical w to produce ū.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waʕad</td>
<td>yiwʕadC ~ yūCaC</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to promise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wʔaʕa📸</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiṣil</td>
<td>yiwṣal ~ yūṣal</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiʔif</td>
<td>yiwʔaf ~ yūʔaf</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to stand still’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.3.3.3 Initial-y verbs

There is one verb in this group, i.e., yibis ‘to dry up (intr.)’, which conforms to its corresponding verb type in strong verbs in the Perfect, namely Class I of Perfect i Imperfect a type (§3.3.3.1.4). The prefix vowel i, however, merges with the initial radical y to produce ĭ in the Imperfect, e.g., yibas.

3.3.3.3.4 Hollow verbs

Hollow verbs have semivowel /y/ or /w/ as medial radical, which disappears entirely in the Perfect. The semivowel fuses with the pattern vowel to produce

197 Note that word-final /ʕ/ has some peculiarities in pause, see §2.1.2.1.17.
/ū/, /ū/, /ɔ̄/ or /ɔ̄/ in the Imperfect. These verbs can be put in two classes depending on the reflex of OA *ā in third person forms in the Perfect, which is usually either /ɛ̄/ (Class I) or /ɔ̄/ (Class II), e.g., nēm, nēmit, nēmu; xēf, xēfit, xēfu. Other forms in the Perfect have the same conjugation, e.g., nimʾt, šīʾt, milʾt; xīft, šīʾt; xīʾt. Class I verbs have either /ī/, /ū/ or /ɛ̄/ in the Imperfect, while Class II have /ī/, /ū/ or /ɔ̄/. Class I

Perfect CēC nēm ‘to sleep’, šēl ‘to remove’, bēʾ ‘to sell’, zēʾ ‘to get hungry’, mēt ‘to die’, kēn ‘to be’, šēf ‘to see’

Imperfect
yCēC  ynēm;
yCīC  yšīl, ybdīl;
yCūC  yžūf, ymūt, ykūn, yšūf

Class II

Perfect CōC xōf ‘to get afraid’, ṣōr ‘to become’, ḏōʕ ‘to get lost’, ʔōl ‘to say’, rōḥ ‘to go’

Imperfect
yCōC  yxōf;
yCūC  yṣīr, yḍīl;
yCūC  yʔūl, yrūḥ

Table 16 gives the context inflection of nēm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ō-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>nēm</td>
<td>binēm</td>
<td>ynēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>nēmit</td>
<td>bitnēm</td>
<td>tnēm</td>
<td>nēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>nēmu</td>
<td>binēmu</td>
<td>ynēmu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>nimʾt</td>
<td>bitnēm</td>
<td>tnēm</td>
<td>nēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>nimti</td>
<td>bitnēmi</td>
<td>tnēmi</td>
<td>nēmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>nimtu</td>
<td>bitnēmu</td>
<td>tnēmu</td>
<td>nēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>nimʾt</td>
<td>bnēm</td>
<td>nēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>nimna</td>
<td>minnēm</td>
<td>mnēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: nēyim, nēymi, nēymin; mayyit, mayyi; ~ mayn; mayyīn ~ mayīn; žīʾn ~ žīʾn, žīʾnī ~ žīʾnī, žīʾnīn

3.3.3.3.5 Final-’y verbs

Verbs in this group have semivowel /y/ as the final radical. The /y/ disappears in the base form of the Perfect, and it fuses with the pattern vowel to produce /a/ or /i/ in the Imperfect. These verbs can be put in two classes depending on

198 The rules of the *ā > /ɛ̄/ or *ā > /ɔ̄/ split are given in §2.3.2.1.
199 Note that word-final /y/ have some peculiarities in pause, see §2.1.2.1.17.

106
their pattern vowel in the Perfect, which is either /a/ (Class I) or /i/ (Class II). There are also occurrences of verbs which can belong to either class, i.e., ḥiki ~ ḥaka. Inflection for 2msg and 1sg of Class I verbs tends to follow the general rule concerning the diphthongs, e.g., ṣʔēt – ṣʔayt# ‘I/you (msg) watered’ (§2.4.2, §3.3.1).

Class I

\begin{align*}
\text{CaCa} & \quad \text{yiCCi} \\
\text{ṣʔaʔa, ḥaša, rama} & \quad \text{yisʔ}^{200} \text{ ‘to water’, yihši ‘to fill’, yirmi ‘to throw’}
\end{align*}

Class II

\begin{align*}
\text{CiCi} & \quad \text{yiCCa} \\
\text{nisi} & \quad \text{yinsa ‘to forget’; yiCCi} \\
\text{biki} & \quad \text{yibki ‘to cry’} \\
\text{CaCa} \sim \text{CiCi} & \quad \text{yiCCi} \\
\text{ḥiki} \sim \text{ḥaka}^{201} & \quad \text{yiḥki ‘to talk’, ‘to tell’}
\end{align*}

Verb ṣata ~ ṣata ‘to give’ also conforms to Class I verbs, except the prefix vowel /i/ in the Imperfect alternates with /a/: yišti ~ yišti ~ yašti ~ yašti.

Table 17 gives the context inflection of verbs in this group. These are the same for both Class I and Class II of this type, except for the 2nd and 1st person forms in the Perfect. Class I verbs have ṣʔēt – ṣʔayt# (2msg), ṣʔayti (2fsg), ṣʔaytu (2cpl); ṣʔēt – ṣʔayt# (1csg), ṣʔayna (1cpl).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3msg</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisi</td>
<td>byinsa</td>
<td>yinsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>nisit</td>
<td>byinsa</td>
<td>tinsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>nisu</td>
<td>byinsu</td>
<td>yinsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2msg</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsīt</td>
<td>btinsa</td>
<td>tinsa</td>
<td>nsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>nsīt</td>
<td>btinsi</td>
<td>tinsi</td>
<td>nsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>nsītu</td>
<td>btinsu</td>
<td>tinsu</td>
<td>nsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1csg</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsīt</td>
<td>binsa</td>
<td>?insa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>nsīna</td>
<td>mninsa</td>
<td>ninsa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: nēsī, nēsyyi, nēsyyīn

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), one of the variables used to differentiate the Central-North dialects from the Central-South ones is the treatment of final-y verbs. According to Fleisch, in CN dialects the

\footnote{\textit{200} < saʔa yisʔi. Data available indicate that the emphaticisation of /s/ in this verb extends to almost all other forms in the paradigm. The emphaticisation is probably triggered by /ʔ/ (<*q).}

\footnote{\textit{201} Data available in texts from four consultants, who tend to use one or the other. Two use only ḥaka, one uses only ḥiki. Texts from the other consultant give several occurrences of ḥiki and a few ḥaka. The latter, i.e., ḥaka, however, is found in an elicitation session where the interviewer used ḥaka in the question.}
different types of final-y verbs are reduced to one type, i.e., jɔ̃i jɔ̃t (CάCi CCίt), while this is not the case in CS: CN sɔ̃i sɔ̃t byisɔ̃i ‘to water’, nɔsi nsɔt byinsa ‘to forget’; CS saʔa saʔayt byisʔi, nɔsi nsɔt byinsa (ibid, 127). Fleisch also notes that the dialects of the North group resemble the CS group in retaining two types: šawā byišwi ‘[rotir]’, nɔsi byisnɔ ‘[oublier]’ (ibid, 133). Thus, apparently the North group also differs from CN in this regard. In this context, as we have seen, ŠtA resembles both the CS dialects and the North. This is also the case for Bišmizzîn, e.g., nisî byinsa ‘to forget [vegessen]’, laʔa bilârî ‘to find [finden]’ (Jiha 1964, 141).

3.3.3.6 Doubly-weak verbs

Verbs in this group have two weak radicals, an initial /w/ and a final /y/. They conform to their corresponding verb types in other final-y verbs in the Perfect, i.e., CaCa corresponds to Class I verbs, while CiCi corresponds to Class II verbs in §3.3.3.5. Like other initial-w verbs (§3.3.3.3.2), they are subject to variation in the Imperfect: wafa yiwfi ~ yūfi ‘to fulfill a promise’, ‘to pay a dept’ and wiʕi yiwʕa ~ yūʕa ‘to become/act as an adult’.

3.3.3.4 Irregular verbs

Irregular verbs are those which do not conform to the rules for strong and weak roots. They have their own unique forms. Suppletion is also involved in some cases.

3.3.3.4.1 ʔiža yiži ‘to come’

The irregular verb ʔiža ‘to come’ has a suppletive imperative which goes back to verb *taʕālā. Table 18 gives the context inflection of ʔiža.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>ʔiža202</td>
<td>byiži</td>
<td>yiži</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>ʔižit</td>
<td>btiži</td>
<td>tiži</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>ʔižu</td>
<td>byižu</td>
<td>yižu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>žît</td>
<td>btiži</td>
<td>tiži</td>
<td>tʕɔ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>žîti</td>
<td>btiži</td>
<td>tiži</td>
<td>tʕa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>žîtu</td>
<td>btižu</td>
<td>tižu</td>
<td>tʕaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>žît</td>
<td>biži</td>
<td>ʔiži</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>žîna</td>
<td>mnižî</td>
<td>nîžî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: žêyi, žêyi, žêyi

The fsg imperative form has pause-conditioned alternations: while tʕa is found in context, tʕay is found in pause. This is in line with the treatment of the

202 ~ ʔaža.
diphthongs in final syllables (§2.4.2, §2.8.3, §3.3.1). Forms for msg and pl, however, do not display such alternation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʕɔ</td>
<td>tʕɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʕa</td>
<td>tʕay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʕaw</td>
<td>tʕaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these forms have optional lengthening, e.g., tʕɔ ~ tʕɔ̄, which is usually found in (but not restricted to) pause.

In his survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), Fleisch notes that the CS dialects only use ʔǝža ‘he came’, byiži ‘he comes’, while in CN dialects we find shorter forms ža ‘he came’, žu or žaw ‘they came’, and biži ‘he comes’, as well as ʔǝža ‘he came’, byiži ‘he comes’ (p. 127). As we have seen, ŠṭA has ʔiža byiži which would make it fit in the CS group in this respect, but without necessarily excluding it from CN. The dialect of Bišmizzīn with žå̄ ‘he came’, žaw ‘they came’, bižī ‘he comes’ does not fit in either group (Jiha 1964, 143), but the forms are closer to the ones given for CN.

3.3.3.4.2  laʔa ylɛ̄ʔi ‘to find’

The verb laʔa ylɛ̄ʔi ‘to find’ displays irregularity in patterns. The forms in the Perfect follow Pattern I final-y (Class I) verbs (§3.3.3.3.5), while the forms in the Imperfect and Imperative follow Pattern III final-y verbs (§3.3.5). Table 19 gives the context inflection of laʔa ylɛ̄ʔi.

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203 Similar cases have also been attested in North Yemen, e.g., tafālē – tafālay# ‘come on! (fsg)’, see Shachmon (2017, 300).

204 Data is available in texts from seven out of the ten consultants. Texts from one of these consultants also give a few occurrences of taʔa (msg), tʕē, taʔe# (fsg), and tafaw# (pl). The taʔ- forms are not original in ŠṭA, and are probably under the influence of urban dialects, i.e., Damascus: taʔa, tafal (msg); taʔi, taʔal (fsg), taʔu, tafalu (pl) (Grotfeld 1964, 63, 77; Cowell 2016, 76), or Beirut: taʔa (msg), taʔi (fsg), taʔu (pl) (Naïm 2006, 283).

205 These forms go back to OA/MSA verb *taʃālā. The unstressed short /a/ in open syllable is deleted. These forms are also further shortened by dropping the /l/. The /ā/ > /ə/ change has occurred only in msg form probably to further keep the forms distinct: (msg) *taʃāla > tʃāl > tʃɔl > tʃɔ ~ tʃɔ; (fsg) *taʃalay > tʃalay > tʃay > tʃa ~ tʃa – tʃay# ~ tʃay#: (cpl) *taʃalaw > tʃalaw > tʃaw > tʃaw ~ tʃaw.

206 There is, however, one occurrence where a form in the Perfect follows the Pattern III. But this comes with an object suffix: lɛʔuni ‘they found me’. There are also two occurrences with object suffixes that follow Pattern I: laʔuni ‘they found me’, laʔūwin (< laʔūwin) ‘they found them’.

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Table 19. Inflection of $laʔa ylɛ̄ʔi$ ‘to find’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>$laʔa$</td>
<td>$bilɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$ylɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>$laʔit$</td>
<td>$bîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$tlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>$laʔu$</td>
<td>$bilɛ̄ʔu$</td>
<td>$ylɛ̄ʔu$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>$lʔɛ̄t$</td>
<td>$bîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$tlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$lɛ̄ʔi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>$lʔayti$</td>
<td>$bîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$tlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$lɛ̄ʔi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>$lʔaytu$</td>
<td>$bîlɛ̄ʔu$</td>
<td>$tlɛ̄ʔu$</td>
<td>$lɛ̄ʔu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>$lʔɛ̄t$</td>
<td>$bîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$lɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>$lʔayna$</td>
<td>$mîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td>$nîlɛ̄ʔi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: $mîlɛ̄ʔa$, $mîlɛ̄ʔyi$, $mîlɛ̄ʔyîn$

3.3.4 Pattern II

Pattern II verbs have their middle radical geminated (long). These verbs have $a$ in the Perfect, and $a$...$i$ in the Imperfect as pattern vowels: CaCCaC yCaC-CiC.

3.3.4.1 Strong verbs

Verbs attested in this group are: $sakkar$ $ysakkir$, $sallam$ $ysallim$ ‘to greet’, $sallam$ $yʃallim$ ‘to teach’, ‘to send s.o. to school’, $massah$ $ymassîh$ ‘to clean’, ‘to wipe’, $zâbbat$ ‘to tidy up’, ‘to prepare’, ‘to repara’, $dahhâk$ $ydaḥhîk207$ ‘to make s.o. laugh’, $ḍayyaf$ $yḍayyîf$ ‘to serve/offer (coffee, chocolate)’, $ʃallâh$ ‘to rob s.o.’, ‘to undress s.o.’. Table 20 gives the context inflection of verbs in this group.

Table 20. Inflection of $sakkar$ ‘to close’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>$sakkar$</td>
<td>$bîsakkir$</td>
<td>$ysakkir$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>$sakkrit$ $~$ $ṣakrit$</td>
<td>$bîsakkir$</td>
<td>$tsakkir$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>$sakkrî$</td>
<td>$bîsakkru$</td>
<td>$ysakkru$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>$sikkar'$</td>
<td>$bîsakkir$</td>
<td>$tsakkir$</td>
<td>$sakkir$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>$sikkarti$</td>
<td>$bîsakkri$</td>
<td>$tsakkri$</td>
<td>$sakkri$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
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<td>$bîsakkru$</td>
<td>$tsakkru$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>$sakkir$</td>
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<td>$sikkarna$</td>
<td>$mîsakkir$</td>
<td>$nsakkir$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: $mskakkar$, $msakkrî$ $~$ $msakkrî$, $msakkrîn$ $~$ $msakkrîn$

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207 $<$ dahhâk ydaḥhîk. Data available from one consultant indicate that the loss of emphasis in Pattern II for this verb is quite spread in the paradigm. Texts from others do not give this verb in Pattern II. This is also the case for this verb in Pattern VI, e.g., $tadḥhâk$ $> tdaḥhâk$ ($§3.3.7.1$), where occurrences of the verb are found in more than one consultant.

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### 3.3.4.2 Geminate verbs

Verbs that have their last two radicals alike, as in ḥammam ‘to give s.o. a bath’ or žannan ‘to make s.o. crazy’, conform to strong verbs in Pattern II (§3.3.4.1). When the suffix -i or -u is added in the Imperfect, however, the verb takes and epenthetic vowel, e.g., bitḥám‘mi; bitḥám‘mu, bižám‘nu.

### 3.3.4.3 Final-y verbs

The final radical in these verbs disappears in the base form (Perfect), and it fuses with the pattern vowel to produce /i/ in the Imperfect: CaCCa yCaCCi. Verbs attested in this group are: samma ‘to name’, wadda ‘to send s.o./sth’, ġanna ‘to sing’, ṡalla ~ ṣalla ‘to pray’, ʕazza ‘to offer condolences’. Table 21 gives the context inflection of verbs in this group.

**Table 21. Inflection of ṡalla ~ ṣalla ‘to pray’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>ṡalla</td>
<td>biṣallí</td>
<td>yṣallí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>ṡallit</td>
<td>bitsallí</td>
<td>tṣallí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>ṣallu</td>
<td>biṣallu</td>
<td>yṣallu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>ṣillēt</td>
<td>bitsallí</td>
<td>tṣallí</td>
<td>ṣallí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>ṣillayti</td>
<td>bitsallí</td>
<td>tṣallí</td>
<td>ṣallí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>ṣillaytu</td>
<td>bitsallu</td>
<td>tṣallu</td>
<td>ṣallu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>ṣillēt</td>
<td>bṣallí</td>
<td>ṣallí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>ṣillayna</td>
<td>mṣallalí</td>
<td>nṣallí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: mṣalla, mṣillāyi, mṣillāyīn

### 3.3.5 Pattern III

Pattern III is distinguished by the long first pattern vowel. The pattern vowels are ē…a or ɔ…a in the Perfect and ē…i or ɔ…i in the Imperfect.

#### 3.3.5.1 Strong verbs

CēCaC yCēCiC bērak ybērik ‘to congratulate’, ‘to bless’, sēfar ysēfir ‘to travel’ C5CaC yC5CiC līhaż (ylīḥiẓ)\(^{208}\) ‘to notice’

Table 22 gives the context inflection of bērak.

\(^{208}\) The Imperfect form of this verb is not attested in the data.
Table 22. Inflection of bērāk ‘to congratulate’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Œ-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>bērāk</td>
<td>bibērīk</td>
<td>bērik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>bērkīt</td>
<td>bītsēwī</td>
<td>thērik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>bērkū</td>
<td>bibēraku</td>
<td>ybērkū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>bērākt</td>
<td>bītbērīk</td>
<td>tbērik</td>
<td>bērik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>bērakīt</td>
<td>bītbsēwī</td>
<td>thērik</td>
<td>bērkī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>bēraku</td>
<td>bītbērku</td>
<td>tbērkū</td>
<td>bērkū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>bērakīt</td>
<td>bībrērik</td>
<td>bērik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>bēraknu</td>
<td>mīnmbrērik</td>
<td>mbērik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: mbērak, mbērki, mbērkān

3.3.5.2 Doubly-weak verbs

The final radical /y/ disappears in the base form (Perfect) and fuses with the pattern vowel to produce /i/ in the Imperfect: CēCa yCēCi sēwa yśēwi ‘to make’. Table 23 gives the context inflection of sēwi (the /w/ in this verb behaves as a strong consonant).

Table 23. Inflection of sēwa ‘to make’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Œ-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>sēwa</td>
<td>bīsēwī</td>
<td>yśēwi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>sēwit</td>
<td>bītsēwī</td>
<td>tsēwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>sēwū</td>
<td>bīsēwū</td>
<td>yśēwū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>sēwēt</td>
<td>bītsēwī</td>
<td>tsēwi</td>
<td>sēwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>sēwayti</td>
<td>bītsēwī</td>
<td>tsēwi</td>
<td>sēwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>sēwaytu</td>
<td>bītsēwū</td>
<td>tsēwū</td>
<td>sēwū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>sēwēt</td>
<td>bīsēwī</td>
<td>sēwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>sēwayna</td>
<td>mīnsēwī</td>
<td>mśēwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: mśēwi, mśēwyi, mśēwyīn

3.3.6 Pattern IV

There are no verbs with this pattern attested in the inherited vocabulary of ŠṭA, as generally is the case in Levantine dialects.

3.3.7 Pattern V

Verbs in this pattern have their middle radical long or geminated, like verbs in Pattern II, but additionally have the formative prefix t-. They also differ from verbs in Pattern II by having the second pattern vowel /a/ in Imperfect.

\[^{209}\text{minbērik.}\]
3.3.7.1 Strong verbs

Class I

tCaCCaC > tCaCCɛC#  yitCaCCaC > yitCaCCɛC#

\( \text{thammal} \)  \( \text{yit\text{ḥammal}} \) ‘endure’

Class II

tCaCCaC > tCaCCɔC#  yitCaCCaC > yitCaCCɔC#

\( \text{tfarraẓ} \)  \( \text{yitfarraẓ} \) ‘to look at’, ‘to watch’

Other attested verbs that behave this way are: \( \text{tdahḥak} \) ‘to laugh’, \( \text{ṭgayyar} \) ‘to change’, \( \text{ṭaxxar} \) ‘to be late’, \( \text{ṭwazzaf} \) ‘to be employed’. Table 24 gives the context inflection of verbs in this group. These are, except the imperative msg form, the same for both Class I and Class II of this type.

Table 24. Inflection of \( \text{tfarraẓ} \) ‘to look at’, ‘to watch’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>( \text{tfarraẓ} )</td>
<td>( \text{byitfarraẓ} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarraẓ} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarraẓ} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>( \text{tfarržit} ) ( \text{ṭfaržiṭ} )</td>
<td>( \text{btitfarraẓ} ) ( \text{btitfarržt} )</td>
<td>( \text{titfarraẓ} ) ( \text{titfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{thammal} ) ( \text{ṭhamm} ) ( \text{ṭiḥmu} ) ( \text{ṭiḥmu} ) (Class I); ( \text{tfarraẓ} ) ( \text{tfarržiṭ} ) (Class II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>( \text{tfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{byitfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{yitfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarržu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>( \text{ṭfirraẓt} )</td>
<td>( \text{btitfarrži} ) ( \text{btitfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{titfarrži} ) ( \text{titfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarrži} ) ( \text{tfarržu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>( \text{ṭfiraẓti} )</td>
<td>( \text{btitfarrži} ) ( \text{btitfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{titfarrži} ) ( \text{titfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarrži} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>( \text{ṭfiraẓtu} )</td>
<td>( \text{btitfarržu} ) ( \text{btitfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{titfarržu} ) ( \text{titfarržu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tfarržu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>( \text{ṭfiraẓt} )</td>
<td>( \text{bitfarrža} ) ( \text{ʔitfarrža} )</td>
<td>( \text{ʔitfarrža} )</td>
<td>( \text{ʔitfarrža} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>( \text{ṭfiraẓna} ) ( \text{mniṭfarrža} )</td>
<td>( \text{mnitfarrža} ) ( \text{niṭfarrža} )</td>
<td>( \text{niṭfarrža} )</td>
<td>( \text{niṭfarrža} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: \( \text{mitfarrža} \), \( \text{mitfarrži} \), \( \text{mitfarrži} \)

3.3.7.2 Geminate verbs

Verbs that have their last two radicals alike, as in \( \text{thammam} \) ‘to take a shower’, conform to (Class I) strong verbs in Pattern V (§3.3.7.1). When the suffix -i or -u is added, however, it takes an epenthetic vowel, i.e., \( \text{btithám'mi} \), \( \text{btithám'mu} \). This probably developed in the following way: \( \text{btithám'ma} > **btithám'mmu > **btithám'mu > btithám'mu} \).

3.3.7.3 Final-y verbs

The final radical in this group disappears in all forms.

tCaCCa  yitCaCCa

tgadda  yitgadda\(^{210} \) ‘he may have lunch’

---

\(^{210}\) When followed by /ṭ/, the /ṭ/ is optionally voiced: \( \text{tgadda} \sim \text{ṭgadda} \) \( \text{yitgadda} \sim \text{yitgadda} \) (§2.2.1.1).
3.3.8 Pattern VI

Verbs in this pattern have a long first pattern vowel, like Pattern III, but additionally have the formative prefix t-. Pattern VI verbs also differ from Pattern II\| verbs in having the second pattern vowel a in the Imperfect. Data available give one verb which is of a weak type.

3.3.8.1 Initial-ʔ verbs

The initial radical /ʔ/ is not realised in the stem, but is reflected in the gemination of the /t/ and lengthened vowel.

\[ \text{t̥t̥} \text{CaC} \quad \text{yitt̥t̥} \text{CaC} \]

\[ \text{t̥t̥} \text{kal} \quad \text{yitt̥t̥} \text{kal}^{211} \quad \text{‘to be eaten’} \]

Table 25 gives the context inflection of \text{t̥t̥} \text{kal}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>t̥t̥kal</td>
<td>byitt̥kal</td>
<td>yitt̥kal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>t̥tklit</td>
<td>bitt̥kal</td>
<td>t̥tt̥kal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>t̥tklu</td>
<td>byitt̥klu</td>
<td>yitt̥klu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>t̥tkal't</td>
<td>bitt̥kal</td>
<td>t̥tt̥kal</td>
<td>t̥tkal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>t̥tkalti</td>
<td>bitt̥kli</td>
<td>t̥tt̥kli</td>
<td>t̥tkli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>t̥t̥kaltu</td>
<td>bitt̥klu</td>
<td>t̥tt̥klu</td>
<td>t̥tklu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>t̥t̥kal't</td>
<td>bitt̥kal</td>
<td>t̥tkal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>t̥t̥kalna</td>
<td>mnitt̥kal</td>
<td>nitt̥kal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive participle: mitt̥kal, mitt̥kli, mitt̥klīn

3.3.9 Pattern VII

Verbs in this pattern have the formative prefix \( n\)-. They are generally the passives of the Pattern I of the same root.

3.3.9.1 Strong verbs

\[ \text{nCaCaC} \quad \text{yinCiCil} \quad (\sim \text{yinCaCaC}) \]

\[ \text{nkasar} \quad \text{yinkisir} \quad \text{‘to break (intr.)’} \]

\[ \text{nʔabal} \quad (\text{yinʔibil}) \quad \text{‘to be accepted’} \]

\[ (\text{nḍarab}) \quad \text{yindirib} \quad \text{‘to be hit’} \]

\[ \text{nʕamal} \quad \text{yinʕimil} \sim \text{yinʕamil} \sim \text{yinʕamal} \quad \text{‘to be made’} \]

\[ (\text{nṭabaʕ}) \quad (\text{yinṭibiʕ}) \sim \text{yinṭabaʕ} \quad \text{‘to be applied’} \]

---

\[ ^{211} \text{Note that unlike in Pattern I of this root, i.e., } \text{ʔakal} \sim \text{ʔa[kala]} \# \text{‘he ate’} \quad (§3.3.3.3.1.1, §2.1.2.2), \]
the /k/ is not retracted in pause. Therefore the short /a/ in final syllable is facultatively raised and/or lengthened in pause, e.g., \text{byitt̥kal} \sim \text{byitt̥k[e]} \#.
3.3.9.2 Geminate verbs
nCaCC yinCaCC
nkabb yinkabb ‘to be thrown’

3.3.9.3 Hollow verbs
nCēC yinCēC
nbēʕ yinbēʕ ‘to be sold’
nšēʕ yinšēʕ ‘to be seen’
nCēC yinCēC
nʕd yinʕd ‘to reoccur’ ‘come around again (e.g., of festival)’

3.3.9.4 Final-y verbs
nCaCa yinCiCi ntala yintili ‘to be filled’

3.3.10 Pattern VIII
Verbs of this pattern have the formative -t- after the first radical.

3.3.10.1 Strong verbs
CtaCaC yiCTiCiC
štaḡal yištīġil ‘to work’
ḥtaram yiḥtirim ‘to respect’
ḥtaraʔ yiḥtiriʔ ‘to burn (intr.)’

3.3.10.2 Final-y verbs
CtaCa yiCTiCi
štara yištiri ‘to buy’

3.3.11 Pattern IX
Verbs of this pattern have a geminated final radical.

3.3.11.1 Strong verbs
CCaCC yiCCaCC
xḍarr yixḍarr ‘to become green’
ṣfarr yisfarr ‘to become yellow’

3.3.12 Pattern X
Verbs of this pattern have the prefixed formative st(a)-. The pattern vowels are a…a in the Perfect and a…i in the Imperfect.
3.3.12.1 Strong verbs
staCCaC yistaCCiC
staʃžal yistaʃžil ‘to hurry’
staʃmal yistaʃmil ‘to use’

3.3.12.2 Initial-ʔ verbs
stɛCaC yistɛCiC
stɛhal yistɛhil ‘to deserve’

3.3.12.3 Geminated verbs
staCaCC yistaCaCC
staɡall yistaɡill ‘to take advantage of’

3.3.12.4 Final-y verbs
staCCa yistaCCa
stahla yistahli ‘to desire’, ‘to wish’
starža yistarži ‘to dare’

3.3.12.5 Middle-w/final-y verbs
staCa yistiCi
stawa yistiwi ‘to be cooked’

3.3.13 Quadriliteral verbs
3.3.13.1 Strong verbs
CaCCaC yCaCCiC
 tamtam ytamtim ‘to mumble’
 (dabdab) ydabdib ‘to tidy up’

3.3.13.2 Initial /ʔ/ verbs
These verbs look like Pattern IV but are actually quadrilateral where the /ʔ/ is a radical. Data available give two verbs, ʔaʃwar and ʔaḍrab. There are a few occurrences of ʔaʃwar ‘to hollow out’, which is probably analogically transferred from adjective ʔaʃwar ‘one-eyed’.213 The verb ʔaḍrab ‘to go on strike’, which is a loan from MSA (from Pattern IV), was also confirmed by a middle-aged consultant. Table 26 gives the context inflection of ʔaḍrab.

212 There is also one occurrence each of two other quadriliteral verbs in the data: mmarḥb[ʔ] (< bmarḥbu) ‘I greet him’ and bitmasmira ‘you (msg) nail it (fsg)’. One can deduce from these forms that the 3msg forms of these verbs in the Perfect and Imperfect are probably marḥab ymarḥib ‘to greet someone’ and masmar ymasmir ‘to nail something’ respectively.

213 These occurrences, found in texts from one consultant, are: ʕawwar ġam-itʔaʃwar kūsa ‘there is a person (fsg) hollowing out zucchini’, hēdī mbēriḥ ʔaʃwrit ‘this one (fsg) hollowed out zucchini yesterday’, ʔaʃwar t kilyēn kūsa ‘I hollowed out two kilos of zucchini’ . Another consultant said that he would use ʔawwar yʔawwir (< *qawwar *qawwir) in this context.
Table 26. Inflection of ʔadrab ‘to go on strike’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>ʔadrab</td>
<td>biʔadrrib</td>
<td>yʔadrrib</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsq</td>
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<td>bitʔadrrib</td>
<td>tʔadrrib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ʔadrabu</td>
<td>biʔadrrib</td>
<td>yʔadrrib</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2msg</td>
<td>ʔidrab’i</td>
<td>bitʔatdrrib</td>
<td>tʔadrrib</td>
<td>ʔadrrib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsq</td>
<td>ʔidrabti</td>
<td>bitʔaʔdrbi</td>
<td>tʔaʔdrbi</td>
<td>ʔaʔdrbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>ʔidrabtu</td>
<td>bitʔaʔdrbu</td>
<td>tʔadribu</td>
<td>ʔaʔdrbu</td>
</tr>
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<td>1csg</td>
<td>ʔidrab’t</td>
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<td>yʔaʔdrrib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ʔidrabna</td>
<td>minʔaʔdrrib</td>
<td>nʔaʔdrrib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles: mʔadrab, mʔaʔdrbi, mʔaʔdrbūn

3.3.13.3 Final-y verbs

These verbs consist of an existing triradical root plus /y/. They could also be analysed as belonging to a triradical pattern (the /y/ being part of the pattern). These verbs have causative meaning with respect to Pattern I counterparts where one exists.

CaCCa  yCaCCI
šarba  yšarbi       ‘to give s.o. a drink’ (cf. širib ‘to drink’)
laʕba  ylaʕbi       ‘to make s.o. play/to play with s.o.’ (cf. liʕib ‘to play’)
ṭaʕma  yṭaʔmi       ‘to give s.o. food’
farža  yfarži       ‘to show’ (cf. tfarraž ‘to look at’, ‘to watch’)
farša  yfarši       ‘to brush’ (cf. firšēyī²¹⁴ ‘brush’)

Table 27 gives the context inflection of verbs in this group.

Table 27. Inflection of farša ‘to brush’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>b-Imperfect</th>
<th>Ø-Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>farša</td>
<td>bifarši</td>
<td>yfarši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsq</td>
<td>faršit</td>
<td>bitfarši</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
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</tr>
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<td>faršu</td>
<td>bifaršu</td>
<td>yfaršu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>firšēt</td>
<td>bifarši</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>farši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsq</td>
<td>firšayti</td>
<td>bitfarši</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>farši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>firšaytu</td>
<td>bitfaršu</td>
<td>tfaršu</td>
<td>faršu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>firšēt</td>
<td>bfarši</td>
<td>farši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>firšayna</td>
<td>minfarši</td>
<td>nfarši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive participle: mfarša, mfiršēyī, mfiršēyīn

²¹⁴ < Turkish firça.
3.3.13.4 Doubly-weak verbs

Verb šawfa yšawfi ‘to show s.o. sth’ would also behave as strong verbs with this pattern. The pattern vowel /i/ in forms for second and third persons in the Perfect, however, optionally fuses with /w/ to produce /ū/, e.g., šiwfayta ~ šūfayta ‘I showed her’.

3.4 Verb modifiers

The following modifiers are all attached to the Imperfect. They express TAM (tense-aspect-mood) functions.

3.4.1 b(i)-

The b(i)- particle, prefixed to the Imperfect, designates mainly habitual actions or future, e.g., biži byēkil Šindi kil yam215 bitḏad[əb]#216 ‘he comes and eat at my place’,217 every day he has lunch (at my place)’, Farīd ‘byiži byēxḏ[ɛ]?’#218 ‘Will Farid come and take you (msg)?’

Verb stems with initial Cv or C̣v take bi-, while stems with initial CC- or C(v)C- take b-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stems of CV or C̣v-</th>
<th>Verb stems of CC- or C(v)C-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>bi-sakkir, bi-šūf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>bi-tsakkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>bi-tsakkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>bi-tsakkri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>b-sakkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>bi-sakkru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>bi-tsakkru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>mi-nsakkir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2 ma- and šam-

There are two particles, ma- and šam-, used to designate continuous/progressive aspect in the present. They are prefixed to the Imperfect verb forms.

The šam- is optionally combined with the indicative b-, e.g., šam-bšūf ~ šam-šūf ‘I am seeing’, šam-bitṣall[əb]# ~ šam-itṣallī ‘she is praying’. The šam- is sometimes reduced to ša-, e.g., ša-byiwżasuni ~ šam-yiwżasuni ‘they (e.g., my teeth) are hurting me’.

---

215 < kill yām.
216 < byitgadda.
217 Literally: with me.
218 < byēxdak. Such cases of progressive assimilation are less common in ŠṭA (§2.2.3): There are many other occurrences where the /x/ is voiced before a /d/, e.g., ḫaḍdit ‘she took’ (§2.2.1.1).
According to Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), Central-South dialects use only ʕam (~ ʕa ~ ʕammāl), e.g., ʕam byiktob ‘he is writing [il est en train d’écritre]’. In Central-North dialects ʕam is also used, but only as an additional variant in the region where min (~ mən ~ man) or ʕan are also attested, e.g., min yiktob, ʕan yiktob ‘he is writing [il est en train d’écritre]’ (ibid, 127–28). He adds that ma is attested only in the North group (ibid, 128).

As has just been mentioned, both ma- and ʕam- are attested in ŠṭA, and min, mən or man are not found in the analysed data. Bišmizzīn has ʕan ~ ʕam, e.g., ʕan yġanni ‘he is singing’, ʕan yāklu, ʕam byāklu ‘they are eating’ (Jiha 1964, 3–4).

In ŠṭA, the usage of ma- and ʕam- is subject to idiolectal variation, and there might also be age-related variation in their usage – possibly indicating transition from the usage of ma- to ʕam. Texts from four elderly consultants give only ma-, while the texts from the other two elderly consultants give both ma- and ʕam-. Texts from two middle-aged consultants give both ma- and ʕam-, while texts from the other two middle-aged consultants give almost always ʕam-.

3.4.3 ba-

The pseudo-verb bad(d)- (§3.5.3), which is used as a pseudo-verb to express ‘to want’ or future tense, is sometimes further shortened and prefixed to a verb. For instance, baddak (2msg) and baddik (2fsg) are reduced to bak-, and badna (1cpl) to bā-: yašni ʔinta bak-tašrif219 ʔaš šikl[ɛ]# ‘so, you (msg) want to know what shape it (f) is’, ʔašu bak-təʔūl ‘what will you (msg) say?’, həli bak-isʔal220 ʕanun… ‘these you (msg) should ask about…’, sʔali ū baddik ʔalīli bak-tisʔalīn[ɛh]#221 ‘ask (fsg) what do you (fsg) want, (ask what) you (fsg) told me (that) you (fsg) will ask me!’, ba-tilbis ‘she will wear’, waʔta bā-nixtōb# ‘when we wanted222 to be engaged’, bā-nihṣibin kam sēna ʔər[o]# ‘we will count them, (we will count) how many hours they are’,223

There are also a few occurrences of laḥ, e.g., ʔəl halla ma laḥ-t[o w]h# ‘he said: now he is not going to go’, which is very likely a loan.

---

219 < baddak tašrif.
220 < baddak tisʔal.
221 < baddik tisʔalīn.
222 Literally: we want to.
223 Literally: they became.
3.5 Pseudo-verbs, auxiliary verbs, and serial verbs

3.5.1 ʔissē- ‘still’

Related to the adverb ʔissa ‘more’, ‘yet’ (§3.8.3.5) is a pseudo-verb inflected with pronominal suffixes to mean ‘to be still __’, e.g., hēdi... ʔabbit ʔananās bi š-šažra ʔissēh[ɛ]# ‘this is... a pineapple, it (f) is still in the tree’, w ʔissē bala šēzi ‘he is still not married’, ʔiš-šatli bitkūn ʔissēha ɣīrī ʔawil225 manak šitil[ɛ]#226 ‘the sapling (is what) would be still small in the beginning of when you have planted it (f)’, ʔē niḥna ʕa ʔādna227 b wēḥid ɣīyār ma ʔiltillak bitkūn ʔissēk ḥān ‘yes, we, by our feast day, in the first of May, did not I tell you (msg) that you will still be here?’, ʔē brūd hānī w ʔissēna ?̥š̥ēdim228 barrā šāb hānī brū#229 yes, it is (moderate) cold here – and we were still sitting –, outside is warm, here is cold’.

3.5.2 ʕind- ~ ʕand- ‘with’, ‘to have’

The preposition ʕind ~ ʕand ‘with’, ‘at’ (§3.9.5) is also used with pronominal suffixes as a pseudo-verb in the meaning of ‘to have’, e.g., w ʕindu ḡlēd... ‘and he has kids...’, ʕinda dikk ɛ̄ n... ‘she has a shop...’.

3.5.3 bad(d)- ~ bid(d)- ‘to want’

The form bad(d)- ~ bid(d)- inflected with pronominal suffixes is used as a pseudo-verb to express ‘to want’ or future tense. When it takes a pronominal object, this takes the form of yē- with pronominal suffix, e.g., ʔtihki maʕ il baddak yē[ɛ]# ‘you (msg) talk to whom (msg) you want to’. It may take an Imperfect verb as its complement, e.g., sʔali ʔu bidik tisʔal[ɛ]# ‘ask (fsg) what you want to ask!’

The form for 1cpl has variants with m-, through assimilation. Many forms have also short variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Short Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>baddu ~ badu ~ bidu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>(badda ~ bada)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>baddak ~ badak ~ bāk ~ biddak ~ bidak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>(baddik ~ badik) ~ bidik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>baddi ~ badi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cpl</td>
<td>(baddin ~ badin) ~ badi ~ -un#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

224 Literally: without marriage.
225 < ʔawwil.
226 < šatila < šetila < šetil + a.
227 < ŝîdāna.
228 < ṭ̥š̥ēdim.
229 < brūd.
There are also occurrences where the forms are further shortened and prefixed to a verb. These are presented in the section on verb modifiers (§3.4.3).

3.5.4 $fî$ – ‘there is’, ‘to be able’

The word $fî$ ‘in it’ (§3.9.8) expresses ‘there is/are’ (i.e. existential function), e.g., $w$ la kēn $fî$ hāl-$râmärâ$; ‘and there was not these sicknesses…’, $Marwa$ $fî$ wi$hî$ $râsma$ $Marw[e^h]$ # ‘Marwa, there is someone whose name is Marwa’.

The stem $fî$- is used with pronominal suffixes as a pseudo-verb before the Imperfect, participles, and prepositions to mean ‘to be able’, e.g., $mâ$ $fînî$ $ʕîs$ $i$b $Bayrût$ ‘I cannot live in Beirut’, $ʕallî$ $fî$ $tîhki$ $rîm$ $mîn$ $n$ $rîm[o^h]$ # ‘… $ʕal$$̄e$ $râna$ $w$ yēkî $w$ $hây$ # ‘he told me (fsg): can you talk, can we become…? (in) a relationship, me and you, and such’, $râna$ $mâ$ $fînî$ $l$ $ēk$ $rêxid$ ’$mîn$- $mîn$- $knîsî$ $mâh[â]n$ $[mîn]$ # ‘I cannot – look (msg)! – take from… from the church (not even) a napkin’, $mâ$ $fînâ$ $ʕlah$ # ‘we cannot defeat them’.

3.5.5 $ʔidîr$ – ‘to be able’

The verb $ʔidîr$ is used as an auxiliary verb to mean ‘to be able’, e.g., $kîl$ $wēhîd$ $mâv$ $zîd$ $bîl$-$îsî$ $w$ $rîndu$ $hâ$ $bîl$-$bêt$ $rîndu$ $xît$-$yîr$ $bîl$-$bêt$ $kîl[0]$ # ‘everyone who is present at the wedding and have someone at home, have an old person, have someone who could not come (to the wedding) – all of the family’ can not participate’, $xît$-$yîr$ $mâ$ $byiʔdir$ $yîz$ $yâl$$̄a$ $ʕabb[â]n$ $[mîn]$ # ‘an old person who can not come, go on fill (cpl) (a container of left-overs for them)’.

It is also used in a serial verb construction, e.g., $râna$ $ʔîz$ $mâ$ $zîl$-$êt$ $w$-$sîmîl$ $t$-$w$- $[mîn]$ $mâ$ $byiʔdir$ $bêkîl$ $rînd$ $hâd$-$an$ $b$$̄nâb$ $ʔâbd$-$an$ $ʔâbd$-$[mîn]$ # ‘I, if I do not do the dishes and make and… I cannot eat at someone else’s house at all, at all, at all’.

---

230 $<$ $ʕal$$̄e$ $râna$.
231 Cf. $hēk$ – $hâk$ – $hayk#$ (§2.4.2).
232 Cf. $ʕlahun$ – $ʕlahon$# (see p. 45).
233 Short form of $hâd$-$an$.
234 $<$ $xît$-$yîr$.
235 Short form of $hâd$-$an$.
236 $<$ $yîz$.
237 $<$ Literally: the house.
238 $<$ $xît$-$yîr$.
239 For a definition of serial verb constructoins, see Aikhenvald (2018).
240 $<$ $ʕâbd$-$an$.
241 Literally: by/next to someone.
3.5.6  \textit{kēn} ‘to be’

The verb \textit{kēn} is used as an auxiliary before the (b)-Imperfect and participles, shifting the time reference back, e.g., ʔana \textit{kint} \textit{sam-bihki maʕ} ʔa\textit{ħb} [e]242 ‘I was talking to my friend’, \textit{l-masihįyî kēnu ʔištīglu}243 \textit{ʔinдоn}# ‘the Christians used to work for them’, \textit{kēnu ʔiʔūlu}... ‘they used to say...’, \textit{kinna ʔēyīn}243 \textit{bil-bēxra ‘we were coming by the ship’, ʔahlī kēn \textit{yżiyin} \textit{wλēd}244 \textit{w ʔymūl[o]}# ‘my family used to/would get\textsuperscript{245} children and they used to/would die’.

It is also combined with the Perfect, expressing a hypothetical event, e.g., \textit{ʔana ʔihiba[e]}# | \textit{ma fiňi ġīš \textit{b} Bayrůt kēnt \textit{mitt[h]}# ‘I brought her (to the village), I cannot live in Beirut, I would have died (if we kept living there)’.

3.5.7  \textit{ḍal(l)} ~ \textit{dal(l)} ‘to stay’, ‘to remain’, ‘keep on’

The verb \textit{ḍal(l)} ~ \textit{dal(l)} ‘to stay’, ‘to remain’ is used as an auxiliary verb before the Imperfect and participles, expressing ‘keep (on)’, e.g., \textit{ʔē} \textit{masa niňna ʔa \textit{ʔiyyēmma... ʔahīr bičdalla\textsuperscript{246} tiži l-ʕaddl[e]}#247 ‘yes, for example at our time, people would keep coming up to one month’, \textit{bdall \textit{ʔidid}... ‘I keep sitting...’}.

It is also used in a serial verb construction, e.g., \textit{bass \textit{bdall} \textit{bʕīdu b rüşi ʔinnu ʔana \textit{ʕlayyi niď[r]}# ‘but I keep repeating it in my head that I have a vow’.

It can also take pronominal suffixes, e.g., \textit{dallak hā\textsuperscript{248} ‘stay (msg) here!’}, \textit{dallik ʕazzbīni ‘you (fsg) always tire me out/you keep tiring me out’\textsuperscript{249}}.

3.5.8  \textit{ṣɔ̄r} ‘to become’, ‘to start’

The verb \textit{ṣɔ̄r} is usually used as an auxiliary before the Imperfect expressing the inchoative. The following are some examples: \textit{ṣɔ̄r} \textit{yʔūlu}... ‘they started to say...’, \textit{ṣɔ̄r yihki ʕanna}... ‘he started to talk about her...’.

It is also used in a serial verb construction with a similar function, e.g., \textit{ṣɔ̄r ʰikima ma baʕ... ʔiʃhēl w ʔistifrɔ̄g w ˈgayr[∅]}# ‘she started to have\textsuperscript{250} – I do not kn... – diarrhea and such\textsuperscript{251}’.

\textsuperscript{242} < \textit{yištīglu}.
\textsuperscript{243} < \textit{ʔēyīn}.
\textsuperscript{244} < \textit{wλēd}.
\textsuperscript{245} Literally: to come to them.
\textsuperscript{246} < \textit{bičdalla}.
\textsuperscript{247} < l-ʕaddl[e].
\textsuperscript{248} Cf. ĥん/hăn – \textit{hawn}# (§2.4.2).
\textsuperscript{249} Literally: stay (fsg) tiring me up!
\textsuperscript{250} Literally: it (m) ruled her.
\textsuperscript{251} Literally: other than it (m).
3.5.9 ʔām ‘to stand up’, ‘to start’, ‘then’

This verb is sometimes used in a serial verb construction, that is combined asyndetically with another verb of the same tense/aspect/mood and person, e.g., bašđ il-ḡada bʔām biżl[e:]# ‘after the lunch I start to do the dishes’, ʔāmu ḡann[o]# ‘start (cpl) to sing!’, ʔe sikritēra252 yašni m-... ma biżīb wiḥdi ǧarībi ʔām źēb ʔix[t[ob]]# ‘yes, (she is) a secretary, that’s to say… he would not take/hire 253 someone stranger, so/then he took/hire his sister’.

In the following case, it is an uninflected particle: ʔām254 šu šat255 ʔyūlu š-šēxtā[b]# ‘then what did they start to say is Shaykhtab’.

In some contexts the verb is used with active participle, e.g., ʔiži t wiḥd[ǝˑʰ]# || la ḡann[e:]# || ʃešit ṣat-twālēt ma šābnit dah[e:]h256 || ʔižiš tēkil ma’s… hān mašna bi ṣat-ʃēv[w[e:]# ‘someone (f) came to us, she went to the toilet, (and) she did not soap her hands (afterwards), then she came to eat with… here, with us, in, on the table’.

3.5.10 ʔiža ‘to come’

The verb ʔiža ‘to come’ is also sometimes used in a serial verb construction, e.g., ṣā byižu biżillūli badna ʔanīš nām brōtēl257 masān ḡeđa brōtē[l]\# ‘aha, they come and tell me (that) they want an embroidered nightdress, for example, this is a brōtē[\], šešnī xayyi ʔiža ḡalla la ḡimm[e:]# ‘my brother saw me, he then (came and) told my mother’, rižiš ʔiža ṣallām hōm258 bi d-day’a waʔtā ʔiža ḡana ḡibba\yn\[a]# ‘he returned (to the village), he started to go to school here in the village, when he came, I, we loved each other’, byižu byiḥku biy[il]būwa biʔūlu badda\n hal-bīn[\] la ḡas-šab[\]# ‘they come, they talk, they ask for her, they say: we want this girl for this boy’.

3.5.11 rāḥ ‘to go’

The verb rāḥ ‘to go’ is also sometimes used in a serial verb construction, e.g., w’trakt ‘w riḥt riḥt ’ṣtagalt bi Bayrūt[h]\# ‘and I left and went, I went to work to Beirut’, riḥt žib’īt far’stayn\#259 ‘I went and brought two beds’, biṭrū(h) biṣal-lim... ‘you (msg) go and teach…’.

252 < French secrétaire.
253 Literally: bring.
254 < ʔām. Allegro.
255 < ṣār. Allegro.
256 ‘her hands’.
257 < French broderie (?).
258 < hōm.
259 < far’stayn.
3.6 Verbs with object suffixes

3.6.1 Direct object suffixes

The suffixes, their variants and the relevant rules are already given in §3.1.1.3. Verbs also follow the rules outlined in §3.1.1.3. In this section, I will present how certain verbal forms are affected when they have suffixes. Either the stem or the suffixes may vary, or both.

(I) Object suffixes with verbal forms ending in \(-C(i)C\)

The following are examples of 1msg and 2msg verbal forms in the Perfect with object suffixes (\(kalt\)\(^\prime\) ‘I/you (msg) ate’, \(kalt\) ‘I/you (msg) ate it (m)’):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>kalt-(u)</td>
<td>3cp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>kalt-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>kalt-(ak)</td>
<td>2cpl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>kalt-(ik)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>kalt-(ni)</td>
<td>1cpl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(II) Suffixes with verbal forms ending in \(-\(\ddot{v}\)C\)

The following are examples of 3msg verbal forms in the Perfect with object suffixes (\(\ddot{sh}\) ‘he saw’, \(\ddot{sh}\)\(-\(u\) ‘he saw him’):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(-(u)</td>
<td>3cp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(-a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(-(ak)</td>
<td>2cpl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(-ik)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(-ni)</td>
<td>1cpl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(III) Suffixes with verbal forms ending in \(-\(v\)C\)

(a) 3msg verbal forms in the Perfect with suffixes

The following are examples of 3msg verbal forms in the Perfect with suffixes (\(\ddot{sh}\)\(rib\) ‘he drank’ \(\ddot{sh}\)\(rib\)-\(u\) ‘he drank it (m)’):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3msg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(u), (\ddot{sh})(ib)-(s)-(u), (\ddot{at})-(l)-(u), m(aw)(w)t-(u)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(a), (\ddot{at})-(l)-(a), m(aw)(w)t-(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cp</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(in) – -un#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2msg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(ak), (\ddot{at})-(l)-(ak), s(im)-(s)-(ak), m(aw)(w)t-(ak)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fsg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(ik), (\ddot{at})-(l)-(ik), m(aw)(w)t-(ik)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cpl</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(kin) – -un#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1csg</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(ni), (\ddot{at})-(l)-(ni), m(aw)(w)-(ni)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cpl</td>
<td>(\ddot{sh})(rib)-(na)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have seen, the second pattern vowel is deleted in verbal forms with 3sg, 3fsg, 2msg, and 2fsg suffixes. There are also, however, occurrences in which the second pattern vowel is not deleted: \(\ddot{sh}\)\(rib\)-\(u\) ‘he drank it (m)’, m\(aw\)\(w\)-\(u\) ‘he killed him’, \(\ddot{sh}\)\(rib\)-\(a\) ‘he drank it (f)’, m\(aw\)\(w\)-\(ak\) ‘he killed you (2msg)’, \(\ddot{sh}\)\(rib\)-\(ik\) ‘he drank you (fsg)’, m\(aw\)\(w\)-\(ik\) ‘he killed you (fsg)’. These are, however, less common in the data analysed.
(b) 3fsg verbalforms in the Perfect with suffixes
Below are examples of 3fsg verbalforms in the Perfect with suffixes (šīrbīt ‘she drank’ šīrbīt-u ‘she drank it (m)’, lasbīt-u ‘she made him play’). Note that the stress placement is irregular (§2.7).

3msg  šīrbīt-u, šaddīt-u, šēfīt-u, lasbīt-u
3fsg   libsīt-a, ḫimlīt-a, šaddīt-a, lasbīt-a
3cp    libsīt-in – -un#, (darbīt-in) –  ḷarbīt-un#
2msg   šaddīt-ak, lasbīt-ak
2fsg   (libsīt-ik), lasbīt-ik
2cpl   libsīt-kin – -kun#, lasbīt-kun#
1csg   (libsīt-nī), lasbīt-nī
1cpl   šaddīt-na, šēfīt-na

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), one of the variables used to distinguish between the Central-North and Central-South groups in Lebanon is what happens to the unstressed short vowel of the inflection in 3fsg verbalforms in the Perfect, when suffixed, whether it is elided (as in CN) or retained (as in CS) (p. 126):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central-North</th>
<th>Central-South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏāṟbet</td>
<td>ḏāṟbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏāṟṟḇto (~ ḏarḇto)</td>
<td>ḏaṟḇṯto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏarḇṯa</td>
<td>ḏaṟḇṯa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fleisch also remarks that this feature of CN is also found in the dialects of the North group (ibid, 132–133). As we have just seen, ṢṭA fits in the CN and North groups in this regard. This is also the case for Bišmizzīn, e.g., fihmtū ~ fih’mtu ‘she understood him [sie verstand ihn]’, ḷarbūk ~ ḷarbūk ‘she hit you (msg) [sie schlug dich (m)]’ (Jiha 1964, 146).

(c) Verbs in the Imperfect ending in a consonant with suffixes
These are represented here by 3fsg/2msg verbal forms, but 3msg, 1sg and 1pl forms behave in the same way, e.g., bīlībis ‘she wears’, bīlībīs-a ‘she wears it (f)’; bīlībīs-in – -un# ‘she wears them’. The stress placement here is also irregular (§2.7).

(IV) Suffixes with verbalforms ending in -v, namely -a, -i or -u
When a verbalform ending in a short vowel takes a direct object suffix, the length of the vowel is restored and the stress is moved to the vowel, e.g., ħadnā ‘we took’, ħadnā ‘we took him’; ħaddī ‘you (fsg) took’ ḷaddī ‘you (fsg) took him’; šaw(w)fu ‘they showed (trans.)’ šaw(w)fu ‘they showed him’.

(a) 1cpl verbs in the Perfect with suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3msg</th>
<th>xadnē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3cp xadnē-yin – -yun#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fsg</td>
<td>xadnē-ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.2 Indirect object suffixes

The indirect object suffixes after -vC or -VC are -lu (3msg), -la (3fsg), -lak (2msg), -lik (2fsg), -li (1csg), -lin – -lun# (3cpl), -ilik – -ilkin# (2cpl), and -ilna (1cpl), e.g., wasaf-lu 'he prescribed for him', wasaf-la 'he prescribed for her', ūmil-li... 'he made for me...'. When a verbal form ending in -VC takes an indirect object suffix, the preceding long vowel is shortened, e.g., (žīb + la >) žib-la 'bring (msg) for her!', ma bidik iʔāmi ya ūarūs īšawfīna šu (žēb260 + lik >) żāb-lik il-ūarıš || 'o bride, won’t you go and show us what the groom brought for you?'. In cases where the long vowel is /ū/ it is usually shifts to a short /i/, e.g., (minʔūl + lin >) minʔil-lun 'we say to them'.

The above-mentioned suffixes are also used after -v, except for 2cpl and 1cpl forms where -ilik – -ilkin# and -ilna are used respectively, e.g., žēbū-lu261 ‘they brought for him’, șār li-šyēd īžibū-lna262 žžib-ūlna263 ?ählça tyē[ʰ]# || ‘they, she started to bring us the best clothes’.

The indirect object suffixes after -CC are -illu (3msg), -illa (3fsg), -illak (2msg), -illik (2fsg), -illi (1csg), -illin – -illun# (3cpl), -ilik – -ilkin# (2cpl), and -ilna (1cpl), e.g., ?ilt-illu ‘I told him’, ḫilt-ilna ‘you (msg) told us’.

3.6.3 Double object constructions

When a verb takes two pronominal objects, one of them is expressed by the particle yē- with pronominal suffix, e.g., ḫē ma btārif264 il-ʔimm šu bē w hēk

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260 <*žāb.

261 When a verbal form ending in a short vowel takes an indirect object suffix, the length of the vowel is restored and the stress is moved to the vowel: žēbū + lu > žēbū-lu.

262 < yžību + lna.

263 < tžībūna < tžīb + ilna.

264 < btārif (§2.1.1.8).
‘byîś’mlūłu šwayy yēnsūn hēk biśarbū yēhôh’<sup>265</sup> ‘yes, the mother does not know what he has and such, (so) they make some anis like that, they get him to drink it’,<sup>266</sup> bikūn la ḥahl il-mayyit la yēshawiṣa yē ‘it will be for the family of the dead (person) in order to show it (m) to the family’.

An indirect object can be expressed with l-, e.g., ḥaššrīlī yē ṣaw baddī yē mʔ̣ašš[ʔ]# ‘peel (fsg) it (m) for me or I want it (m) peeled’, ḥaššrīlī yē ṣaw baddī yē mʔ̣ašš[ʔ]# ‘I would buy<sup>268</sup> the clothes but say he was who brought them for me’.

### 3.7 Nouns

#### 3.7.1 Gender

Masculine nouns are morphologically unmarked, e.g., mʕallim ‘teacher (m)’, while most feminine nouns are marked. The feminine singular inflection is either -<i>i</i> or -<i>a</i>. This is usually predictable from the final consonant of the noun. If this consonant is an emphatic, pharyngeal, post-velar or glottal /ʔ/ (<*q*), the feminine ending is -<i>a</i>, e.g., ḥašša ‘story’, ṣōmā ‘maid’, ḥašša ~ ḥašša ‘piece’, ‘item’. The feminine ending is usually also -<i>a</i> if the final consonant is /<i>r</i>/, e.g., baʔra ‘cow’, ṣaʔra ‘tree’. Otherwise the feminine ending is -<i>i</i>, e.g., mʕallimī ‘teacher (f)’, kalbi ‘bitch’, baddi ‘dress’. When pronominal suffixes (<sup>§</sup>3.1.1.3) are added, the feminine inflection is realized as -<i>t</i>-, e.g., kirʃiti<sup>269</sup> ‘my chair’.

Loanwords ending in -<i>a</i> are usually allocated feminine gender, e.g., šokola ‘chocolate’, magana ‘machine’, ḥaɗa ‘room’.

Feminine nouns without the feminine marker -<i>a</i> or -<i>i</i> are all nouns which index animate beings of female sex, e.g., ḥixt ‘sister’, ḥimm ‘mother’, ḥarūs ‘bride’. These also include several paired parts of the body, i.e., dēn ~ daynī ‘ear’, ūn ~ ūnī# ‘eye’, ‘spring’, ḥid ‘hand’, ḥidr ‘foot’, ḥid ‘buttocks’. There are also a few other unmarked feminine nouns, i.e., ḥarūs ‘ear’, ḥam ‘soul’, ḥay(y) ~ ḥay ‘water’.

Some of the feminine nouns which are unmarked in the absolute state have the feminine -<i>t</i>- before pronominal suffixes, e.g., ḥarūṣtī ‘my bride’, ḥenti ‘his ear’. In the word for ‘water’ the -<i>t</i>- is realized emphatic: mayyitn~ – mayyitun# ‘their water’, ṭaayiyā ‘her water’.

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<sup>265</sup> <i>yēhōn</i> ~ <i>yēhun</i>.

<sup>266</sup> Literally: them.

<sup>267</sup> <i>ʔul</i>.

<sup>268</sup> Literally: bring.

<sup>269</sup> The word-final /<i>i</i>/ in kirʃi has been reanalysed as a feminine marker. The original form, i.e., *kursī, was masculine.
3.7.2 Definite article

The attested variants of the definite article in ŠṭA are (ʔi)l and li. Words with initial Cv-/C̣v- take (ʔi)l as the definite article, while words with initial CC-takes li, e.g., l-lēl ‘the night’, li-wlēd ‘the kids’. The vowel in (ʔi)l is epenthetic. It is optional in sentence-initial position: l-lēl ~ ʔil-lēl. In non-sentence-initial position, it disappears if the preceding word ends in a vowel, while it appears if the preceding word ends in a consonant, e.g., bi l-lēl ‘at night’, kaltu l-yōm ‘you (cpl) ate today’, śan iš-śažra ‘from the tree’.

The /i/ in (ʔi)l usually alternates with /a/ after pharyngeal /ʕ/, e.g., w byimši miš al-bebe ‘and he walks with the baby’, maʕ al-ʕa̱lam ‘with the people’.

When a noun is definite and modified by an adjective usually both take the definite article. However, some examples are attested where the definite article only occurs on the adjective, e.g., fistiʔ il-ḥalabi ‘pistachio’, tišrīn it-tēni ‘November’.

3.7.3 States

The construct state (so called ʔiḍāfa) is the form which links two nouns together to designate a genitive or possessive relationship between them.

In the construct state, the feminine inflection (-i or -a) is replaced by -it, e.g., mšallmit madirsi ‘school teacher (f)’, šažrit mišmiš ‘apricot tree’. In the vicinity of pharyngeal /ʃ/, the -i optionally alternates with -at, e.g., ʔiṭʕit šała ‘a piece of prayer’, ʔiṭʕit žibni ‘a piece of cheese’, biṣaḷḷi ʔiṭʕat il baddu yṣaḷḷīya lal-ʕīrs ɛ̄m biṣaḷḷīy [e] ‘he prays the piece (f) which he wanted to pray for the groom and bride, he prays it (f)’. At least some feminine loanwords ending in -a take this construct inflection, e.g., ʔūḍit ʔaʕdi ‘living room’.

Masculine nouns have the same form in the construct as in the absolute (unmarked) state, e.g., mʕallim madarsī ‘school teacher (m)’. This is also usually the case in unmarked feminine nouns, e.g., ūn id-ḍayʕa ‘the spring (f) of the village’.

In ŠṭA, the usage of a genitive exponent has also been attested in order to express a possessive or genitive relationship between two nouns.270 The attested forms are tabaʕ, tabʕit, tabʕīt, and tabʕūl, e.g., li-prīṣ271 tabaʕ it-telifōn272 ‘the socket of the telephone’, l-ʕažwi tabʕit il-mišmiš ‘the stone of the apricot’, li-ppō273 tabʕūl il... zahr ‘the pot of... the flower’, kill... ‘mṣōrīf tabaʕ id-dafn274 ‘all... the costs of the burial’. They can also be used with

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270 It seems that the majority of elderly consultants do not or seldomly use a genitive exponent: Texts from three elderly consultants do not give any occurrence of an exponent. Texts from two other elderly and one middle-aged consultants each give only one or two occurrences of an exponent. In texts from other only three consultants (one elderly and two middle-aged) do we find a number of occurrences of exponents.

271 < French prīse.

272 < French téléphone.

273 < French pot. The /p/ in this loanword is sometimes articulated as geminated, see fn 451.
pronounal suffixes, e.g., ta ... rabšt tabš[0]# ‘to... his extended family’, ša-l-āb[1]# || tabšīlu ‘on his grave’, l-mfīṭīḫ tabšīlu ‘his keys’, t-ṭažrībi tabšīna ‘our experience’, l-ḥadīs tabšīni ‘my conversation’, b ṣAfīṭ[y][e-h]# || fi mīl... l-mōz tabašn[e-h]# ‘in Africa, there are bananas like ours’.

There is also one occurrence of a plural form, i.e., tabšīn: ṣē bass ʔaktar šī byistašmlu tabšīn dišē il-madani w il-žēš ṭw kaža[:# ‘yes, but the people of the civil defence, the army, and such are those who use it (m) the most’.

3.7.4 Dual

The dual is formed by adding a suffix -ēn – -āyn#, e.g., (walad) waldēn – waldayn# ‘two kids’, (ʔūda) ḥodēn – ḥodàyn# ‘two rooms’. The pausal form -āyn tends to follow the rules outlined in §2.4.2.

3.7.5 Plural

ŠṭA, like other Arabic dialects, has external and internal plurals (the so-called broken plural). There are three suffixes used in forming the plurals: -ēt or -ēt (~ -ēt), -īn and -i. The plural inflection -ēt/-ēt follows general rules regarding the split of historical long *ā (§2.3.2.1). The feminine endings -i and -a on a singular noun disappear when the noun takes a plural suffix, e.g., šaʔṭi ‘piece’ pl šaʔṭīt-ēt, mšallī ‘teacher (f)’ pl mšallīm-ēt, baʔra ‘cow’ pl baʔrā-ēt; mšallīm ‘teacher (m)’ pl mšallīm-īn, sini ‘year’ pl sn-īn. If a singular noun ends in -a (<*ā), the ending is changed to -ay when the noun takes a plural suffix, e.g., mistišfa ‘hospital’ pl mistišfay-ēt. Singular nouns/adjectives ending in nisha -i, usually designating a member of a group, take -yi in plural, e.g., libnēni ‘Lebanese’ pl libnēniyī, xīṭēri ‘elderly’ pl xīṭērīyī. Nouns ending in -ā, usually designating professions, also take -yi in plural, e.g., xaḍarži ~ xaḍaržīyī.

The internal plurals are also widely attested in ŠṭA. These include the following patterns:


274 There are also occurrences of lwēn, sẉýf and ḥaṣy in the data.
CiCaC, e.g., (ʔišsa) ʔišaš ‘stories’, (ritbi) ritab ‘ranks’; (ṣūra) ʃiwar275 ‘pictures’, ʔiwaḍ ‘rooms’, (dawli) diwal ‘countries’;
CaCiC, e.g., (ʃabd) ʃabd ‘slaves’;
CiCCi, e.g., (xayy) ʔixwī276 ‘siblings’;
CiCCa, e.g., (ḥakim) ẖikma ‘doctors’;
ʔaCCCI, ʔaCCCi, e.g., (ḥṣm) ʔaḥšnī ‘horses’, (suʔel) ʔasʔili ‘questions’,
CiCCiiCi, e.g., (dawa) ʔidwiyi277 ‘medicines’;
CiCCEE, CiCCCiC, e.g., (rēkib) rēkēb ‘merchants’, (tēzir) tīzīr ‘merchants’;
CiCīn e.g., (ʔibr) ʔiḇnī ‘neighbours’;
ʔiCĒCi, ʔiCĒCi, e.g., (ʔiš’m) ʔisēmi ‘names’, (ʔar’d) ʔirūdī ‘lands’;
CCECi, CCĒCi, e.g., (ʔinnī) ʔinēni ‘bottles’, (xōbyī) xōbī ‘casks’, (ṣaynīyī) šwēni ‘trays’, (firōshī) fīrūšī ‘brushes’, (kisrī) kīršī ‘chairs’;
CCECa, e.g., (ḥdīyī) ḥdīya ‘presents’;
CCēCiC, e.g., (xūrī) xūrīnī ‘priests’;
CaCCEE, e.g., (diktēr) diktētra ‘medical doctors’;
CCECiC ~ CaCCECiC, e.g., (kinnī) knēyīn ‘daughters in law’, (ṣbīnī) šbēyīn ‘god mothers’, (madīrsī) mdēris ~ mdēris ‘schools’, (daftar) ḏēṭir ~ ḏafēṭir ‘notebooks’;
CCECī, mCĒCiC, CCēCiC e.g., (sikkīn) ṣkēnīn ‘knives’, (sandūʔ(a)) snēdīʔ ‘boxes’, (mašrūš) mšērīš ‘projects’, (šibbīt) šbōbīt ‘shoes’.

3.7.6 Plural and dual in some loanwords

Loanwords are pluralized with the plural suffix -ēt or -ēt (~ -ēt), e.g., gravāt ~ graʃāt ~ gravāt ‘tie’ pl ɡrawatt-ēt, ʒīt ‘plastic bowl’ pl ʒīt-ēt, or are formed with an internal plural, e.g., balkōn ‘balcony’ pl blēkin. If a singular noun ends in -ō or -e the ending is changed to -ūy and -ey respectively when the noun takes a plural suffix, e.g., pō278 ‘flower pot’ pl pōy-ēt, bebe279 ‘baby’ pl bebe-yēt.

Some consultants, however, do not use a plural suffix nor form an internal plural in some loanwords from French, but use the singular even for plural. They do, however, regularly use the dual suffix for three items:

pappiyōn
pappiyōnt-ēn
qlēt pappiyōn
kāsk ~ kask
kask-ēn
qlēt kāsk

‘bow tie’
‘two bow ties’
‘three bow ties’
‘helmet’
‘two helmets’
‘three helmets’

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275 ~ śiwar §2.3.1.4.
276 ~ xayy-ēt. The internal plural of this noun is more common in the data.
277 ~ ʔadwi. There are several occurrences of ʔadwi, while there is only one occurrence of ʔadwi in the data.
278 ~ French pot. The /p/ in this loanword is sometimes articulated as geminated, see fn 451.
279 ~ French bébé.
sēntūr ‘belt’
sēntūr-ēn ‘two belts’
tlēti sēntūr ‘many belts’
hōfir ‘vacuum cleaner’
hōfirt-ēn ‘two vacuum cleaners’
tlēti hōfir ‘three vacuum cleaners’

In a few cases even the dual suffix is not used: the noun is entirely uninflected for number:

gān ~ gān ~ gan ‘wearshape’
ṭēn gān ~ gān ~ gan ‘two wearshapes’
ṭlēti gān ~ gān ~ gan ‘three wearshapes’
skūtir ‘scooter’
ṭēn skūtir ‘two scooters’
ṭlēti skūtir ‘three scooters’
kōlyē ād ‘necklace’
ṭēn kōlyē ‘two necklaces’
ṭlēti kōlyē ‘three necklaces’

3.8 Adverbs

3.8.1 Demonstrative adverbials

The demonstrative adverbials attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA are given below. The pausal forms tend to follow the rules outlined in §2.4.2.

3.8.1.1 hān ~ hān – haw ‘here’

The variants hān ~ hān are those most commonly attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA. There are also occurrences of the pausal variant, i.e., haw. The forms hāni ~ hāni are also attested but are less common.281

3.8.1.2 hawnīk(i) ~ hanīk(i) ‘there’

The hawnīk(i) and hanīk(i) are those most commonly attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA. Almost all consultants use exclusively one or the other. There are also two occurrences of hānīk in the data.282

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280 Cf. its synonym ġaḍ, ġaḍ-ēn ‘two necklaces’, pl ġāḍī, which is also attested in the data.
281 Data is available from all ten consultants. Texts from seven consultants frequently give hān ~ hān, and the occurrences of hāni ~ hāni are much less common. Moreover, texts from two consultants give only hān ~ hān. Texts from one consultant, however, frequently give hāni ~ hāni, and the occurrences of hān ~ hān are much less than hāni ~ hāni.
282 Data is available from all ten consultants. Texts from (B), (Su), (J), (F) and (M) give hawnīk(i) only. Texts from (L), (Sa), (D) and (A) give hanīk(i) only. Both hawnīk(i) and hanīk(i) are found in texts from (W). The two occurrences of hānīk are found in texts from (F) and (M).
3.8.1.3  **hēk ~ hak – hayk# ‘this way’, ‘like that’**
The most common forms in the data analysed are **hēk ~ hak**. There are also occurrences of the pausal variant, i.e., hayk#. The forms hēki ~ hāki have also been encountered in the data but are much less common than **hēk ~ hak**. There are also a few occurrences of hayki.283

3.8.1.4  **Comparative remarks**
The neighbouring dialects have the following corresponding forms: hān; hānīk; hāk (Tripoli) (El-Hajjé 1954, 169–70), hawn, hawnī; hawnīk, hawnīki, hunīk; hayk (Bižmizzīn) (Jiha 1964, 169, 171, 174). For corresponding forms in other Levantine dialects, see Behnstedt (1997 maps 280-283) and Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019 maps 98, 100, 102-103).

3.8.2  **Interrogative adverbials**
The interrogative adverbials attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA are given below. The forms preferred in pause tend to follow the rules outlined in §2.4.2.

3.8.2.1  **lēš(š) ~ laš – layš# ‘why’**
The most common form is **lēš(š) ~ laš**. There are also a few occurrences of the pausal variant, i.e., layš#. Variant lašu has also been encountered but is less common.284

3.8.2.2  **kīf ‘how’**
The following variant is attested in the data analysed: kīf.

3.8.2.3  **wēn ~ wan ~ wān – wayn# ‘where’**
The common form is **wēn ~ wan ~ wān**. There is also a pausal variant, i.e., wayn#. The form is used also with personal pronoun enclitics: wayn-u (msg) ‘where is he?’, waynî ~ wayn-īyi (fsg) ‘where is she?’, wayn-inni (pl) ‘where are they?’. There are a few occurrences of another variant ʔayna ‘where’ which is probably a loan from MSA.285

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283 Data is available from all ten consultants. Texts from all consultants frequently give **hēk ~ hak**, and hēki ~ hāki are much less common. Moreover, texts from four consultants do not give any instances of hēki ~ hāki. A few occurrences of hayki are found in texts from one consultant only.

284 Data is available from eight out of the ten consultants. Texts from six consultants give at least multiple lēš(š) ~ laš, and give none, only one or a few occurrences of lašu. Texts from one consultant give five occurrences of lašu and three of lēš, and the texts from the other consultant give only one occurrence in this case is lašu.

285 There are only three occurrences of this variant and is found in texts only from one consultant. Texts from the same consultant, however, give at least over fifty occurrences of wēn ~ wān ~ wan.
3.8.2.4 ṭamtin, ṭamti ‘when’
The following variants are encountered in the data analysed: ṭamtin, ṭamti, ṭemtin, ṭamta, ṭemta.\(^{286}\)

3.8.2.5 ṭiddē, ṭiddaš ‘how much’
The forms ṭiddē and ṭiddaš are commonly used. The variants ṭiddēš, ṭaddēš, ṭaddayš, ṭida, ṭaddē have also been encountered.\(^{287}\)

3.8.2.6 kam ‘how many’
There are a few occurrences of kam used as an interrogative. The form, however, is used primarily as an indefinite pronoun (§3.1.5).

3.8.2.7 Comparative remarks
The neighbouring dialects have the following exponents of the above-mentioned forms: lǟš; kīf; wǟn; ṭǟmte, ṭǟmta, ṭǟayš (Tripoli) (El-Hajjé 1954, 165, 169–70), layš, lay; kīf; wayn;\(^{288}\) ṭaymtın, ṭaymta; ṭiddayš, ṭidday (Bišmizzīn) (Jiha 1964, 169–70, 172–74), lǟš; kīf; wǟn;\(^{289}\) ṭaymtın; ṭaddāš (Kfar-Ṣghāb) (Fleisch 1974, 238).

For a survey on corresponding forms in other Levantine dialects see Behnstedt (1997 maps 284-290) and Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019 maps 107-112). For an overview on adverbs in Classical Arabic and modern Arabic dialects with etymological remarks see Watson (2006).

3.8.3 Temporal adverbs
3.8.3.1 halla(ʔ) ‘now’
ŠṭA has the variant halla(ʔ) used for ‘now’.\(^{290}\) In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), the exponent of the temporal adverbial ‘now’ is one of the variables used to distinguish between the Central-North

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\(^{286}\) No sufficient data is available to draw conclusion about which variant is the most common. Data is available only from five consultants, and each variant occur only one or two times within all the texts.

\(^{287}\) Data is available from six consultants out of the ten consultants. Variant ṭiddē is found in texts from five consultants. Texts from four of these consultants also give ṭiddaš. Other variants are found in texts from only one or only two consultants.

\(^{288}\) The form wayn can take pronominal suffixes, namely -ni (1sg), -āk (2msg), -ik (2fsg), -u (3msg), -a (3fsg), -na (1pl), -kun (2pl), -un (3pl), e.g. wayn-ni ‘where am I? [wo bin ich?]’. It can also come with enclitic personal pronouns: wayn-u, wayn-wwi (3msg), wayn-i, wayn-iyyi (3fsg), wayn-ān, wayn-imni (3pl) (Jiha 1964, 169).

\(^{289}\) Also, wāyn-u ‘where is he? [ou est-il?]’.

\(^{290}\) The neighbouring dialects have the following corresponding forms: hālāʔ (Tripoli) (El-Hajjé 1954, 169), hālāʔ, hālāʔṭīn, hālāʔṭīnī, hālāʔṭīn, hālāʔṭīnī (Bišmizzīn) (Jiha 1964, 171).
and and Central-South groups: CN hallāʔ (~ hallāʔ?); CS ṭissa (~ ṭossa) ‘now [maintenant]’ (p. 128).291

3.8.3.2  (min) zamēn ‘in the past’, ‘long time ago’

The word zamēn (lit. ‘time’), optionally combined with the preposition min ‘from’, is used as an adverb in the meaning of ‘in the past’ or ‘long time ago’, e.g.,292 fi šēx zam[ē-]# || biżi ġad-day[a-]# ‘there was a Shaykh in the past, he comes to the village’, nihna kinna niṣ̌illu zamēn ġū‘ilūlna293 miṣ̣t zam/l || ‘we would call it in the past – they (would) tell us – a lice comb’, zamēn mētit kint ṣgīri ʔand[a-]# ‘she died long time ago, I was small’, walla kēnu nḍif min zamēn[#]294 ‘by God, they were clean long time ago’.

3.8.3.3 Ṯiyyēm, ʔawḷt ‘sometimes’; Ṯiyyēma ‘at that time’

There are two words used in the meaning of ‘sometimes’, Ṯiyyēm and ʔawḷt. The form Ṯiyyēm occurs much more than ʔawḷt in the data.295 They are the plural inflection of yōm ‘day’ and ʔawḷt ‘time’ respectively. The Ṯiyyēm is also used regularly in its literal meaning ‘days’, while a few occurrences of ʔawḷt refer only to ‘sometimes’.

The following are some examples: biyīḷbsu y-... Ṯiyyēm sitt ʔiṣha[t]# || ʔaswaʔd# ‘they wear... black sometimes for six months’, bidayyfu296 kill ił-ʃaṭ[η]# || yēda yōm id-daf[η]# || yōm id-daf’n ‘w Ṯiyyēm tēni yām ‘w tēlit yōm ‘w kēḷ_ši w hinni bi-l-ʃaza[’]# ‘they serve food to all people, this is on the burial day, on the burial day and sometimes (they also serve) on the second day and third day and as long as they are in the period of condolences’, biḥdaru ʃaṭ-til-ʃīzyīm Ṯiyyēm[#] ‘I watch him on the tv sometimes’, w Ṯiyyēm bašmilī297 bil-lawz# ‘and sometimes I make them with almonds’, masalan... || F. biʔa’il ʃażma Ṯiyy[ē-]# ‘for example, F. uses the word298 ʃażma sometimes’, xayyi kēn ʔiṣna[l]# || Ṯiyyēm yišṭigil299 Ṭiyyēm lāʔ? || ‘my brother was living with us300, sometimes he would work sometimes not’; kēn ʔawḷt yidribni mišēnumun yaʃ[n]# ‘sometimes he would hit me, because of them that’s to say’.

There is one occurrence of Ṯiyyēma ‘at that time’, which is based on Ṯiyyēm: b źir‘sna[’]# || ma kēn yiṣ̌mlu b Ṯiyyēma gatṭo[’]# || bas ṭana laʔin ūd miłēdi

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291 Under the same point, Fleisch also looks at the word for ‘poor [affamé]’: CN ẓāʕān; CS ẓūʕān (sometimes ẓīʕān) (ibid, 128), most likely in order to examine the reflexes of the diphthong in *zawʕān. In ŠṭA we find ẓāʕān ~ ẓīʕān (§3.3.3.3.4), and in Bīmizzān ẓīʕān (Jiha 1964, 122).
292 Data is available in texts from seven consultants.
293 < yūlūlūna < yūlūlūna < yūlu + lna (§2.3.2).
294 < zamēn.
295 Occurrences of Ṯiyyēm are found in texts from three consultants. Texts from one of these consultants also give occurrences of ʔawḷt.
296 Ṯdyf (§2.1.1.9).
297 < bašmilīn.
298 Literally: he says.
299 < yišṭigil.
300 Literally: he was sitting with us.
kēm\textsuperscript{301} b nafs il-yāwmi\# || ṣmilna… ?innu kēn hū mwaṣṣāli ʕa gatto[\textsuperscript{3}]\# ‘at our wedding – at that time they do not make (the weddings) with cakes – but I, because my birthday was in the same day, we made… it was that he has ordered a cake for me’.

The /a/ in ḫiyūma is the 3fsg suffix ‘at its (f) days’, which has been grammaticalised. There is a similar case in two other adverbs, namely yawmīta and sëṣīta (§3.8.3.4), and in two conjunctions, namely waʔta ‘when’, ‘whenever’ (§3.10.2.3.8), and hayʔita ‘look like’ (§3.10.2.3.13).

3.8.3.4 yawmīta, sëṣīta ‘on that day’, ‘at that time’, ‘back then’, ‘in that case’

There are a few occurrences of yawmīta and sëṣīta in the data.\textsuperscript{302} The first one is used in the meaning of ‘on that day’, ‘at that time’ or ‘back then’, e.g., waʔa\textsuperscript{303} yawmīta kan šaṣri garsō\textsuperscript{304} ḥiltīlu\textsuperscript{305} ḥittīlli nītifit ẓē\textsuperscript{306} ḡ hēk … ‘by God, on that day my hair was garcon (style), I told him: put a bit of gel and such on my hair…’, ṭē l-marḥūm bayyi ma r… ma ṭābil\textsuperscript{307} yawmīta[.\textsuperscript{3}]\# ‘yes, my late father did not… did not accept at that time (that we leave the village)’.

There are also occurrences of yawmīta combined with the preposition min ‘from’: ḥiltīllim\textsuperscript{308} min yawmīt[ɛ]\# || tillīm\textsuperscript{309} mā hārīm[ɛ:\textsuperscript{3}]\# || ma bēxīda mni li-knīs[ɛ\textsuperscript{θ}]\# ‘I told them from that day forth, I told them: I would not take (anything) from the church not even a napkin’, w ḏillēt min yawmīṭa ḥillīn ‘mni li-knīsī mni id-dēr ma b… ‘and since that day I have kept telling them I would not… from the church, from the monastery’.

The sëṣīta is used also in the meaning of ‘in that case’ in the following instances: bass ḥinnu hīyi nēmit laylī baɣrīt il-bēt xalaš sḥēr lēzim baʔa yīẓẓawwāza[\textsuperscript{b}]\#\textsuperscript{310} || sēṣīta l-xūrī ḫyāṣṭiyīw\textsuperscript{311} ṭar[r][\textsuperscript{g}]\# ‘it is just because she slept one night out of the house, it became the case that he has to marry her, in that case the priest would give them a paper’, masa ḥaṣza wēḥid ᵲindo… ḥibnū mšēṭa[\textsuperscript{f}]\# || bi ḡamērka baḍdu yawmēl\textsuperscript{312} la yīẓī yīḥdar id-daf[\textsuperscript{ŋ}]\# || fi minun\# bixallūwi\textsuperscript{313} masa ḥana xšlī xallū tlatt iyyē\textsuperscript{314}|| (MA: wayn bixallū?)

\textsuperscript{301} < kēn.
\textsuperscript{302} Data is available in texts from two consultants. The occurrences of yawmīta and sēṣīta are found in texts from one consultant. Texts from the other consultant give the occurrences of min yawmīta.
\textsuperscript{303} < waʔa.
\textsuperscript{304} < French garcon.
\textsuperscript{305} < ḥiltīlu.
\textsuperscript{306} < French gel.
\textsuperscript{307} The first pattern vowel /i/ sometimes alternates with /a/: ḥiḥbīl ~ ḥaḇil (§3.3.3.1.4).
\textsuperscript{308} < ḥiltīllin.
\textsuperscript{309} < ḥiḥṭīllin.
\textsuperscript{310} < yīṭzāwwāza.
\textsuperscript{311} < ḫyāṣṭiyīn (§2.1.1.9).
\textsuperscript{312} < yawmēn.
\textsuperscript{313} < bixallūwin.
\textsuperscript{314} < ḫiyūm.
for example, if someone has a son who has been living in America, it would take him two days to come and participate in the burial (of his father), they would keep some of them, for example, they kept my maternal uncle three days, (MA: where do they keep him?), at the hospital in the freezer, in the freezer, in that case they would bring him on the day that they want to bury him’.

3.8.3.5 ʔissa ‘more’, ‘yet’

The adverb ʔissa is attested in the meaning of ‘more’ with the (b)-Imperfect, e.g., ṭē w ṭašu ṭissa baddi ʔi[l][e·kʰ]# ‘yes, and what more should I say to you?’, ṭē mnīḥ il-yām w ṭissa bikra mnašṭīk317 ʕsway... l-yām l-ʔah[ədʰ]# ‘yes it is fine today, and tomorrow we will give you a bit more… on Sunday’.

It is also attested with the negated Perfect or participles to mean ‘yet’, e.g., laʔinnin ʔissa ma staw[ə]# ‘because they have not been cooked318 yet’, || lakan ṭissa ma sa’19 ŋindak ‘wle’dd ṭissēkin širṣē[ŋ]# ‘so, you (msg) have not had a child yet, you (cpl) are still a couple without kids’, ṭissa mani ŋelīy... ‘I have not done the dishes yet…’, ṭissa ma mitġayyra ṭabādan ṭabādan ṭaḥ[ədʰ]#20 ‘she had not changed yet at all, at all, at all’, w ma kēn ṭi ṭissa ŋmōṛ ḥidd minū[ʰ]321 ‘and there was no construction next to them yet’, w bikūn ṭissē ḥāk... ṭissa ma staw[ə]# ‘and it (m) will still be like that… it has not ripen yet’.

This adverb is also used as a pseudo-verb to mean ‘still’, sometimes in the adjacent context, as in the latter example (§3.5.1).

3.8.4 Spatial adverbs

Some spatial adverbs have already been mentioned in the demonstrative adverbs (§3.8.1).

3.8.4.1 žiwwa322 ‘inside’
biftahlu l-bēb min žiwwa ‘he opens for him the door from inside’.

3.8.4.2 barra ‘outside’
ʔṢad barra ‘he is sitting outside’.

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315 < l-biṛṛḏ.
316 Literally: has travelled.
317 < mnašṭīk (§2.1.1.9).
318 The verb stawa is also used in the meaning of ‘to be ripen’.
319 < šar < sōr.
320 < ṭabādan.
321 Cf. minin – minun# (see p. 45).
322 Data is available from six consultants. Texts from five consultants each give between two and five occurrences of žiwwa, while texts from the other consultant give one occurrence of žawwa.
3.8.4.3  ḡā’fā ṭupstairs’
ʔana ḡā’ ‘I am upstairs’.

3.8.4.4  taḥ‘l ‘downstairs’
ʔana kīn[323] taḥ‘l bi-[māj]bax ‘I was working down in the kitchen’.

3.8.5  Other adverbs

3.8.5.1  ḥattā ‘even’
w ḥattā lamma biiʔūl… ‘and even when you (msg) say…’, masalan ḥattā
s-siyyāra… ‘for example, even the car…’.

3.8.5.2  bas ‘only’
kēm[324] maʕi brōfē[325] bas ‘I had only a middle school certificate’.

3.9  Prepositions

The prepositions attested in ŠtA include the forms given below. The free form
is given first, preceded by the form with the suffixal stem (used with pronomi-
nal suffixes).

3.9.1 ʕa, ʕala; ʕla(y)- ‘on’, ‘at’, ‘to’, ‘about’
ʔilli biyiṣtīwi ʕa ʕimmu ʔaṣlan ʔap[ɛ]# [326] ‘the one (m) which ripes on the tree[327]
is actually tastes better’, ʕlayy[a ‘on it (f)’, ʕa l-yamīn ‘to/on the right’, ʔinna
rrūḥ[328] ʕa Ḥalba ‘we used to go to Ḥalba’, hē l ma-rrūḥ[329] ʕlē ‘this is the one
we go to’, ʕa ʔiyyēmi ‘at my days’, ʔinni ʔiṭṭamman ʕala ḥal-bint… ‘that I may
be assured about the girl…’.

3.9.2 ʕan; ʕan(n)- ‘about’, ‘from’
mīn il-masʔūl ʕan hāw?# ‘who is the responsible person from here?’,
nidḏafna had-dhēn ʕan il-[ʔar[ɛ]# ‘we cleaned the paint from the surface’, ʔē
ʕmilt hēda l ʕam-ʔallak ʕannu ‘yes, I made this (m) which I told you (msg)
about’, ʔana ṭṭimman[ɬ] ʕannik ‘I was assured about you (fsg)’.

323< kint.
324< kēn.
325< French brevet.
326< ṭatḥab.
327Literally: on its (m) mother’.
328< nrūḥ.
329< ma-nrūḥ.
3.9.3 la ‘for’, ‘to’, ‘until’

batinžēn la-l-ḥaṣ[s] # ‘eggplants for filling’, hēda žēl³³⁰ la-š-šaṣ"r ‘this is gel for the hair’, biži biʔūl la ẓah[l][o]# ‘he comes and tells (to) his family’, lāā tirm id-dafn la-s-sēʔa³³¹ ʔar'bṣ[a[l]# ‘until time of the burial, until four o’clock’.

3.9.4 maʕ ~ miʕ; maʕ- ~ miʕ- ‘together with’

halla ʔana ʔili maṣlaḥa³³² maʕ Maḥmūd ‘now I have an interest/benefit with/from Mahmoud’, ʔē ʔē ḥiḥki maʕ “wlēd[ε:]# ‘yes, yes, you talk with my kids’, žibtim³³³ maʕi ‘I brought them with me’.

3.9.5 ŋind ~ ŋand; ŋind- ~ ŋand- ‘at’, ‘with’, ‘at __’s place’

ʔiža wēḥid la ŋand wēḥid min Surīya[ε]³³⁴ ‘someone (m) came to a person from Syria’, ʔinṭа³³⁵ dillēt ŋind Maḥm[ood̥]³³³ ‘you (msg) stayed with Mahmud’, dillēt ŋindu kill ʹnhār Kibna waɾa[ˑ]³³⁶ ‘I stayed at his place/with him all day, we played cards’.

3.9.6 min; min(n)- ‘from’, ‘of’, ‘than’

min Sūrīya ‘from Syria’, mn-il-Mīn[ε:]³³⁷ ‘from l-Mīna’, mn-id-ḍayʕa ‘from the village’, šam-bithwiwil tēxdu minn[ε]³³⁸ ‘she is trying to take it from her’, wēḥid minnī³³⁹ ‘one of them’, ʔaktar min wēḥid ‘more than one (sg)’, ʔaḥbar minni ‘older/bigger than me’.

3.9.7 b(i); bē- ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘with’, ‘about’


³³⁰ < French gel.
³³¹ < sēʔa (§2.1.1.8).
³³² Texts from the same consultant also give another occurrence of this word where it is pronounced as maṣ’lla and used in the meaning of ‘profession’, ‘job’. Texts from others do not give any occurrence of this word.
³³³ < žibtin.
³³⁴ < ʔinṭa.
³³⁵ Literally: papers.
³³⁶ < minnon.
3.9.8 fî; fî- ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘about’

biḥtuṭṭu fiya l-xib[э]# ‘they put the bread in it (f)’, ...farʾsti ma bnēm fiy[э]# ‘...my bed I do not sleep on it (f)’, byižī ... bižīb qaḥlu byihku fiy[э]# ‘he comes... he brings his parents, they talk about her (the bride)’.

3.9.9 bēn; bayn-, bēn- ‘between’

w... byiš’mlu... mawṣad337 bēm338 baṣḏō̂n# ‘and... they make... a date339 between eachother’, bṣallī bayni w bēr340 rabb[э]# ‘I pray between myself and my Lord’, liʔannu fi taṣ̌iyiš baynētōn# ‘because there is coexistence between eachother’, bēnna w bēn Ṭrō̂bluṣ ‘between us and Tripoli’.

3.9.10 ḫiddēm; ḫiddēm- ‘in front of’

ḵiddēm bēb li-knēsi ‘in front of the door of the church’, ḫiddēmha ~ ḫiddēma ‘in front of her’.

3.9.11 ḥid(d); ḥid-, ḥadd- ‘next to’, ‘beside’

ḥidd il-ṣadra[э]# ‘beside the Virgin’, hēn ḥidd bētn[э]# ‘here next to our house’, byiš’du ḥidd min[э]# ‘they sit next to her’, ḥid minnu ‘next to/beside him’, mīn341 bikūn ḥadd[э-ʰ]#? ‘who stands next to her?’, wʔift ḥiddu ‘I stood beside him’.

3.9.12 žam ‘next to’, ‘beside’

In all occurrences the preposition žamb (< žanb) ‘next to’ is used combined with the preposition min ‘from’, where the /b/ is omitted, e.g., ta tkūn žam min il-maṭbax žam minni mēn b ḥuḏ343 in-nām# ‘so that she is next to the kitchen, beside me, not in the sleeping room’, w bišmil žam344 minnu ṭaratũr kamēn țḥ[in[э]# ‘and I make next to it Tarator as well, Tahini’.

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337 The /i/ (< */i/) usually alternates with /a/ in the pharyngeal environment (§2.3.1.1). There is, however, only one occurrence of this word in the data.
338 < bēn.
339 Literally: and appointment.
340 < bēn.
341 < mīn.
342 Data is available in texts from four consultants.
343 < ḥuḏ. Cf. Turkish oda.
344 < žamb < žanb. Assimilation.
3.9.13 *wara ~ waṛa; waṛ- ‘behind’, ‘after’*

*biqatšu bil-či-... bi... l-žir[*'n]* || marrtên 'tlëti waṛa bašdo'[345] ‘he immerses him in... in... the piscina, two three times one after each other’, *waṛya ‘behind it (f)’.

3.9.14 *dëyir ma ndʒr; dëyir ma ndʒr- ‘all around’, ‘surrounding’*

*bîyimilin... ziyyëh dëyir ma ndʒr ʃt-ʃw[s]* ‘he makes for them... procession all around the table’, w ḥṛ̬'iybîña dëyir ma ndʒra ʃek[345] ‘and her relatives are all around her like that’

3.9.15 *dëyir dëyir; dëyir dayr- ‘around’*

*wbîšиру[346] ñzayyhu bi... -knësi dëyir dëyir ill... || l... l-ţiñzi[i][3]* ‘and they start to march in procession in the... church around... the bible’, ḥe bizayyhu ʃek dëyir dayru wbibax[i][r] ‘yes, they march in procession like that around it (msg) and he censes’

3.9.16 *ʔabl ‘before’*

*mënu ʃa dawri ʔabl minn[eb]* ‘it is not at my time, (it is) before me’, ʔabl ʃi-syêm ‘before the fasting’, ʔabl 'b źim[ča][r] ‘one week before’.

3.9.17 *baʃa‘d ‘after’*

*baʃa‘d xams ‘snin ‘after five years’.

3.9.18 *fʒ~ fğa ‘above’, ‘over’*

*fʒ il-ʃept[347] ‘above the laptop’.

3.9.19 *taḥt ‘below’, ‘under’*

*taḥt ʃaʃʒraʃ ‘under the trees’.

3.9.20 *ʔal'b ‘inside’, ‘in the middle of’*

The *biʃa ʔal'b ‘in/on the heart’, is grammaticalized to mean ‘inside of’, ‘in the middle of’, e.g., btexdu btiḥ'mlu b ʔalb il-ḥêt ‘you (msg) take it (msg), you

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345 Cf. baʃd-in – baʃd-on[3], see p. 45.
346 = biyṣiru.
347 < lęptöp.
348 < šaʒraʃ.
carry it inside the house’; *btitfalla*<sup>349</sup> ḍinta ʕalb iṣ-siyyṣra ‘you (msg) look to the inside of the car’, ḍašu fī b ḍalbon#? ‘what do they have inside them?’.

3.9.21 *baru*ṭ ‘outside …’

The word *baru* ‘outside’ is used as an adverb (§3.8.4.2), and as a preposition in construct state, where it takes -t – thus the -a is also lengthened and shifts to /ɔ̄/, e.g., *baru*ṭ il-bēt ‘outside the house’, *baru*ṭ<sup>350</sup> id-dayʕa ‘outside the village’.

3.9.22 *mit*l ‘like’

*mit*l ḥafīdi ʔint[ɛʰ]# ‘you (msg) are like my grandkid’, *mit*l /blēdn[eʰ]# ‘like our country’.

3.9.23 šōb, šawb- ‘towards’

*la šōb iṣ-sar*ʔ ‘towards the east’, ḍī fī ḍiddēmu kaš[b] čīyi šawbu ‘and there is a dog in front of him which is coming towards him’.

3.9.24 *tiẓh* ‘towards’

*bi t-tiẓh il-gar*[b]# ‘towards the east’.

3.10 Conjunctions

There are various paratactic and hypotactic conjunctions in ŠṭA. These include the following.

3.10.1 Paratactic conjunctions

3.10.1.1 *w* ‘and’

The conjunction used for ‘and’ is *w*, e.g., *tlatt* /bnē[ɛʰ]# || *w* sab[ɛʰ]# ‘four girls and a boy’. It is usually pronounced as [ʊ] ~ [u].

3.10.1.2 *ʔaw* ‘or’

The primary conjunction used for ‘or’ is *ʔaw*, e.g.,<sup>351</sup> Sūri ʔaw Libnēni ‘Syrian or Lebanese’.

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<sup>349</sup> <i>bhitfalla</i>.

<sup>350</sup> <i>barrāṭ</i>.

<sup>351</sup> Data is available in texts from nine out of the ten consultants.
3.10.1.3 ʔamma ‘or’
There are also occurrences of ʔamma used in the meaning of ‘or’, e.g., ʔižit ʔeˑbūn[ɛˑ] || ʔamma ʔižit ‘rfīʔti ʔižit ṣḥiḥti ʔaxdita... ‘...a customer (f) came or my friend (f) came and took it (f)’.

3.10.1.4 bass ‘but’
The conjunction bass is commonly used in various meanings including ‘but’, e.g., bass niḥna bil... l-Libnēni minʔūl... ‘but we in... in Lebanese, we say...’.

3.10.2 Hypotactic conjunctions
3.10.2.1 Conjunctions with ma-
3.10.2.1.1 kill-ma ‘whenever’
kill-ma žebūlin... ‘whenever they bring to them...’, kill-ma šiftu ‘whenever I see him’.

3.10.2.1.2 ʔawwil-ma, ʔawwal-ma ‘when (first) ...’
kun ʔeˑgāyyir ʔawwil mēnu xēli? || ‘(when) he is small, when he is just born’, ʔawwal-ma ḥkīna maš baʃdnā kinna... ‘when we started talking with each other we were...’.

3.10.2.1.3 ʔabl-ma ‘before ...’
ʔabl-ma ttwaffa 355 ‘ten years before she died’.

3.10.2.1.4 baʃd-ma ‘after ...’
baʃd-ma minsalṭī mnismaš ʔiddēs || ‘after we pray, we hear prayer’, ʔā w baʃd-ma ʔiẓa nidi[h]# 356 || ‘yes, and after he came he regretted’.

3.10.2.1.5 mitl-ma, mitl ma- ‘as/like ...’
mitl-ma ʔulit[eʰ]# 357 ‘as/like she told you (msg)’, šarlu kaza sini laʔu ʔinnu... || ʔissē mitl-ma hūw[ʃ]# || ‘he was buried many years ago, they found that he is still as he was’, mitl maṇi maʔillak... ‘as I am telling you (msg)...’.

3.10.2.1.6 ʔad(d)-ma ‘as much as ...’

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352 These are found in texts from an elderly woman consultant. In these texts we do not find any ʔaw ‘or’.
353 Data is available in texts from all consultants.
354 < bikūn.
355 < titwaffa.
356 < nidim.
357 < ʔɔ̄lyitlak.

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kēn Śēmil koktēl\textsuperscript{358} fī ṭakl ʔadd ma badd[ɛ\textsuperscript{b}]k# || ‘he made a cocktail party, there was food as much as you (msg) want’, lāʔ bīdīr ṭa ʔadd-ma bīdīr ʔan[ɛ\textsuperscript{b}]# || ‘no, I make vow as much as I can afford’.

3.10.2.1.7 ṭōla-ma ‘as long as …’\textsuperscript{359}

ṭōla-ma ṭanā Šambūbōḍ# bīhki ṭadd ma badd[ɛ\textsuperscript{b}]k# || ‘as long as I am paid\textsuperscript{360} I talk as much as you (msg) want’.

3.10.2.2 Conjunctions with -il

3.10.2.2.1 waʔt-il ‘when’
The conjunction waʔt-il is used in the meaning of ‘when’, e.g.,\textsuperscript{361} waʔt il bikūn ṭissa ma staw[ɛ\textsuperscript{b}]# ‘when it (m) has not ripened yet’, l-muhumm\textsuperscript{362} waʔt il ṭīža ha d… haš-šēx ‘anyway, when this Shaykh came’.

3.10.2.3 Other conjunctions

3.10.2.3.1 laʔin(n) ~ laʔan(n), laʔinnu ~ laʔīnu ~ laʔannu ~ laʔānu; laʔin(n)- ~ laʔan(n)- ‘because’
The primary conjunction used in the meaning of ‘because’ in Šṭ\textsuperscript{A} is laʔin(n) ~ laʔan(n) along with its variants laʔinnu ~ laʔīnu ~ laʔannu ~ laʔānu (<*li ʔanna(hu)).\textsuperscript{363} Both can be used regardless of the gender or number of the following subject, e.g., yaʔnī mitl ṭīlēda hēl[a]# | laʔīnu hīyi ṭallā mā razāʔa ẗīlē[d]# ‘that’s to say, these are like her kids, because God did not gift her kids’, laʔann ʾbīʔrabna… ‘because she is related to us…’, laʔīnu ẓalab Ẓinnī… ‘because he asked me…’.

There are also occurrences where laʔin(n)- ~ laʔan(n)- is inflected with pronominal suffixes (§3.1.1.3). The analysed data give combinations with 3fsg, 3cpl, 2msg, 2cpl, and 1cpl suffixes but probably they are not restricted to these. The following are some examples: bīntī bīltībīn laʔīnna b… ‘my daughter wore them because she…’, laʔinnin ṭissa ma staw[o:]# ‘because they are not cooked yet’, ĥēk il-marrā ẓiš[t] minnak laʔinnak ẓitīl[ɛ:]# ‘last time you (msg) upset me because you told me’, laʔīnku# nēšīnu ẓindī[ʔ]# ‘because you (cpl) forgot it (m) here/at my place\textsuperscript{364}, laʔannī kint… ‘because I was…’.

3.10.2.3.2 minši ‘(around) …. ago’
There are few occurrences of minši of which in all are used in the meaning of ‘(around) …. ago’, e.g., waʔla kēnu nāḏf min zamē[ɛ\textsuperscript{b}]# || minši ẓiṃišṭēn kēnu

\textsuperscript{358} Cf. French cocktail, English cocktail.
\textsuperscript{359} There is one occurrence of this conjunction in the data.
\textsuperscript{360} Literally: I am holding.
\textsuperscript{361} Data is available in texts from nine consultants.
\textsuperscript{362} < MSA muhimm.
\textsuperscript{363} Data available in texts from all the consultants.
\textsuperscript{364} Literally: with me.
‘by God, they were clean before, (around) two weeks ago they were clean’, *saḥt il-ʔamwēt šōr minšt šahrēn Fūf*[\(^{\text{b}}\)]#? ‘Fufu, was the dead-week (around) two months ago?’, minšt*xām’s sitt ‘snīn mēt... Ŋidd[e:]#* ‘(around) five, six years ago he died... my grandfather’.

3.10.2.3.3 *min-wara* ‘due to’, ‘because of’, ‘thanks to’

The prepositions *min* ‘from’ and *wara* ‘behind’ are combined to mean ‘due to’, ‘because of’ or ‘thanks to’, e.g., *min-wara*... *ẓirūfna yaʕni...* ‘(it was) due to... our conditions, that’s to say...’, *kēn... kēr hēbtu bīl-bēt... || min-wara *ʔimmī yaʕni...* ‘He was... the respect for him at home was great... (that was) thanks to my mother, that’s to say...’, *şōr finna bēt min-wara Nažwa ?ixt*[\(\text{a}\)]# ‘we had a house thanks to Nažwa, my sister’.

3.10.2.3.4 *minš* ēn ~ *miš* ēn ~ *mš* ēn ~ *š* ēn, *miš* ēn- ‘in order to’, ‘so that’, ‘because of’, ‘due to’, ‘on account of’

This conjunction is used before the Imperfect in the meaning of ‘in order to’, e.g., *ṭabbitu*[\(\text{b}\)]#366 || *miš* ēn *yanaššif la y... la ybaṣṣrūla fi*[\(\text{b}\)]# ‘she turned (the cup) upside down so that it (m) dries up, so they can do fortune telling for her with it (m)’, *hēd[e:]# | ŋam-taʕmil ŋam-ʔif̪aʔʔi rimm*[\(\text{e}:\)]# || ŋēn yiʕmlū dib’s rimm*[\(\text{e}:\)]# ‘this (f) (woman), she is making, she is de-seeding pomegranates so that they can make it into pomegranate syrup’.

There are also cases where it is used before nouns in the meaning of ‘due to’, ‘because of’ or ‘on account of’, e.g., *halla*? Šōru birūhu ?aw?Šīlīfī mišēn *źurūf mēddīy[e:]#* ‘now, they sometimes elope... economic conditions’, *ḥōtēn*369 ?ašš taḥt il-bāʔra minšēn il-wasax w il-kaza*[\(\text{b}\)]# ‘they have put straw under the cow on account of the dirt and such’.

In one occurrence *mišēn*- is combined with a pronominal suffix: *kēn ?aw?Šīt yidribni mišēnun*[\(\text{a}\)]# ‘he sometimes would hit me, because of them, that’s to say’.

3.10.2.3.5 *(la/ta) ḥatta* ‘in order to’, ‘until’, ‘even’

The conjunction *ḥatta* has various meanings. It states a purpose and is also used in the meaning of ‘until’. In both cases, it is optionally used with *la* or *ta*, i.e., *la ḥatta, ta ḥatta*. The following are some examples: *ma maʕi mēddīyēt la ḥatta ʔinnī ḫīm*[\(\text{e}\)]#370 ‘I do not have money in order to make (it)’, *ta ḥatta

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365 < *ndṣ* (§2.1.1.9).
366 < *ṭabbitu* (§2.2.1.4).
367 Data is available in texts from all the consultants.
368 ‘going Šalīfī’ means that a boy and girl escape the village to for sometime because their families did not allow them to marry. The consultant says that it was more common in the past.
369 < *ḥōtēn* (§2.1.1.9).
370 < *ḥīmīl*. 

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ṣillaḥtu ‘in order to that you (msg) repaired it’, yani ḫatū la ḫatū mēt xaḷṣ 371 ‘I hit him until he died, period, he is gone372’.

There might be idiolectal variation in the usage of (la/ta) ḫatū and the previous conjunction, namely minšēn and its variants. Consultants tend to use one or the other in the meaning of ‘in order to’.

3.10.2.3.6 ta- ‘in order to’, ‘until’
The ta-, which is a short variant of ḫatū, is used in the meaning of ‘in order to’ or ‘until’, before the Imperfect, e.g., ṭē ḡaw bitrū ṣa li-knīṣī ta-tṣaf[เอก]# ‘yes, or you (msg) go to the church in order to pray’, ta-tūṣal373 ṣa maṭraḥ in374 nēdra ḥifēn[เอก]# ‘until she arrives at the place where she had made the vow, barefoot’.

3.10.2.3.7 bass ‘when’
The conjunction bass is commonly used in various meanings including ‘when’, ‘once’, e.g.,375 bass fitt ṣa ẓ-ẓēṣ kan ṣimir sabaṭat’s[ऽ]# ‘when I entered the army, I was seventeen (years) of age’, bass ṭīt ṭāliṭi balṣit tāavyīt Ḥāy#376 ‘when I came (home), she told me, she started to shout like that’, ṭāliṭu377 bass naṭmil badi diʔillak tiẓi tṣūf ‘tell (fsg) him, when we make (it), I will call you (msg), (so that) you come and see’.

3.10.2.3.8 waʔta ‘when’, ‘whenever’
The conjunction waʔta is used before verbs in the meaning of ‘when’ or ‘whenever’, e.g.,378 waʔta birūḥu biʔlɪbūwa laʔa garūs || ma byēxūla ḫāy[ऽ]# ‘when they go and ask for the bride, they do not bring a present for her’, ṭašlan waʔta twaffa ṣa kēn ṣimir tlaṭṭāšir379 san[เอก]# ‘in fact, when he passed away, I was thirteen years of age’, ṭē hūwi waʔta kēn waʔzīr dēxliyi ṣimilna ḥaladīyi... ‘yes, when he was a minister of interior he made our (village) a municipality…’, ḡēr waʔt waʔta baddak ʿṭż tikram ʿaynak ṣa kēn ṣindi mišk[เอก]# ‘another time, come (msg) whenever you want, you are welcome,380 I have no problem!’

The word-final /a/ in waʔta is the 3fs suffix waʔṭ- ‘at its (f)/her time’, which has been grammaticalised. There is a similar case with conjunction

371 Word-final /ḥ/ is weakly articulated.
372 Literally: he/it (m) ended, he went.
373 < ta-tūṣal (§2.2.1.4).
374 < īl.
375 Data is available in texts from all consultants.
376 Cf. hayk# (§2.4.2).
377 < ṭāliṭu.
378 Data is available in texts from five consultants.
379 < tlaṭṭašir (§2.1.1.8).
380 Literally: may your (msg) eye be honoured.
hayʔita ‘look like’ (§3.10.2.3.13), as well as adverbs ṭiyyēma (§3.8.3.3), yawmita, and sēšíta (§3.8.3.4).

3.10.2.3.9 limman ~ limmin ~ lamma ~ limma ~ limmi ‘when’
This conjunction is used in the meaning of ‘when’,\(^{381}\) e.g., halla ḍana limma riḥṭ la ḥawnīk… ‘now, when I went there…’, limman\(^{382}\) byixṭbu l-bin’[·]#\(^{383}\) ‘when they engage the girl’.

3.10.2.3.10 ši ‘when’
There is one occurrence of ši in the data analysed where it is used in the meaning of ‘when’: ši ḍabdīṭ\(^{384}\) ‘mṣīš[εˑ]# ẓātītī\(^{385}\) yēho#\(^{386}\) ‘when she received her salary, she gave it to me’.

3.10.2.3.11 mišt ‘while’
There is one occurrence of mišt in the data analysed where it is used in the meaning of ‘while’: ḍana marra kint mišt maʔištī[εˑ]l# ‘w ẓmišt ḥūd[ṣːʰ]# ‘one time, while I was working I had an accident’.

3.10.2.3.12 kaʔann- ~ kiʔinn- ḍakann- ~ ḍakinn- ‘as if’, ‘look like’
There are two variants, kaʔann- ~ kiʔinn- and ḍakann- ~ ḍakinn-, which both take pronominal suffixes and are used in the meaning of ‘as if’ or ‘look like’. The latter form is probably due to metathesis. There is also one occurrence of kanna (< kaʔann-a) ‘it (f) looks like’. The following are some examples: w la kaʔannu ḍī marḥ bi l-baʔ[ʰ]# ‘and (it was) not as if there was someone sick at home’, kaʔannu ḍidf\(^{387}\) ‘it (m) looks like clean’, ḍī ṣlayya šī ḍakinnu… ḍ[ζʡ]#\(^{388}\) ‘there is on it (f) a thing, it (m) looks (m) like… a nest’.

3.10.2.3.13 hayʔita ‘look like’
There is one occurrence of hayʔita in the data analysed where it is used in the meaning of ‘look like’ ṭē ṭiliš ḍas il-ʔadaḥ hayʔita ḍ-dini bē tṣatt[ə]# ‘yes the rainbow emerged, it looks like it will rain’.

3.10.2.3.14 ḍinnu, ḍinn- ‘that’

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\(^{381}\) Data is available in texts from three consultants.
\(^{382}\) < limman.
\(^{383}\) < l-bin[i].
\(^{384}\) < ḍabdīṭ.
\(^{385}\) < ẓātītī.
\(^{386}\) < yēho.\(^{387}\) √nḍf (§2.1.1.9).
\(^{388}\) < ḍizz.
yānǐ ... śirna miʔtinĩn fiya ṭinn[o]# || marʔa marʔa... || ‘that is to say we became convinced that it is (just) a stop by, a stop by...’, ṭalli ṭana ṭlabʾt minn[õn]# || ṭinni ṭana ṭis[ɛː]# ‘he said: “I requested from them that I heal”’.

3.11 Negation

The primary negation particles attested in ŠṭA are ma ~ mā, maw ~ mɔ ~ mɔ, and la ~ lā. There are also a few occurrences of ṭa, mɛ and may.

The ma ~ mā is usually used with verbs or pseudo-verbs, e.g., ma ʔɔ̄lūli ‘they did not tell me’, ma baʕrif ‘I do not know’, ma binsɛ̄ha ‘I do not forget her’, w mā byaʃṭiin laʃ-atr3[kɔ]| ‘and he does not give to the Turks’, ma ʕandu ɡayr[oɔ]# ‘he does not have someone except him’, hũwi ma baddu wɛ̄ḥid mitʕall[ɛː]#m ‘he does not want someone educated’. The single instance of mɛ is also used before a verb: ṭizz w laḥmi w minkitt b̥aṣli miʃɛ̄n riḥit il... mɛ ʔiṭlaʕ | riḥit nasxa[ɔ]| ‘rice and meat, and we chop an onion for the smell of the... (so) the smell of the nasxa does not escape’.

The variant maw ~ mɔw ~ mɔ ~ mɔ is mainly used with nouns, adverbs or prepositional phrases, e.g., tiži dɛ̄yi maw ḥakīm ma kɛn fi ʰɪkmə ʔɪwɔ[w][i]| ‘a midwife comes, not a medical doctor, there were not doctors in the past’, lâ? mɔ yãn mɔʕayyan ‘no, it is not a specific day’, lâ? | ṭis m xɛliʔ maw hã| ‘no, some were born elsewhere’393, maw ḥaʃs[ɛ]| #394 ‘it (m) is not better’, maw ʃa ḍawri ‘it (m) is not at my time/era’. The variant may is attested twice before nouns: ʔe hēk ˈkɔrira ᵇuay yaʃni may ʃabì may war[ɛf]| ‘Yes, she is a bit old, that’s to say (she is) not a young girl, not a young child’. It may be the feminine equivalent of maw ~ mɔ ~ mɔ.

There are also inflected forms with mɛn- ~ man- attached to pronominal suffixes, are used to negate subject pronouns:

| 3msg  | (mɛnu ~ manu ~) minu |
| 3fg   | (mɛna ~) mana ~ mina |
| 3cpl  | mɛnin ~ manin ~ minin ~ -un# |
| 2msg  | (mɛnak ~ manak) |
| 2fsg  | (mɛnik ~ manik) |
| 2cpl  | (mɛinkin ~) mankin ~ -kun# |
| 1csg  | (mɛni ~) mani ~ mini |
| 1cpl  | mɛna ~ māna |

389 < yaʃni.
390 < ʔiṭlaʕ.
391 This word is used in the meaning of ‘greasy’, ‘fishy’ or ‘frowsty’. There is only one occurrence of this word in the data.
392 Cf. ḥɔn/h殡 – hawn# (§2.4.2).
393 Literally: not here.
394 < ṭaḥsən.
These forms, like maw ~ mǎ ~ mɔ, are used with nouns, adverbs, superlatives or prepositions, e.g., manaʕālt[ɘʰ]# ‘it (f) is not my family’, l-šasāl mēnu zafra ‘honey is not a zafra’, manu hallaʔ ‘it (m) is not now’, mēnu ʔaḥsan ‘it (m) is not better’, manu ʕa dawri ‘it (m) was not in my time’. In addition, they are used with participles and ʕam/ma + Imperfect, e.g., mani dɛ̄rsi ‘I (f) am not educated’, mēnu ma-yistawʕib ‘he is not understanding’, maʕu mēl ʕktir ‘w manu ʕam-y... w mēnu ʕam- büʕīš[ˑ]# ‘he has a lot of capital but he is not... and he is not living’.

The la ~ lā is usually used with subjunctives, particularly in negative commands, e.g., lā tidʕi ‘do not pray!’

In Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon (1974, 123–39), the presence or absence of the negation -š and double negation ʔa...š in the Imperfect are one of the variables used to distinguish between the Central-North and Central-South groups. According to him, the ʔa...š is attested in CN, e.g., ʔabaʕrefš ‘I do not know [je ne sais pas]’ and in two dialects of CS; the negation -š, e.g., baʕrefš (~ baʕrefeš) ‘I do not know [je ne sais pas]’, is found in CS, but not in CN (ibid, 128).

As we have seen, these are not attested in ŠṭA, and nor in Bīsmizzīn, see Jiha (1964, 181). This is apparentley also the case for the dialects of Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta (based on the published texts from these dialects in Fleisch (1974, 221–62, 263–70)) – which have both been placed in the North group (ibid, 138). It might be the case that the absence of ʔa...š or -š is a peculiarity of the North group, which differentiates it from the CN and CS groups.

3.12 Numerals

Cardinal numerals between three and nineteen have a special form in the construct.

(a) Cardinal numerals (absolute state)


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395 The word zafra denotes everything which might break the Lent fast.
396 The form wēḥid is more common than wēḥad. Data available from seven consultants. Texts from four consultants give only wēḥid. Texts from another consultant give several wēḥid and only a few wēḥad. Texts from one other consultant give one wēḥid and one wēḥad. Texts from one other consultant, however, give many wēḥad and only a few wēḥid. In allegro, a short form wēd has also been attested. There are also occurrences of wēḥid but these are rare, and are found only in texts from two consultants, see §2.3.2.1.9.
397 There are also a few occurrences of tlēti but these are rare (§2.3.2.1.9).
398 The /ʕ/ is sometimes weakly articulated or omitted (§2.1.1.8).
399 See the previous fn.
the independent personal pronouns 'there the girl is' e.g. used for ~ that

Some of the presentatives and Discourse particles

3.13 Presentatives and Discourse particles

Some of the presentatives have developed discourse functions, therefore the two categories will be treated together. The following are the presentatives that have been attested in ŠṭA: ʔah(h)- ~ yah- ~ laḥ- ~ -ḥah-, laḥk-,⁴⁰⁰ and lēk ~ lak – layk#. The first form is used for near deixis while the second form is used for far deixis. Both always take suffixes which index the presented item, e.g., yah-u z-zalmi ‘here is the man’ (lit. ‘here he is, the man’), laḥk-ī hal-bīn’t ‘there the girl is’ (lit. ‘there she is, the girl’). These suffixes derive from the independent personal pronouns:

ʔah(h)-u, yah-u, laḥ-u

‘here it (m) is!’

⁴⁰⁰ The form ʔah(h)- seems to be more common: Data is available in texts from five consultants. The ʔah(h)- is found in texts from three consultants. The laḥ- is found in texts from one other consultant. The forms yah-, ḥah- and laḥk- have been found in texts from one other consultant.
yah-īyi, lah-i  ‘here it (f) is!’
ʔaḥh-inni, yah-inni  ‘here they are!’
lahk-ūwi  ‘there it (m) is!’
lahk-i ~ laḥk-īyi  ‘there it (f) is!’
lahk-inni  ‘there they are!’

The form lēk, on the other hand, is used primarily to attract attention, in the meaning of ‘look!’ or (British English) ‘hey!’ The lēk is inflected like the imperative of a verb, indexing the addressee, i.e., lēk ~ lak – layk#๐๑ (msg), layk-i (fsg), layk-u (pl), e.g.

a) lēk Mahmūd hēda...
‘Look, Mahmud, this (m) is…’

b) layki ya Dalēl...
‘Hey, Dalēl…’

c) layk-u ya šabēb...
‘Hey, lads…’

The agreement in gender and number, however, is not stable. Some consultants sometimes use lēk ~ layk# also for fsg, and layk-u and/or layk-i for msg. There may be some discourse-related reasons for these instances, which have yet to be understood.

The form layk is also used in the meaning of ‘here it (m/f) is’, like yah-. Only two occurrences of such usage have been attested in the data analysed for ŠṭA: in these layk took suffixes to index the item presented. These suffixes differ from the ones on yah- and laḥk-:

layk-u  ‘here it (m) is’
layk-a  ‘here it (f) is’

Similar forms have been attested in the neighbouring dialects. Kfar-Ṣghāb has lahhuwway (msg), lahhiyyay (fsg), and laḥḥǝnnay (pl) for near deixis, and yaʕwaynuwway (msg), yaʕwayniyyay (msg), and yaʕwayninnyay (pl) for far deixis (Fleisch 1974, 229). In Bīmizzīn variants of yah-, laḥh-, and layk have been attested. The basic form layk, as in ŠṭA, is inflected like the imperative of a verb. In addition, it can take other suffixes. In these cases, the presentative indexes both the addressee and the presented item. For instance, ‘here it (f) is!’ has three correspondences: layka (addressing a man); laykiya (addressing a woman); and laykuwa (addressing a group of people) (Jiha 1964, 174–75). I have not come across forms indexing both

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The form lēk ~ lak is usually found in context and layk in pause.

El-Hajjé (1954) does not cover presentatives in the description part of his study on Tripoli. Fleisch (1974), however, notes similar forms from a village (Qnāt) in Tripoli inhabited by Maronites: lāhhu (msg), lahhiyye (fsg), and laḥḥǝnn (pl) (pp. 358, 362).

The distal forms have a rare variant starts with l: laʕwaynuwway etc. (Fleisch 1974, 229).

Note that the final -ay in these forms to be explained by the shift of -i to -ay in pause which is typical for this dialect, see Fleisch (ibid, 222-223).
addressee and the presented item in the data analysed for ŠṭA. Jiha mentions also hay ‘there it is [da ist]’ and tāri ‘look there! [sieg da!]’ as presentatives for Bišmizzīn (1964, 175).

In my data I have five occurrences of tāri. In ŠṭA this form has developed a discourse function. It indicates that the information provided in the noun phrase or in the verb comes as new information that is contrastive and/or surprising. In below example a), (W) was narrating an event which happened between two persons in Brazil. One used a curse word in Arabic insulting the other, assuming that the other is a Brazilian (so would not understand Arabic).

a) manu Brāzīlī tāri ʔibn ʕarab ʔibāʕ rif ʕarab[e] #404 || (...) tāri byiḥki tāri byaʕ rif il-ʕarabi biḥhamu killum[ō]# || ‘he is not a Brazilian, it turned out that he is an Arab who speaks Arabic (...) it turned out that he speaks (Arabic), it turned out that he knows Arabic, he understands it all’

In below example b), (Ž) was telling about a guest who came to congratulate her on her engagement. The guest stayed longer than usual. It turned out that the guest was actually waiting for the speaker to show her the gold which was given to (Ž) by her fiancee. (Ž) did not know that she is expected to show the guests the gold brought to her by her fiancee.

b) tāri badd[daʔ]#405 | lēzim ʔana ʔōm#406 šawfiyin id-daqēbyēt iz#407 žablī yēhun# F... || ‘it turned out that she wants, I am expected to get up and show them the gold that F brought to me’

Similarly, in below example c), (Ž) did not know why her mother looked so sad at her wedding. Later on, (Ž)’s mother said that actually the bride’s mother should not dance at her daughter’s wedding.

c) bas ʔimmī tāri baḥdēn xabbriṭa ʔimmū lā ʔimm il-ʕarūs ma lēzim tirʔos# || ‘but my mother – it turns out – afterwards explained that: no, the mother of the bride should not dance’

In its inventory of presentatives, ŠṭA is typical of Lebanese dialects. The presentatives yah-, lah- and cognate forms seem to be restricted to Lebanese dialects, although they are not the only forms attested in these dialects, see Fischer (1959, 200–201) and Procházk (2021, 21). For a survey on the presentatives across Arabic dialects, see Fischer (1959, 179–201), and for an overview see Khan (2008). See also Behnstedt (1993, 91–93) for an overview

404 Unlike in this and in the following occurrence, in another attestation of the word, the unstressed short a is deleted: ʕarbi.
405 < badda.
406 < źām.
407 < il.
408 Her fiancee’s name is anonymised.
on the presentatives particularly in Syrian dialects, and Procházka (2021) for an updated and more detailed overview on these forms.\footnote{Note that Fischer and Behnstedt call presentatives “demonstrative Satzeinleitungspartikeln” in their above-mentioned studies, namely (1959) and (1993) respectively.}

### 3.14 Interjections

A few interjections have been found in the available data: 

\textit{wali, wali} “hey, you (m/f/sg/pl)!”

The following are used as expressions of surprise:

\begin{align*}
\text{yī} \sim \text{yīī} \\
\text{yēy} \sim \text{yēēy} \\
\text{ʔāy} \sim \text{ʔāāy}
\end{align*}
4 The Lexicon

4.1 Preliminary remarks

I aim here at providing some lexical items reflecting life as it is today. These belong to various semantic categories, including education, food, clothes, accommodation and technology. These words are primarily from French, MSA and English. There are also loans from (Ottoman) Turkish, e.g., žazma ‘boot’, a few of which are originally Arabic borrowings into Turkish, e.g., żūbit ‘officer’ (See fn 504 and fn 420).

These loanwords contain a number of new phones, e.g., v (§2.1.1.3), û (IPA [y]) (§2.3.1.5), some of which can be considered to have gained phonemic status due to their frequency of occurrence. These are /p/, /g/, /ḳ/, and /ẓ/ (§2.1.1.1, §2.1.1.2), and /e/, /ē/, /u/, /ō/, and /ā/ (§2.3). As mentioned earlier (§2.1.1.1, §2.3), the majority of these ‘new’ phonemes have already been allophones of other inherited phonemes. This may have facilitated their adoption.

The meanings given here are those elicited through the fieldwork. It is not implied that these words are limited to those meanings; nor is it implied that these are the only words used for those meanings. This is also the case throughout the dissertation. Plurals are given in parentheses when attested. This does not exclude that there may be other variants. Where a plural ends in a hyphen, this plural is used before a pronominal suffix, e.g., dayy-i ‘my hands’. I translate collectives with an English plural, even though many are grammatically singular in Arabic.

In some words, there are variations in pronounciation, for instance, emphatic vs. non-emphatic as in dah'i r ~ dah'i r ‘back’. There are also different words attested with the same translation, e.g., šabāḥo, bonžūr ‘good morning’. There may be sociolectal distinctions at play in the use of these variants, but I usually do not comment on this here. Many loanwords are given their correspondences in the source language in a footnote. An in-depth etymological analysis, however, is not provided.
4.2 Semantic fields

4.2.1 Greetings


4.2.2 The human body


4.2.3 Kinship terms


4.2.4 Professions


410 < English hi.
411 < French bonjour.
412 < French bonsoir.
413 < French bonne nuit.
414 < French merci.
415 Occurrences of the word ‘paternal aunt’ are only found with pronominal suffixes in the data, e.g., ᵃamm ‘my paternal aunt’.
416 Occurrences of the word ‘maternal aunt’ are only found with pronominal suffixes in the data, e.g., xĬl ‘my maternal aunt’.
417 Occurrences of the word ‘mother-in-law’ are only found with pronominal suffixes in the data, e.g., bat ḡmīyi ‘my mother-in-law’s family’, ḡmīti ‘my mother-in-law’, ḡmīta ‘her mother-in-law’.
418 < French secrétaire.
419 The short vowel in initial syllable in this noun is primarily /a/ probably due to the velar environment. There are several occurrences of xaḍaržī, -ᵀy, and only one occurrence of xaḍaržī in the data.
420 Cf. OttomanTurkish zabīt, CA/MSA ضابط.

4.2.5 Vegetables


4.2.6 Fruits


421 < French coiffeur.
422 < ḥahwi ‘coffee’ + Turkish suffix -ci.
423 Cf. Persian چانه‌ز and Turkish canbaz.
424 Cf. French roquette.
425 < Turkish hıyar (Procházka 2009, 593).
426 Consultants relate that people in ŠṭA used to use only mrōkbī for ‘lemon’, whereas currently both words are used. Overall ťōmīd is more frequent than ūḥmuṭ or (lēmūn) ūḥmuṭ. There are also two occurrences of ūḥṣrum used in the meaning of ‘sour’.
427 < Turkish efendi ‘sir’.
428 < French avocat.
4.2.7 Nuts and grains


4.2.8 Drinks


4.2.9 Other food- or drink related items


bizr ‘seeds’, ṣažwi ‘a stone or pit’, e.g., of an apricot’, rɔš tūm ‘a bulb of garlic’, ḥissīn tūm ‘a clove of garlic’, ḥabbi (pl -ɛt) ‘one item of fruit or vegetable’, e.g., ḥabbīt niẓās ‘a pear’, šēbūra (pl šwēbīr), fišl (pl fṣūl(i)) ‘a slice’, e.g., šēbūrit/ʃiʃl baṭṭīx ‘a slice of watermelon’, ṣan?ūd (pl ʃnēʔūd) ‘a bunch’, e.g., ʃanʔūd ʃinb ‘bunch of grapes’, ʃankūs (pl ʃnēkūs) ‘a bunch’, e.g., ʃankūs balah ‘bunch of unripe dates’, ʔirīt (pl ʔrūta) ‘a bunch’, e.g., ʔirīt mɔz ‘a hand of bananas’, ʔid ‘branch/twig’, ‘sprig’, e.g., ʔid karaž ‘a sprig of cherries’.

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429 < Turkish bulgur (Procházka 2009, 593). Data available give three occurrences of this word, which are all in pause: birgul[[]], birgol[[]], birgo[[]].
430 < English cola.
431 < Turkish ayran.
432 Cf. Italian birra, Turkish bira.
433 Cf. English rum, French rhum.
434 Cf. English vodka, French vodka, Turkish votka.
436 Cf. English cacao, French cacao.
437 < English supermarket.
438 < French ammoniaque.
439 < French chocolat.
440 < French gâteau.
4.2.10 Parts of the house, furniture and related items

ʔūdā\(^{441}\) (pl ʔiwaḍ) ‘room’, ʔūdīt ʔašādi ‘living room’, ʔūdīt nām ‘bed room’, 
\(\text{salōn}^{442}\) ‘salon (living room in a fashionable home)’, ʔūdīf\(^{443}\) ṣifā ‘dining 
room’, maṭḥax ‘kitchen’, balkūn\(^{444}\) (pl blēkūn) ‘balcony’, veranda\(^{445}\) ‘bal-
cony/terrace’, dīkōr ~ dīkōr\(^{446}\) (pl -āt) ‘decor’, duplēks\(^{447}\) ‘duplex’.

\(\text{kṛśī}^{i}\) ‘chair’, kanābēyī (pl -ēt) ‘couch’, taξt (pl taξūt) ‘bed’, farsī (pl firiš) 
koʃarli ~ koʃarli\(^{448}\) ‘bedspread/coverlet’, šaršāf\(^{449}\) (pl šrēʃif) ‘bedsheet’, 

nêmūsīyi ‘mosquito net for bed’, mazhariyi (pl -ēt), váz\(^{450}\) ‘vase’, pō ~ \(\text{ʔippō}^{51}\) (pl pōyēt) ‘flower pot’, buke\(^{52}\) ‘bouquet’, birwūz, 
\(\text{kad}^{r}^{53}\) ‘picture frame’, 


\(\text{sūbyrā}^{54}\) (pl -ēt) ‘stove heater (fueled by wooden or diesel)’, mēzūt\(^{55}\) ‘die-

\(\text{trayyā}^{57}\) (pl -ēt) ‘chandelier’, lōmā\(^{58}\) ‘lamp’, ḏaww biʃṭrīyi ‘flashlight’, ma-
\(\text{r’wḥa}^{59}\) (pl mṛwvīth) ‘propeller/electric fan’, ʔaysī, mukayyif ‘air conditioner’, 
telīfōn ~ talīfōn ~ talīfōn\(^{60}\) (pl telīfōnēt) ‘phone’, selūlēd\(^{61}\) ‘cell phone’, rádyu 
(pl rádyēt) ‘radio’, telīfīzyōn ~ talīfīzyōn ~ talīfīzyān ~ telīfīzyōn (pl telīfīzyōnēt) 
‘television’, prī\(^{62}\) ‘socket’, remōt ‘remote control’, kamera ~ kamīra ~ 
kamēra ~ kamīra\(^{63}\) (pl -īt) ‘camera’, lēptōp ~ lēptōp\(^{64}\) ‘laptop’, ġiʃʃēli ‘wash-
ing machine’, nissēfi ‘dryer’, mikwi faḥ’m ‘coal iron’, mikwi (pl mkēwi),

\(^{441}\) < Turkish oda (Procházka 2009, 593).
\(^{442}\) < French salon.
\(^{443}\) < Arabic ʔūdīt.
\(^{444}\) < French balcon.
\(^{445}\) < French veranda.
\(^{446}\) < French décor.
\(^{447}\) < French duplex.
\(^{448}\) < French couvre-lit.
\(^{449}\) < Turkish çarşaf (< Persian čādor-šab) (Procházka 2009, 590).
\(^{450}\) < French vase.
\(^{451}\) < French pot. The /p/ in this loanword is sometimes articulated as geminated: ʔippō ~ pō ‘a 
\(\text{flower pot}, \text{li-ppō} \text{‘the flower pot}, \text{pōyēt} \text{‘two flower pots}, \text{tlētē ppōyēt} \text{‘three flower pots}’.
\(^{452}\) < French bouquet.
\(^{453}\) < French cadre.
\(^{454}\) < Turkish soba (Procházka 2009, 593).
\(^{455}\) < Turkish mazot.
\(^{456}\) One consultant related that in the past people used to use tapsi (< Turkish tepsī) for ‘ashtray’.
\(^{457}\) < French lampe.
\(^{458}\) < French télēphone.
\(^{459}\) < French cellulaire.
\(^{460}\) < French prise.
\(^{461}\) < French kamēra.
\(^{462}\) < English laptōp.

4.2.11 Kitchen utensils and related items


463 Cf. Turkish makine, MSA.  
464 < hoover. A brand name.  
465 < Turkish tencere.  
466 < presto. A brand name.  
467 < tanžrit.  
468 < French cure-dent.  
469 Cf. French thermos, English thermos.  
470 Data available do not give the singular form of this word.  
471 Cf. Turkish leğen ‘basin’ (Procházka 2009, 593).  
472 < Turkish ćuval (Procházka 2009, 590).
4.2.12 Bathroom items


4.2.13 Clothes and accessories


*mayyō* ‘swimsuit’, *fwaynēt* ‘glasses’, *lizzēzi* ‘poncho’, *ʔiṣt* (pl -ṣt) ~ *sēntār* (tlēti sēntīr ‘three belts’ §3.7.6) ‘belt’, *gālī* ‘agal’, *kaffīyi* ‘keffiyeh’, *šadōr* ‘face covering/niqab’, *ḥēb* ‘headscarf’, *tēz* (pl *ṭēzēn*) ‘crown’, *kāsk* ~ *kask* (tlēti kāsk ‘three helmets’ §3.7.6) ‘helmet’, *pappiyōn* ~ *pappiyōn* (tlēti pappiyōn ‘three bow ties’ §3.7.6) ‘bow tie’, *birnayta*, *sappo* ‘hat’.

473 Cf. Turkish *bornoz*.
474 Cf. French *shampooing*, English *shampoo*.
475 < French *gel*.
476 < French *douche*.
477 < French *pédicure*.
478 < French *manucure*.
479 < Turkish *firça*. For variants of the word across Levantine dialects, see Behnstedt (1997 map 19).
480 < French *crème*.
481 < French *maquillage*.
482 < Turkish *kazan* (Procházka 2009, 593).
483 Cf. French *jaquette*, Turkish *ceket*.
484 < French *pyjamas*.
485 < French *suvêtement*.
486 < English *overall*.
487 < French *costume*.
488 Cf. French *pantalon*, Turkish *pantolon*.
489 Cf. English *jeans*, French *jeans*.
490 < French *modèle*.
491 < French *maillot de bain*.
492 < French *ceinture*. A consultant who runs a clothes shop in the village relates that young girls use only *sēntūr*, while men usually use *ʔiṣt*.
493 < French *casque*.
494 < French *pappillon*.
495 < French *chapeau*.

ṣaʔd (pl ʔuʔa)di, kōlyē⁵⁰⁰ (tlēti kōlyē ‘three necklaces’ § 3.7.6) ‘necklace’, šanta⁵⁰¹ ‘bag’, parfō ~ parfān⁵⁰² ‘perfume’.


4.2.14 Transportation


4.2.15 Colours

4.2.15.1 Common colour terms


⁴⁹⁶ < French casquette.
⁴⁹⁷ < French capuchin. This word is attested only in pause: kappiš[ō ]#.
⁴⁹⁸ < French gaine.
⁵⁰⁰ < French collier.
⁵⁰¹ < Turkish çanta.
⁵⁰² Cf. English perfume, French parfum.
⁵⁰³ Cf Italian calze.
⁵⁰⁴ < Turkish çizme (Procházka 2009, 593).
⁵⁰⁵ < French bottine.
⁵⁰⁶ < Portuguese sapato.
⁵⁰⁷ < French bottes.
⁵⁰⁸ Cf. French escarpin.
⁵⁰⁹ < French sandale.
⁵¹⁰ < French ballerine.
⁵¹¹ < French moto.
⁵¹² Cf. French van, English van.
⁵¹³ < French patti.
⁵¹⁴ Cf. English scooter, French scooter.
⁵¹⁵ < French orange.
4.2.15.2 Specialised colour terms

Specialised colour terms were elicited from a middle aged woman who runs a clothes shop in the village. These are probably not known by all the speakers of ŠṭA.


4.2.15.3 Other colour related terms


4.2.16 Months and the days of the week


4.2.17 Miscellaneous


<sup>516</sup> < French gitanes (?).
<sup>517</sup> < French bordeaux.
<sup>518</sup> Cf. English wange, French wengé.
<sup>519</sup> Data is available in texts from one consultant. There are four occurrences of vangē, of which two in context and two in pause, and one occurrence of vângē in pause.
<sup>520</sup> Cf. French ivoire, English ivory.
<sup>521</sup> < French beige.
<sup>522</sup> < French anthracite.
<sup>523</sup> Cf. French petrol, English petrol.
<sup>524</sup> < French turquoise.
<sup>525</sup> < French banque.
<sup>526</sup> Cf. Turkish bohça (Procházka 2009, 590).


527 < French cadeau.
528 Cf. Turkish dūźine, French douzaine.
529 < French plastique.
530 < French grippe.
531 Turkish gimrūk (Procházka 2009, 593).
532 < French virus.
533 Cf. French oxygène.
534 Cf. MSA rūmansi and English romance.
535 Cf. bronchite French.
536 Cf. microbe French.
537 < French bébé.
5 ŠṭA (and Bišmizzīn) within Fleisch’s survey of the dialects in Lebanon

In this section, I will locate ŠṭA (and Bišmizzīn) within the dialect groups proposed in Fleisch’s survey (1974, 123–39) of the dialects in Lebanon.

In the aforementioned survey, Fleisch proposes six groups:538 North,539 Central-North,540 Central-South,541 South,542 Béka,543 Cities544 (ibid, 138–39). Tripoli is considered to belong to the Cities group, while the dialects of Kfar-Sghâb and Zgharta are placed in the North group (ibid, 138–39). The study of Bišmizzīn (Jiha 1964) was published after Fleisch’s study originally came out.

Fleisch points out that the Central-North and Central-South groups present two large units in the survey and are well differentiated in relation to each other (1974, 129). He adds that the CN is by far the most homogenous, in a way that does not allow subdivisions to be established (p. 129). It is also homogenous in terms of population: it consists almost entirely of Maronites (ibid, 129–30).

According to Fleisch, the following features are shared by the dialects of the North group and Central-North group, in contrast to the CS group (ibid, 132–33):545

(I) disallowing of the succession of three short syllables in nouns and verbs;
(II) deletion of the unstressed short vowel in 3fsg verbalforms in the Perfect when suffixed;

538 First published in 1959.
539 The North group includes the following locations: (French orthography) Menjez, Beit Mellâte, Sir Danié, Zgharta, Kfar Sghâb, Qnât, Bzîza.
540 The following locations are in the Central-North group: Châtiâne, Chabtîne, Hadtoûn, Bajjé, Qartaba, Yahchoûche, Ghazîr, Mazraat Kafer Débiâne, Zabboûgha, Beskinta, Jall ad-Dîb, Qornet Chahouâne, Mazraat Yâchoûa, Beit Chbâb, Bikfaïa, el-Khanchârah.
541 The following locations are in the Central-South group: el-Qaaqôûr, el-Mtaïine, Ras el-Mêtène, Hammâna, Jouret el-Ballouûte, Aariya, Majdel el-Maoûch, Deir el-Qamar, Maâsser Beit ed-Dîne, Chhîm, Mazraat ed-Dahr.
542 The following locations are in the South group: Hârouf, Khirbet Salem, Aïn Ibîl, el-Khîâm.
543 The following locations are in the Béka-group: ej-Jdaïdé, Baalbek, Zahlé, Aïtanîte, Machghara.
544 Beyrouth, Saïda, and Tripoli.
545 Note that the features and points given here do not necessarily match the order and numbers of the variables in Fleisch’s survey.
(III) deletion of the unstressed short vowel in the 1sg and 2msg Perfect in Pattern I verbs and the deletion of the first syllable in the Perfect in Pattern I verbs with initial-ʔ;
(IV) the /a/ > /i/ shift in the Perfect in Pattern I geminate verbs when the syllable loses stress;
(V) the exponent of the interrogative ‘what?’

As has been shown (in p. 63, p. 125, p. 98, fn 176, §3.3.3.2, and §3.1.3.4), ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn fit in the North and CN groups in this regard – with one exception for ŠṭA. With regard to point (V), ŠṭA has three variants, i.e., ḥašu, ḥaš and šu: thus, it does not fit into any one group in this respect.546 It has a variant, ḥašu, which Fleisch does not mention (see §3.1.3.4).

Under a separate variable, Fleisch (1974, 128) considers the /a/ > /i/ shift of the first pattern vowel in the Perfect in Pattern II verbs when the syllable loses stress. He notes that this is a feature of the North group, but is also found in Tripoli, in the CN dialects located approximately at 1000 m. altitude, and in one dialect of CS (ibid, 128). We saw that both ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn follow the dialects of the North in this regard (see fn 194).

What differentiates the dialects in the North group from the CN dialects is apparently the *ā > ə̄/ō shift, mainly under the influence of the consonantal environment, which is the case for ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn. This is also shared by some dialects in the CS group. Here, too, therefore, ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn fit into the North group (see pp. 73–74).

The North group seemingly also differs from CN in keeping two types in final-y verbs. This is apparently the only feature shared by the dialects of the North group and CS group, in clear contrast to the CN group. Again, ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn match the North group (see pp. 106–108).

In Fleisch’s survey (1974, 123–39), we also find a few other points that are considered to differentiate between the CN and CS groups, but there is no explicit mention about the North group dialects regarding these points. These are:

(VI) the treatment of the short /a/ vowel in the Imperfect in Pattern I a-type verbs;
(VII) the exponent of the temporal adverbial ‘now’;
(VIII) the reflex of the diphthong aw in the word for ‘poor’;
(IX) the form of irregular verb for ‘to come’;
(X) the usage of negation -š and double negation ḥa...š

As we have seen, point (VI) seems to be irrelevant or redundant for ŠṭA (see p. 98).

546 As has just been stated, Bišmizzīn fits in both North and CN groups. In a text from Bišmizzīn where šu is also attested, Jiha remarks that it is an (interdialectal) loanword (1964, 10 fn 3). Such might also be the case for the šu in ŠṭA, which is now, at least in the speech of some consultants, replacing other CN/North variants (§3.1.3.4), probably under the influence of CS or urban dialects.
Regarding (VII), ŠṭA and Bišmizzīn follow the dialects in the CN group (see §3.8.3.1). This seems also to be the case for point (VIII) (see fn 291).

ŠṭA fits in the CS group with regard to point (IX), but without necessarily being excluded from CN. The dialect of Bišmizzīn does not fit in either group, but the forms attested in Bišmizzīn are closer to the ones given for CN (see pp. 108–109).

The point (X) is not relevant either for ŠṭA nor Bišmizzīn. This is apparently also the case for the dialects of Kfar-Ṣghāb and Zgharta (based on the published texts from these dialects in Fleisch (1974, 221–62, 263–70)) – which have both been placed in the North group (ibid, 138). It might be the case that the absence of ʔa...š and -š is a peculiarity of the North group, which differentiates it from the CN and CS groups (see pp. 147–148).

In his survey Fleisch also looks at the particle designating continuous/progressive aspect in the present, where he notes that CS dialects only use ʕam (≈ ʕa ~ ʕammāl), e.g., ʕam byiktob ‘he is writing [il est en train d’écrire]’ (1974, 127–28). In CN ʕam is also used, but only as an additional variant in the region where min (~ ㅁ _ ~ man) or ʕan are attested, e.g., min yiktob, ʕan yiktob ‘he is writing [il est en train d’écrire]’ (ibid, 127–128). He adds that ma is attested only in the North group (ibid, 128). Bišmizzīn has ʕan ~ ʕam, e.g., ʕan yġanni ‘he is singing’, ʕan yāklu, ʕam byāklu ‘they are eating’ (Jiha 1964, 3–4). ŠṭA shows variation in this regard, where both ma- and ʕam- are attested. The usage of both particles is subject to idiolectal variation (see §3.4.2).

To sum up, the data in this study largely confirms the position of ŠṭA in Fleisch’s North Group and that shows Bišmizzīn also fits best in that group. Where Fleisch does not give variables for the North group, they match CN more than CS.
6 Texts

The transcription is phonemic with the following exceptions: pausal variants are shown (indicated by #), as also are cases of assimilation. Information on the symbols and transcription signs can be found in the sections Symbols and Transcription signs.

Words which are not clearly audible are put in the following parantheses « ». Three dots indicate hesitations. Uncompleted words are marked with a dash and three dots, e.g., bil-... Within the translation, insertions added for clarity are given in parantheses ( ).

My own speech (in another Levantine variety) is only roughly transcribed, and any repetitions and hesitations are tided up. It is also introduced by my initials, namely MA, and put in parantheses ( ).

6.1 Text I: Vows (W)

1. ʔɛ̄w ʔašu ʔissa baddi ʔill[ɛˑkʰ]# | ʔašu baddi xabhr[ɛkʰ]?# ||
   Yes, and what more should I say to you, what should I tell you?
   (MA: ʔan n-ndūra kinti matiḥki ‘You were talking about the vows.’)

2. läyk# in-ndūra ʔana maʔillak ʔana kënť binti twaff[ɛˑt]# ʔab'/ma
ttwaťă548 ź śi ʔašť ḳ[ɛ]# ||549 kënť550 mērʔa b ʔašť ʔašť xifna
ykim551 maša šaroṯ[5:9]# ||552
   Look! The vowels, I am telling you, my daughter who died. About ten years
   before she died, she had undergone a (difficult) situation, and her chest,
   her chest, we feared she had gotten cancer.

547 < kënť.
548 < titwařa.
549 < snūn.
550 < kënť.
551 < ykim.
552 < šaroṯ MSA. Texts from another consultant give one occurrence where the word, however, is pronounced as sařifon.
3.  xaḑta ʕa b... rihna ʕa Bayrūt bīz-żemmʕa l-ʔamērkī w bi ʕTrūbiṣ<sup>553</sup> kill il-mistišfayēt | mašrifa b Bayrūt kill il-mistišfayēt<sup>554</sup>
I took her to B... We went to Beirut, (we were) in the AUB hospital, and in Tripoli. All the hospitals we know in Beirut, all of the hospitals.

4.  ṭim't mērʔa ṣ-ṣidi<sup>555</sup> ṣyyīn la ʕanda wihdi ṭrīybitn[ʕe] | ma bašrif ṭiza riḥt la ʕanda ʔisma Hayf[ʕe]<sup>5</sup> || ʕinda dikkēn 'b ṭexir id-dāyaʕat<sup>5</sup>|| So I, as we happened to be<sup>556</sup> on our way to our relative – I don’t know if you went to her – her name is Haifa. She has a shop at the end of the village.

5.  riḥt ši la ʕanda[ʕe]?? | hē ʕinda b... bil-Brūzi[ʔ]<sup>5</sup> || ŋizit šar hala ŋim<sup>557</sup> ṣīya mn il-Brūzi bīḥkīlak kūr hēd[ʔ]<sup>5</sup> || ruḥ hal-xa[ʕ]<sup>5</sup> || b ṭexir hal-xa[ʕ]<sup>558</sup> fī dikkēn ʕa ʔiḍak iš-šmē[ʔ]<sup>5</sup>|| ʕay ḥaṭ-ṭaṛiʔ?
Have you been to her at all? She has… in Brazil. She came – it’s been two weeks now since she came from Brazil. She would tell you a lot, she would. Follow the road straight.<sup>560</sup> At the end of the road there is a shop to your left. Look there’s the way!

(MA: ŋe hada hik hik ʕa t-ṭaṛiʔ? ŋe ‘I see. This is in that direction of the road. Yes.’)

6.  ŋe ŋe ŋe | ŋe ŋe ʕinda<sup>561</sup> dikkē[ʔ]<sup>562</sup> hīyi hāk nūṣha w || (MA: ŋe šu badda?) ŋe ʕinda d... || hīyi ʕinda bta... bīḥkīlak ṭiṣya ti-... hī kēn<sup>563</sup> sēkni haw-nil bit-Tlēl māwawzi halla limmām<sup>564</sup> mēt żawza ŋižit hām<sup>565</sup> bēṯ ḥahl[ʕ]<sup>5</sup> || (MA: hmm)
Yes, yes, yes. Yes, yes, she has a shop. She is this fat, and. (MA: So, what about her?) Yes, she has a… She has… She would tell you things … She used to live over there, in Tlēl village, she was married, (but) now, when her husband died, she came here to her family house. (MA: hmm)

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<sup>553</sup> <Trūbiṣ.
<sup>554</sup> <mistišfayēt.
<sup>555</sup> <ṣidi.
<sup>556</sup> Literally: the chance was passing.
<sup>557</sup> <šar hala ŋim<sup>5</sup> ṣīya. Allegro.
<sup>558</sup> <xatt.
<sup>559</sup> <xatt.
<sup>560</sup> Literally: follow the line.
<sup>561</sup> <ʕinda (§2.1.1.8).
<sup>562</sup> <dikkēn.
<sup>563</sup> <kēnīt.
<sup>564</sup> <limmām.
<sup>565</sup> <hān.
7. *kinna rōḥān*664 *la šanda w bint[e:]# || hē li twaffit ya ḥābībīt ḍalbī kēnt ’m-
riḍa kinna šēmlīlā*667 *faḥ’s ‘w šēmlīlā skannē[f]# ||*668
We were going to her, and my daughter, the one who died – my darling
daughter669 – she was sick, we had done a test for her, done a scan,

8. *w ḍexdin xazā:a mn ’rwayēh[e:]# || ta yizraṣūw[e:]# || bīḍālu xazā:a yaṣni šaʔāfi[ʔ]# ||*670 *570 halla ḍana sir’t571 xṣyfī lēkum572 miṣa šara[f]ʔ[ʔ]# ||*573
they had taken a biopsy from her lungs in order to plant it – they say: *xazā:a [biopsy],* that means a piece – now I began to fear she has cancer.

9. *ṭabl’-ma twaffā*574 *b ẓaš575 šēn kēnt576 ʾktūr’innīhtag ya ḥārīm šaḥī ḍinnu kill ma raššh[e:]# ||*577 *577 ʿinda bronśī[t]578 bitrūh ’w btīži w btēxid ḍadwi bass ṭēxir ši... ṭaṣḍīt mikrōbi579 mn il-mistaš[f]e:]# || *Ṣimīlit ṣamālī ||
Ten years before she died, she was very well – such a pity! – it is true that
whenever she caught a cold, she got bronchitis, so she would go and get
medicine, but finally she caught a microbe at the hospital, and had an op-
eration.

10. *Ṣal-ṣašabi ʕ... ṣal-ṣašabi... sakrīṭla l-ḥokṣiżēn580 ŋ... (MA: ʕa šo?) ṣal-
ṣašabi l-hawaṭī[y]e:]# || b ẓidr[e:]# || bi rwayāḥ[e:]# ||*581
On the bronchus..., on the bronchus..., it blocked the oxygen for her..., (MA: On what?) on the air bronchus, in her chest, in her lungs.

11. *ḥe ḍint ḩiltillu fi... mraʔt ẓa šēmi[ʔ]# || fi šēmīs ṣawnī[k][ʔ]e:]# || *ṭlabt ʾmn iż-żemī[ʔ]# || ḍēe ma šandi miš[k]lī ḍabdan ḍan[e:]# ||
Yes, so I told him, there is..., I passed by a mosque, there is a mosque
there, I made a request from the mosque. Yes, (as for me), I have no prob-
lem (with that) at all!

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664 < rōḥān.
665 < Šēmlīlā.
666 Cf. French scanner, English scanner.
667 Literally: O my heart’s beloved one.
668 Cf. French Bronze.
669 571 < sir’t.
670 < la yḵūṃ.
671 < šaʔf.[2.3.1.1.1].
672 < nīla MSA.
673 < titwaaffa.
674 < Šaš.[r].
675 < kēnit.
676 < raššēt.
677 Cf. French bronchite.
678 Cf. French microbe.
679 Cf. French oxygène.
680 < rwayē..<
681 < hawnīki.
12. ya ma fi k̄t̄r ʿmn il-ʔišē[l]n# || nēdrīn… wlēdīn ʿw t̄lbih̄583 min is-saydi
mn-il-ṣadra[ ’]n# || hē ṭahall584 ma ʔi̬ltīlak585 fi أجر il-ṣadra ẓaḥrī[ th]n# || w… ʕahī[aw]n# ||

Oh there are so many Muslims who have taken vows, (for) their children, and they requested from the Lady, from the Virgin (Mary), this is the place I told you about, it is up there (that) the Virgin appeared, and… they got healed.

13. mbērih wiḥdī ḥaku ʕāna586 bit-ti̥lfi̥zyā[n]n#587 || šā || ẓīlba mi̱l-ʔaddīsi
Raf?ān̄588 || w ṣafīf[eh]n# || l-ḥa… ʕimli̥la ʕamali̥yi hi̥yi w bīl-bīt ṭ̄̄wīf̄588 la
ʕand il-hakīm589 ṣalla mīn ʕimli̥lik hal-ʕamali̥yi[ā]n#? ||

Yesterday, a woman, they talked about her on the television, yes. She had requested from the saint Raf?ā, and she healed her. She had an operation on her when she was at home. She went to a doctor, he asked her,590 “Who did the operation on you?”

14. ʔi̬ltīlim591 ma baʕrif kanna l-ʔaddīsi Raf?ā mani ṣēfī592 b hal-lēl fi̬lt_ a593 ḥōli
l?ēt ḥōli ḥēk[ b]n# ||

She said to them I do not know, it looks like the saint Raf?ā (who healed me), I do not know, I woke up during the night and found myself like that.

15. baddak ʔaktar min ḥēk ʕimē[ n]n# || halla ʔi̬ltīlū ḍaxīlak ya had… ya
hal-ʔezēm[ ?]n# || ʔinni ʔi̥ṭtamman ʕala hal-bīt ʿw ma yṣīr mi̱ša š[ ṭ]n#594 || w
ma ykūn yi̥ṭlaʕ ʕanda māraḍ ma byi̥sw[ o]n#||

What do you want more than such faith?! So, I said: “Oh please, mosque that I may be reassured about the girl and nothing (bad) may happen to her, and she might not turn out to have an illness which is fatal.”595

16. ḥēdī halla ʔi̥nta wān hāšt596 il-ʔezēl[ e]n# || hāni? ṣā || w ma yiṭlaʕ ʕand[ e ]n# ||
|| w mn `mš̄s[ e ]n# || hali biṭlaʕ min xš̄ra baddi ḡayṭik597 ʔe[ n]n# ||

583 < t̄lbih̄.
584 < maḥall.
585 < ʔi̬ltīlak.
586 < ʕāna.
587 Cf. French télévision.
588 < r̄ṣ̄īt. Allegro.
589 < ḥakīm. Allegro.
590 Literally: he said to her.
591 < ʔi̬ltīlim.
592 < ʕērī.
593 < ʕā.
594 < ʔī (§2.1.2.2).
595 Literally: which does not value.
596 < hāšt.
597 < ḡayṭik (§2.1.1.9).
This (f) – now where are you putting the machine (the recorder)? (You put it) Here? Ok – And she may not have (a fatal disease), and from her salary, the amount that she would like to give I will give it to you.

17. *halla limmin ʾttimmanna[ ] # | tilla*598* ya Valērya ya ʾnimni ʾdana[ ] # || ʾdana ttimman*599* ʾannik w ʾdana hāk hāk nēdra la haḥ-ẓēmiʾ ʾṭtilla*600* ʾe ya ʾnimni xay |||601* ʾiddē baddik? ʾṣatiṭni*602* yē | | ʾṣašʾr talēf || ʾṣašʾr talēf lēr[ą] # ||

When we were reassured (that it was not a fatal illness) I said to her, “Valerya, my dear daughter, I am reassured about you and I have vowed such-and-such to that mosque.” She said to me: “Ok my mother, nice! How much do you want?” She gave it to me. Ten thousand. Ten thousand lira.

18. *min ʾaktar min halla bak-ʾtūl mi... min ʾabʾl-ma ttwaṭṭā*604* b ʾṣašʾr snīn halla saʾ*605* sabatāšar*606* sinī m... kēnt il-ʾṣašʾr talēf tit... || tašmilʾ mni[i] ] h# | | ʾṣatiṭni*607* ʾṣašʾr talēf lēr[ą] # ||

More than, now, you will say... ten years before she died, now it is 17 years ..., ten thousand lira was... it was worth a lot*608* by then. She gave me ten thousand lira.

19. *ʾḥilla... ʾe ya ʾnimni xalaš ʾmnʾ mζša ši ʾabdī*609* ʾmζš[e] # ʾṣatiṭni*610* yēḥo # |||611* yīni*612* taḥrīban kēnu tiltʾ mζš[e]h ] # || ʾṣatiṭni*613* yēhīn ʾimʿ rīhʾ ʾšay[eh] # ||

I said to her: “Yes, o my dear daughter*614* ok” – from her salary, when she received her salary, she gave it to me. It was about a third of her salary. She gave it to me. Then I went, me.

20. *riḥʾt ʾe*615* hawnīk ša d-... riḥʾ ʾšayna w ... ʾixṭ[e] # || bis-siyyāʾra || ʾṭarī? siyyāʾra yašni bīd[a] # || ʾimʾ ʾšayna nziḥʾ hawnīk || ʾašu ẓ-ẓēmiʾ ma bīfūtu

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598 < ʾḥilla.
599 < ʾṭimman*. 
600 < ʾḥilla.
601 < xayy ‘nice, fine’.
602 < ʾṣatiṭni.
603 Literally: O my mother.
604 < ttwaṭṭa.
605 < ʾṣr. Allegro.
606 < sabatāšar (§2.1.1.8). Allegro.
607 < ʾṣatiṭni.
608 Literally: it was doing well.
609 < ʾabdī.
610 < ʾṣatiṭni.
611 < yēhon.
612 < yašni.
613 < ʾṣatiṭni.
614 Literally: O my mother.
615 < la.
I went there, to … I and… her sister went, with the car – it’s a car road, far away, so to speak – so I went out there, what, the women do not enter the mosque, is not so? Do (the) women in your country at all enter the mosque at all? No.

21. ?Ɛ ṭimʾt baddi ʔisʔa… sʔaʃ fī ʔm̥rīʔ zal̥m[εh]# || ʔiltilla baddi sʔalak ʔana ʕandi niḍr la hal… la haž-ʔēmiʔ[ʔ]# || ʰek hék ʾw halla la mīm baddi ʕt̥ ʰan-niḍ[ʔ]# || ʔ̱m ʔalli… la mīm bak-ṭāti ʰal… laš-šēx la lli mistihil lal-wakil ma baṣrif ʕt̥[ʕ]# || ʔiltilla wām baddi ʃuʃ[ʔ]# || ʔ̱m dallēni bṣīḍ ʔiltilla ʕaʃni ʔiza ʕtaytak yēhin ʾbiywšalu? riẓẓēl k̤b[ʕ]r[ʕ]# ||

…So, I want to ask…, I asked, there was a man passing by, I told him: “I want to ask you, I have a vow to this… to this mosque, like this, like that, now, to whom should I give the vow?” So, he told me: “…to whom will you give? To the shaykh who is in charge, to the deputy—I do not know what—”, I told him: “Where can I see him?” So, he pointed out far away. I asked him: “So, if I give them to you, can you deliver them?”, (he was) an aged man.

22. halla yistifil biwaṣṣilim ma biwaṣṣil ʰa-xaʃṭuyi ʕl̥l[ʔ]# || m̥ ʔaʃ[b][o:]# || ʰa biḥ || ʕtaytu yēhin ʾw riyyah ʿt r̥š[ʕ]# niḍr xaʃ[ʔ]ṣ# || w ʾḥyēt ʔaʃla || ʔ̱ek ʿṣhr maʃi hék ʔaʃ baddi ʿaʃ[m̥l]# ||

Now it is up to him whether he will deliver them or not, the responsibility is on him, I gave it to him, and made my head rest, (this is) a vow, enough. I swear to God. This is what happened with me. What will I do.

616 < niswēn.
617 < ʕin̥dkim.
618 < biḥūtu.
619 Literally: at/with you (pl) (French chez vous).
620 < mīn.
621 < ʕt̥ (§2.1.1.9).
622 < mīn.
623 < baddik taʃṭi (§2.1.1.8).
624 < wān.
625 Literally: (will) they arrive?
626 < biwaṣṣilin.
627 < biwaṣṣilin.
628 < ʔaʃ[b]ūt.
629 Literally: the sin is on him.
630 Literally: by God’s life.
23. \( \approx \) hēk niḍ\( \prime \) btindir ši bass baddak... | ḥatta bi\( \dot{\ddot{\jmath}} \)al n-niḍ\( \prime \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)] || ya\( \dot{\jmath} \)ni ḍīza ṭiwwal\( \ddot{\jmath} \)631 || ma h\( \prime \)-... ma... || ma ṭfaytu ma ḍiddamtu laṭ-maḥal632 ma ndar\( \prime \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)] || bass ma tins\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)] || miḥimm il-wāḥid ma_ye633 ṭirīḍ yimkin ḍana nēḍra ša ši maha[ \( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || w ma_ ḍir\( \ddot{\jmath} \)634 ṭiwsallu hall\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# ||

Yes, a vow is like this, you make a vow but you will... they even say that vow, if it takes a long time and you do not, you do not pay it, you do not present it to the place you made the vow for, do not forget (the vow). (It is) important that one does not forget. Say I have a vow to a place, and I present it to the place you made the vow for, do not forget (the vow).

(MA: hello s-sayydi źillīṭi źahrīt? Raf\( \ddot{\jmath} \)a? ʻSo, did you say to me that the Lady, Raf\( \ddot{\jmath} \)a, appeared?)

24. masēfi būd\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# ṭaw ma ma... ma maši mēddīyêt la ḥatta ḍinni ḍīm\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || bass ḍūd\( \ddot{\jmath} \) ṭūd b ṭūṣi ḍinnu ḍana ṭlayyi niḍ\( \prime \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# | ḍana ṭlayyi ḍana ṭlayyi ḍana ṭlayyi ḍana ṭla ḥatta ṭzabbīf\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || ṭīf \( \ddot{\jmath} \) ṭaš\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || xal\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# #

A long distance (to reach), or I do not have money in order to make (it), but I keep repeating it in my head that I have a vow, I have (a vow), I have (a vow), I have (a vow) until you (msg) actualise. Yes. Did you understand what (a vow) is? This is it.

(MA: halla s-sayydi źīlūla ya lī?)

25. l-\( \ddot{\jmath} \)addīsi źe źal-mara źe\( \ddot{\jmath} \) || (MA: ?a min hal...?) l-mara ma baṣṣīf minnēn «zakru lēk» yaṃ źat-tiṭīyōr\( \ddot{\jmath} \)636 ḡakūw\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || ṭī ḥt\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || ṭiū\( \ddot{\jmath} \)ūb\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# ||637

The female saint, yes, about the woman yes. (MA: Yes, who...?) The woman, I do not know from where, «they mentioned, look», they told about her on the tv. Yes, (it is) a big miracle.

26. halla hē l-ṣadra lī būl\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || hē ź saydīt ḍīrabēya bi\( \dot{\ddot{\jmath}} \)al\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]... b Baynō\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# || hē l ma-rrūh\( \ddot{\jmath} \)639 ʻālē mbē ṭiḥnā640 źillaynā fūl\( \ddot{\jmath} \)[\( \ddot{\jmath} \)]# ||

Now, this, The Virgin which is up there. This is in – they call her ‘The Lady of ḍīrabēya’ – in Baynō (village). This is the one they go to, yesterday we went to pray in it.

631 < ṭiwwalit.
632 < maḥall.
633 < ma yinsa. Allegro.
634 < ma ṭīdir.
635 < ṭzabbīt.
636 Cf. téle\( \ddot{\jmath} \)vision French.
637 < ṭawzūbha MSA.
638 < biṭṭīlīla.
639 < ma-nrūh.
640 < mbērīḥ ṭiḥnā. 
27. hēdi... || limmin641 riḥn[e.\#] || daššnūwa min ṣašr ‘snūn ‘w riḥn[e.\#] || yinī642 fatthūwa w || ḥaṭṭu l-ḥažar il-ḥasāsi baddin ‘yamarr[o.\#] ||
This…. When we went there. They consecrated (?) her ten years ago. That means they opened it (her grave). And they put the foundation in order to build (on it).

28. w illa l’ayna fi ʔislēm ’ktīr mitḥaẓẓbīn ma-yiḥdar[o.\#] || halla? yašni ḍana m-... || ma stitrabt il-ḥām[\#] || ʔišt ṣānān hān ‘w ʔižu yihdār[o.\#] ||
And to our surprise we saw many Muslims, wearing hijab, they were attending. Now, I mean, I… I did not find it awkward. I thought643 they were neighbours and they came to attend.

29. w_ illa ḥakulna l-ʔišṣa || ʔižit wiḥdi fi hawnīk ẓēhra l-ṣadra tah’t has-sindyē[\#] || ʔis-sindyēni... ʔaža mhandi[\#] || ʔiž-... ʔiža xabiī[\#] || šēf[e.\#] || ʕiṣra ʔažf sin[\#] || w ʔakt[\#] || ḍiž[e.\#] ||
And (then) they told us the story. One (f) came. There is, there, the Virgin appeared, under the oak, The oak… An engineer came, an expert came and looked at it645 (the oak), its age is one thousand years old, and more, he came.

30. w ʔalla laʔu ṣadra zahrī[\#]646 || zahrī647 ʔa had[\#] || ḍiž-rūwa hānī ʕind kamīn... || bil-ʔa-... bil-ʕīd il-‘milīd zahrī649 il-ṣadra fā? ||
And suddenly they found that the Virgin appeared, she appeared to someone. Yesterday she appeared here, also next to, too … In the… At Christmas, she appeared up there.

31. ʕē yām ill[e.\#]... || yam ‘zhūr il-ṣadra zahrī[\#] || šēfūwa ʔa sawrūwa651 ṣal-fasbūk652 || b hē tahṭ iš-ṣažrāf653 fā654 maḥall mana hūyi zahrī ‘ilah[\#] ||
Yes, today that…. The day that the Virgin appeared, they saw it and put a picture of it655 on Facebook. In this, under the trees, up there, in the place where she appeared to them.

641 < limmin.
642 < yašni.
643 Literally: I said.
644 < ḡaktar.
645 Literally: he saw it.
646 < zahrīt.
647 < zahrīt.
648 < ḍada(n).
649 < zahrīt.
650 < zahrīt.
651 < sawrūwa.
652 < facebook English.
653 < ṣažrāf.
654 < fā?
655 Literally: they took a picture of it.
32. *mṣawwrīn[e]* || *wa ṭilla... hal-mara[ ]* || *ʔinda*656 *ʔibn[ e ]* || *mṛd ḫmrḍ ḫw ṭafṣu l-ʔamal min-... || *ma xallit ḥākim kēn ʔibn ʕašr ṭsn[ ]*657 ||
They have taken her picture. And then... the woman. She has a son. He was very sick. They gave up hope about him. She did not leave a doctor (unvisited). He (her son) was a ten-year-old.

33. *ma xallit maṭrāḥ biṭlaṣu žīrṣin ḫb Bayno[ ]* || *masihīy[e]* || *ʔsla*658 ya ʕammi rūḥi ʕa ḫal-maṭrāḥ ʕa ḫal-hīr[ ]* || *l-ʕadra zahrīt659 hawnīk ʕilibi min[ e ]*# ||
She did not leave a stone unturned. Their neighbours in Beino were Christians. They told her: “Neighbour,660 go to that place, to that thicket. The Virgin has appeared there, you may make a request from her.”

34. *ʔstltn661 daxilkīn662 ḫbr[w]h* || *w ḫbnēm fiy[e ]* || *nēmit taht ḫb ḫal-hīr[s ]* || *w ma fiṣt[ etb ]*663 || *taht is-sindyēn[e ]*# ||
She said to them: “I am grateful to you, I will go. I will sleep in it.” She slept underneath the thicket. And she did not get scared (of sleeping there). Under the oak.

35. *ḥidd il-ʕadra[h ]* || *maḥall mana ṭṣhra[h ]* || *ḥaṭṭu ḥażar hawnīk[e ]* || *w ḥaṭṭūla timše[i ]*# ||
Beside the Virgin, (beside) the place where she appeared. They put stones there, and they put an icon there.

36. *ḥalla? wa ṭilla[ ]* || *ʔṣmit hal-mara[ ]* || *bakkī[ ]* || *w ṭstū ṣal-bayt[ ]* || *w kēnt ma mxillēyī ḥadan ma mxillēyī mistaʃfā ma mxillēyī ḥākim mana šeṣyift[o ]*||
Now, suddenly the woman got up, early, and went home. She did not leave any one, any hospital, any doctor that she had not visited.664

37. *ḥakūlna l-ʔissa ṣa*657 || *wa ṭilla... || ṭaxdit ʕibnā ʕal-ḥākīm[ m ]* || *kēn ʔṣyilla ʔstltn658 il-ʔamal minn[o ]* || *ḥakīm maḥ-... || *ʔalla šu ʕmilīlu? ʔstltn666 ma ʕmilīt ʕ[e ]* || *daxīla ʔimmna Mary[e ]*m || *hin667 biʕūlu ʔimmna Mary[m ]*||

656 < ʔinda.
657 < snīn.
658 < ʔślūla.
659 < zahrīt.
660 Literally: o my uncle.
661 < ʔstlttn.
662 < daxīlkin. Allegro.
663 < fiṣtīt.
664 Literally: seen.
665 < ʔṣṭltn (§2.1.1.9).
666 < ʔṣlttn.
667 < hin (§3.1.1.1).
They told us the story up there, and then… she took her son to the doctor…
He (the doctor) had told her that they gave up hope on him. A doctor «…». He asked her: “What did you do to him?” She said to him: “I did not do anything to him. Our blessed mother Maryam – they (the Muslims) say “Our mother Maryam (to the Virgin)” –

38. žāhra b maḥall li-flen[ʔa]# || w… w nimṯ f-… ṣind[E]:# || w hī šafitli ṭibn[ʔa]# ||
she appeared in that place. And I slept… beside her and she cured my son.”

39. w halla ṭibna mžawwaz ‘w ṣindu wlc̦ ṭižit hīyi ḥ ṭibin wlc̦-… || ḥdir[o]#
|| w ṣa tūl biḍall ḷyzāru fʔ? ||
And now, her son is married and he has kids. She and her son, kids… came… They attended. And they frequently pay visits up there.

40. fi wēḥd668 ḧ-b-Sūriya ṣana brūḥ ḥbzūr dūr mūr žīržis ṣa t[o:]# || (…) There is a place in Syria, I always go to visit the monastery of Saint George (there).

41. hallaʔ ṭiḥṭ ṣa mūr Žīrž[e]:s# || (MA: bass mil-ʔawwil tfaḍ̥li) ṣe || ṣana b-ḍēr mūr Žīržis ma rʔē669 ḡar zalmi fʔyi[ʔv]# || ṣalli wēn ʔill[e]:#… ||
Now, I went to the monastery of Saint George. (MA: but (can you start) from beginning? Here you go!) Yes. While I was in the monastery, I saw a man entering. He asked me: “Where…”

42. wān is-… hāmt670 mīn il-masʔūl ḥan h[ʔa-wn]?# || ṣana ʔint671 taʔi bīl-maṭḥax māc al-Šaṣḥyā ma-ʔišṭigil672 ma… || ṭillu ʔittir ʔu bītir[ʔd]# || ṣalli ṣana ʔiṣayi niḍ[ʔ r]# baddi ḥiṣṭu bīd-ḍēʔ# ||
where is… here, who is the responsible person from here?” I was working down in the kitchen in the evening. I said to him: “Command! What do you want?” He said: “I have a vow that I want to put in the monastery.”

43. ṭillu ṣe halla minṣilak il-masʔūl[ʔ][ ] # | ʔismu ḥy[f]:# || ḥeda hal-ʔabyad fi wēḥid ʔabyad kṭir xilʔēn ʔab… ṣāfru ṣab… min xilʔtu ʔabyad yażn[ʔb]# || w ʔabyad kill[o]# ||
I said to him: “Yes, now we tell the person responsible. His name is Elijah. This white one” – there is a very white one from birth… his hair is whit… from his birth white, all of his hair is white”

44. *hallā minšayyiṭlak ʔilu ʔallī ʔana ślavyī niḍ[ʔ]# || ʔiltillu ʔinta minnēn? ʔallī ʔana mīn ṣarṣa || mīslīm sinn[ʔ夯实]# || ʔallī ʔana[ʔ]# daxīlu hād-dē[ʔ]# ||

Now we call him. I asked him: “I have a vow.” He replied to me: “I am from Darāa.” (He is) a Sunni Muslim. He said to me: “I beseech this monastery.

45. *ʔana marra kint miṣṭ ma-ʔišṭīg[ʔe] l#73 i w ʕmil t hōdi[s:ʔ]# || ʔimīl ʔlab l#74 min il… min… || min i-l-xiḍ r… || m… yʔālu mōr ẓirīṣ s ʔyulūlu675 l-xiḍ l[ʔ:]# ||

One time, while I was working, I had an accident. So, I requested from… from l-Xiḍ r – they …. say Saint George, they call him l-Xiḍ r. –

46. w ʔlab l min676 mōr ʔlyla[s]# || ʔinnu ʔana[ʔ]# | ma baʔa šṭigil677 ʔnhōr il-ʔahlad kēm678 ma-yašṭigil679 ʔnhōr ʔah[ʔ夯实]# || w ʔimīl hōdis ʔw xallas ʔmn il-m[ʔ夯实]# || and I requested from Saint George that I do not have to work on Sunday(s)” – He was working on Sunday, and he had an accident and survived from death.

47. *ʔallī ʔana ʔlab l minn[ʔō ʔ:]# || ʔinni ʔana ʔišṭ[ʔe:]# || w ʔana nhōr il-ʔahlad kill in… šah[ʔ]# || kī680 ʔsī bišṭigilu681 nhōr il-ʔēhād baddi limmillin yē[ʔ夯实]# ||

He said: “I requested from them that I heal. And I, on Sunday, every…. month. Whatever I would earn on Sundays, I will collect it for them.

48. *la ʔilīm682 mā ʔil[l][ʔ夯实]# || ʔallī kill rās šahr baddi ʔīl[ʔ夯实]# || ʔil-ʔarbaʕ… l-ʔasēbēʔ il mišṭigilin683 ʔēhād ʔilōq# ||

for them, not for me.” He said to me: “In the beginning of every month, I will bring to them the (amount I earned from the) work I did on Sundays in the (last) four weeks.

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673 < ma-ʔišṭigil.
674 < ʔlab l.
675 < yʔālu lu.
676 < min.
677 < ʔišṭigil.
678 < kēn.
679 < ma-ʔišṭigil.
680 < kill.
681 < bišṭigilu.
682 < ʔilīm.
683 < mišṭigilin.
49. *w biʔṣimin*⁶⁸⁴ *halla riḥ’t ‘a mḥr ‘l[yēx ‘ṣaytu hiṣṣṭu w ‘zēyi ‘a mḥr žirži[s]# || ‘aṣu baddak ‘ṣaktar min hāk ya Mahmūd[ô]:⁶⁸⁵ ||
And I divide it. Now I went to Saint Elias and gave him his share, and now I came (here to give) to Saint George.” What do you want more than that, Mahmoud?!

50. *yī ʔiltillu xayy ya ‘ammī šu l-ʔimēn*⁶⁸⁶ || *ma tsaddiʔ ‘inta[l]:# || fi mislim ‘w fi masiḥī w fi ʕāg’il il-fēnī ‘ana ma biʔṣimin fi⁶⁸⁷ ‘ana fišt bi’il-girb[ô]:# ||
Oh! I said to him: “How nice! What a faith!” Do not believe that there is a Muslim and there is a Christian and there is that thing. I do not believe that there is. I lived abroad.

51. *ma kēn ‘imdi mińskli min hal-mawdūc ‘inn[ô]:# || halla ści... halla? ʔ... || ḥiřr wēḥid zaważ ma zaważ ki⁶⁸⁸ wēḥid baddu yēţ ‘b ʕaʔl ʃikl kill wēḥid ‘ana hē ma bḥabbız[ê]:#⁶⁸⁹ ||
I did not have a problem concerning this topic. Now... One is free. As for marriage, everyone wants to live in a different mindset, everyone, I do not agree on that.

52. *ʔil-haʔīʔa || bass ka ḥayēt ʔiżtimēšī maʃ baʃa ṣna šu mnaʃmil ‘ana tʃillamt ‘b Ḥalb[ê]:# || killir⁶⁹⁰ rifʔiti ʔislê[ô]:# ||
The truth. But as for social life with each other, what shall we do? I studied in Ḥalba. All my classmates were Muslims.

53. *killin nibʔa b nih... hinni b bētna w niḥna b baytoŋ# || ma ‘anna mi狭窄kli fīya ʔabadan⁶⁹¹ ma ‘anna mi狭窄kli[ô]:# || w ḥyēt ḡalla ||
All of them, we were at…. They were at our house, and we were at their house. We don’t have a problem about it at all. We don’t have a problem. Upon my oath!

54. *w ŋina ŋalawīyi bi-... b Kar‘im ʕaʃfū[ô]:# || yēţy ŋina Ḥsan⁶⁹² sīyyēx ŋibnu sayda[ô]:# || ŋat-ṭarrï takt maʃf... šu ʔism[ô]:# || tʃirraf’t ‘ila š[ê]:#:|| # || ma tarrāf[t]:#⁶⁹³ ||

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⁶⁸⁴ < biʔṣimin.
⁶⁸⁵ < Mahmūd.
⁶⁸⁶ < Ūmēn.
⁶⁸⁷ < ʕi.
⁶⁸⁸ < kill.
⁶⁸⁹ Another consultant, (A), explained that *ma bḥabbiza* is an expression used in the meaning of ‘I disagree’.
⁶⁹⁰ < killin.
⁶⁹¹ < ḡabadan.
⁶⁹² < Ḥsēn. Allegro.
⁶⁹³ < tʃirraf’t (§2.1.2.1.17).
And we have Alawis in Kar'm ʕaṣfūr. Oooo we have a pharmacist, who is the son of Hussain ʕiyyēš.

55. ʕē daxīl ʕalbin694 bīzan'ni[0]\# || b... ʕ Kar'm ʕaṣf[0]:# || yī ʕinna yēhon# Ḥasan ʕiyyēš 'w martu ʕayda[ɛ:]# || ʕinna yēhim695 b... bīzan'nu bīzan'nu minḥibbi'n kūr niḥn[ɛh]\# ||

Yes, I bless their heart. They are such good people.696 In Kar'm ʕaṣfūr. We have them, Hassan ʕiyyēš and his wife ʕayda. We have them, they are such good people. We love them a lot.

56. ʕē || w bāytin697 kēnu niḥna w yēhin ma biṣīr šī ʔilla mirrūh698 niḥna la ʕandin 'w biṣu la ʕanna w kil699 ʃ[ɛh]\#700 || baʔa ma tʔilli y-... ||

Yes. And their house... they were, we and them, for whatever happens we (would) go to them and they (would) come to us, and everything. So, don’t say to me...

57. ʕē baʔa hēda hal-... hal-... w ḥyēt alla limmin... limmiʕ701 ʃiftu fēt ʕa had-der\# || w ʔallii ʔana ʕayyi ndū[ʃa]\# || ʔana l-xiḍr[\#]# daxīlu l-xiḍr ʻw mūr ḥyēs il-ḥa'[\#]yy\# ||

Yes, so, this... Upon my oath! When... When I saw him entered the monastery. He said to me: “I have vows. 1-Xiḍr (Sain George) – I beseech him – 1-Xiḍr' and the Live Saint Elias.

58. hadīl hinni lli... || hinni li ʃaṣīna w hinni l samḥūli ʃtiği'l702 il-ʔahad ʔilọŋ# || ʔallii ʔišū ṭarbaʕ ẓeṣḥād biṣi bīziblin yēho#703 ||

These, they who... They were the ones who healed us and were the ones they allowed me to work on Sunday for them.” He said to me: “Every four Sundays I bring it (what I earned on Sundays) to them.”

59. ʔah || ʔašu siżaltin704 ʃindoŋ km[ɛ:bi]\#705 || l-ḥaki siżaltu706 ʃind[ɛ:vi]\#707 || hiyy halla badak tǐkhǐyuni?# || ʃiiliki yēhin la ʃ[ɔ:]#708 || bitṣiḍon̊?# ||
Did you record (what I said) there too? Did you record the speech there? Ooooh now you want to tell them? Repeat them for me so I see? Can you repeat them?

6.2 Text II: Funeral (M)

(MA: ʕan id-dafʿn, masa ḥadīkī l-marra twaffit ṭalṣa yirḥama w yirḥam mayyīṭīnīk “‘About burial. For instance, that time she passed away – God bless her and your dead ones.’”)

1. **Hin**[^210]# ||
   (She was Hind).

(MA: kif ˤnʔalnāha min, bṭiklī kif bitṣr n-naʕwe? ‘How did we carry her from…? Would you tell me how the funeral announcement takes place?’)

2. **layki limmin ˤiża l-xaba[‘]# || rɔ̄ḥu ˤrɔ́ybīna žēbūwa min hawnīk ḥattūwa ta-… bil-mistašfa ʕand il-Yūsif[‘]# ||
   Look when the news came, her relatives went to bring her from there to put her in the hospital, at the Joseph Hospital.

3. **ʔiżit ližnim li-크n[s]# || w biżu ˤrɔ́ybīna lal-mar[a][b]# || xayy[ɛb]# || wūd silfa mit’il Bahžēt mit’il hēda ʔib’n silfa Bahžē[‘]#[^709] ||
   The church board came. And the relatives of the woman come, (for instance) her brother, the children of her husband’s brother, like Bahjat, like this one, the son of her husband’s brother.

   They sit down, (and) they decide when they will bury her. What hour do they set for the burial? If three (o’clock) then three, if four then four.

5. **bass || tɛn yām badi yrūhu yżibūwa m-mistaʃfa[^712] || biruḥu ʕa... biruḥu sitt sab[ˈ] siyyʕɔ́rt bįžibūwa w ’byiżu[w]# ||
   But the following day they will go to bring her from the hospital. They go to… They go with six seven cars, they bring her and come.


[^210]< Bahžēt.
[^709]< Bahžēt.
[^710]< sɛʕa.
[^711]< bṭṣaynu.
[^712]< m(ɪn) il-mistaʃfa.
[^713]< msaẓli.
[^714]< mdawwrîn.
They put Hind in the church, until four o’clock. The priest started to … The cassette player was playing prayers inside (the church), they have turned on the player with the prayers at the altar, and… the corpse is at the altar, and the player is praying, and her relatives are around her, like this, the burial.

7. tirmi d-daf’n byiţu l-xwørni byiţi... ūq̱yvbina biwaddกūw[e^h]# || w... bīrūh[̱aw]#^717 ||
At the time of the burial the priests come, her relatives come and bid her farewell, and… they go.

8. biballis^718 il-xūri byiwʔafu dēyir ma nḏṟa[̱]# w byiţu bbalšu^719 l-xwørni bīz-żinn[ejt]# || biṭannzūwa w bixallšu[w]# || w byixddūwa ʕal-madḟ[ɛ]#^20 ||
The priest starts, they surround her, and «they come» and start with the funeral. They do the funeral ceremony for her, finish and take her to the burial place.
(MA: lamma minǧība ʕali-ḵnīse, byiţu biwaddḵūwa, šu biʔillūla? ʔana šiftun, ʔiza bītkli ᵃʃwayy ‘When we bring her to the church, they come and bid her farewell. What do they say to her? I saw them, if you tell me a bit.)

9. ʕe ʕe limmam^721 biṭibūwa ʕa li-kmīs[ɛ]# || byiʔ̱du ḥidd min[e^h]# || la tirm id-daf’n || bidalalu[w]# || ʔahlīyita Ḥāḏīn ḥand[e^h]#^222 || lāā tirm id-daf’n la s-sēʔa^231 ʔar’bsa[k]# ||
Yes, yes. When they bring her to the church, they sit next to her until the time of the burial. Her family continue to sit next to her until the time of the burial, until four o’clock.

10. bišīru yibku ʕlah[e::]# ūq̱yvbina wli̱d xayyha[:·]# ʔixwita[:·]# «ḥāy#»^224 || bišīru yibku ʕlaha w ‘y̱ʔillula diṣānik... || kēm^225 baf’d bakkīr daxīlu ʔallā ykattir xayr[o w]# || hēk ||
They start to cry over her, her relatives, the children of her brother, her brothers, «like that», they start to cry over her and say to her: “What a pity

^715 < haykal, see p. 47.
^716 < misażži.
^717 < bīrūhū ~ bīrūhū.
^718 < biballiš.
^719 < biballšu.
^720 < l-madfān.
^721 < limmam.
^722 < ḥadda. The /n/ is probably due to mispronunciation.
^723 < sēʔa (§2.1.1.8).
^724 Cf. hayk# (§2.4.2).
^725 < kēn.
(that we lost you)!”… It was early (that we lost you), God – daxīlu – May he increase his blessings, like that.

11. ... tirm id-daʃ[n 1byiʃu[w# || ʃal-wideʃ[ʔ]# || ʔ26 r-raʒel ʔixwita byiʃu bi-waddʃūw[ɛʰ]# || mīm27 bikān hadd[eʰ]ʔ# || knēyin siʃa[ː]# | bnēt ʔixf[e:]# || kamēnʔ29 biwaddʃūwa w bi... sakru bṣid min hān hat-tēbū[wtʰ]# ||

At time of the burial, they come to the farewell, the men and her brothers come and bid her farewell. Who stands next to her? The wives of the sons of her husband’s brother and the daughters of her sister, (they) also bid her farewell and close the coffin – God forbid! –ʔ29

12. w bi... biwʔafuʔ730 ʔa żanʔb balʃitʔ731 li-x-... w bitballiʃ li-xwəɾni bîz-ʒinnēz biʃ-ʃa[laʰ]# || and they stand beside (her (?)). The p(riests) started. And the priests start the funeral ceremony with the prayer.

13. biballšu yʃaʃlu[w# || ʃi niʃeq səʃa bixlaʃ iʃ-ʒinnēz[ʔ]# || bidliʔula niʃfīt zēt ʔa siʃra[ː]# || ħāyʔ# || ʃaʃi[ʔ]# ||

They start to pray. After half an hour or so the funeral ceremony ends, they pour some oil on her chest, like this, (the sign of the) cross.

14. w biʔiʃlun#… ʔil-... xūri... ʃl-ʃawaʃ bi-salēmitkōŋ# || ʃiʔimūwa w byēʃdūwa ʃat-tirb[ɛʰ]# ||

The priest says to them: “May God give you a long life”.ʔ32 They lift her up and take her to the burial placeʔ33

15. ʔahlīyita birzāwuʔ734 ʃal-kāʃa[ː]# | ta yiʃʃazu[w# || ʔe || ʔahlīyita || ʃal-ʃālلام il... l-ʃālلام has-ʃaʃeʃ ʃbvaʃdūwa ʃad-... ʃal-madʃa[ɲ]# || w... ʔahlīyita birzāwuʔ735 ʃal-... kāʃa[ː]# || la yiʃʃazu ʃazziyin ʃal-ʃāl[ɛʰ]#»ʔ36 || ʔiʃ- mawzūd[ʃaʰ]# || «haykʔ# ||

Her family goes back to the hallʔ37 to receive the condolences. Yes. Her family and the people and the… people and the youth take her to… to the

726 < l-wideʃ.
727 < mīn.
729 Literally: It is far from here.
730 < byiwʔafu.
731 < balʃit.
732 Literally: The compensation is in your wellbeing.
733 Literally: ground.
734 < b(þ)irzāṣu.
735 < b(þ)irzāṣu.
736 < l-ʃālلام.
737 A building next to the church, used for common activities in the village, such as condolence meetings.
cemetery room. Her family goes back to the hall to receive the condolences, so that «the people» who are present give condolences to them, «like that.»

(MA: ?e halla ltimmayna šīnd in-nižme, w ḥamlū, ḥamlu t-tēbūt, kif šāret? ‘Yes, so, we gathered in the village square, and they carried it, they carried the coffin, how did that happen?’

16. ?e ḍźu d… il-mistašfa wiʔfu hēk šan-nižmi hanīk ʾhtašrif || wiʔfu hūnī738 || nazzlu l… źitt[ʔ]# || wis-siyyūrt il-mawta ʾiddēmha šam-bišal[ʔb]# || ta wīšlu ṣal-knēs[ʔ]# ||

Yes, «they came from» the hospital and stopped in the Nižmi square. There, you know (where it is). They stopped there and put down the corpse. While the hearse739 is in front of her, and they continue to pray until they arrive at the church.

(MA: bass ʾḥmalnāha ‘But we carried her.’)

17. ?e himlīta r-rāžī[ʔ]# || ?e himlīta r-rāžī[ʔ]# || himlūwa r-rāžī lāā li-knīsī ya mūma[ʔ]# ||

Yes, the men carried her, the men carried her. The men carried her to the church, O my son!740

(MA: lamma mraʔna min hūn, war’d. ‘When we passed by from here, flowers.’)

18. ?e šūr ʾyzittu ʾlḥaha war[ʔb]# || yaʕni… falyūnta[ʔ]#741 Mēy ʾw hal… nisw[ʔe;]# || l bīḥibbūw[ʔe]# || wēʔfīn ʾblēkīnin742 ʾal… t-tārī? || bīriššu ʾlḥaha war[ʔb]# ||

Yes, they started to throw flowers on her, I mean her goddaughter, Mai, and the… women who liked her were standing on their balconies by the road and throwing flowers on her.

(MA: lā samaḥ Allā law ʾykūn šabb ʔaw šabīyi. ‘God forbid. If it was a young boy or girl?’

19. šabb ʔawṣū mēt šinna šah743 ʾinta ʾissa kint yimkin744 ma ẓū[ʔ]# || (MA: ʾʔe) ?e || tattū d-dīni ṣāṣ | ḏ-dāyṣa kēnit killa ṣāṣ[w]s[ʔ]# ||

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738 < hūnī.
739 Literally: the car of the dead.
740 Literally: O mother!
741 Cf. Graf (1954, 11, 83) where the given meaning of this word is different, i.e. Messgewand.
742 Cf. French balcon.
743 < šabb.
744 < yimkin.

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Young boy, they shot him. A young boy from here died. You, probably had not come at that time yet. (MA: yes) They filled the world with bullets. The whole village filled up with bullets. (MA: ?ā (M: ?ē) lamma bikūn šabb ʔaw šabīyi ‘Hmm, (M: ‘Yes’) if the dead person is a young boy or girl)

20. biʔawšūlu[ʰ]\# || ?ē || šabb ʔaw šabīyi biʔawšūlimi\textsuperscript{45} min il-... nižmi lal-kuṣīs[ʰ]\# ||

They would shoot (in the air) for him. Yes. Young boy or girl, they would shoot for them from the Square to the church. (MA: w biṣaffʔu yaʕni bizaffʔu, biṣir zaff i w raʔṣ? And do they clap? Does clapping and dancing take place?)

21. lāā? | lā? || hēki maši wara l-... žitt[ʃ]\# || w bi-... ʔawwšu[w]\# || wil-... w ʕērīt il-... š-ṣala ma-ṣyallī bil-... daft il-mawta[ʰ]\# || yalla[ʰ]\# ||

No. No. (It is) like that, walking behind the coffin. They shoot. And the prayer recorder is praying in... the burial. That’s it. (MA: yaʕni bikūn il-war’d ʔaktar lamma bikūn ʔabi ʔaw bin’t? ‘So, would the flowers be more when it is a boy or a girl?’)

22. ?ē || ?ē || ?ē || šabb ʔaw... mara šabīy[e:]\# || ?ē || bikūn ʔaktar ?ē war’d ʕw... hāy[ʰ]\textsuperscript{46} | ḥarākēt ʔakr[ʃ]\# || ʔaktar ma tkūm\textsuperscript{47} mara ʔbīrī maslan mara ʔbīr[ʃ]\# | nišu\textsuperscript{48} badi yriššu ʕlāha war’d mara ʔbīrī hēd[e:]\# || lāʔ? ||

Yes. Yes. Yes. Young boy or... young woman. Yes. It would be more, yes, flowers and... such. More activities.\textsuperscript{49} More than if it were an old woman. For example, an old woman. Why that they should spray on her flowers, this is an old woman. No.

6.3 Text III: The origin of the village name (F)

(MA: šu ?ism il-καρήμ? ‘What is your name?’)

1. ʔana ʔismi (…) || min ʔaray[e:]\# || ʔikkērīyi ʔīsma ʔ-ʔsayxtāba[ʰ]\#\textsuperscript{750} ||

My name is (…) || (I am) from an Akkari village called\textsuperscript{751} Shaykh Taba.\textsuperscript{752}

\textsuperscript{45} < biʔawšūlin.
\textsuperscript{46} Cf. hayk\# (§2.4.2).
\textsuperscript{47} < tkūn.
\textsuperscript{48} < ṭinnu šu.
\textsuperscript{49} Literally: movements.
\textsuperscript{50} In this text (F) uses /ā/ as a reflex of */ā/ instead of /ā/ due to probably classicism, and the diphthong is not monophthongised for the same reason.
\textsuperscript{51} < Literally: its (f) name.
\textsuperscript{52} The name is commonly spelled as Cheich Taba.

This village, they named it Shaykh Tabā. Its name was Shaykh Tabā.755

There was a Shaykh in the past. He came756 to the village. They prescribed for him (to come to the village). He had asthma.


They prescribed him the air of the olive trees. Our mountain of the village is settled by olive trees, that is, olive trees which are hundreds of years of old.

4. «ʔil-muhimm759» waʔt il ḥiža had-... haš-ṣēx || ṭaʃad bi ḍad-ḍayṣa[ɨ] || ʔâr ʔṭaʃ[ɐː][b] || mîr-ʁabu «Ṭaba[缜][b]»760 ||

Anyway,761 when the Shaykh came. He stayed762 in the village. So, he was healed from «his» asthma.

5. ʔâm763 šu ṣar764 ʔyʔūl ʿ-ṣ-ṣayṭā[ɨ][b] || «ʔyʔūl»765 || yaʃn[ɐː][b] || ṣ̣r ʔyʔūl baʃdən tâba ʿ-ṣ-ṣayṭā[ɨ][b] ||

Then they started to say was Shaykh Tabā, Shaykh Tabā. They started to say afterwards Tabā, Shaykh Tabā.

6. hîyî l-ʔaʃl... t-tasmiyî tabaʃa ḥayk# || hê ʾad-ḍayṣa[ɨ] || yaʃnî... || tan-tami ṭila t-ʔāʔi ṭi il-ʔortodokṣîyi[ɨ][b] || mil-ᵲtiɾnîʔ[ɐː][b] || miɾnūn it-ʔāʔi yaʃn[ɐː][e] || lal-ʔîsmi il-liḇnînî w il-ʔîsm is-sūri maʃwūdî biṯ- ḍad-ḍayṣa[ɨ][b] || ʔâr w šû baddak ʔīhīlak la «ʔîrwiʔ[ɨ][x]»766 ||

The origin of... its naming is this.767 This village, so to speak... belongs to the Orthodox sect. The Archdiocese, I mean, the archdiocese...
of the sect, which represents Lebanon and Syria, exists in the village.
So, what do you want me to tell you, to narrate to you?

6.4 Text IV: Life back then in the village (L)

1. (MA: šū kān yištiġlu ṭahlak ẓammi?) kēn... ba-... bāyiyi... mīšmēr[ɛh]# || kēn ẓammi[ɛ]# || ṭeh || w ṭimmī... || sitt bēt yašīnī ma kēn tīštiġi[770] ẓ[iṭ][769] || w... bāṣī nand ṭrūdi w kaza w || yašīnī waḍkīn kēn[770] mīrū[ɛ]# ||

(MA: Uncle, what did your parents do for work?) My father was a builder. He was building. Yes. My mother was a housewife, that is to say, she did not work (a job), and... but they owned lands and such and, I mean, their situation was comfortable.


(MA: Were they farming?) Yes, they were farming, (MA: What were they farming?) pistachio, corn, okra, and peas, yes, and watermelon too. Then the cultivation of cigarette and tobacco came.

3. JoinColumn hēd[ɛh]# || ẓirna niz-... || ništini bīl-... hit-tamb[ɛ][773]# || tambak ʿbyaṣṭī[774] ṭifd[ɛh]# || ʿē ṭiẓra[ʔ]# || yašīnī... šī mīṭaṃ diłum[775] tambak saḥī ma b ṭid[ɛ][ɛ]# || ...maʃ[aj][ɛ]# || ṭir[ɛ][k][e]#776 ||

This was in my time. We started to cultivate tobacco. Tobacco gives benefits. Yes, I (used to) plant. That is to say... about two hundred acres. I was not by myself, though.777 ... I had partners.

4. ʿē w... yašṭī[778] yašīnī... || ṭiẓ[ɛ]d[ɛh]# || fī ṭifd[ɛh]# || hēda l... || ʿē z-ẓirā[ʔ][e]#779 || tambak fiya ṭifd[ɛh]... mēddī[y][e]# || ṭifd[ɛ] mēddī[y][e]# ||

Yes and... it gives, that is to say... income. It has benefits. This, the... this cultivation. Tobacco has benefits of... monetary, monetary benefits.

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768 < tīštiġilha.
769 < šī (§2.1.2.2).
770 < kēn.
771 < yizrašūh.
772 < Persian tambāku (Barthélemy 1935, 94).
773 < Persian tambāku (Barthélemy 1935, 94).
774 < ḫyāṣṭīh.
775 Cf. Turkish dōnūm.
776 < šīrṣki (§2.1.2.2).
777 Literally: in reality not with my hands.
778 < yaʃīh.
779 < zīṭṣia.
5. **w یلهمدیله... یاسنی...** || یانا ما بهی[•بث]#780 || یللا کین ک یمنیه ماّ

al-لعل[یه]#781 || w... || w ما بیذب[یه]# || دیر یادوووِل[یه]# || یادوووِلِّ ما

بیبالت دیر[یه]# | w la بیذبَلَعَو d-دار[یه]# || یاز[782] قلیپ b-ید[یه]# || (MA: یلهمدیله)

And thank God... that is to say. I only like to be nice with people. And... And I do not accept hurting my enemy. My enemy, I do not accept to hurting him. And I do not accept for him (to suffer) harm if I can.

6. **w یلهمدیله ۰ نیکر یاللا || (MA: یکَوَللا)... hal-حییه#||783 یانی#84... ۰یرنا میتینین فییا یمن[یه]# || مار؟لا مار؟ا... || (MA: یکَوَللا) مارا[•]#785 || (MA: یکَوَللا) مار؟ا[•]# || مبیریکنیا... طیجه مان-نیسَب... || bid-dirک[یه]ا || هلال786 ۰یرنا یسیتیری[یه]#787 ||

And thank God, and we thank God. (MA: Yes, indeed) ... This life. That is to say, we have become convinced that it is (just) a stop by, a stop by... (MA: Yes, indeed) a stop by, (MA: Yes, indeed) a stop by. Yesterday we were kids playing... with dirک[یه]ا. Now we become el-derly people.

7. (MA: یش یاسنی به d-dirک[یه]ا) یانی788... || ۰یرنا... کِم789 ماه-... نژیب

؟ادی[•]#790 || (MA: یکَوَ) w... ہازرا هک || (MA: یکَوَ) w... ںیدریبا... لال-ہاژر[یه]# || یک*نیتتَا m791 ماھا[•]# || (MA: یکَوَ) w... کامینِ ات-تاراف ات-تینی نافس یش-ش[یه]#793 || (…) (MA: What did you mean with dirک[یه]ا?) That is to say... we were... we used to bring a stick. (MA: Yes) And... a stone like that. (MA: Yes) And we hit it, (we hit) the stone. Yes, we would throw it from one place to another. (MA: Yes) And... the other side was the same thing too.

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780 < یلیمِب.  
781 < یلیمِب.  
782 < یلیمِب.  
783 < ل-حییه.  
784 < یاسنی.  
785 < مار؟ا.  
786 < هلال.  
787 < یسیتیری.  
788 < یاسنی.  
789 < کِم.  
790 < یادیب.  
791 < مین.  
792 < ماھال.  
793 < یش-ش (§2.1.2.2).
8. (MA: bi šbūbātak šu štgalt yaʕnī šu drast?) wallahi bay— ma-ʔillak kint... ?ana muzēr[eja?]#794 || šdīn... ʔmilna... š. ism[o]# ||795 tiż'ra || štrayna wān796 || širna... nwazzīʕ baḍāʔa[.]

(MA: What did you do in your adolescence? What did you study?) By God in... I am telling you, I was a farmer. Afterwards... we did... what is it called? Trade. We bought a van. We started... to distribute goods, as wholesale to the shops too.

9. ṭē w ʿlḥamdillē waḍ'īna min ḏasēsu ?ana waḥīj[j]#799 || lā šabi w la bīn't... ma ʕandi... xayyē# ||800 w... ḏahli... waḍ sân mn[е:j]h# || (MA: niškir ?alla) w... yani801 kil ḥayēti waḍ'ī mir[е:j]h# || w ṭēzu ʔlēdi ḥamdillē kammlu l—... || ʾt-ʔarʾ? || (...)

Yes, and thank God, our situation from the start.803 I was the only child. Neither boy nor girl, I did not have a sibling. And... my family... their situation was comfortable. (MA: We thank God.) And... that’s to say all my life my situation has been comfortable. And my children came and – thank God – finished the... the road.

10. (MA: il-bakawāt kīf kān hāda.. d-dōr? ||) ṭē (MA: hada l-waʔēt kīf kān?) ṭē || walla... kēn fī ʔikṭāʔ[?]#804 || ʔa ʔiyyēmōn# || (MA: šu fī?) kēn fī ʔikṭāʔ[?]# || yaʕnī bakawē# ||805 (MA: ṭē) w ḥyī kilmitin il—... l-mēṣy[eh]# || bass ʕinna ʔiẓmēlan ʿb ḥe ʔayʕa || ma kēn fī tiʔsīr lał-ba-

(MA: How was the period of landlords?) yes, there was ʔikṭāʔ. Indeed... there was feudalism in their days. (MA: What was?) There was feudalism. That is to say the beys.808 And it is their word which was valid. But in general, in this village, there was no effect of the beys on us. ... We were, that is to say... the owner of the... for instance, the decision.

794 < MSA muzārī (`§2.1.2.1.17).
795 < šu ḍismu.
796 Cf. French van, English van.
797 < MSA bidāʕa (`§2.1.1.8).
798 < mahallēt.
799 < wahīd.
800 < xayyēt.
801 < yaʕnī.
802 < mīrēh.
803 Literally: its (m) base.
804 < MSA ʔiqtāʕ.
805 < bakawēt.
806 < yaʕnī.
807 < l-ʔarʾ.
808 A title given to officials of a certain rank (Barthélemy 1935, 75).
11. šāhūn il-ṣa‘r#|809|ṣinna yaṣni mēna bi ḥażī la la-bakawē#|810| yaṣni hinni bi ḥażī la ḥaln[eb]# || niḥna mēna bi ḥażī la ḥaln#|811| [MA: lḥamdil- lah] ū lḥamdil- ... kill il-dāya #|812| ḥaln[eb]# || yānī hē d-dāya[ ]# || kēn y?ūlu ʔaŋna dayṣa biš-Ša[eb]# || yaṣni hēda... || hē l-manṭa ʔiṣma ʕa[eb]# || (MA: ūsma?) Ša[eb]# || Ša[eb]# || They were owners of the land. We had, that is to say, we were not in need of the beys. That is to say, they were in need of us. We were not in need of them. (MA: Thank God) Thank God. The whole village, our village, that is to say this village. They used to say (that our village was) the richest village in Shafat. (MA: What is its name?) Shafat. Shafat.

12. ʔē kēn... Ḟayṣitna y?ūlu ʕixṭaba[ ]# || ʔaŋna dayṣa biš-Ša[eb]#|| yaṣni Minyṣra w’ʔēd[eb]# || w... l-Hēkūr#|816| w... wiz-Zwērī#|817| hēda killu ʔiṣmu ʕa[eb]# || w ʕēx Mḥamm[eb]#|| w Ḥalb[eb]# || hēda ʔaš-Ša[eb]# || kēn Ḟayṣitna y?ūlu[ ]# || ʔaŋna dayṣa biš-Ša[eb]# || (MA: ʔē nafaam)

Yes, it was... our village, they used to say, Shaykh Tabo, the richest village in Shafat. That is to say, Minyṣra, Žḍi, and... l-Hēkūr, and Ḥalba. This is Shafat. Our village was, they say, the richest village in Shafat. (MA: Yes, I see.)

13. ʔē... hēda... || ʔaṇa kin-... | ʔaš baddi ʔi[l][eb]# || kint bi-... mī#|819| wāt il ʔwṣīt yaṣni... bil-... biš-sabʃ ʔtmin ūn[i][eb]# || baṣrif hal-hak[eb]# || ʔē w ʔeḥamdiḥ||

Yes... This... I was... What will I say to you? I was in... Ever since I was a child#20 that is to say... at the age of seven, eight, I have known this.#21 Yes, and thank God.

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809 < ʔa‘r’d.
810 < bakawēt.
811 Cf. ḥaln, see p. 45.
812 < d-dayṣa.
813 < yaṣni.
814 < Šafat.
815 < Šafat.
816 < Hēkūr.
817 < z-Zwērīb.
818 < Mḥammad.
819 < min.
820 < Literally: from when I woke up.
821 Literally: this talk.

(MA: How was the situation of the beys down (there)?) Who? (MA: In the Sahl) (MA: The beys were not ruling, right?) No, they were not ruling in our village. (MA: I mean in the Sahl) Yes, yes, neither in the Sahl nor in the Dahr. In Shaykh Tabaa they were not ruling.


(MA: No, no. I meant in the Mas?u?i? and there?) Yes, in the Sahl – except Shaykh Tabaa. Yes, they were the ones who were ruling. People used to work under them, all of the sects. That’s to say… especially Christians. The Christians used to work under them. That’s to say… in their lands.


They used to pick cotton, they used to plant cotton – did you hear about the cotton? – (MA: yes). And they used to pick pistachio, and... and they used to pick corn, and... and... they used to pick peas also.

6.5 Text V: Life then and now (A)

(MA: Shimrak ?iltilli ?arb?n halla?? (A: "") masalan lamma kint xami?ta? w halla? su fi far? bil-hayat w ma?lit id-day?a? ‘Your age, you said, is forty now? (A: Yes.) For example, when you were fifteen and now – what was different in life and in the village life?)

1) lak ti?r? kti[i]# || (MA: masalan?)

Look, it differs a lot! (MA: For example?)
2) halla? ʔab‘l kēn\(^{831}\) il-ʕalam ʕayši ǧeq hall[ɛ]# || yaʕnî halla? ʔab‘l lēk ʔab‘l min ʔadîm kēn\(^{832}\) il-ʕalam[ɛ] m# masalan... ma kēn fi śi ʔismu fir‘n ‘trūḥ tîštîrî minnu xib‘[z]# ||
So, before, the people were living differently than now. So, before, look, before, in the past, the people, for example... there was no such thing called fir‘n ‘bakery’ that you go to buy bread from.

3) kēn\(^{833}\) il-ʕalam tixbîz hîyi hall[ɛ]# || halla ʕa waʕyî ʔana[...]# la? kēn fi xib‘[z]# | bass ma kēn\(^{834}\) il-waʕî yin\(^{835}\) ʔab‘l lēk ʔinnu min xamišṭâšar\(^{836}\) sin[ɛ]# || kēn fi hayda s-selül[t]#\(^{837}\) ||
The people themselves used to bake, they did. Now, as far as I am aware – no – there was bread. But the situation was not (like today); I mean, before, look, fifteen years ago, was there this cellphone?

4) kēn fi hêda l-... hêda l śu ʔism[ɔ]#? | hêda l-lēptō#?\(^{838}\) || kēn fi śi ʔismu... bisîkîl[ɛ]#\(^{839}\) || kēn fi śi ʔismu mûṭâ#\(^{840}\) ||
Was there this... this what’s-it-called? This laptop? Was there a thing called... bicycle? Was there a thing called motorcycle?

5) kinna nilʕab kill in-nhîr nirkab ʕal-ʔaʃb[ɔ]# || smaʃî ʕaway\(^{841}\) nirkab ʕal-ʔaʃb[ɔ]# | w‘nsû? il-ʔaʃb[ɛb]# ||
We were playing the whole day, riding on the bamboo stick – listen a bit\(^{842}\) – We get on the bamboo stick and ride the bamboo stick.

6) yan\(^{843}\) siyyâr[ɔ]\(^{844}\) kēn fi ʔalî[...]# | mî ʔinnu ma kēn fi bass ma kēn fi miṭl hall[ɛ]# | halla\(^{845}\) kill bêt fi ʔarba\(^{846}\) xam’s siyyâr[ɔ]\(^{847}\) ||
There were few cars. It is not that there were not (any cars), but it was not like now. Now every house has four or five cars.

\(^{831}\) < kēnît.
\(^{832}\) < kēnît.
\(^{833}\) < kēnît.
\(^{834}\) < kēnît.
\(^{835}\) < yaʕnî.
\(^{836}\) < xamišṭâšar (§2.1.1.8).
\(^{837}\) < French cellulaire.
\(^{838}\) < English laptop.
\(^{839}\) < French bicyclette.
\(^{840}\) Cf. English motor and French moteur.
\(^{841}\) < ʕawayy.
\(^{842}\) One of the speaker’s nieces was present at the interview and she occasionally joined the conversation. (A) here requests her to listen.
\(^{843}\) < yaʕnî.
\(^{844}\) < siyyâr[ɔ].
\(^{845}\) < halla?.
\(^{846}\) < ʔarba\(^{7}\).
\(^{847}\) < siyyâr[ɔ].
7) 

there were (only) two cars.

Right, in the past you would find one car at the house. Before, a very long time ago, you would find in our whole village two cars. In all Shaykh Tab'a there were two cars. OK, then there were twenty, thirty, then there were—now they have two thousand.

8) (MA: lamān?) ma bārīf min ḥaḍābin 'idim 'ktīr minu ʕa waṣyi ḍana ḍana ma kint xil[ʔ][ŋ]# || bas baṣṣa// ḍana min ḍahli ḍinnu biʔūl[ʔ][o]# || (MA: Whose?) I do not know who owns them. Very old. It was not in my time. I was not even born. But I hear from my family: they say

that in the whole of Shaykh Tab'a there were two cars. OK, then there were twenty, thirty, then there were—now they have become two thousand.

9) ṭinnu biš-šīḥūba killa kēn fi siyyūrtayn# || taḥ basdēn šār fi ʕiṣrīn bašdēn šār fi tiṭīn bašdēn šār fi... halla(? ʃār fi ?alfēn ||

that in the whole of Shaykh Tab'a there were two cars. OK, then there were twenty, thirty, then there were—now they have become two thousand.

10) halla 852 niḥna b bētna ḍanā 853 arbaš siyyūr̥̣̘ 854 of ḍēda ḍandu ḍarbaš siyyūr̥̣̘...-

Now, we, in our house, we have four cars, and this one has four ca(r)s...

11) yaʃni ʃift ʃu h... ʃu ʃi tḡayy[ʔ]# 855 || ḍab'la ya ḍaxi kēn fi lēptōp 856 kēn fi... seliūl[ʔ]# 857? ||

So did you see... what changes? Before, brother, were there laptops? Were there... cell phones?

12) kēn fi ḍēda t-talifūn 858 il bil-bayt# 859 || baddak ʕanta ʔdīʔ? biʔdiʔ? || b... b-hal-ʔiʔ's ʔw btiḥki miʕ al baddak... ||

There was this phone at home. If you want to call (someone) you call with this dial and talk with whoever you want to....
13) wān kēn fī tihki vaybī<sup>860</sup> t̬ w tihki tango<sup>861</sup> w tihki... w ṭṣawwirni ṣawwirni seyf<sup>862</sup> ṭ w ṣawwirni midri šu wan kēn fī minnu «ḥēdā»? ||
Where can you talk (over) viber, and talk (over) tango, and talk… and take a picture of me, take a selfie of me, and take a picture of I-don’t-know-what? Where was this kind of thing?

14) nḍall kill ṭnḥār ṭnḥayyit la baꜰdāna ʕayta || niwʔaf ṣaṣ-ṣaṭḥ<sup>863</sup> ʔana wyoōōōw || ṭṢ ṭṢṢ la niṣrāb ṣahw[e]#||
All day long, we were shouting to each other. We were standing on the roof, I (am shouting): “Heeey, come, come to drink a coffee!”

15) wān ḥalla[e]# || ḥalla... ba... kill ʃi ṭgāy... ʃi-lībs t̬ ṭgāyar il-ʔakl t̬-t... lak il-ʔinsēn ṭgāyar ʃarīʔit tifkōr ʔana ṭgāyriṭ<sup>864</sup>||
Where now, now… everything chan(ged)… the clothes changed, the food changed, the human changed, my way of thinking changed.

16) ʔalb l kēn fī mḥabbī mū ṭal hal... ḥalla<sup>865</sup> ma ḥada bīḥīb<sup>866</sup> ḥad[e]#|| ḥalla ʔana ʃil ʃāṣlaḥa maʃ ʃāmāḥmūd || ʔē ʃāmāḥmūd ḥābīb ʔalbī w ʕayn[e]#||
Before, there was love, not like the… now no one loves anyone. Now (if) I have need of Mahmoud (then), yes Mahmoud is my dear friend.

17) bass ʃ鑫id baddi l baddi ʃe minnu... ʔē rūh ʃīl ʃanīya ya ʃaʃ baddi fī ʔana mëli w mël[o]#||
Once I get what I want from him … go away from me, what do I need him for? I do not care about him anymore.

18) ʃīni<sup>867</sup> ḥalla? fī ʃīlam ʃīnda hē «l-halīṭ» || kill ʃi ṭgāyar ʃil-haywēt||
There are now people who have this situation. Everyone changed in life.

19) bass bardu[w]# ʃīnu[w]# || ʔid-dinī fiy[ʕh]# || ʃīni<sup>868</sup> d-dinī fiyā nēs bīṭḥibb baʃda[ ]# w fiyā nēs bīṭṭārum baʃda[ ]# w fiyā nēs ˆḥtiwʔaf ḥūdd baʃda[ ]# w fiyā nēs bīṭṣēṣid baʃd[ʔ]# || bass ʰēdā l-ʃādād ʔaln[ʔ]#||
But the fact that… the world has… I mean there are people in the world that love each other and people who respect each other and people who stand next to each other… But the number of these is small.

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<sup>860</sup> English viber: a name of a software application.
<sup>861</sup> English tango: a name of a software application.
<sup>862</sup> English selfie.
<sup>863</sup> ṣ-ṣaṭḥ.<sup>864</sup> ṭgāyriṭ.
<sup>865</sup> ḥalla?.
<sup>866</sup> bīḥīb.
<sup>867</sup> yaʃnī.
<sup>868</sup> yaʃnī.
20) yaʕni ḥana ḥana... b'illak min dēšii ḥal[...]# || w kill iq-diyās nafs iš-šā[ [...]#870 || mi-... ṭinnu dēšii871 hāyi fiya mīzi ṭan ḡayra lā? ||
So I, I… I say to you, from my village it is a small number. And all the villages are the same… not… that my village has a peculiarity more than others, no.

21) ma kēn... kil872 ši ṭgayy[...]# || kil ši kil ši ṭgayy[...]# || yin874 kil ši ṭgayyar ḍ w ki-... halla ša bukra ṭissa bašd Ẓašr[...]snīn || ḥana mitʔakkad hēda halla l ma-nšāfu niḥna hēd[...]# || ṭissa bdu_ži875 ši ṭahsan minn[o]# || ma bas ma bašrif šu hūw[...]# || yimkin ḥinta w mēši tiḥki hēk ḫaki yismāšak rfiʔak 'b Bayrūṭ#876 ||
There was no... everything changed. Everything everything changed. And... now, until tomorrow, in ten years’ time, I am sure that this, now, the thing(s) we see now, there will even come something better than it, but I do not know what it is. Perhaps while you are walking, you will talk like this (and) your friend hear you in Beirut.

22) šu biʔarrifni878 ḥana bašrif#878 || s-... fi ši ṭam-biṭṭawvar879 yašni fi ši... || fi ši fi š[...]#...880 fi ši ma-... fi ši yāni881 kil882 ši ṭgayyar mim883 bēm884 min šišrīn sini la hall[...]# || fi ṭišya ṭgayyarit 'kti[...]# || (…) How should I know? Do I know? There is something that is developing. There is... there is... there is... There is, so to say, everything changed between twenty years and now, there are things that changed a lot.

23. (MA: bass ḥana ma ḥkaytilli ḥan ṣway ḥan ḥayātak ṭalbēr ṭinnu kif... ...) ya ḥaxi lēk masa... rbīna... lēk 'rbīna b bēt | kinna kill is-sini ništīr

869 < yašni.
870 < ši.
871 < dēšii.
872 < kill.
873 < ṭgayyar.
874 < yašni.
875 < baddu yži.
876 < Bayrūṭ.
877 < biʔarrifni (?)(§2.1.1.8).
878 < bašrif.
879 < biṭṭawwar ~ biṭṭawwar.
880 < ši.
881 < yašni.
882 < kill.
883 < min.
884 < bēm.
shēdrīn⁸⁸⁵ wēh[‎e]⁸⁸⁶ | masa... bis-sin[‎e⁴]⁹⁸ | kill sini la ništirī shēdrīn ?aw miššēy[‎e]⁹⁸ | ||
(MA: But you did not tell me a bit about your life, Albēr, that how…)  
O Brother, look, we grew up for instance, look we grew up in a house  
(where) we would buy one pair of sandals in the whole year. For instance,  
in the year. In the whole year, we would buy one pair of sandals or one pair of shoes.

24. w kill sini kinna la ništirī bantlīn⁸⁸⁷ ?aw ³blūẕ⁸⁸⁸ ṣal-ṣī[‎j]⁹⁸⁹ | hēda bass ṣal-ṣīd ma fi bil-ṭīyyēm il-ʔādiyī nu⁹⁹⁰ wāl[a ṣay sēṣit ma baddak tīštir[‎e]⁹⁹¹ | niḥna rbīna hay⁹⁹² ||
And in the whole year we would buy one pair of trousers/pants or blouse  
for the feast. This is only for the feast. There was no (such thing) that you  
can buy at any time you want.

25. laʔinnu kēn ʔah'lna wadšīn il-mēddi ʔa ṣaddu[‎n]# baddin 'y'allmūk k ‘w  
baddin 'yāsмūk 'w baddin 'yšarbūd#⁹⁹³ ||
Because our family’s income was moderate and they want to send you to  
school to feed you to let you have something to drink…

26. w ʕayli ʕiyā xamsi sitti w ʕiyā wēhīd ʕam-yištīgil mā mi'[‎l halla masalan ||  
bītēʔī xamsi sitti bil-bēt ʕam-bištīgil[‎o]# | rbīna hēk ṣādī mi'[‎l hal-  
ʕīl[‎e⁵] | ʔinnu ʔah'lna hēwlu y'alṣmūnā hēwlu y'alṣmūnā hēwlu⁹⁹³  
yšarbūnā hēwlu ylaḥbsūnā ʔadar il-ʔīm[‎k]⁹⁹⁴ | ||
and a family has five six (persons), and it has one who is working, it is not  
like now, for instance, you find five six in the house working. We grew  
up like that, as usual/ordinary people. Our family tried to send us to  
school, tried to dress us up as (they could).

27. la ḥatta ʔbirna w bass ³ʔbirna[:|]# xalaṣ šārū ya xayi⁹⁹⁵ hēda rāḥ ʕaẓ-ẓēḥ  
hēda rāḥ hōn hēda twazzaf hēda kaza[:|]# | w bas ʔinnu rbīna rbīna hēk...  
yašnī... hēk 'rbīna bi ʔatīʔa kūr ʔinnu[‎n]# | baštā w ʕādī⁹⁹⁵ ||

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⁸⁸⁵ < French espadrille.
⁸⁸⁶ < wēhīd.
⁸⁸⁷ < French pantalon, and Turkish pantolon.
⁸⁸⁸ < French blouse.
⁸⁸⁹ < l-ʔīd.
⁹⁹⁰ < ʔinnu.
⁹⁹¹ < yšarbūk (§2.4.2).
⁹⁹² < yšarbūk (§3.3.13.1).
⁹⁹³ < hēwlu.
⁹⁹⁴ < xayyi.
⁹⁹⁵ < ʕādī⁹⁵.
Until we grew up and when we grew up, it was finished, they were, brother, this one went to the army and this one went here, this was recruited, this one etc. And but we grew grew up like that.

28. miš ṭinnu waalla kil896 yām 'rruḥ897 nisha[.]r[.]r[.]istinguishing 'w kil898 yām… || nībīs ṭahlā tyēb 'w kil899 yām mana rrišš2900 ṭahlā parfī901 lā ma kēn fī minnu902 hēda bnṣ[b]903 || ma kēn fī minnu bnṣ904 || nīhna… | nīhna rmīna… ṭbīna hayk# ||

It is not like we were going out every night, and wearing the best clothes every day, and using the best perfume, no, there was none of this at all. There was none of this at all. We… We grew up like that.

29. yašni nīhna ṭbīna b bētna hay#905 || kēnu ṭah'īna ma yiṣṭrūlna tyēb ʔilla ʕal-ʕ[i]906 ||

I mean we, we grew up at our house like that. Our family would not buy clothes for us until the feast.

(MA: šu kānu yiṣṭīğlu ṭahlak?)

30. bayyi kēn ʕaskari biż-żeẖ̱# || yašni h-... hēk 'rbīna nihn[ε]# ||

(MA: What were your family were working for?) My father was a soldier in the army. … We grew up like that.

896 < ṭinnu waalla kill. Allegro.
897 < nrūḥ.
898 < ṭinnu waalla kill. Allegro.
899 < ṭinnu waalla kill. Allegro.
900 < rrišš.
901 Cf. French parfum, English perfume.
902 < minnu.
903 < bnṣb.
904 < ṭbīna. Mispronounciation.
905 Cf. hayk (§2.4.2).
906 < l-Ṭīd.


