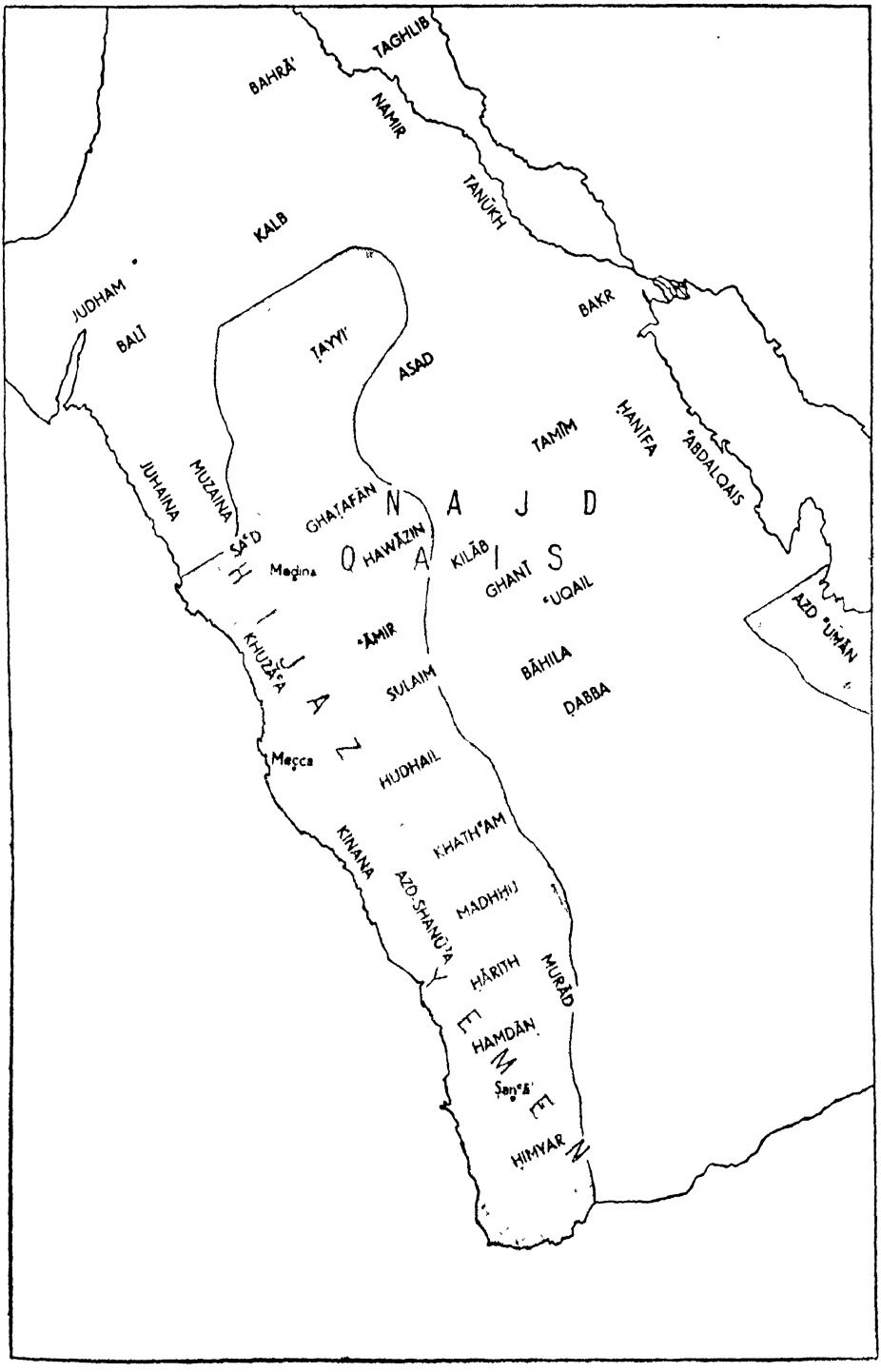
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ANCIENT WEST-ARABIAN



THE WEST-ARABIAN DIALECT AREA

ANCIENT
WEST-ARABIAN

by

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I dedicate this book
to J. S. I. Rabin, Esq., LL.B.
in affection and gratitude

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PREFACE

This study was begun in 1937, with a thesis on 'Studies in Early Arabic Dialects' which I presented in 1939 for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London. At that time, under the influence of Vollers, I concentrated upon the 'Eastern Dialects', and only later came to realize the special position of the Western Dialects and the existence of the West-Arabian language, and decided to present first this part of my researches. I hope to publish at a later date my material on the Eastern Dialects and my lexicographical collections.

When I began work upon my thesis, it was with the mental reservation that I would abandon the subject if after three months I had not found enough material to justify going on. I soon discovered that there was more than could be digested in a lifetime. The matter presented here is therefore no more than a selection of available data, and I could hope for no better fate for this book than that it should rapidly become out of date. The great potential importance of the pre-classical Arabic dialects for the study of Arabic and of comparative grammar has in recent years been stressed by such connoisseurs of the material as Kampffmeyer and Reckendorf. A welcome revival of interest is proved by the appearance of the excellent studies of the lamented Dr. H. Kofler and my fellow student of pre-war years, Dr. Ibrahim Anis. The present volume proceeds on entirely different lines of investigation and in some ways complements these two works.

It is an agreeable duty for me to thank all those who have given me help in preparing this book. First and foremost I must mention Professor H. A. R. Gibb, whose advice and encouragement accompanied my labours through all stages. In the many hours he has so generously given to reading my successive drafts and discussing my doubts and difficulties, many ideas were born without my being able to say whether they were his or mine. His share in the book is thus very large and real, though impossible to acknowledge in detail.

Hardly less great is my debt of gratitude to Professor A. S. Tritton. As my supervisor he guided me in my first halting steps, freely gave me valuable hints from his wide reading, and restrained me from many a pitfall. For valuable advice on points of detail I am much indebted to Professor W. R. Firth, to Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, Dr. J. Schacht, Professor Marcel Cohen, and Dr. F. Krenkow. I am very grateful to Professor G. R. Driver, Dr. R. Serjeant, P. Edmund Beck, Professor J. Cantineau, and Dr. S. Glazer for communicating to me, often at considerable cost of time and labour, and allowing me to use, results of unpublished work of theirs.

I also thank the staffs of the Griffith Institute and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the British Museum and School of Oriental and African Studies

Library in London for their patience and kindness in facilitating my work, and in particular the Library of the India Office for lending me twice for lengthy periods the precious MS. of Ibn Malik's *Tashīl*.

I have used the transliteration recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society, but have inserted *hamza* also in the initial position and noted *'alif maqṣūra*, when written with *yā'*, by the symbol *ä*, which is not meant to indicate anything about the phonetic character of that sound (cf. § 10 *bb*). The common Classical "*imāla*' is indicated by *ǣ*, the 'Hijazi *'imāla*' (cf. § 10 *x*) by *ē*. As for *tanwīn* and *tā' marbūṭa*, these have been omitted wherever this would not have given rise to ambiguity. Hypothetical 'proto-Arabian' forms have been provided with the ending *-u*. To diminish as far as possible the appearance of diacritical marks, I have omitted them in names of the more common tribes. Colloquial words are spelled as I found them in the sources.

With regard to Koran quotations I have followed recent usage in giving first the verse numbers of Flügel and then, if they differ, those of the Egyptian Royal Koran. In dates the first number is, of course, the year of the Hijra, the second the year A.D.

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Vollers, K.: Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien. (Strassbg. 1906). Reconstructs an assumed 'popular language' from non-canonical Koran readings. The material in the ancient dialects is collected from Muzhir and similar late works, and the conclusions drawn from it are often too daring. The book contains, however, many valuable ideas, and is important for any student of early Arabic.

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ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla fī mā warada min lughāt al-qabāʾil (cf. § 2 *d*), on margin of Dīrīnī's Taisīr fī ʿilm at-tafsīr, Cairo 1310.

AFO Archiv für Orientforschung.

ʾAghānī, Second ed., Bulaq 1285.

ʿAintābī, see Qāmūs Turc.

ʾAstarābādī, comm. on the Kāfiya of Ibn Ḥājib, Istanbul 1310.

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GQ, Nöldeke, Geschichte des Korans, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1909–38.

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Ḥarīrī, Durra, Istanbul 1299.

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OLZ, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Qālī, 'Amālī, Cairo 1926.
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Ris. cf. 'Abū ʿUbaid.
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id.: Al-Bahja al-marḍiyya ʿalā 'Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik, Cairo 1291.
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'Ushmūnī, comm. on 'Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik, Cairo 1329.
Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1896.
Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, ed. Broch, Christiania 1879.
id.: Al-Fā'iq, Hyderabad 1324.
ZAss, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZS, Zeitschrift für Semitistik.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This book is an attempt to evaluate from a comparative and geographical point of view the data preserved by Arab philologists about the phonetics, grammar, and syntax of a group of pre-literary Arabic dialects.

There is no need to justify the study of the ancient Arabic dialects. They are likely to throw light not only upon Classical Arabic and the modern colloquials, but also upon Semitic in general. Classical Arabic is remarkable for its archaic character. How much more so should be the dialects that preceded it in time and, if Classical Arabic were to any extent a mixed idiom, represented a more direct line of development from proto-Semitic? If anything has so far caused these dialects to receive little attention, it was not lack of importance, but the impression one gained from the available material, scattered, uncorrelated, and often contradictory as it was, that it did not form a suitable basis for study. Freytag's list (in his Einführung, pp. 65–125) must have convinced many that the field was sterile. The excellent studies on points of detail which were undertaken subsequently (cf. Bibliography 1) did not do much to change this attitude, and the rich collection of material which we owe to the late Dr. H. Kofler's astounding industry and wide reading, is through its complete neglect of the geographical factor likely to discourage even further anyone who might have hoped to utilize the data on the dialects. It is hoped that this investigation will convince its readers, even if some of its conclusions should prove wrong in the light of increased knowledge, that an analysis upon strictly geographical lines produces results which make the study of the dialects worth while.

We owe to K. Vollers and C. Sarauw the discovery that the schematization of all dialect differences into Hijaz and Tamīm which we find in Arab works corresponds to a real cleavage of the ancient dialects into an Eastern and a Western group. They were not the only ones, but we know too little of the others to take them into our consideration. The Eastern dialect group, comprising Tamīm, Rabīʿa, ʾAsad, ʿUqail, Ghanī and some other Qais tribes, has a considerable number of distinctive features. Upon closer consideration it appears that these are mostly comparatively recent linguistic developments, and that basically the Eastern dialects are the same as the Classical Arabic of the poets. Not so the dialects that were spoken along the great watershed of the peninsula and on its western slope. The common features of these dialects are less obvious—most of them became clear to me only after I had studied the material for over five years—but affect much more deeply the structure of the language. If we give due weight to the fact that all we know about any Arabic dialect is only a dim reflection of some

vague outlines, we shall admit that these dialects must have sounded to the Arab from Najd like a foreign language. In some respects they exhibit differences from Classical Arabic which go back to the proto-Semitic stage. They are more archaic, i.e., they have not shared in developments through which the latter idiom (or rather the dialects on which it is based) has passed. In other matters they have developed in a different direction. These developments are in several significant cases paralleled by developments in Canaanite on the one hand and in South-Arabian on the other. These dialects are what Arabic so conspicuously is not: a link between North-West Semitic and South-West Semitic (in Leslau's definition). Their character corresponds thus to their geographical situation.

What seems to emerge from these data is a language which, while closely related to Classical Arabic, has from very early times developed along different lines and against a different background—in fact a different language. I can as yet suggest no answer to the question whether this language and Arabic have a common origin separating them from Canaanite and South-Arabian—a kind of *Ur-Arabisch*—or whether they were separated right from the proto-Semitic stage. Since Semitic dialects are so close to each other, and there no doubt were many cross-influences, the question will perhaps never be answered. Treating the new idiom provisionally as an entirely separate entity, we may take a clue from the name South-Arabian, and call it West-Arabian.

Even more difficult than the problem of the relation of West-Arabian to Classical Arabic is that of its relation to the various idioms found in the North-Arabian inscriptions: Lihyanic, Thamudic, Safatene, the language of the en-Namāra inscription, and the Arabic which influenced Nabataean Aramaic. These dialects are taken together under the name of 'proto-Arabic'. This is a chronological term, and should not be taken to suggest genetic connection between them. I have a feeling that one or another of these idioms will turn out to belong to the West-Arabian group, with which all of them are certainly related as well as with Arabic proper. For the moment we have not the means, on either side, for making any comparison.

Apart from these possible appearances in writing, West-Arabian was a non-literary language. Its speakers have left us no written monuments from which we might attempt to reconstruct their history or culture. Linguistic evidence in Yemen suggests that speakers of West-Arabian penetrated from the north in waves. The spread of the name Ṭayyi' (cf. § 14 *a*) is an admittedly very slight indication that at one time West-Arabians played a more important role in the north. Arab tradition, which groups all West-Arabians together, but jointly with other tribes, as 'Yemenites', claims on the contrary that these tribes emigrated northwards from the Yemen. A northern origin would certainly supply the easiest explanation for the surprising

similarities and parallelisms of West-Arabian with Canaanite. Further we cannot go.

When West-Arabians began to produce a literature, they did so not in their own language but in Classical Arabic. We give this name to the language of pre-Islamic poetry, while we call its standardized form, which was used as the international language in the Abbasid empire, Literary Arabic. In chapter 3 the opinions of European and Moslem writers about the origins of that language are summarized. It cannot be claimed that the investigations in this book enable us to give a definite opinion. I can, however, offer a working hypothesis which has stood me in good stead in the course of this research: Classical Arabic is based on one or several of the dialects of Najd, perhaps in an archaic form. Najd was an area where East-Arabians and West-Arabians met and mingled. In the west of the region the Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin dialects were strongly West-Arabian, in the east those of Ghanī and ʿUqail clearly Eastern. Between them were dialects which were possibly really mixed, with an Eastern basis, but of an archaic character as compared with the Eastern group. Above all they lacked the tendency to the reduction of short unstressed vowels so noticeable in the Eastern dialects of Tamim and Rabiʿa. This area was thus neither purely Eastern Arabic nor purely West-Arabian. It was the scene of various attempts to transcend the tribal organization: the empire of the Kinda and the Qais confederation. Here, apparently, Arabic poetry came into being. Just as in Spain lyrical poetry carried everywhere the idiom of its Galician cradle, so the new Arabic poetry spread together with the language in which the first poems had been composed. In view of the mixed character of the area it is likely to have been a compromise between Eastern Arabic and West-Arabian right from the outset. In its phonetic character (fullness of vocalization, absence of violent assimilation, etc.) it resembled more the West-Arabian type; in its grammar more the Eastern Arabic. The needs of poetical diction and of metre may have done something to shape it still further.

Already before Islam this language was widely employed by poets whose spoken language differed strongly from that of Najd. Some local varieties developed, which admitted to a very limited degree features, especially vocabulary, of non-Najdi dialects. The unity of the poetical language was assured by the close cultural links which developed at the same time, and the meeting of poets from many tribes at the courts of Hira and Ghassan and at commercial and religious centres.

Such a local type of Classical Arabic was employed in the Hijaz for poetry and perhaps also for writing in general. This is the idiom in which the Koran was spoken and recorded. The pronunciation of the literary language in the mouth of Hijazis was of course largely accommodated to their native

dialect, to which Koran spelling is therefore a fairly reliable guide. In morphology, on the other hand, an almost complete conformity with the 'Arabiyya' could be achieved; the few Hijazi forms, such as the triliteral jussive and imperative of verbs med. gem., only appear sporadically. In syntax the situation is more complicated. While the simpler rules of literary Arabic are observed, the conflict between native and acquired speech habits sometimes caused dislocation in more involved constructions, from which we can discover the nature of the original Hijazi phrase. To a smaller extent such features of West-Arabian can also be discerned in the style of the Hijazi and Ta'i poets.

It would, however, be rash to conclude that every deviation from grammarians' standards in Koran or Western poets is a pointer to West-Arabian forms. At the present stage it is only with the help of express statements of the ancient grammarians that we can recognize such survivals as West-Arabian.

It is hardly necessary to stress that our approach is essentially different from that of K. Vollers in his 'Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien'. He rejected the official text of the Koran as a grammarians' fabrication and sought its original form in the non-canonical variant readings. This reconstructed text he believed to be representative of a 'popular language', opposed to Classical Arabic above all by its lack of cases and moods. I accept the Othmanic text as a true presentation of the language Mohammed used, but believe that his literary diction contained some elements of the spoken idiom of his milieu, which happens to be a specimen of an otherwise lost language. As for the variant readings I hold that some of them (not always those used by Hijazi readers) also preserve Hijazi dialect features, in some cases even features which the Prophet would have excluded from his own style as too dialectal. Which readings are of value to us in this connection, is again a matter which can be decided only with the help of the ancient philologists. As there are readings coloured with Hijazi dialect, so there are others coloured with Eastern or with colloquial features.

Thus we see our West-Arabian dialects only through the veil of the literary Arabic used by their speakers But what of the dialects themselves? Many features discussed in this book suggest that the Hijazi dialect was not pure West-Arabian, but had undergone a profound influence of Arabic dialects such as those on which Classical Arabic was founded. This influence is more strongly discernible in the Hudhail dialect, but even in the Yemenite dialects it is not completely absent. What we have is, therefore, West-Arabian in course of dissolution, with forms rapidly succeeding each other in ever closer approximation to Arabic. In fact the literary Arabic employed by Muhammad and the vernacular of Mecca and Medina seem to have been

merely different stages in the transition from West-Arabian to Arabic. It is not unlikely that there were also individual variations in the degree to which Arabic forms were accepted. For all these reasons we are well entitled to believe that full-fledged West-Arabian was much more distinct from Arabic, since even its broken-down remnants, visible only through mistakes made in the use of Arabic, still betray such deep-going differences. We are approximately in the position of a linguist who would attempt to reconstruct the character of German from the mistakes made in the use of English by semi-educated speakers of hybrid Pennsylvania 'Dutch'.

Chapter 2

THE ARAB PHILOLOGISTS AND THE DIALECTS

a Since our investigation is in the first line based upon information collected from the works of Arab philologists, we should try to gain some insight into their methods and attitudes with regard to the non-literary dialects. This will, among other things, show us how far we can trust their data.

b Above all we must fully realize that to the Arab philologist the recording of dialect data was a sideline, something that did not form part of his proper business of codifying the laws of the Classical language. At best he would exhibit them to impress readers with his learning, at worst he would use them to prove some point utterly unconnected with them. Neither approach made for exactitude. There were many further reasons for falsification of dialect data, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

c Several early philologists wrote works under the name *kitāb al-lughāt*, or the like. None of those mentioned in the bibliographies has so far come to light, so that we cannot say whether they were works on dialects or collections of rare words. The following are the titles known to me, in rough chronological order:

1. *Kitāb al-lughāt* by Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d. 152/769 or 182/798), cf. *Fihrist* ed. Flügel, p. 42.
2. *Id.* by Farrā' (d. 207/822), cf. *Fihrist*, p. 67.
3. *Id.* by 'Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. Muthannā (d. 210/825), cf. *ibid.* p. 54.
4. *Id.* by 'Abū Zaid al-'Anṣārī (d. 214/829), cf. *ibid.* p. 55.
5. *Kitāb lughāt al-Qur'ān*, by the same, cf. Flügel, Die grammatischen Schulen, p. 72.
6. *Kitāb al-lughāt*, by 'Aṣma'ī (d. 216/831), cf. Ḥajjī Khalīfa, v, 143.
7. *Id.*, by Ibn Duraid (223/837–321/933), cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
8. *Id.*, by 'Abdallāh or 'Umar az-Za'farānī or ad-Dūmī, cf. *Fihrist*, p. 84; Yāqūt, 'Irshād, vi, 47. The author, whose name shows him to have been a native of Arabia, lived in the first half of the fourth/tenth century. Ibn an-Nadīm calls him 'of recent date'.

9 *Id.*, by Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187), quoted Lisān, xx, 194. The quotation does not refer to dialect matter.

10. *Kitāb as-sabab fī ḥaṣr lughāt al-'arab* 'Reasons for the restriction of the Arabic dialects (or vocabulary?)', by Ḥusain b. Muhadhdhab al-Miṣrī (before 650/1252), cf. Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu'āt, p. 236, from the Mughrib of Ibn Sa'īd.

11 (?). A *kitāb al-lughāt* is mentioned by Ibn Khālawaih (d. 370/980) in his Kitāb Laisa, ed. Shinqīṭī, p. 42.

d 12. We possess only one monograph on dialects. This is a treatise ascribed to ʾAbū ʿUbaid Qāsim b. Sallām al-Herewī (d. 223/838), entitled *Risāla fī mā warada fī l-qurʾāni min lughāti l-qabāʾili* 'Treatise on dialect words in the Koran'. The work was published on the margin of the lithographed edition of Dīrīnī's Taisīr fī ʿilm at-tafsīr (Cairo 1310), and reprinted on the margin of the Tafsīr al-Jalālain (Cairo 1356). Suyūṭī, in his ʾItqān (p. 310), quotes extensively from a monograph (*taʾlīf mufrad*[1]) of ʾAbū ʿUbaid on this subject. The quotations are largely identical with the material of our Risāla, but are arranged by dialects, while in the Risāla the items are in the order of the Koranic passages which they comment. Also, Suyūṭī quotes authorities, while the printed text never mentions any. Perhaps both the Risāla and Suyūṭī's quotations are drawn from a fuller work of our author.

e The data in the Risāla differ from those we find in the lexica. The latter never seem to quote it by name, and only in very few cases give dialect provenience to the same words. Where they do, they tend to confirm the Risāla. The Risāla ascribes words to dialects that are never mentioned in other works. The most surprising of these is the language of the Jurhum, a tribe of the *ʿArab al-Bāʾida*, on the coast near Mecca. Remnants of that tribe were known to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763; quoted by ʾAzraqī, ʾAkhbār Makka, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 54; cf. Nöldeke, Fünf Muʿallaqāt, iii, 27, n. 2). It is thus possible that ʾAbū ʿUbaid, or his informant, still heard their language spoken. The dialect meanings recorded in the Risāla hardly ever fit the passage they are supposed to elucidate, a circumstance which lends some verisimilitude to the information. It is probable that further material is to be found in ʾAbū ʿUbaid's unpublished Gharīb al-muṣannaf.

f The authors of the monographs listed above were lexicographers; Farrāʾ a representative of the Kufan school. The grammarians of the Basrian school evinced little real interest in the dialects. Sībawaih mentions mainly such usages as were permissible in Arabic as he conceived it. He subjects these to the same *qiyās* method as any other material. Since the dialects as such meant nothing to him, he had no hesitation in reducing differences largely to a schematic opposition of Hijaz and Tamīm (which shows that he clearly realized the distinction between West-Arabian and Arabic). Most of the later grammarians had even less interest in the dialects, and omitted even some details which Sībawaihi noted. It was only the later eclectic and encyclopædist grammarians, such as ʾAstarābādī (d. 683/1287) and Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who collected all dialect data they could find in order to achieve completeness. Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287) appears to have had some interest in dialects for their own sake. He mentions them frequently in the *Tashīl*, and even in the *ʾAlfiyya*. Perhaps it had already become fashion to be expert in such linguistic curiosities. The commentators of Ibn Mālik—Ibn

ʿAqīl, ʾUshmūnī, and Suyūṭī—are valuable secondary sources who have preserved for us many data from lost works. One of these commentaries, the mammoth work of ʾAbū Ḥayyān, is recommended by Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) as the best source of information about the dialects (Ṣubḥ al-ʾaʿshā, ii, 233). We may note in passing the curious fact that a knowledge of such things was considered of value for a civil servant.[2]

g The lexicographers were of course more interested in dialect words, and not only in those that occurred in poetry. On what principle they included such words, is impossible to make out. There certainly was no attempt at being systematic. Ibn Duraid and Nashwān had a particular delight in words of dialect origin, and included in their dictionaries especially many Yemenite words. Yet Ibn Duraid rarely gives any material for his own ʾAzdī dialect[3]. The commentators of *Dīwān Hudhail* did not consult living members of that tribe, which dwelt within easy reach of Mecca. The only more or less systematic presentation of a dialect which ever existed, the seventh volume of Hamdānī's *Iklīl*, devoted to the Himyaritic language, has unfortunately been lost. Later lexicographers were not specifically interested in dialect matter. Even the Lisān often omits such data from its quotations of earlier works.

h Most of the dialect features treated in the grammars were those found in literary sources and considered *faṣīḥ*, correct and elegant Arabic. These were submitted to the same casuistic treatment as any other phenomena of the literary language and were hedged in by rules of an entirely artificial character. In some cases, as with the Taʾi *dhū* 'which' (§ 14 *v*) this grammatical discussion led to the adoption of forms and constructions alien to the dialect from which the words came. Other features were included because they occurred in recognized poetry or in the Koran, and had somehow to be accounted for. In these cases the grammarians are often satisfied with the mere statement that 'this is the author's dialect', or 'this is according to the dialect of . . .'. A third reason for quoting dialect usage was that it sometimes supported some theory about the character of a literary Arabic construction.

i Once it was recognized that a form which did not conform to the rules of literary Arabic might be dialect, the temptation was at hand to seek here an easy explanation for anything for which one could not account by the rules one had made oneself. To give one example out of many: ʾAndalusī (quoted by ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 117) believes to find in a verse *kai* meaning *kaifa* 'how'. He adds: 'either this is the dialect of the poet, or the *-fa* is dropped as a poetic license'. Any faint similarity to a known dialect peculiarity is exploited, without considering the probability of the author's using that dialect. Thus phrases in the Dīwān Hudhail are explained from the Tamīm dialect, etc. Even worse, 'dialect words' are freely

invented to justify some theological idea or simply to find a meaning to a Koranic phrase. Thus the letters يس at the opening of Sura xxxvi are said to represent *yā sīn*, said to mean 'o man' in the dialect of Ṭayyi', the letters طه in Sura xx, to mean 'o man' or 'o thou' in the dialect of 'Akk (Baiḍāwī, ii, 156; i, 591). The Greek loanword *'iqlīd* 'key' is made into Yemenite dialect because it occurs in a line of poetry ascribed to 'Tubba'' (Lisān, iv, 368).

k Borrowing from different dialects was proffered as an explanation for the *'aḍdād*, the words with two (real or imaginary) opposite meanings. 'When a sound-complex (*ḥarf*) has two incompatible meanings it is absurd to believe that the Arabs should have used both simultaneously. These words were employed by one tribe with one meaning and by another with the second. Later on the tribes became acquainted with each other's usage, and mutual borrowing ensued' (Ibn al-'Anbārī, 'Aḍdād, p. 7). It was only a step from this to the naive attitude expressed by 'Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 154/771), one of the founders of the Basrian school. Asked by the father of the traditionist Ibn Naufal whether he accepted every usage of the Bedouins as good Arabic, he replied in the negative, and declared: 'I follow the majority and call everything that contradicts my own view (*mā khālafanī*) dialect' (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 111, from Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt an-naḥwiyyīn). We need not take the 'majority' criterion too seriously, as several usages current among the majority of desert Arabs, such as the *taltala* (§ 6 *i*) were rejected by the grammarians.

l Apart from pure inventions of this kind, the tendency to account for existing alternative constructions of Classical Arabic by means of dialects led often to an unwarranted sharpening of differentiations. If a construction, which was for any reason in discord with grammatical theory, could be found in a dialect, or in texts by members of a tribe, it was often simply declared a dialect usage. An instance of this is the use of a predicate with generic *lā*, which because of its occurrence in the Koran was declared a Hijaz dialect construction. From this the further conclusion was drawn that it was used nowhere else, and when it was found in a poem by Ḥātim Ṭā'ī, that poet had 'abandoned his own dialect' (§ 13 *q*). The basic cause of such confusions is the lack of a clear conception of the relation between Classical Arabic and the dialects, cf. the next chapter.

m A fertile source of confusion is the homonymy of the word *lugha*. This can mean 1. speech in general, 2. ordinary usage, as opposed to technical language (*iṣṭilāḥ*), 3. the Classical Arabic language, 4. lexicography, as opposed to grammar and syntax, 5. a word, 6. a permissible alternative expression, 7. a dialect, 8. a provincialism or dialect expression. Often an earlier writer might say that a form was *lugha fī* 'an alternative form for . . .'; a later author, quoting him, would substitute *fī ba'ḍi l-lughāt* 'in some dialect',

or vice versa. The restrictions placed by some writers on the use of *lugha* do not make matters any clearer. E.g., ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 31) in discussing *hūlāʾi* for *hāʾūlāʾi*, says: 'it is not a *lugha*, but a shortened form of *hāʾūlāʾi*'. Apparently *lugha* does not mean a dialect form in this context, but a form which cannot be derived from the normal one by simple phonetic substitution. This is certainly not the usage generally followed.

n It is no wonder that some philologists lost sight of the fact that a dialect is connected with an ethnic group. In Suyūṭī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ (i, 37) we find the following passage: 'Some say that the treatment of diptote nouns in prose as triptotes is the usage of the dialect of some Arabs. This view originated with ʾAkhfash, who said that it was the dialect of the poets, because by employing this as a poetic license they became so used to it that it became current in their everyday speech.' One came even to talk of dialects of Basra and Kufa, meaning the forms approved by Basrian and Kufan grammarians (Kofler, WZKM, xlviii, 264). But those who realized more clearly the implication of the term dialect were not always right in applying it. Discussing Farrāʾ's view that *mundhu* is composed of *min* and the relative *dhū*, Ibn Yaʿīsh objects: all Arabs use *mundhu*, but only the Tayyiʾ have *dhū*. How can a word which all use have an element restricted to one tribal dialect? (p. 1103). In spite of his logic, he was wrong, cf. § 13 pp.

o A certain amount of our data on the dialects consists of the type of linguistic oddities people like to attribute to their neighbours. While they contain a core of truth, they are no doubt often exaggerated and misinterpreted, like the popular versions of Welsh *ll* or the French belief that Germans say *p* for *b* and vice versa. Many dialects were known popularly by nicknames taken from some striking feature, such as *ghamghama*, *ʿajʿaja*, *ʿajrafiyya*, *rutta*, etc. (cf. § 3 *l* and the index). Most of these, when analysed, mean no more than 'shouting', 'bellowing', 'moaning', 'talking gibberish', or similar kindly epithets (just as in Germany every region is accused by others of 'singing'). This was not good enough for the philologists, who sought to narrow these vague terms down to some tangible grammatical detail. Either they identified the name with some well-known dialect feature or, where no suitable feature was known, they more or less invented one. The *ʿanʿana* of Tamīm was made to refer to the fact that that tribe said *ʿan* for *ʾan*; therefore the *ʿajʿaja* of Qudaʿa and Tayyiʾ must mean that they said *ʿij* for *ʿī* (§ 14 *m*). These terms became the stock-in-trade of the popular grammarian, and the whole approach to the dialects was centred around them. A good account of the traditional values attributed to these names is to be found in the article *Al-lughāt wal-lathaghāt* by Père Anastase in Mashriq, vi, 529–536, 589–93.

p There were thus at the very source of the material with which we have to deal many causes that tended to falsify and distort the data. Subsequent

tradition, consisting in the copying of statements by each writer from his predecessors, is also responsible for a good deal of uncertainty in our knowledge of the dialects. On some occasions we find authors flatly contradicting each other, both in the description of the phenomena and in their attribution to specific tribes. Names of tribes that were similar in spelling or sound often gave rise to confusion, especially as they seem to have meant very little to even the early philologists. Freytag (Einführung, p. 76) lists features of the ʾAzd and ʾAsad dialects under one heading. Other confusions that I have found occasionally are Hudhail and Ḥanẓala (section of Tamīm), Tamīm and Yaman. Such mistakes are not too frequent and can mostly be easily discovered.

q Much more disturbing than this is for our purposes the tendency to substitute a larger tribal grouping for a smaller one. Thus we often find the names of sections of Tamīm, whose dialects seem to have differed rather strongly, replaced by Tamīm; or Kināna, Khuzāʿa, Medina, the ʿĀliya, etc. by Hijaz. This is particularly annoying when such larger groupings cut across important dialect boundaries, as in the case of Qais, which confederation included speakers of Western and Eastern dialects. An absurd case is the use of 'Yemenite dialect' for tribes in various parts of Arabia who claimed a 'Yemenite' genealogy. The most frequent method is to group Western usages under Hijaz and Eastern ones under Tamīm. This was already largely done by Sībawaihi. Suyūṭī names the chapter of his Muzhir which deals with the dialects (ii, 175–8): 'Differences between the dialects of Hijaz and Tamīm', although in his other works he is not prone to this schematization. When one of the two type-dialects differed from Classical Arabic, the Classical form was often simply attributed to the other. Because *mā* with the predicate in the accusative is Hijazī, *mā* with the nominative is called *mā Tamīmiyya* (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 22 *a*). Because the Tamīm inflected *halumma* (§ 12 *z*), the uninflected *halumma* is made Hijazī dialect (ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 72).

r While realizing all these sources of error, and applying due criticism to the information supplied by Arab sources, we must also beware of falling into the opposite error of believing that the data are worthless. I hope to have shown in this book that on the whole they fit into a coherent system of geographical distribution. One must above all beware of rejecting a form because it is unique. Often the seemingly absurd turns out to be well-founded. D. H. Müller in 1877 (Südarabische Studien, p. 21) rejected the 'Himyaritic' *dū* 'not' as 'im Semitischen undenkbar', while in fact it is one of the best-authenticated features of southern Yemenite (cf. § 4 *bb*). There is no doubt that we are in possession of a solid body of data derived from observation. It remains to review the nature and provenience of these data.

s Many of our statements are framed in such a way as to imply personal contact with dialect speakers. Phrases such as 'I heard a man of the . . . tribe say', 'I was told by a man of the . . . tribe that such-and-such was their usage', recur constantly. Often precise details are given about the informant's age, etc., or about the circumstances of meeting. An instructive example is the following: 'Abū 'Ubaid (d. 223/838) reports from al-Ḥasan: we did not know what *al-'arā'ik* meant until we met a man from Yemen who told us that his countrymen used the word *'arīka* to denote the canopy under which the bridal bed is erected' (Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 310). Another interesting story is that of 'Abū 'Amr (d. 154/771) settling a point of dispute by sending out two emissaries to test the reactions (*laqqana*) of a Hijazī and a Tamīmī to a certain construction. Each insists on his own dialect usage and cannot be brought by any means to admit that of the other (Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 227). This story actually is suspect, not only because it presupposes that bedouins in the second century still spoke pure dialect, but also because it savours too much of the idea that 'a bedouin cannot make his tongue utter a faulty expression' (Khizāna, ii, 130). We must confess the same hesitation with regard to the dictum of Jarmī (d. 225/840): 'I started out from the moat of Kufa and travelled all the way to Mecca, but I never heard anyone use other than the accusative in the construction *iḍrib 'ayyahum 'afḍalu* 'strike whichever of them is the most excellent' ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 57).[4] This presupposes the general use of the case endings in the late second century. There is little reason to believe that these sayings do not derive from the persons to whom they are attributed, or that they were not uttered with full sincerity. They illustrate a point which is very important to our subject: that the tendency to self-deception on linguistic matters was no less strong among ninth-century Arabs than it is among present-day literary men and schoolmasters in Europe and elsewhere.

t Much of the information on dialects was probably not collected in the desert, but in the cities of Iraq from bedouins who lived there, and were attached to the grammatical schools. Flügel (Grammatische Schulen, p. 45 *seq.*) gives a list of such 'native assistants', most of them hailing from Eastern tribes. The eagerness with which new arrivals from the desert were met suggests that most of them soon lost their contact with living bedouin speech (cf. Goldziher, JRAS, 1897, p. 326, note 1). These bedouins had a reputation of providing, against suitable payment, any 'information' their interlocutors desired (cf. Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 81; Ṭaha Ḥusain, Al-'adab al-jāhilī, p. 180). They would of course be particularly unreliable on matters pertaining to dialects other than their own. It must be pointed out that names of such bedouin informants hardly, if ever, appear in our data; but they also are almost never mentioned in connection with Classical Arabic

matters. It was obviously not required of the philologist to specify his 'native' source (cf. also § 3 *s*).

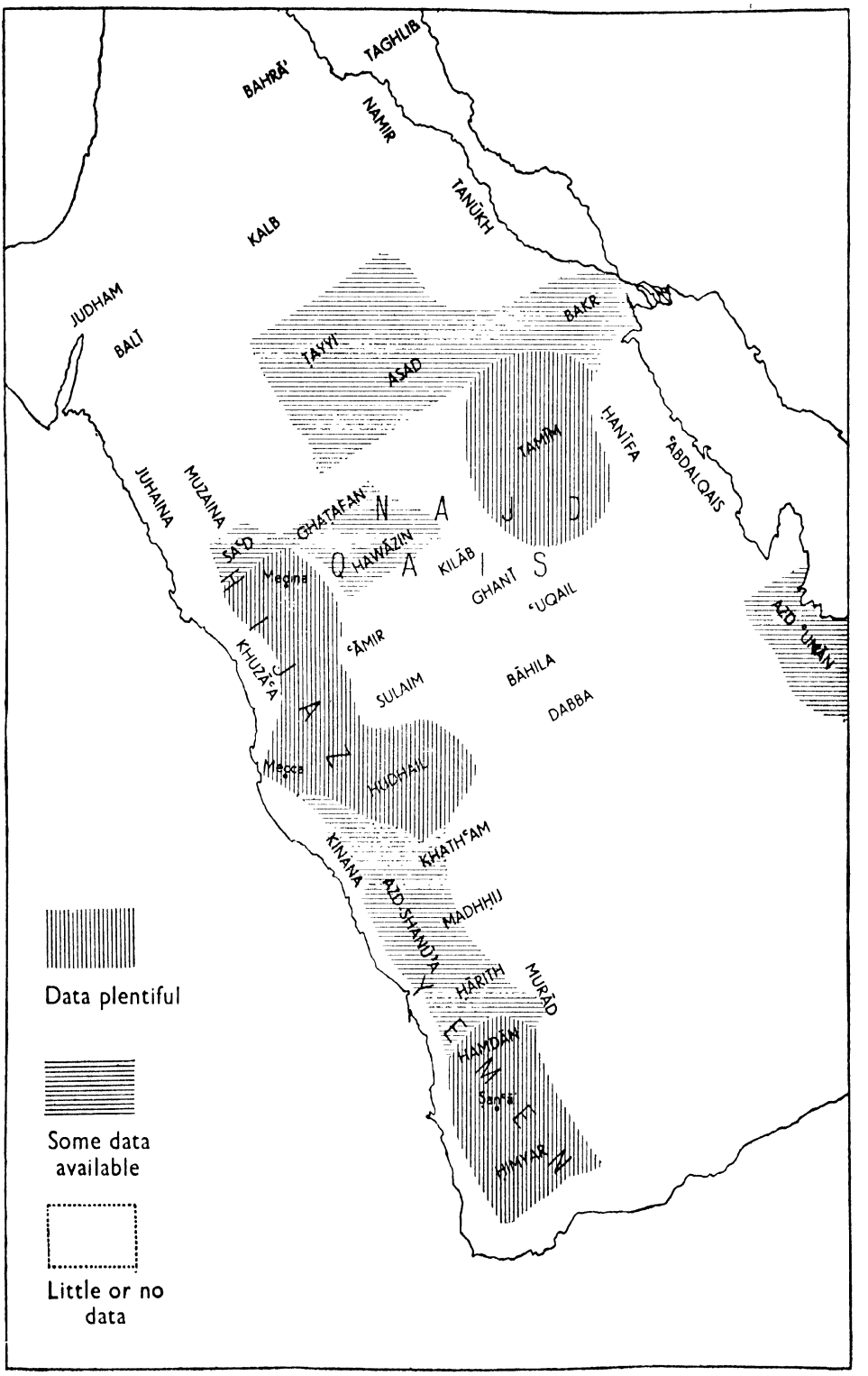
u Another source never mentioned, but probably of considerable importance, were the traditions current in Arab families about their ancestral speech, the linguistic peculiarities of aged relatives, and expressions current in noble families proud of their tribal ancestry. Obviously this was not a very reliable source of information, as the individuals concerned were under the influence of the *koinē* spoken around them. It may, however, have contributed towards throwing into relief the more salient features of the dialects.

v It would be difficult, if not impossible, to discover why the philologists recorded just those dialect features they did. There is certainly no system in it. They never considered dialects as forms of speech in their own right, but as collections of curious deviations from the literary language. All their data are measured on Classical Arabic, and we can often see quite clearly that they failed to see anything that did not fall within the categories of that idiom. But even if we grant this limitation, there is still a large amount of dialect forms and usages of which we learn in an indirect way, which must have struck the ear of any Arabic speaker and yet were not recorded. An instructive example is the casual and misleading way in which an important difference like the Himyaritic *-ku* for the first person sing. of the perfect is mentioned—in a lexicon; the grammars never say a word about it (§ 5 *r*). Perhaps one reason is that Arab philologists were not really interested in what we should call accidence, a discipline which was covered adequately neither by *ṣarf* nor by *naḥw*. The net result is that we have a great deal of information on minor points of dialect usage, but get only occasional glimpses of the basic forms. We cannot reconstruct the complete paradigm of any tense in any dialect; we can hardly say with certainty what a complete word may have sounded like. The few glimpses we obtain prove that there were profound differences, the full nature of which will probably never be revealed to us.

w It cannot be strongly enough stressed that we do not possess a single sentence in genuine dialect, apart from the Himyaritic material. The examples we find in our sources are no doubt in many cases constructed by the grammarians, not taken from the mouth of dialect speakers. Where the sentences were quoted from actual speech, only the essential word or words were given in their original form and the rest remade according to the rules of literary Arabic. We must remember that it was often impossible for the Arabic script to express dialect sounds, just as it is inadequate to-day for writing the colloquials. This process of 'normalizing' was continued by the copyists.

x Apart from the examples of the philologists, we shall often have to deal with verses from poets and with the Koran. Both of these are indirect

Our information about the Arabic dialects (§2aa) Map No. 2



sources that can only be used with great caution. They are literary Arabic texts in which dialect features only enter as unintentional deviations from the norm the authors set themselves. What we get is not pure dialect but a compromise between dialect and Classical Arabic. Copyists and systematic correction by philologists have in both types of text served to obscure still further the character of the provincialisms in them. The dialect in these texts plays a very similar role to that of the Canaanite language in the Tell Amarna letters. The successful recovery of so many features of old Canaanite from those letters should give us courage in dealing with the Arabic material.

y In the case of poetry there is the special problem of authenticity. It is not much good basing linguistic conclusions on a verse which was not written by a member of the tribe which the alleged poet represents. Perhaps one day our knowledge of the dialects and of the provincial variations of Classical Arabic will be sufficiently advanced to provide us with linguistic criteria for judging the authenticity of a line or a poem. At present we can accept material from poetry only as cumulative evidence,[5] and for that the necessary preliminary studies are still lacking. One wishes that every editor of early poetry would provide us with a careful study of his poet's language as Schwarz has done in his edition of ʿOmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʿa. Such a study is not only of value to the advancement of Arabic linguistics as a whole, but would place the edition itself on a much sounder basis. The verses quoted in this volume, mostly the *shawāhid* used by the philologists themselves, are meant to serve as examples, not as evidence for the existence of the phenomenon they illustrate. For that reason in most cases it does not matter much whether they are genuine or not.

z The philologists speak invariably of fixed dialect units. These are rarely localities (Mecca, Medina, Ṭāʾif) or small tribal sections (these especially in the case of Tamīm and ʾAsad), but mostly either large tribes or tribal confederations (Tamīm, Qais) or large and ill-defined regions (Yemen, Hijaz, Nejd, Tihāma). Clearly we cannot satisfy the basic demand of linguistic geography, which is to start with the locality as basis. Nor can we draw isoglosses for different features. The investigations of linguistic geography have shown that dialects as such hardly ever exist. Local speech varies from village to village, and only occasionally one finds bundles of isoglosses large enough to give the feeling of a linguistic boundary. The real linguistic unit of the bedouin Arab was the *ḥayy*, the group of families living together, often in closer contact with similar groups belonging to other tribes than with the rest of its own tribe. There is no definite proof that the tribe did constitute a linguistic unit. With regard to the larger geographical units, it is often certain that linguistic boundaries ran across them. Yet we cannot but accept the localization of our material as it is. Geographical linguistics in Arabia has the additional peculiarity that the linguistic unit

was not stationary, but moved often over quite large areas. The locations given on our maps are therefore merely schematic indications. Some of them are likely to be wrong even within the vague sense attached to them, as we have no real geography of tribal Arabia.

aa We have fairly plentiful information only for three areas within Arabia: Hijaz (probably only the holy cities), Yemen, and Tamīm. For other areas we have some information which permits us to recognize the general character of the dialects spoken there. For the rest of the dialects of the peninsula we have so little information that we must consider their language totally unknown (cf. map no. 2). Fortunately, the West-Arabian dialects fall entirely within the first and second categories. The gaps are, however, painful enough. They include the Quda'a tribes, who were in closest contact with North-Semitic and cover the territory in which all proto-Arabic inscriptions were found, so that we obtain no help for the better understanding of these early documents. Worse than that, they include nearly the whole of those Central-Arabian dialects which perhaps were the basis of Classical Arabic. The lack of interest displayed in these is all the more astonishing as most of the important early poets hailed from this area. Two explanations offer themselves, one that in the second to fourth centuries it was not easy for townsmen to establish contact with bedouins in this most nomadic part of Arabia, the other that just because these dialects had produced Classical Arabic, their differences from it were not sufficiently striking to attract notice.

NOTES

[1] I correct in the text of the 'Itqān *'akhrajahu* for *'akhraja*. Without this emendation the text seems to make little sense.

[2] Owing to the troubled times, I have not been able to see this work.

[3] Ibn Duraid, who lived in Basra, perhaps did not know the 'Azd dialect at all, but drew his information from the Yemenites with whom he associated.

[4] We naturally hesitate to accept statements such as *ni'ma* and *bi'sa* take the feminine *t* in all dialects' (Suyūṭī, Bahja, p. 81), and the like.

[5] I.e. the more frequently a usage recurs in the work of a poet, the less likely its appearance is to be due to accident or forgery.

Chapter 3

VIEWS ON THE ORIGINS OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

Owing mainly to our scanty knowledge of the ancient dialects, all views on the relations between them and Classical Arabic are guesses or working hypotheses. Nöldeke (Beiträge, p. 1–14 and Semit. Sprachen, 2nd ed., pp. 54–5) thought that differences between dialects spoken in the main part of Arabia (Hijaz, Najd, and the Euphrates region) were small, and the literary language based upon all of them equally. Guidi (Misc. ling. G. Ascoli, Torino 1901, p. 323) believed Classical Arabic to be a mixture of dialects spoken in Najd and adjoining regions, but not identical with any one of them. Nallino (Scritti, vi, 188=Hilāl, xxvi (1917) 47), who connected the rise of Classical Arabic with the kingdom of Kinda, thought it was the colloquial of the Maʿadd tribes united in that state. Fischer (ZDMG, lix, 662, note 4) held similarly that Classical Arabic was identical with one particular dialect, but does not specify which.[1] Essentially the same is the view of Hartmann (OLZ, xii, 23). Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 184) evolved the hypothesis that Classical Arabic was based on the speech of bedouins in Najd and Yamama, but much changed by the poets, while in the rest of Arabia quite a different language, the ancestor of the modern Ḥaḍari colloquials, was spoken; that the Koran was composed in that popular Arabic and subsequently rewritten in Classical style. Brockelmann (GVG, i, 23), as Wetzstein and others before him, claims that Classical Arabic was never spoken in the form in which we know it; he does not discuss its relation to the dialects. Landberg (Prov. et Dictons, i, xxvii) says it was spoken 'on ne sait quand', but its grammatical form was largely due to the work of the poets. ʾAnīs (Lahajāt, p. 28) also denies that Classical Arabic was identical with any of the dialects. Marçais (quoted by Fleisch, Introduction p. 99) compares it with the artificial idiom of Homer.

b A question sometimes confused with, but really quite distinct from that of the origins of the Classical language is the role it played in the linguistic set-up of pre-Islamic Arabia. Here there is substantial agreement among European scholars that to most or all of those who employed it for writing poetry, Classical Arabic was to some extent a foreign idiom which had to be acquired. The situation among the ancient bedouins was in this respect just the same as among the Arabs of our own days, who compose their poetry in archaic and often extraneous dialects (cf. Socin, Diwan aus Zentralarabien, iii, 71; Doughty, Travels, ii, 27; etc.). In settled areas this language is often of a bedouin type (cf. Cantineau, Parlers, p. 4 note), exactly as it was in Hijaz at the time of Muhammad.

c There was just as substantial agreement among Moslem scholars, only that they held the opposite view. For them literary Arabic was identical with the spoken language of the bedouins. The nomad Arab was the final arbiter of correct Arabic. He could not speak wrong Arabic even if he had wanted to (cf. § 2 *s*). The less opportunity he had of acquiring a veneer of civilization the better. 'The best speakers of Arabic are those deepest in the desert' (*'afṣaḥu l-ʿarabi 'abarruhum*) says a proverb (Lisān, v, 119).[2] The philologist Farrā' (d. 207/822) was rebuked by a bedouin for studying the language with the famous Yūnus b. Ḥabīb when he could have done so much better in learning it from the Asad bedouins who dwelt near his home town (Nöldeke, Beiträge, p. 5). 'Abū Qilāba al-Jarmī avers that the most elegant speakers of Arabic he ever saw were some Ḥārith bedouins he met at Mecca (Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 434). The idea of bedouin *faṣāḥa* is made the subject of a literary genre in the *'Amālī* of 'Ismaʿīl b. al-Qāsim al-Qālī (d. 356/967). It seems that this view of the linguistic superiority of the bedouin was the corollary of the theory which attributed everything that was considered incorrect to the influence of foreign languages on the speech of the settled population. This was part of the general idealization of early Islamic society and corresponds to the romantic hankering after the primitive in other urban societies. To some extent it was justified by the rich speech of the bedouin and his natural rhetorical ability, and by the fact that a tradition of Classical Arabic poetry still continued among the tribes for some centuries, as is proved by the Dīwān of Hudhail. But there can be little doubt that the spoken language of the bedouin was different from the Classical idiom. It is hard to understand that the scholars never seem to have realized this. Perhaps they were able to abstract their minds from those bedouins with whom they came in contact and to concentrate on some ideal bedouin.[3] Even to-day the traveller in Arabia is told about tribes, somewhere in the centre of the peninsula, who still speak the purest Classical Arabic. Whatever the reasons of this self-deception may have been, there is no doubt that the basic identity of Classical Arabic with the everyday speech of some Arabs was the guiding principle in the Arab scholar's approach to this question.

d With regard to the origin of Classical Arabic, the views of Arab scholars were as divided as those of the Europeans. If we present these views here in the form of a development, this must not be taken to imply that the various stages followed each other chronologically and that one opinion was abandoned as the other gained ground. I believe, though I have not enough material to prove it, that the three schools of thought described in the following paragraphs did in fact succeed each other within the space of one or two generations during the third century of Islam. We learn about them from much later works, where the three points of view are given side by

side, without any attempt at decision, so that later authors seem to hold several opinions simultaneously. Each point of view was further developed and we find it expressed in a form which may not be identical with that which it had originally.

e At first it seems to have been a commonplace that the literary idiom as used in the Koran contained elements of different dialects. ʾAbū ʿUbaid (d. 223/838), who in his Risāla (cf. § 2 *d*) made a collection of such dialect words, puts his view in the introduction to that work as follows: 'parts of the Koran were revealed in the dialect of Quraish, others in that of Hudhail, others again in that of Hawāzin, in that of Yemen, etc. Some dialects have a greater share in the Koran than others' (quoted Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 110).[4] ʾAbū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī gives in his ʾIrshād fī l-qiraʾāt al-ʿashr a list of fifty dialects and eight foreign languages which contributed to the vocabulary of the Koran (quoted Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 313).[5] Ibn ʿAbdalbarr (d. 463/1071) points out that some common features of the Koranic text, such as the preservation of *hamza*, contradict what we know of the Hijaz dialect (Suyūṭī, *ibid.*). Ibn an-Naqīb considered this a proof for the uniqueness of the holy book (ʾiʿjāz al-qurʾān): 'Other books were revealed only in the language of the nation to whom they were addressed, while the Koran contains words from all Arabic dialects, and from Greek, Persian, and Ethiopic besides' (Suyūṭī, p. 316).

f A slight twist is given to this idea in a statement ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, in which he explains the seven *ʾaḥruf* in which the Koran is said to have been revealed as seven dialect versions, five of them in the dialects of the ʾaʿjāz Hawāzin, one in that of Khuzāʿa, and one in the Quraish dialect (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, i, 22). Presumably the versions in the other dialects were lost and only that in the Quraish dialect preserved. In this way the statement really represents the third school of thought, that equating literary Arabic with the Quraish dialect. It may also be noted that all the dialects mentioned in Ibn ʿAbbās's statement are Hijazī.

g While these views were mostly expressed with reference to the Koran, they were no doubt held with regard to literary Arabic in general. Ibn Jinnī insists on the mixed character of Classical Arabic as the only rational explanation of alternative forms and irregularities in the correspondence of perfect and imperfect vocalizations (Khaṣāʾiṣ, i, 379). A similar view was expressed by ʾAnbārī with reference to the ʾaḍdād (§ 2 *k*). In another passage (i, 253), however, Ibn Jinnī claims that the differences between dialects did not go very far. They differed only in details (*furūʿ*), not in essentials (*ʾuṣūl*), and all dialect forms fit into the general grammatical system of the language (*lahu mina l-qiyāsi wajhun*).

h The popular idea of the origin of Classical Arabic among townsmen, however, seems to have been that it was identical with the dialect of one

tribe or a group of tribes. How little this was based on reality can be seen from the wide divergence of opinion as to the identity of that tribe. Nearly every tribe of the peninsula is said by some scholar to have been *'afṣaḥ al-'arab*, 'the best speakers of Arabic'. Perhaps, when we find an early scholar like 'Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 154/771) asserting this of the Upper Hawāzin and Lower Tamīm (Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 109), he did not mean that they spoke the best Arabic, but that they were most expert in handling the language of poetry, using *faṣīḥ* in its original sense of 'eloquent'. The same may be the meaning of the story (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, i, 14) that the Prophet arranged an inter-tribal contest in recitation and found that the Tamīm were most correct in the use of the case-endings (*'a'rabu l-qaumi*). As poets of that tribe played a prominent role in the literary movements of the first century, such a judgment would have been fairly correct about the year 100. The Thaqīf of Ṭā'if, who were reckoned among the Upper Hawāzin, appear to have enjoyed a fairly general reputation for *faṣāḥa*. This can only refer to their literary skill, as their spoken language must have been of a purely West-Arabian type. They were more urbanized than any of their neighbours (cf. Lammens, Ṭā'if, p. 181). The Caliph 'Othmān is said to have considered the ideal team for achieving a correct text a man of Hudhail dictating to a man of Thaqīf (GQ, iii, 2, other version Ibn Fāris, Ṣāḥibī, p. 28). That means that for the inventors of this story the Hudhail counted as models of correct literary usage and pronunciation, while the Thaqīf were only recognized for their skill in handling the pen. Even this reputation of the Thaqīf may have been artificially fostered for political reasons, so as to give wider currency to Ḥajjāj's revision of the Koran (cf. Blachère, Introduction, p. 75).

i In the case of the Hudhail, we can see how this reputation for literary correctness was later misunderstood as applying to the dialect. Muqaddasī ('Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, p. 97) says that 'the dialect of Hudhail is the most correct among all Arabs. After this comes the language of the two (?) Nejd, then that of the remainder (*sic*) of Hijaz, except that of the 'Aḥqāf, for their speech is savage'. This can hardly refer to Muqaddasī's own time (*c.* 375/985). In view of the West-Arabian character of both the Hudhail and Hijaz dialects, it would at no time have been correct. Kofler (WZKM, xlvii, 64–5) gives a list of other tribes which were mentioned as 'most eloquent of the Arabs'.[6] Among these we may call attention to the passage in Lisān (xvii, 225) where the palm, on the authority of 'one of the learned' is given to the Naṣr Qu'ain or Qu'ain Naṣr. There were sections called Qu'ain both in 'Asad and Qais; neither of these seems to have been in any way remarkable. One suspects the name stands for the tribe Whatsitsname, and the statement is meant as a parody on those who searched Arabia for the source of linguistic infallibility.

k One of the strangest choices for the home of pure Arabic is the tribe of Jarm, on the coast north of Hijaz, which belonged to the Quḍa'a confederacy.[7] In all probability these people spoke a dialect of a totally aberrant type, perhaps closer to 'proto-Arabic' than to the Arabic we know. They produced no poets of any fame and played no role in early Islamic history, thought they 'produced' some later grammarians. Perhaps they spoke a good Arabic because they had to learn it as a foreign language and therefore had no provincialisms. The linguistic superiority of the Jarm is the subject of an anecdote which is of some importance to our subject because it illustrates the rise of the dogma which equated the literary language with the Quraish dialect.

l This anecdote occurs in Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 364), Ḥarīrī (Durra, p. 114, ed. Thorbecke, p. 183), Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 156), and Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi ('Iqd, i, 294). The following is the oldest version, that of the Kāmil: 'One whom I do not count among our colleagues tells in the name of 'Aṣma'ī, who had it from Shu'ba, who had it from Qatāda, that Mu'āwiya asked one day "who are those that speak the most correct Arabic?" One of his courtiers rose and said: "The tribe which keeps away from the *furātiyya* of Iraq, keeps to the right of the *kashkasha* of Tamīm and to the left of the *kaskasa* of Bakr, which does not have the *ghamghama* of Quḍā'a, nor the *ṭumṭumāniyya* of Ḥimyar". Mu'āwiya then asked "and who are they?", to which the courtier replied: "my own tribe, O Commander of the Faithful". Asked "of which tribe are you then?", he replied "I am of Jarm". 'Aṣma'ī adds: Jarm are among those who speak the most correct Arabic.' So far the version in the Kāmil. The other versions add other faults: the *'an'ana* of Tamīm, the *taltala* of Bahrā', the *rutta* and *lakhlakhāniyya* of Iraq, the *fashfasha* of Taghlib, the *taḍajju'* of Qais, and the *'ajrafiyya* of Ḍabba. Some of the peculiarities are assigned to different tribes in different versions.

m The version of the Kāmil contains at least one deviation from what must have been the original form of the story: the attribution of the *ghamghama* to Quḍā'a. In the Tāj (ix, 6) it is attributed to Quraish (cf. also § 10 *o*). The versions of our story as given in Durra and 'Iqd go farther. They let the courtier reply 'your tribe, O Commander of the Faithful, speaks the best Arabic'. It is thus made to conform with the dogma which in its most pointed form is reported by Père Anastase (Mashriq, vi, 529): *lam yakun li-quraishin 'aibun fī l-kalāmi*, 'Quraish had no flaw in their speech'.

n The steps which led to this reasoning are fairly clear. The Prophet was *'ummī*, 'illiterate',[8] which to the Arab of later centuries was identical with ignorance of literary Arabic. It was, therefore, out of the question that he should have learnt it. Moreover, it would have been unworthy of the Prophet to have spoken any but the best Arabic, or to have taken over the language of anyone else, least of all the poets whom he despised. The theory

fitted in well with the tendency to ascribe to Mecca a leading position in the religious and literary life of Arabia before Islam.

o Khālid b. Salama states it as a commonplace that the Koran is in the dialect of the Quraish (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, i, 23). The same ʾAbū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī whom we have seen above (§ *e*) argue the mixed character of the Koranic vocabulary, is quoted as saying that there are only three words in the Koran that do not belong to the Quraish dialect,[9] otherwise the holy book is composed entirely in that dialect 'because it is smooth and clear, while the speech of the Arabs (bedouins) is uncouth and full of unusual words' (Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 314). ʾAbū l-Laith as-Samarqandī applies the dialect criterion to textual criticism: 'When two different readings mean the same, Mohammed can have uttered only one of them, but he permitted every tribe to read according to their own usage. If someone should ask "since you say he used only one variant, which one was it?"—we shall reply "the one that agrees with the dialect of Quraish" ' (ʾItqān, p. 193).

p Qalqashandī (Ṣubḥ al-ʾaʿshā, ii, 233) states this view in such a way as to bring out its ideological significance: 'The Prophet spoke both in public and in private the language of Quraish and of the settled population of Hijaz'. The first caliphs are shown to us watching with jealous eyes lest the sacred text should lose its dialect character. Muḥammad al-ʾAmīr (on Mughnī, i, 111) tells us that one day Ibn Masʿūd was reciting the Koran in the presence of the caliph ʿOmar, and pronounced *ʿattä* for *ḥattä* (cf. § 8 *o*), according to his own Hudhail dialect. The caliph rebuked him sharply: 'the Koran was not revealed in the Hudhail dialect, therefore teach the people according to the dialect of Quraish'. Such anecdotes are numerous. According to Ibn at-Tīn (quoted by Suyūṭī, ʿItqān, p. 140), ʿOthman's reason for instituting his well-known revision of the sacred text was none other than that everyone recited it according to his own dialect; 'he therefore had one copy made, arranged by Suras, in which the Quraish variants were selected as against the other dialects. To justify this step he pointed out that the Book had been revealed in that dialect.' According to Abulfeda (Annales, i, 264) 'Othman gave the following instructions: 'If ye differ concerning any words in the Koran, write down the version which agrees with the dialect of Quraish, for in it the Koran was revealed'.

q The reason why the dialect of Quraish became the literary language of all Arabs is most clearly expressed in a statement that seems to emanate from Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1005; Ṣāḥibī, p. 23) and is often quoted (here in the form it has in Nīsābūri, Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān, i, 20): 'The Quraish had of all Arabs the best judgment in matters of accuracy in the choice of words; their speech flowed most easily, they had the finest feeling for the language and the greatest facility in expressing their thoughts. From their mouths the classical language was recorded and their usage is the one to be followed.

Their idiom was adopted among the Arabs by the Qais, Tamīm, and ʾAsad. These, therefore, are the principal sources of information. Their usage is to be relied upon in questions of lexicography, syntax, and accidence. Besides these, but to a lesser degree, the Hudhail, part of Kināna, and part of Ṭayyiʾ may be considered. No persons belonging to any other tribe must be used as sources of information. Under no circumstances is a settled Arab ever accepted as an authority on matters of correct speech.' There is no need here to discuss the inner contradictions of this view. Other writers describe how this linguistic superiority of the Meccans arose from their frequent contacts with speakers of other dialects during the pilgrimages and the fairs of ʿUkāẓ (summarized in Sulaimān Bustānī, ʾIliyādhat Homeros muʿarraba, p. 109). This was the view generally held in the later middle ages and by modern Arabs. Its consistent application drove Ṭaha Ḥusain in his *ʾAdab al-jāhilī* to deny the existence of any pre-Islamic poetry by other than Hijazi poets. When Vollers developed at the Oriental Congress in 1905 a theory which contradicted this dogma, he was attacked by Moslem scholars as if he had decried the basic tenets of Islam (cf. Volkssprache, p. 3). Yet, as we have seen, quite different opinions were held by important Moslem authorities.

r There seems to have been some opposition to this glorification of the Quraish dialect. As usual, it was clothed in the form of a hadith in which the Prophet says: *ʾanā ʾafṣaḥu l-ʿarabi baida ʾannī min Quraishin wa-nashaʾtu fī Banī Saʿdin* (Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 105; Lisān, iv, 68). This, to my mind, bears only one translation: 'I would have been the most eloquent of all Arabs, but for the fact that I was born in Quraish and grew up among the Banū Saʿd' or perhaps: 'I am the most eloquent of the Arabs, though I was . . .'. Ibn Hishām ascribes to *baida* here the otherwise non-existing meaning 'because'.[10]

s All these views were, however, held purely theoretically, and did not exert any influence on the day-to-day approach of scholars to linguistic questions. We never hear of any scholar who went to study Arabic in any of its supposed homes or tried to emend poetry according to Koranic usage. Even the respect for bedouin usage must be taken with a grain of salt. The 'native assistants' of the schools were most probably professional *ruwāt*. It was the *rāwī* who transmitted literary Arabic usage from generation to generation.[11] Early philologists, such as Yūnus and Khalīl, clearly drew their information from the *ruwāt*, if they did not, as is quite likely, start their own career as *ruwāt*. The great achievement of the first generations of philologists was to combine and systematize the different local or tribal *rāwī* traditions and to harmonize them with the rather different type of literary Arabic used in the Koran and in the Imperial chancelleries.

t Many of the statements discussed in the chapters dealing with the Hijazi dialect betray that the philologists, in spite of their theoretical

identification of Quraish dialect and literary Arabic, were quite aware of the distinction between the two. They had no hesitation in ascribing exceptional usages in the Koran to the Prophet's dialect. If anything, they had a tendency to go too far with this convenient method.

u Ibn 'Abī Dāwūd (Jeffery, Materials, Arabic text, p. 32 *seq.*) transmits traditions according to which 'Othman admitted that the Koran still contained some dialect traits 'but the Arabs would soon put them right'. May we perhaps see in the 'Arabs' the Najdi bedouins, the guardians of the poetical idiom, and in the dialect traits remnants of Hijazi provincialisms? In fact 'the Arabs' did put the Koran right, at least to some extent, through the influence of grammarians on the selection of reading variants.

NOTES

[1] In the same note Fischer announced the impending publication of a lecture held some years earlier on the subject of dialects and Classical Arabic. He seems not to have carried out his intention. No article of this nature is listed in Plessner's bibliography of Fischer's writings (Islamica, ii, 618–44).

[2] 'Anīs (Lahajāt, p. 33) lists the tribes whose language was not admitted as evidence because of their contacts with the outside world: Quḍā'a, Taghlib, Namir, Bakr. Anis does not give his source. These tribes are indeed rarely mentioned in connection with dialect material, but the same applies to several large tribes in inner Arabia.

[3] How even the best-trained scholars can err in this respect, is illustrated by the amusing case of Comte de Landberg, who heard (or 'remembered' some years later he had heard) a girl of the Fahm tribe address him in the purest literary Arabic 'mit allen Vokalfinessen' (Critica Arabica, p. 56; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften, v, 129).

[4] It is of some significance that the dialects enumerated are all West-Arabian. In the material of the Risāla, West-Arabian dialects predominate.

[5] The same author held also the opposite view (cf. § *o* below).

[6] The reference to the Ḥārith dialect is to be deleted (it refers to the story of 'Abū Qilāba mentioned in § *c* above).

[7] Ibn Ya'īsh (p. 1246) implies that the Jarm mentioned here are not the Quḍā'a tribe, but a section of Ṭayyi'. The existence of a Jarm within Ṭayyi', by the way, opens some vistas to the origins of that tribe.

[8] This is how the word was understood from early times. On its true meaning in the Koran, cf. Blachère, Introduction, p. 8.

[9] The words are: *yunghiḍūna* (xvii, 53/51), *muqīt* (iv, 87/85), and *sharrid* (viii, 59/58).

[10] One can also take *wa-nasha'tu* in the sense of *fa-qad nasha'tu*: 'I speak the best Arabic, for though I was born in Quraish, yet I grew up among the Sa'd'. The view that Muhammad was sent to the Sa'd in order to improve his Arabic is expressed by Ibn Hishām. Perhaps our story is drawn from the hadith preserved in the Nihāya of Ibn Athir (ed. Cairo, i, 3) where Muhammad ascribes his ability to converse with 'the Arabs' to his stay with the Banū Sa'd. It is worth while noting that this hadith implies that such speech was almost unintelligible to the townsmen of Mecca.

[11] Substantially the same view, that the poets preserved the knowledge of an older form of the language, is put forward by Landberg (Proverbes et Dictons, i, xxvii).

Chapter 4

YEMEN

a The Yemen is the most clearly defined of all regions of Arabia. Its inhabitants differ from those of the rest of the peninsula in their physical type as well as in their social structure. In Early Islamic times two further factors contributed to make them feel different. The memory of the great South-Arabian culture was still vivid, its monuments were still standing; and some part of the population still spoke a language markedly different from Arabic, called Himyaritic,[1] which was popularly believed to be identical with the language of the inscriptions of the ancient kings. A great national pride inspired the Yemenite antiquarians and philologists of the third and fourth centuries to record the peculiar words and expressions current among their compatriots. We are thus, at least from the lexicographical aspect, better informed about the Yemenite than about any other dialect. Moreover, the population of the country appears to have changed little since the seventh century, so that we can often use features of present-day Yemenite colloquials to elucidate the scanty data of the grammarians. Though far from complete, the information contained in the works of the Comte de Landberg, of Goitein, Mittwoch, and Rossi, gives us a clearer picture of the speech of the Yemen than we possess of any other peninsular colloquial.

b The continuity of linguistic development and the attention the dialect received from the philologists have also certain disadvantages for us. On the whole it is not possible for us to decide whether any particular piece of information refers to the time of the writer who gives it or to an earlier time. Our sources tend to treat the language of the province as a unit, and often quote as *lughat ʾahl al-Yaman* features that are elsewhere specified as peculiar to Northern Yemenite dialects or to Himyaritic. It is hardly more helpful if some word or form is referred to 'some Yemenites' (*baʿḍ ʾahl al-Yaman*). We can for the moment do nothing but treat all data for which we possess no more detailed localization as referring to the Yemenite dialect as a whole. In fact there is nothing to prove that there ever were any features which marked all dialects in the province as against those outside, or in other words, that there ever existed a Yemenite dialect. The little we know of the Northern Yemenite dialects rather tends to suggest that there was a continuous chain of dialects from south to north, without any clear dividing line between Yemen and Hijaz. It is, therefore, quite likely that some of the material treated in this chapter belongs really into the three next chapters, Himyar, ʾAzd, and Northern Yemen.

c With the exception of features expressly described as Himyaritic, our data for the Yemen betray little survival of South-Arabian forms. This seems

to indicate that the pre-Arab substrate was very slight in the Arabic-speaking districts. However, there is generally a paucity of grammatical, as compared with lexicographical data. The Yemenite words we find in the dictionaries are mostly of a very specialized and local character and hardly touch the sphere of the basic vocabulary. All this points to the conclusion that the philologists record for us the 'literary' Arabic as used by Yemenites, not their local dialects. It is not impossible that these latter ones contained more South-Arabian features.

d Though vocabulary does not fall within the purview of this volume, we may mention here a small number of words common to the Yemenite or 'Himyaritic' dialect and to North-West-Semitic, because they may throw light on the position of the dialect within the Semitic family. Some of these words may be loans from South-Arabian, especially those referring to activities of settled life. Others, however, may be common West-Arabian words which fell out of use in the speech of the Hijaz. Perhaps, if we knew more of the Ṭayyi' dialect, we might find some of these words there. The Hebrew aspect of these equations has been treated more fully in the Hebrew *Melilah*, ii, 252–55 (Manchester, 1946).

1. *'aim* 'devil' (*shaiṭān*) (cf. Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, i, 1040), Hebrew *'ēmīm* 'prehistoric giants' (Deut., ii, 10), *'āyōm* 'gigantic', *'ēmāh* 'terror', Babylonian *ūmu* 'dragon' (for the last cf. Hommel, Ethnologie, p. 665, note 4). In South-Arabian as n. pr., CIH 434, line 10.

2. *ba'l* 'lord' (Baiḍāwī, ii, 177; 'Abū 'Ubaid, Risāla, p. 155), cf. Hebrew *ba'al* and cognates, also common in S.-Ar. and in Mehri (cf. Mordtmann, Himyar., Inschr., p. 61), as well as in Ethiopic. In this sense the word may have been borrowed by Muhammad from South-Arabian (Koran, xxxvii, 125, Meccan, second period), but in the more frequent meaning of 'husband' (e.g., xi, 72) it occurs also in poetry (e.g., the 'Uqailī Majnūn Lailā, Nöldeke, Delectus, p. 6), and is perhaps a direct loan from North-Semitic.

3. *tilm* 'furrow' (Nashwān, Extr., p. 14), Hebrew *telem*, Eth. *telm*, as against Arabic *talam* (Targumic Aramaic *tlāmā*).

4. *jafn* 'vine' ('Azharī, quoted Tāj, ix, 162), Hebrew *gephen* and cognates, also S.-Ar.

5. *jaihal*, *mijhal* 'stick for raking coals' (Ibn Duraid, Jamhara, iii, 357; Lisān, xiii, 138), perhaps connected with Hebrew *gaḥeleth* 'live coal', a word without satisfactory etymology.

6. *ḥaṣab* 'firewood' (Farrā' in Lisān, i, 310, to explain Koran, xxi, 98), Hebrew *hāṣabh* 'chop wood' (Is., x, 15).

7. *khabālīhi* 'woe for him', said when mentioning a fault of one who died recently (Jamhara, i, 239), Aramaic (especially Western) *ḥĕbhal* 'woe' on tombstones, etc.

8. *khashaf* 'thick clay' (Jamhara, ii, 223), Biblical Aramaic *ḥăsaph*; in other languages with *ṣād*. Particularly interesting, because the South-Sem. forms, Eth. *ṣāḥeb* 'clay', and perhaps also S.-Ar. *ṣḥf* 'throw up earthworks', Arabic *ṣaḥfa* 'dish', show transposition in addition to the *ṣ*, and *ḥ* for *kh*.

9. *khaṣīn* 'a small axe' (Jamhara, ii, 227), Syriac *ḥĕṣīnā*, Ass. *khaṣinnu*.[2]

10. *khalāq* 'luck' (six times in Koran, only in Medinean suras) is said by ʾAbū ʿUbaid (Risāla, p. 143) to mean 'portion' in the Kināna dialect; cf. Bibl. Aram. *ḥălaq*, Hebrew *ḥēleq*. As the phrase in Koran iii, 71/7 is identical with the Mishnaic Hebrew expression *ʾēn lāhem ḥēleq bā-ʿolām hab-bāʾ*, the word, as used in the Koran, may be a loan from Jewish Aramaic.

11. *rakhima* 'have tender feelings towards' (Jamhara, ii, 214), Hebrew *raḥēm* (Piʿel) often used of parental love; S.-Ar. *rkhm* in the epithet of a god (CIH 40, line 5) also in Thamudic n. pr. *mrkhmt*. Perhaps the S.-Ar. *rḥmn* and other forms of the root, which occur only in late inscriptions, are borrowed there from North-Semitic.

12. *raqada* 'to romp' (Jamhara, ii, 253), Hebrew *rāqadh* and cognates.

13. *rakana* 'to incline' (Koran, xvii, 76/74) is said by ʾAbū ʿUbaid (Risāla, p. 148) to be Kināna dialect; Mishnaic Hebrew *harkēn* 'incline one's head'.

14. *shaḥaba* 'to hoe the ground' (Jamhara, i, 223; Lisān, i, 467) may be connected with Hebrew *sĕḥābhōth* 'rags' (Jer., xxxviii, 11) and *sāḥabh* 'tear to pieces' (*ibid.*, xv, 3). We would thus have a root *śḥb* 'to tear', different from *sḥb* 'to drag' (Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic). Then the two Hebrew words just quoted are written with *Sāmekh* by error (on similar cases in the Bible, cf. Gesenius, Grammar, § 6 *k*).

15. *tashabbaṣa* 'to be intertwined' (Jamhara, i, 291), Hebrew *mishbĕṣōth* 'intertwined gold-thread'.

16. *ʾashaṭṭa* (Koran, xxxviii, 22) and its verbal noun *shaṭaṭ*, normally translated as 'to transgress', is derived by ʾAbū ʿUbaid (Risāla, p. 151) from *shaṭṭa* 'to lie' in the Khathʿam dialect. Cf. perhaps Hebrew *śāṭē khāzābh* (Ps., xl, 5) and *śēṭīm* (Hos., v, 2), usually translated as 'turning aside', which would thus mean 'liars'.

17. *sauqam* 'sycamore' (Jamhara, iii, 42), Chr. Pal. Aram. *shōqmā*, Hebrew plur. *shiqmīm*.

18. *ṣuʾiya* 'to be soiled', of clothes (Jamhara, i, 182), Hebrew *bĕghādhīm ṣōʾīm* 'filthy garments' (Zech., iii, 3). In Arabic, with transposition, *waṣiʾa*.

19. *ṭaffāl* 'dry mud' (Jamhara, iii, 110), Jew. Aram. *ṭĕphel* 'to smear'.

20. *ṣiʾr* 'pillar' (Jamhara, ii, 379), Mishn. Hebrew *ṣīr* 'door-hinge', S.-Ar. *tṣwr* (RES. 2965, line 1, etc.).

21. *yaʿzubu* 'is hidden (?)' (Koran, x, 62/61) is said by ʾAbū ʿUbaid (Ris., p. 147) to mean 'to leave' in the Kināna dialect. Cf. Hebrew *ʿāzabh* 'to leave', and cognates. (For Arabic cf. also Yahuda, ZAss., xvi, 250–8).

22. *ʿazīqa* 'plain' (Jamhara, iii, 6) is perhaps connected with the name of the town *ʿăzēqāh* on the edge of the Judæan plain. Perhaps also *ʿazzēq* (Is., v, 2) means 'to level'.

23. *qafakha* 'to strike in the neck' (Jamhara, ii, 236), Mishn. Hebrew *qāphaḥ* 'to strike on the head'.

24. *kurkūr* 'deep river gorge' (Jamhara, i, 147), cf. perhaps Hebrew *kikkar ha-yardēn*, usually explained as '(round) plain of the Jordan'.

25. *māriyyun* 'lord' in Himyaritic (Nashwān, Extr., p. 100), Bibl. Aram. *mārē'*, S.-Ar. *mr'*. Arabic *(i)mru'* 'man', etc., differs both in form and meaning.[3]

26. *tanassama* 'to breathe' (Jamhara, iii, 52), Hebrew *nāsham* and cognates. In Arabic 'to blow'.

27. *wathaba* 'to sit' in Himyaritic (Nashwān, Extr., p. 113; Jamhara, i, 205, etc., and in many other places), Hebrew *yāshabh* and cognates. In Arabic 'to jump'.

28. *wahar* 'blaze of the sun' (Jamhara, ii, 422), Mandaic *yĕhar* 'to shine', Hebrew *yāhīr* 'proud' (cf. Nöldcke, Neue Beiträge, p. 189).

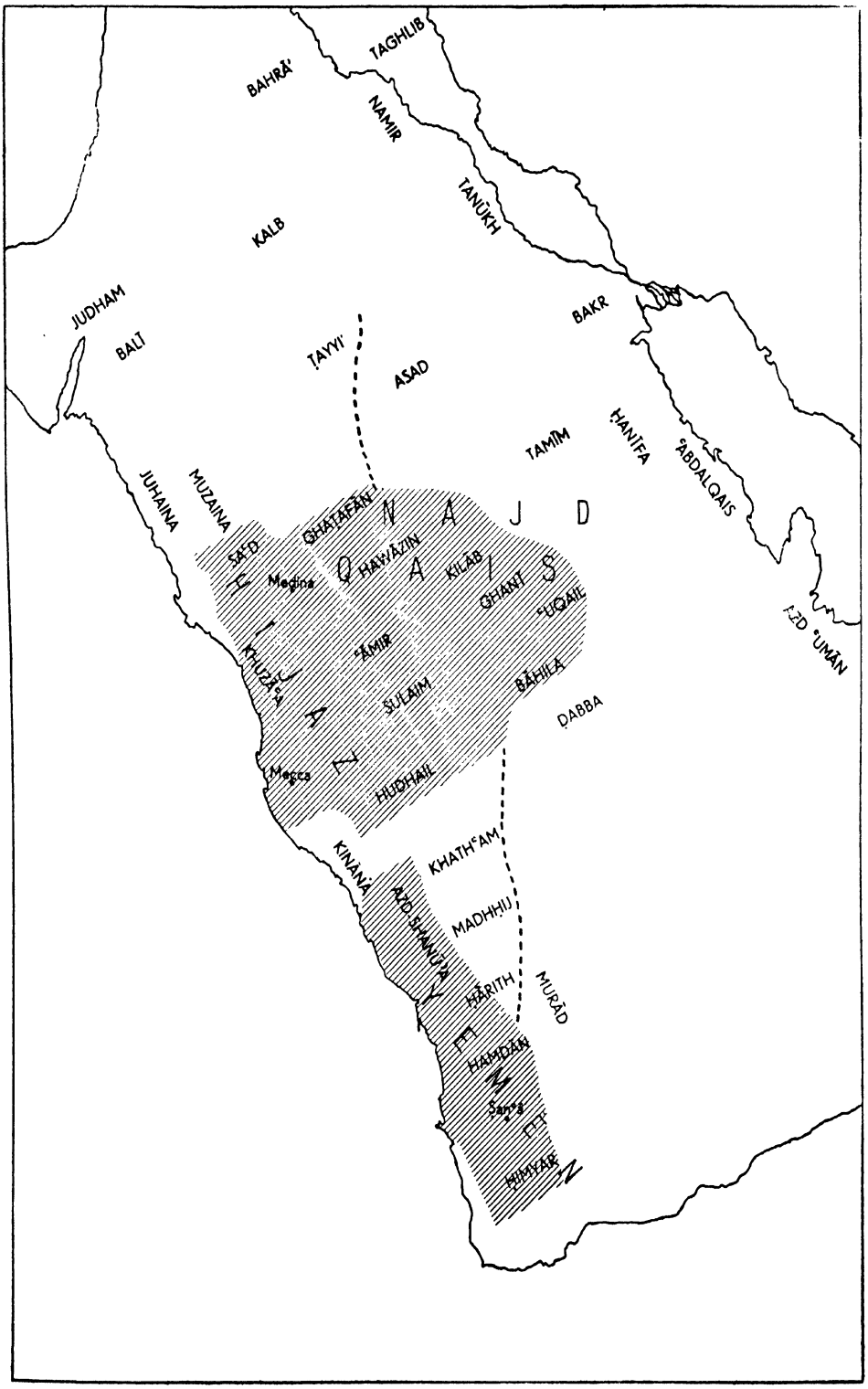
Although some agreements with North-Semitic against Classical Arabic can be produced for nearly every dialect, this list is too long to be taken as mere coincidence. As is well known, Ethiopic, too, agrees in some points of vocabulary with Hebrew against all other Semitic languages. As in so many other points, Western South-Semitic proves in its vocabulary closer to North-West Semitic than does the eastern branch of South-Semitic.

e For the vowel sounds of the Yemenite dialects we possess only some scanty and ambiguous indirect evidence. *ʾImāla* of long *a* seems to be rare in present-day Yemenite colloquials; according to Rossi, (RSO, xvii, 469) it does not occur south of San'ā'. Rossi (*ibid.*, 234) makes no mention of *ā* becoming *ō* anywhere in the Yemen. Such a change is however said to occur sporadically in the Hadramaut (Mordtmann, Südar. Alt., p. 22, note 1; Landberg, Arabica, v, 189, 206), in ʿAzzān (Landberg, Dathina, p. 295), Shaḥḥa (Jayakar, BRASB, 1902, p. 263), Oman (Reinhardt, p. 95, 115), and Ẓafār (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii. 91). In the last-named region Rhodokanakis ascribes it, with good reason, to Shahari influence. We have no trace of *ā* being pronounced as *ō* in either Greek or Arabic transcriptions of ancient S.-Ar. names, nor (in spite of Dillmann, Grammar, p. 147) does such a change occur in the Ethiopic family of languages. The modern South-Arabian languages, however, have this change quite regularly (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 142). As *ā* regularly became *ō* in Canaanite, Western Aramaic, and the Hijaz dialect (see § 10 *s* and map No. 12), we might feel tempted to assume that it penetrated into South-Arabian from West-Arabian. The link would have to be the old Yemenite dialect, and it is therefore of some interest to know how *ā* was sounded there.

f A great many names of the first Islamic centuries, and later still in the West, were formed with a suffix *-ūn*. Kampffmeyer (ZDMG, liv, 634–40) adduces arguments to show that it was a peculiarly Yemenite mode of name-formation. Landberg (Dathina, p. 293 ff) suggests that *-ūn* was none but the South-Arabian definite article *-ān*, which was pronounced *-ōn* by the Yemenite bearers of these names. In fact the form *-ān* for the South-Arabian article *-n* is purely hypothetical. Kampffmeyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 649) thinks it was *-ūn* in the nominative, *-īn* in the genitive, and *-ān* in the accusative, and to prove this he points to the existence of names with the endings *-īn* and *-ān* besides those with *-ūn*. As Himyaritic had no trace of the old suffixed article it is rather improbable that these suffixes have anything to do with it, and they should rather be compared with the many Hebrew names ending in *-ōn*, some of which may be caritative (diminutive), with the Syriac diminutive suffixes *-ōn* and *-īn*, and the hypocoristic *-ō* used with names in modern Syrian colloquial (*ʿAbdō* for *ʿAbdallāh*, etc.).

g The absence of any express statement to the effect that long *a* had an *o*-like sound in Yemen is not a strong argument against assuming that it was so. The Arab philologists were curiously ineffective in phonetic matters. We shall see, when we come to deal with the same problem in the Hijaz, that apart from one isolated general statement our main indication consists in a special case where the pronunciation had affected the spelling, namely the words of the type *ḥayātun*, *zakātun*, which were spelled in Koran MSS. *ḥywt* and *zkwt*. Ibn Jinnī (Sirr aṣ-ṣināʿa, quoted Bravmann, Materialien, p. 35) says that *ḥayātun* and *zakātun* were pronounced حيوة and زكوة in Yemen. We know definitely that in old *tajwīd* these words, thus spelled, were pronounced *ḥayōtun*, *zakōtun*, a fact which cannot have been unknown to Ibn Jinnī, and we therefore suspect that he means the same sound in his statement about Yemen. Bravmann, however, reads *ḥayawatun*, *zakawatun*. Not having access to the Sirr, I cannot judge whether the vowels are found in MSS. If they are, this complicates the situation even more, as *zakātun* is a foreign word, Aramaic *zak(k)ōthā*, and *ḥayātun* is strongly suspect of being one (cf. § 10 *q*). On the other hand, *ḥayawatu* and *zakawatu* are thought to be the proto-Semitic forms of nouns of this type, and thus the question boils down to two separate problems: (a) was proto-Semitic *-awa-* preserved in Yemen or reduced to either *ā* (as in Classical Arabic) or *ō*; (b) were those foreign words pronounced as in their original language, or were they (if we accept the first alternative in question (a)) adapted to an existing native pattern?

h Ḥamdānī (Jazīra, p. 135) states that the Banū Ḥarb, one of the bedouin tribes of southern Yemen, 'had *'imāla* in all their speech'. Does Hamdānī mean to say that they, contrary to other inhabitants of the province, pronounced long *a* as *ǣ* or the like? This would be interesting in that it would


BAHRĀʾ
TAGHLIB
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
JUDHAM
BALĪ
ṬAYYIʾ
ASAD
BAKR
TAMĪM
ḤANĪFA
ʿABDALQAIS
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
GHAṬAFĀN
SAʿD
Madina
ḤAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
ʿĀMIR
SULAIM
BĀHILA
ḌABBA
Mecca
HUDHAIL
KHATHʿAM
KINĀNA
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣanʿā
ḤIMYAR
AZD ʿUMĀN

imply that otherwise *'imāla* was unknown in Yemen, and would thus lend some indirect support to the theory that *ā* might have tended towards *ō*. But Hamdānī may have meant something else by *'imāla*.

i The sound corresponding to Classical Arabic *jīm* in the Yemenite dialect is described as 'between *k* and *j*' (Jamhara, i, 5; Ibn Ya'ish, p. 1463). Ibn Fāris (Ṣāḥibī, p. 25) says it was between *q*, *k*, and *j*. Muqaddasī ('Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, p. 96, for Aden) describes the sound as *kāf*. Qārī (Al-manāḥ al-fikriyya, p. 25) describes a sound mixed of *k* and *j*, in which the tongue 'raises itself at the place where *k* is articulated', which arises mostly in the neighbourhood of a *ḥarf mahmūs*. Bravmann, (Materialien, p. 49) argues from this that the description of the Yemenite sound cannot apply to a *g*, because a *ḥarf mahmūs* is not voiced, and therefore the sound described by Qārī must be a voiceless one. It is improbable, however, that the sound described by Qārī is in any way connected with the Yemenite one. The Yemenite sound must have been voiced, in any case. The description of it as 'between' *j* (as in English) and *k* probably means that it was articulated at a place between those two, that is that it was a pure palatal, ɟ. Such a sound is still used in southern Yemen (Rossi, San'a, p. 2; RSO, xvii, 236). Rossi describes it as a squeezed (*schiacciato*) *g*, almost *gy*; Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 244) as 'softer than *g*'. Cantineau (Parlers, p. 25 f) reports the same sound from the north-Arabian bedouin colloquials of the Ruwala, 'Aneze, and Shammar. In all those colloquials ɟ (which is a rather unstable sound) alternates freely with *g* (as in English *go*).[4] Some Yemenite dialects have only *g* (Landberg, Dathina, p. xiii), so has the colloquial of Oman (Reinhardt, p. 4) and that of the ubiquitous Ṣlēb (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 26). This is, of course, the sound corresponding to *jīm* in Modern South-Arabian and Ethiopic languages. Perhaps the statement of Muqaddasī (in which we should possibly read ڪ, not ك) refers to dialects of that type. The absence of any express comparison with Persian *gāf* is rather strange.

k No mention is made in our sources of the weakening of *'ain* into *'alif*, so common in present-day Yemenite colloquials, and in ancient times in the Tayyi' dialect (cf. § 14 *q*). The same change occurs also in South-Arabian inscriptions from the Hadramaut (cf. Philby, JRAS, 1945, p. 128). As we shall see, the evidence for the Hijaz is also of a rather unobtrusive character, so that the silence of the philologists on the Yemen does not allow any conclusions to be drawn.

l We might draw some conclusions on the sound of *'ain* in the west and south from the statement that Yemen, 'Azd, Hudhail, Medina, Sa'd ibn Bakr, and Qais said *'anṭä* for *'a'ṭä* 'to give' (Nashwān, Extr., p. 104; Zamakhsharī, Fā'iq, p. 6; Lisān, xx, 206, etc.; map No. 3). At first sight it appears as if *'ain* had somehow turned into *n* (or rather emphatic *ṇ*) under the influence of *ṭ*. This presupposes that *'ain* normally had a nasal element

in its articulation, which in certain contexts (e.g., immediately before some consonants) might remain the only mark of this phoneme. Such a nasal twang is quite audible with some Palestinian Arabs. In the Wadai colloquial in Central Africa nasalization of vowels is the only remnant of etymological *ʿain* (Kampffmeyer, MSOS, ii, 2, p. 200). In Ẓafār (southern Yemen) a vowel is nasalized if it comes between *ʿain* and *n* or *m*, though Rhodokanakis (Dhofar, ii, 89) did not hear any nasal timbre in the *ʿain* itself. Oriental Jews use a strongly nasalized *ʿain* in Hebrew. In Western European Sephardic, the pharyngal element has been dropped, and the consonant is sounded like *ng* in *king* (Luzzatto, Gramm. ebraica, Padova 1853, p. 99; but cf. also Artom, Leshonenu, xv, 56). Bravmann (Materialien, p. 42), who thinks that the origin of *ʾanṭä* is purely phonetical, maintains that the nasal timbre was an inherent feature of the consonant from proto-Semitic times. However, further consideration suggests non-phonetic explanation of *ʾanṭä*. To-day the form is used in Baghdād, Southern Iraq, the colloquial of Nablūs in Palestine (Bauer, Palest. Arabisch, p. 7), and among the ʿAneze in the Syrian desert (Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 74, line 2, and 80, line 4, cf. *ibid.*, p. 114—but not reported by Cantineau). In Yemen itself only forms with *ʿain* are recorded: Central Yemen *ʾöʿṭi* 'give' (Goitein, Jemenica, No. 711), in the south *ʿaṭa* (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 40), in Oman *ʿaṭa* 'to bestow' (Reinhardt, p. 244; 'to give' is *ṭa*). We must remember that only in Arabic the root *ʿṭy* is commonly used with the meaning 'to give'.[5] Brockelmann (GVG, ii, 309, Note 1) observes that the peculiar construction of *ʾaʿṭä* with double accusative is due to its being a causative of *ʿaṭä* 'to reach for'. The latter verb occasionally is constructed with *ʾilä* (Suyūṭī, Sharḥ shawāhid al-Mughnī, p. 41). It then corresponds to Hebrew *nāṭāh yādhō ʾel* 'stretch one's hand to'='to take', which was contracted into Bibl. Heb. *nāṭal* 'to lift', Aramaic *nĕṭel*. The whole situation in Arabic suggests that here *ʾanṭä*, the causative of *naṭä*, was the older word, which was in the East replaced by a new formation from *ʿaṭä*, the synonym of *naṭä*, perhaps after the meaning of *naṭä* had become too specialized. The connection of *ʾaʿṭä* and Hebrew *nāṭāh* was first suggested by K. Vollers (ZDMG, xlix, 505). The new form took some time to advance into the Western area. The old *ʾanṭä* still occurs in some *hadith* (cf. § 11 *c*) and in an utterance by a man of Ghanī, a dialect which in other respects belongs to the Eastern group (Bakrī, Muʿjam, p. 540). Fell (ZDMG, liv, 235) argues that the root *nṭy* meant 'to give rain', which may be a further reflection of the old usage. No doubt the similarity in sound made it easier to replace *ʾanṭä* by *ʾaʿṭä*. A similar reason may be found for the substitution of the root *mṭw* 'to come' for *nṭy* both in Aramaic and in Ethiopic. In Daniel, vii. 22 the Septuagint translates *mĕṭā* by ἐδόθη;[6] in the Elephantine papyrus Cowley No. 28, line 3, *mĕṭaʾak* means 'was given to thee'. In Ethiopic *maṭ(ṭ)awa* means 'to offer', in Amharic *amaṭṭa* 'to give'.

Possibly *mṭw* means 'to give presents' in CIH, 397, line 6–7. We might see an occurence of the same meaning in the Arabic *'amṭā ẓ-ẓahra* 'give someone an animal to ride', from which the otherwise inexplicable *maṭiyya* 'mount' is derived, originally 'mount given (by a lord to his follower)'. Thus, a satisfactory etymological explanation for the relationship between *'anṭā* and *'aʿṭā* can be given, and we can draw no inference as to the sound of *ʿain*.

m In two roots we find alternation between *ḍād* and *shīn*: *ʿillauḍ* 'jackal' (Jamhara, iii, 93) appears also as *ʿillaush* (*ibid.*, iii, 61). Nashwān (Extr., p. 107) gives both *nāḍa* and *nāsha* as 'to carry'. All these forms are given as Yemenite. In early Arabic both *ḍād* and *shīn* were lateral sounds (Bravmann, Materialien, p. 53); *ḍād* is still articulated laterally by some Koran readers[7] (Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 20, Note 4). Both are lateral sounds in modern South-Arabian languages (Jahn, Mehrisprache, p. 4–5; Leslau, Lexique Soqotri, p. 31), and *ḍād* in parts of Yemen (Landberg, Hadr., p. 637). The alternation would thus have been quite easy. Of course we must not conclude from this that the contemporaries of Nashwān and Ibn Duraid still sounded the two consonants as laterals: the alternations might have been old-inherited or been due to dialect-mixture.[8]

n The Yemen is not included among the dialects in which *hamza* had disappeared (cf. § 11 *m*). Yet the lexicographers record for the Yemen instances of the second and third form of verbs primæ hamzatæ with *w* instead of *hamza*, which can only be explained as wrong rederivations from the imperfect: *yuʾātī* > *yuwātī*, thence *wātaitu* 'I obeyed' for *ʾātaitu* (Tāj, x, 10) similarly *wākhadha* 'to reproach' for *ʾākhadha* (Miṣbaḥ, p. 14), *wākhä* 'to fraternize' for *ʾākhä* (Nashwān, Extr., p. 114), *wāsä* 'to be generous' for *ʾāsä*. The situation is analogous in present-day Yemen. On the one hand *hamza* is clearly pronounced (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xii; Rossi, RSO, xvii, 235), on the other hand its omission and replacement by glide-sounds like *w* and *y* is very common (Goitein, *ibid.*). Rossi even cites forms like *twakhkhar* = *taʾakhkhara*, *itfawwal* = *tafaʾʾala*, in which the original *hamza* never came to stand between *a* and *u*, so that the *w* can be due only to the analogy of other forms where it arose through phonetic causes.

o Ibn Duraid cites two cases in which Yemenite had *fuʿāl* or *fuʿʿāl* for the adjective pattern *faʿīl*: *kubbār* 'old' for *kabīr* (Jamhara, i, 274; in Ishtiqāq, p. 254: *kubār*) and *kuthār* 'much' for *kathīr* (Ishitqāq, p. 40). Růžička (ZS, x, 29) gives a list of cases where *fuʿāl* alternates with *faʿīl* in Classical Arabic. I have checked these with the lexica, but found no reference to the Yemenite dialect. On the other hand nearly all the place names in that list which can be located will be found to belong to the West-Arabian area: Sulaim, Hijaz, Ṭayyiʾ, Oman, only a few in the Yemen. The form *kubār* is still alive in the Meccan colloquial *kubāriyye* 'upper class' (Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkanische Sprichwörter, p. 5). The use of *fuʿāl* and *fuʿal* in

West-Arabian is closely connected with that of the feminine *faʿāli* (on which cf. § 12 *k*), to which it forms a masculine. E.g., in the Muʿallaqa of the Westerner ('Āmirite) Labīd, line 52, the masculine dog-name *sukhām* appears by the side of the fem. *kasābi* (*skhym* and *skhmn* are South-Arabian names, too). In Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, § 15, one Meccan addresses another *'ai ghudaru* 'you traitor', i.e., *fuʿal* is typical for vocative use, like *faʿāli*. It may have kept some of its vocative force in (?Western) names like *ʿUmaru*, which to the Arab's mind were *maʿdūl*, not in their normal pattern (cf. Wright, i, 245 C).

p In the well-known anecdote about the Arab who misunderstood the Himyaritic *wathaba* (Ibn Fāris, Ṣāḥibī, p. 22; Lisān, ii, 291, etc.) the king of Himyar is made to say *laisa ʿindanā ʿarabiyyat* 'there is no Arabic among us'. It is further explained that in his language the feminine ending was not dropped in pause. This is not necessarily a reminiscence of South-Arabian, but an old feature of West-Arabian, also preserved in the Tayyi' dialect in the far north. It is not possible to say whether it existed only in Himyaritic or also in other Yemenite dialects.

q Muqaddasī (*c.* 375/985) heard in Aden *rijlainuh* 'his two feet', *yadainuh* 'his two hands' for the common colloquial *rijlaih*, etc. ('Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, p. 96). It may be nothing but analogical transfer of the *-n-* from the absolute form, as is done in several colloquials in the sound masc. plural (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 452). The Aden dialect is described by Muqaddasī as *muwallad* 'new-fangled', by which he perhaps means that the inhabitants had but recently passed from South-Arabian to Arabic. Similar forms are used occasionally 'by semi-educated people' in Oman, Egypt, and Tlemsen (Brock., GVG, i, 456), and regularly at Baghdad and Mosul (Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 55), Zanzibar (Praetorius, ZDMG, xxxiv, 222), and by the Slūt in southern Syria (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 73). All these are colloquials which betray Yemenite influence in other respects. This should make us beware of lightly dismissing the form as a solecism. But for the remark of the non-philologist Muqaddasī we should know nothing of the connection of the colloquial forms with the Yemen.

r The definite article of the Yemenite dialect was prefixed *(a)m-*.[9] The evidence for the existence of this article in old times has been marshalled by Landberg (Dathina, p 281–90) and Kampffmeyer (MSOS, iii, 2 p. 82) and need not be repeated here. It may be mentioned as a curiosum that in 1866 Kremer (Südarabische Sage, p. 34) could dismiss it as a mere figment of the philologists, based on a dim recollection of the South-Arabian mimation (*sic*; the mimation was, of course, the *indefinite* article). This form of the article was in the third century used right up to the northern boundary of Yemen (cf. Hamdānī's list, § 5 *c*). Nowadays it is still current in many local forms of the Yemenite colloquial, cf. the list of places in Rossi (RSO, xvii,

237), but often side by side with *al-* (Maltzan, ZDMG, xxvii, 245). In the Central Yemen it seems to have disappeared; no trace of it is found in the material of Goitein (Jemenica) and Mittwoch (Aus dem Jemen). Landberg (Dathina, p. 283) says that it is almost constantly employed in *zawāmil* poetry, from which one might conclude that it belongs to the archaic language of poetry rather than to that of everyday life. In Ẓafār the article *al-* is used, but it is assimilated before *b*, *f*, and *m* (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 110), which can only mean that the article was there formerly *am-* and the old assimilated forms were preserved in spite of the change (for a similar case cf. the remarks on *'an mukhaffafa*, § 13 *g*). Outside the Yemen proper, *am-* is still used in Tihāma (Glaser, Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens, ii, 29), by bedouins at Mokha (Landberg, Dathina, p. 286), by the Murra, north-west of the Empty Quarter (Philby, Geogr. Journal, lxxxi, 10), and by some Central-African bedouins (Kampffmeyer). As we are told that the Ṭayyi' also used the *am-* as article, we have here another old West-Arabian feature which had been ousted from the Central West in the eighth century and is now in course of vanishing from the Yemen. We can expect little evidence for the early use of *am-* from non-Arab sources. Landberg (Dathina, p. 284) sees the article *am-* in classical transcriptions, such as *Ambisama* (Ptolemy, § 396) and *Mariaba Baramalacum*. He analyses the latter as *Barr am-Malik*, but Blau (ZDMG, xxv, 587), Sprenger (Alte Geographie Arabiens, p. 156), and Nöldeke (ZDMG, xxiii, 289) offer other explanations of the name.

s Since the *am-* article is common West-Arabian, there is no point in connecting it specifically with the forms of the article used in South-Arabian. It seems, however, to be related to the Liḥyanic article, which is normally *h-* but before *'alif* and *'ain* regularly appears as *hn-* (cf. Winnett, A study of Lihyanic, p. 16–18). There are also some instances of *hn-* before other initial consonants (Blake, JAOS, lxii, 117).[10] Nashwān (quoted Müller, Südar. Stud., p. 18; Landberg, Dathina, p. 282) says that some Yemenites used *an-* instead of *am-*. Examples of this occur in Hamdānī's 'Himyaritic inscriptions', where they are all before velar, guttural, or emphatic consonants:[11] *an-ḥulm* 'the dream' (cf. § 5 *h*), *an-qushm* 'fresh vegetables', *an-hind* 'India' (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 22), *an-ṣarīf* 'silver', *an-ṭamīm* (*ibid.*, p. 17). The sentence which Philby quotes from the Murra has *ribᶜ an-khāli*. Admittedly the material is not sufficient to state any definite rule; neither can we see any evidence to the contrary in the cases where *am-*, not *an-*, appears before those types of consonant, since obviously the copyists knew nothing of the correct usage and 'normalized' spellings, as they no doubt did in the innumerable quotations from the Yemenite dialect with the *al-* article. Possibly the *n* before certain consonants was used only in part of the dialect area, as Nashwān asserts, while others used *m* throughout. This in

itself, together with the fact that we can hardly explain the appearance of *n* before gutturals as assimilation, suggests that *an-* was the older form of the article, which for some reasons unknown to us was replaced by *am-* (as it was later on by *al-*), but for a while at least *an-* was preserved before consonants in contact with which it had taken on a certain velar or emphatic quality. This *an-* stands in the same relation to the Liḥyanic *han-* as *'inna* to Ṭayyi' *hinna* (cf. § 14 *s*) and Hebrew *hinnēh*, or Arabic *'in*, Hebrew *'im* to S.-Ar. *hm*, Aramaic *hēn*. It is obviously related to the South-Arabian suffixed article *-n*, which appears on some inscriptions from the Hadramaut as *-hn*.

t Ibn Mālik (quoted by Suyūṭī, Jam', i, 79) states that this *am-* was not assimilated to dentals and sibilants in the way that Arabic *al-* is. This is borne out by some independent quotations: a saying, attributed to the Prophet,[12] *laisa mini m-birri m-ṣiyāmu fī m-safar* 'it is not part of piety to fast during a journey' (Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 434, from Namir b. Taulab); and a verse, said by Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 298) to be Himyaritic, but Lisān, xx, 347 and elsewhere ascribed to Bujair b. Ghanama ('Athama) of Ṭayyi', *dhāka khalīlī wa-dhū yu'ātibunī/yarmī warā'ī bim-sahmi wam-salama* 'this is my friend and he who reproves me, who shoots in my defence with arrow and slingstone'; further the sentence, probably a parody on the dialect, *am-shaikhu m-kubāru ḍaraba ra'sahu bil-'aṣwi* (*sic*, read perhaps *bin-'aṣwi*) 'the ancient old man hit his head with a stick' (Jamhara, i, 275). Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 47) says that *ba'ḍu ṭalabati l-Yaman* ('a student from Yemen' or 'a student of things Yemenite'?) quoted to him a sentence, *khudhi r-rumḥa wa-rkubi m-faras* 'take the lance and mount the horse', with assimilation of the article before *r*. He remarks that to his knowledge this was rare in the Yemen. Perhaps it is a sign of the influence of Arabic usage with regard to *al-*.

u Bustānī (Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ, i, 37) makes the astonishing statement that this *am-* was used in conjunction with the nunation. The instances he quotes: *mani m-qā'imun* 'who is the one who stands?' and *man fī m-bānin* 'who is in the . . . ?', make the impression of having been taken from an ancient source. As Kampffmeyer (ZDMG, liv, 632) remarks, Bustānī was hardly the man to invent such things. It is peculiar that both instances are questions, and in both the word with the nunation comes in pause. Perhaps the original statement was that in the Yemenite dialect words in pause (? in interrogative clauses) received a nunation even if they had the definite article. Such a nunation (nasalization of pausal vowel) is of course a phenomenon of sentence-phonetics, not of morphology. A parallel phenomenon existed in the Eastern dialect of Tamīm (? and Qais, cf. De Goeje in Wright, ii, 369 C), where it was called *tanwīn at-tarannum*. As we see clearly from the explanations of Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 77 *b*) and 'Astarābādī (Sharḥ al-Kāfiya, i, 14) this is a nasalization, attached to verbs and nouns, which takes

place in a vowel-ending verse (*rawī muṭlaq*) when the poetry is recited *without tarannum*, i.e., without a cantillating protraction of the final vowel. The nasalisation thus affected vowels standing in the pausal position, where one was not accustomed to pronounce any vowels, and is on the same plane as the *hā' as-saqṭ*.[13] A very similar nasal addition in pause is heard in the 'Ömur colloquial near Palmyra, e.g., *byūtaka*^{m} = *buyūtaka* 'your houses', *ḍrṓbo*^{m} = *ḍarabū* 'they struck' (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 18). In that colloquial it seems to be connected with a weakening of etymological *-n* in pause (*ibid.*, p. 21). It is not impossible that Bustānī's statement refers to a similar state of affairs. I have heard gramophone records of Yemenite Koran recitation in which the nasal timbre in pause is noticeable.

v The form *'aṣwu* 'stick', for *'aṣā* which occurs in the third quotation in § *t*, is said by Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, i, 275; Ishtiqāq, p. 34) to be customary with 'some Yemenites'. This no doubt goes back to the same original **'aṣawu* as the Classical form, and resolves the triphthong by contraction, as the Hudhail dialect does in *'inyu* for *'inä* (originally *'inayu*) 'hour of the night' (cf. § 8 *u*). In the Hudhail dialect *'aṣā* was treated differently (§ 8 *t*). Our *'aṣwu* was then a local development of a common Arabic form. We do not know whether other words of the same type were affected.

w Farrā' in his Koran commentary (quoted by Beck, Orientalia, xv, 184) says that *kidhdhāb* for *takdhīb*, verbal noun of the second form (Koran, lxxviii, 28) is 'a correct Yemenite form', i.e., a form of Yemenite origin considered correct in Classical Arabic. Baiḍāwī, *ad loc.*, indeed says it is 'generally permissible and widely used by correct speakers'. Nashwān (Extr., p. 90) and Lisān (ii, 201, quoting Kisā'ī), however, confirm the Yemenite character of the form. Since it occurs Koran 78, 28 (Meccan, first period), the same form must have been current in Mecca, and perhaps was generally West-Arabian. A special Hijazi variety may be indicated by the statement (in Lisān, *loc cit.*) that 'Alī pronounced *kidhāb*, while 'Āṣim and the Medineans said *kidhdhāb*. It is, in fact, the original Semitic pattern of the infinitive of the second stem (Nöldeke, Neue Beitr., p. 8) which was ousted in Classical Arabic by the verbal noun of the lost stem *taf'ala* (cf. Hommel, Südar. Chrest., p. 29). The *fi''āl* infinitive is still current in Central Yemen (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xxiii) and in Dathina (Landberg, Dathina, p. 536).

x A statement by Nashwān's son Muḥammad (quoted by Rossi, RSO, xvii, 249), gives this infinitive as well as two others, all still current in the colloquial: *fi'āl* for the third stem (without the shortening seen in Classical *fi'āl*) and *tif'āl* (? read *tifi''āl*) for the fifth stem (modern *tifi''āl*).

y A particle *am* (or *'am*) could be used with the imperfect (Ḥarīrī, Durra, p. 114; Tāj, viii, 194). The instances quoted are: *am naḥnu naḍribu l-hām* 'we chop off heads', and *am naḥnu naṭ'amu ṭ-ṭa'ām* 'we eat food'. It is

difficult to see what influence, if any, the particle exerted on the meaning of the tense. According to Landberg (Dathina, p. 283, note 3) the particle is still employed in Yemen, though he does not say with what function. In Central Yemen a prefixed *a-*, with doubling of the following consonant, marks the future tense, the conditional, and imminent action (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xix; Mittwoch, Aus dem Jemen, p. 54). This probably is our *am-* with assimilation to the initial of the verb. Kampffmeyer (Verbalpartikel, p. 36) sees in this *am-* the origin of the *b-* which in so many colloquials imparts to the imperfect the meaning of a present tense. This takes the form *m-* before the first person plural. It may be of some significance that Ḥarīrī has chosen the first plural for both examples. As for the origin of *am-*, I find it difficult to agree with Hommel (Südar. Chrest., p. 50), who connects it with the Minaean conjunction *b-* 'while' (for instances see Müller, Epigr. Denkm., p. 46). Our particle seems to be related in the last resort with Arabic *'in*, Hebrew *'im* 'if'. The conditional particles of Semitic appear to have been at first of a generally emphasizing nature; cf. Hebrew *hēn* 'behold' and Aramaic *hēn* 'if', or the obvious connection between Arabic *'in* 'if' and *'inna* 'behold' with its 'alleviated' form *'in* (cf. § 13 *g*). An instructive parallel is Egyptian *ir*, which introduces both a casus pendens (= Arabic *'ammā*) and a conditional clause (Gardiner, Eg. Gram., § 150). It is in no way unusual that such a generally emphasizing particle (and that seems to be the force of *am* in Ḥarīrī's sentences) should have developed various temporal and modal functions. Another possibility is that *am* is connected with the *'immālā* or *'ummālē* which the common people used before an imperative ('Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī—d. 250 H.—in Lisān, xx, 358). In a ḥadith quoted there (not found in the canonical works) the Prophet says *'immālā fa-ḥsinū 'ilaihi* 'well then (?), treat him well' (the comment of the Lisān does not fit the sense, to my mind). In Syria a particle *'ammāl* or *'am* is used with the imperfect to mark it as a present tense (Driver, Gram., p. 114). There is no satisfactory explanation of it. Could it be an etymologization of **'ammālā*? At any rate, *'am* seems to be to *'ammālā* as *'am* to *'ammāl*.

z The following account of a spurious Yemenite feature is of interest as an instance of the way in which material was falsified by preconceived notions. Nashwān (Extr., p. 115) cites a verse: *ma zāla shaibānu shadīdan ḥabaṣuh/ḥattā 'atāhu qirnuhu fa-waqaṣuh* 'Shaibān ceased not creating violent commotion until his match came and broke his neck'. Nashwān adds that *waqaṣuh* for *waqaṣahu* is 'an incorrect form used by some Yemenites'. It would be quite normal in a modern colloquial where *fa'ala* has lost its final vowel. The nominative *ḥabaṣuh* for *ḥabaṣuhu*, though permitted in ancient poetry, is also common colloquial. We might thus see here an instance of early Yemenite colloquial verse, were it not for Shinqīṭī (ii, 208) who

ascribes it to a woman of ʿAbdalqais, an Eastern tribe, and ʾAzharī (Taṣrīḥ, quoted by Howell, iv, 805) who says it was by a man of Lakhm. The Lakhm, who were resident on the Euphrates since early times, most probably spoke an Eastern dialect, but they claimed a 'Yemenite' genealogy. Their language was therefore considered by Nashwān or his source as Yemenite. This feature is most probably one of the Eastern dialects, whence it was inherited by many colloquials. Properly speaking we have here a manifestation of the pausal tendency called *naql*, which was typical of the Eastern dialects (cf. the material in Birkeland, Pausalformen, p. 55 and 60). The ʾAzd dialect in Yemen had a different method of dealing with these forms, cf. § 6 *h*.

aa The relative particle was *dhī*, without distinction of number and gender (Nashwān, Extr., p. 39). A quotation slightly earlier than Nashwān (d. 573/1178) is found in Bahāʾ al-Janadī (ʾAkhbār al-Qarāmiṭa fī l-Yaman in Tārīkh al-Yaman, ed. H. C. Kay, London 1892, p. 147 relating to events at the end of the 3rd/9th cent.), where a woman says *dū bud min dhī ḥakam al-ʾamīr* 'there is no help (*lā budda*) against what the governor decided'. This *dhī* is still used in the region between Dhamār and Yarīm (Rossi, San'a, p. 23; RSO, xviii, 303), and in the western Hadramaut (Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 159). It is also used in the colloquials of the Maghrib, where Yemenite influence is strong. In other parts of the Yemen it has been displaced by the Classical *alladhī*, which in old times had penetrated as far as Hudhail (cf. § 8 *y*). However, the native form influenced *alladhī* so far that it became invariable for gender and number (Mittwoch, Aus dem Jemen, p. 59; Landberg, Dathina, p. 408). Invariable *alladhī* occurs also in Hijazi texts, e.g. (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, 22) *qālū lilladhī wujida fīhim* 'they said to them among whom he was found' (cf. also Ṭabarī Glossary, *s.v.*). The Moslem commentators (e.g., Baiḍāwī) recognize this usage in *khuḍtum kalladhī khāḍū* 'ye hold discourses as those who held discourses' (Koran, ix, 70/69). That passage seems to read better if we take *alladhī* = *mā*[14] '. . . like their discourses' (as does Zamakhsharī), but we see that the commentaries found nothing strange in *alladhī* for the plural. We may be justified in taking this as evidence for the use of *dhī* as a relative particle also in the Hijaz at a time not too far back. The West-Arabian Ṭayyiʾ in the north used *dhū*, corresponding to the archaic Hebrew common relative *zū*, and there is some evidence that *dhū* was once current in Oman (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 325). It therefore appears that the central and southern West-Arabian *dhī* was secondary. It may be due to contamination with the masculine demonstrative *dhī* (cf. § 7 *tu*), or to South-Arabian influence. We do not know the vowels of South-Arabian *dh*. Ethiopic has *za*, but Mehri has *di*, *dĕ* (cf. Maltzan, ZDMG, xxvii, 266), and a form with *i* is preserved in Ethiopic *zīʾa* 'that of', Amh. *ya* 'which, who'. (Cf. map No 20).

bb The quotation from Bahā' al-Janadī contains also the word *dū* 'not', which Hamdānī (quoted Müller, Südar. Studien, pp. 19 and 21) asserts to be Himyaritic. Near Ta'izz, in the southernmost part of Yemen, the negation 'no' is *dou*, *da'*, etc. (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 471). In South-Arabian inscriptions a particle written *d'* occurs in CIH, 540, line 66 and in CIH, 541, of the year A.D. 543., line 50. The word is taken by Rhodokanakis and Conti Rossini (Chrest., p. 124) as 'already', but Praetorius (ZDMG, liii, 16) took it as a negation. That the word only appears in the last stages of South-Arabian writing may indicate that it penetrated from the spoken language, Himyaritic. It is not impossible that some other features of late Sabaean may find their explanation from that side. The word, the very existence of which was rejected as impossible by D. H. Müller (cf. § 2 *r*) may belong to the heritage from the Hamito-Semitic stage; witness the negation *di* used in Sidamo, a Cushitic language of southern Ethiopia (Cerulli, Studi Etiopici, ii, Roma 1938, p. 77).

cc The particle *ḥattä* 'until' was in the Yemen pronounced with *'imāla*, i.e., *ḥattē* (Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 23). Apart from having only such a late source for this, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this statement. As we shall see (§ 8 *o*), the development of *ḥattä* in West-Arabian was remarkable in other respects. The Hijazi form, to judge from the spelling, must have been *ḥattai* (cf. § 10 *ee*). The Hudhail *'attä* (*?'attai*) betrays contamination with *'ad(ai)*, which therefore must have existed in the West Arabian area. In Sabaean we find at first the form *'d*, and in later texts *'dy*=*'adai*. This may have arisen under the influence of Arabic *ḥattai*. Could Yemenite *ḥattē* in turn be due to the influence of the older Sabaean form, which was perhaps *'adē*, cf. Assyrian *adi?*

NOTES

[1] On Himyaritic, see next chapter.

[2] The Talmudic lexicon 'Arukh (ca. 1100), declares *ḥazīnā* 'stick with metal knob', (Mishnah Kelim xiv, 2) to be a 'Ta'ite' word.

[3] The Hudhail form for 'man' is said to have been *mir'u* (Sukkarī in Lisān, i, 150, with *shāhid* by 'Abū Khirāsh). Other Arabs are supposed to have used nom. *mur'u*, gen. *mir'i*, acc. *mar'a*. Cf. also *mr'lqyś* in Namāra, and *marqaisī* in the Kinda dial.

[4] 'Anīs (Lahajāt, p. 77, without source) says that according to some the Yemenite sound of *jīm* was current in the Ṭayyi' dialect. This fits in well with the present-day Shammar usage.

[5] Professor G. R. Driver drew my attention to the rendering δώσει for *ya'ăṭeh* in Ps. lxxxiv, 7. This would show that at least in one tradition of Hebrew, the root had the same meaning as in Arabic.

[6] Cf. G. R. Driver, JBL, xv, 102.

[7] Cantineau (Ḥoran, p. 101) describes it as 'emphatic interdental fricative followed by lateral offglide'.

[8] For an alleged alternance of the two consonants in the Rabī'a dialect, cf. Kofler, WZKM, xlvii, 92.

[9] For the sake of simplicity I write *am-* throughout. Probably the vowel was subject to similar laws as that of *al-*. According to Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 245) the article has to-day no vowel even when the word stands by itself.

[10] Blake objects on the ground that 'one of the phonological peculiarities of South-Semitic languages is the non-assimilation of *n* to the following consonant'. But *n* was assimilated in South-Arabian (Höfner, Altsüdar. Gr., p. 25) and in the Hijaz dialect and perhaps others as well (§ 11 *qq*).

[11] The modern Yemenite bedouins call a young camel *inferīd*=Classical *farīd* (Binder, WZKM, xlviii, 96). We may be tempted to take this as *in-ferīd*<*am-farīd*. The *m* would be labio-dental as in German *fünf*.

[12] The Prophet was fond of using Yemenite expressions (cf. § 5 *v*) but one does not see why he should have used the Yemenite article. Perhaps the whole saying, with its somewhat odd syntax, was originally Yemenite.

[13] Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 168) concluded from this irregular 'nunation' that the system of *i'rāb* had no meaning as applied to the Tamīm dialect. This is as improbable as the view of Birkeland (Pausalformen, p. 15) who drew from the same data the conclusion that the Tamīm preserved nunation in pause longer than others.

[14] I.e. of course *mā maṣdariyya*=*'an*. This use of the relative pronoun (=Hebrew *'ăsher*, Aramaic *dī*) is common in early colloquial literature (cf. Goldziher, ZDMG, xxxv, 523–4).

Chapter 5

ḤIMYAR

a The rise of the Ḥimyar to the hegemony of the South-Arabian world is still shrouded in mystery. Even their ancient name is not certain: the *Homēritae* of Greek and Latin authors points to Ḥumair, while the Arabs know only the rare formation Ḥimyar (which looks as if it were moulded after Midyan). Mentioned first by Pliny (vi, 161) as a people whom Aelius Gallus during his campaign (25 B.C.) found to be the largest of the South-Arabian peoples,[1] they are placed by Claudius Ptolemaeus (2nd cent. A.D.) into what is now the Aden protectorate and southern Yemen. The authors of the inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb (A.D. 525) describe their country as 'land of the Ḥimyar', and their king as 'king of the Himyar', themselves as Ḥimyarites and ʾArḥabites. Abrahā (A.D. 543) claims the titles of the Sabaean dynasty, without any mention of Himyar (CIH, 541, line 6–7), but his army consists only of 'Abyssinians and Himyarites' (line 75). To the Arab writers all things South-Arabian were 'Himyaritic', no doubt because at the time of the spread of Islam this was the term current among the population of Yemen. It is therefore only natural to take all the Arabs say in connection with the Himyar as referring to South-Arabians.

b When, therefore, we find Hamdānī (d. 334/946) quoting 'Himyaritic' inscriptions which bear little resemblance to South-Arabian, we cannot but reject them as forgeries. So they no doubt are. Hamdānī could read the South-Arabian script to some extent, but he seems not to have known even the simplest facts about grammar or common introductory formulæ. It is for this reason not likely that he got the South-Arabian words he uses out of inscriptions—how can we imagine him to find there words such as *ṭīb* 'gold' (Shahari *tīb*), *ḥg* 'like'[2], and so on, with their correct meanings? He must, then, have got them from oral sources, from a language that was spoken in his own time and in his own milieu. How else can we explain his use of grammatical forms, such as the first sing. (§ *t* below), which agree with Ethiopic and modern South-Arabian, but are never found in the inscriptions? It was the colloquial language of his own time, which was called Himyaritic by those who spoke it, and was unintelligible to the Arabs, that Hamdānī took to be the language in which the ancient 'Musnads' were composed. We are therefore entitled to take his texts as documents of that language.[3] Examination of Hamdānī's texts shows that it was basically an Arabic dialect of the Yemenite type, but with some archaic features, and with a great deal of South-Arabian loanwords. All this points to a population which had been living in the country for a long time, probably the *ʿrb*

mentioned already in Old-Sabaean inscriptions intermingled with the remnants of South-Arabian peasantry.

c That for Hamdānī Himyaritic was a living and familiar speech is shown beyond doubt by his description of the linguistic state of affairs in the country (Jazīra, p. 134–6):

'Dialects of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. Shiḥr and al-'As'ā' do not speak correct Arabic. The Mahra speak a barbarous tongue like foreigners. The people of Hadramaut do not speak correct Arabic, but occasionally one finds among them some who can speak correct Arabic. The best Arabic among them is spoken by the Kinda and Hamdān and some of the Ṣadaf. Sarw Madḥij, Ma'rib, Baiḥān, and Ḥarīb speak correct Arabic. There is little in their speech that deviates from it. Sarw Ḥimyar and Ja'da do not speak correct Arabic: there is some trace of Himyaritic in their speech. They drawl and are prone to elision. They say *yā bnu m-'amm* 'o cousin' for *yā bnu l-'amm*, and *sima'* 'listen' for *isma'*. Laḥj, Ibyan, and Dathīna speak a better (or: very good) Arabic. The best Arabic among them is spoken by the 'Āmirī of Kinda and the 'Audī. The language of Aden is new-fangled (cf. § 4 *q*) and bad. Some of its inhabitants are uncouth and boorish, except the educated among them. There is not much wrong with the language of the Banū Majīd, the Banū Wāqid, and the 'Ash'ar. The lower Ma'āfir talk a barbarous language, the upper Ma'āfir are better than they. The Sakāsik are middling. The upland of the region of al-Kalā' speaks an excellent language, though there is in their speech some of the heaviness of the Himyaritic language. The speech of the hill country is halting. The dialects of Saḥlān, Jaishān, Warākh, Khaḍir, Ṣuhaib, and Badr are closely allied to that of the Sarw Ḥimyar. Yaḥḍib and Ru'ain speak a better Arabic than Jublān. The language of Jublān is halting. From Ḥaql Qatāb to Dhamār pure halting Himyaritic is spoken. The inhabitants of the Sarāt Madḥij, such as those of Radmān and Qaran, and those of its upland region, such as Radā', 'Isbīl, Kaumān, al-Ḥadā, Qā'ifa and Diqrār speak correct Arabic. The inhabitants of upper Khaulān speak almost correct Arabic. The inhabitants of Saḥmar, Qard, al-Jibla, Mulḥ, of upper Laḥj, of Ḥamḍ, 'Utuma, Watyaḥ, Simḥ, 'Anis, and 'Alhān speak a middling, rather corrupt, Arabic. Ḥarāz, al-'Akhrūj, Shumm, Māḍiḥ, al-'Aḥbūb, al-Jaḥādib, Sharaf 'Aqyān, aṭ-Ṭarf, Wāḍi', and al-Ma'lal are all of mixed speech, partly correct and partly corrupt. Some of them, particularly the settled parts of those tribes, speak a language close to halting Himyaritic. There is not much wrong with the speech of the district of al-'Ash'ar, the district of 'Akk, the Ḥakam b. Sa'd in the valley of the Tihāma and their district, except for those among them that dwell in villages. The Ḥāshid part of Hamdān living in the Sarāt Hamdān are mixed, some speaking correct Arabic, such as the 'Udhar, Hinwam, and Ḥajūr, others a barbarous language, like some of the people of Qudam and al-Jabar. The upland district of the Hamdān country is al-Baun, including al-Mashriq and al-Khashab. Its language is Arabic mixed with Himyaritic. Of the higher upland region of Hamdān, some parts speak rather less than correct Arabic. The people of Khaiwān speak correct Arabic, but much Himyaritic is spoken among them up to Ṣa'da. The

district of Sufyān b. ʾArḥab speaks correct Arabic, except for such things as *am-rajul* 'the man', *qayyid baʿīrāka* 'tie up thy two camels' for *baʿīraika* (cf. § 7 *f*), and *raʾaitu ʾakhawāka* 'I saw thy sisters' or 'two brothers' (cf. § 7 *k*). The article with *m* instead of *l* such as *am-rajul*, *am-baʿīr*, is also used by the ʾAshʿar, the ʿAkk, some of the Ḥakam in the Tihāma, and the ʿUdhar. Maṭira, Nihm, Murhiba, Dhaibān, and those of the Balḥārith that live in the Raḥba, speak correct Arabic. Ṣanāf in the Upper Jauf does not use correct Arabic. There is nothing wrong with the language of Kharfān and ʾAthāfit. The inhabitants of the Jauf speak correct Arabic, except for some of their clients from the Tihāma who live among them. The northern Nihm, Naʿmān Murhiba, the outer Banū ʿAliyyān, the outer Sufyān, and the Shākir speak correct Arabic. In the district of Wādaʿa the Banu Ḥarb have *ʾimāla* in all their speech (cf. § 4 *h*). The Banū Saʿd speak a better Arabic. From Dhamār to Sanʿāʾ the Arabic is middling. This is the district of Dhū Jura. Among the people of Ṣanʿāʾ there are remnants (*sic*) of pure Arabic and elements (*nubadh*) of Himyaritic speech. The town of Ṣanʿāʾ itself has a variety of dialects and idioms. Every quarter has its own dialect, but those that live on the side of Shaʿūb speak different from all the others. Shibām ʾAqyān, the Maṣāniʿ, and Tukhlā speak pure Himyaritic. The people of the upland of Khaulān Ṣaʿda speak correct Arabic. The people of its *qadd* and its *ghaur* speak a barbarous language. Good Arabic is spoken in the districts extending from al-ʿIrḍ in Wādaʿa to Janb Fiyām, then onwards to Zubaid, to the Banū Ḥārith and the regions adjoining the district of Shākir in Nejrān, on to the country of Yām, the country of Sanḥān, and the country of Nahd, then the Banū ʾUsāma, ʿAnz, Khathʿam, Hilāl, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, the Sarāt of al-Ḥajr, Daus, Ghāmid, Yashkur, Fahm, Thaqīf, Bajīla, and the Banū ʿAlī, except that the lower parts of the Sarāt of those tribes lying between the Sarāt of Khaulān and Ṭāʾif speak an Arabic that is less correct than that spoken in the upper parts. In al-ʿArūḍ everyone speaks correct Arabic, except the villagers. The same applies to Hijaz and lower Nejd as far as Syria and Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Rabīʿa (= Mesopotamia): in all of these the inhabitants speak correct Arabic, except the villagers.

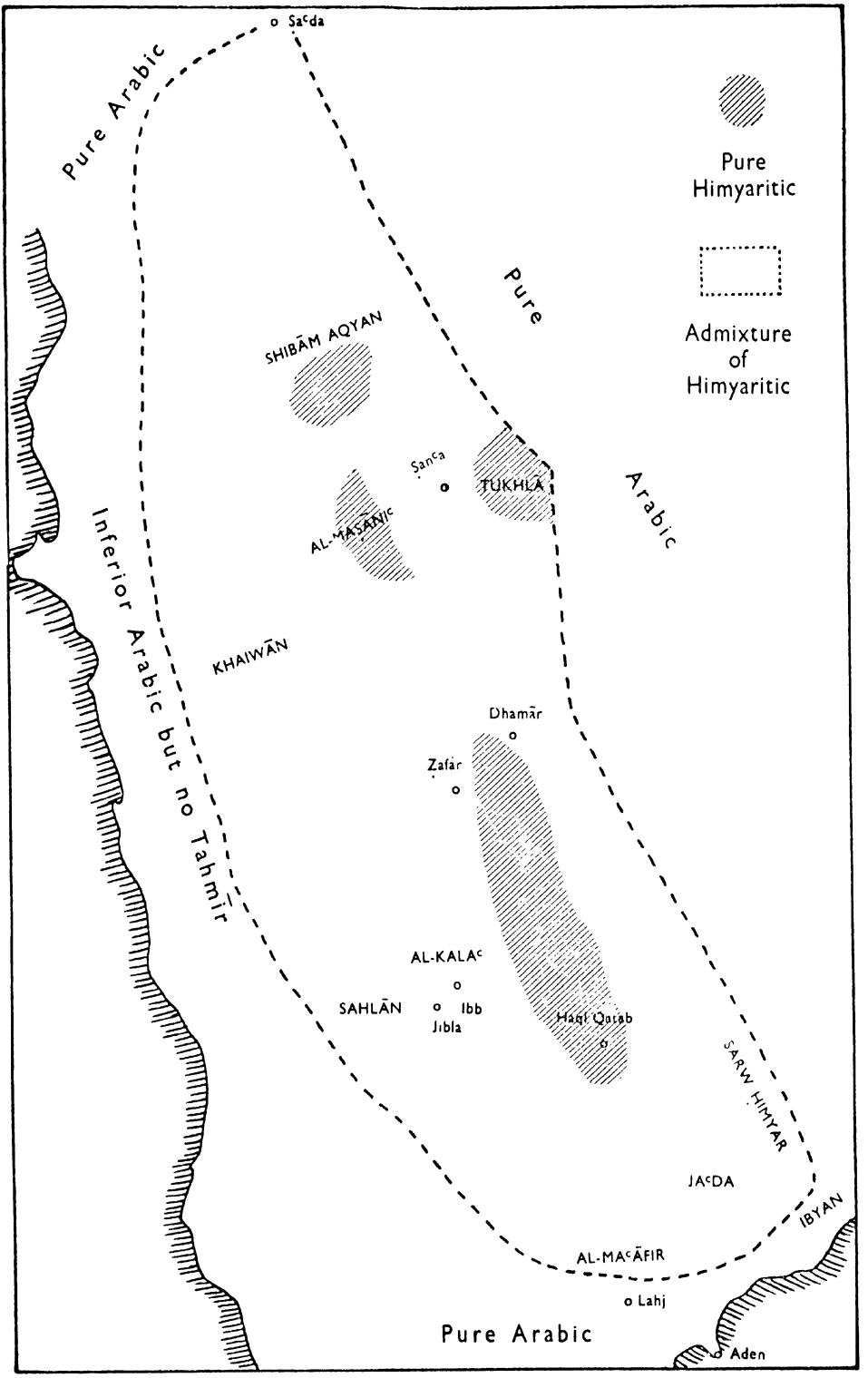
It is not quite clear on what criteria Hamdānī based his good and bad marks. Most of the dialects he mentions are not known in their present form. The colloquial of Dathīna, as described by Comte de Landberg, is certainly very far removed from literary Arabic, yet it was considered correct Arabic by Hamdānī. The dialect of Hadramaut, which he puts into a much lower category, is to-day no more different from literary Arabic than is that of Dathīna. This need not have been so in Hamdānī's time, since it is likely that arabicization has been making some progress since then, owing to new arrivals from the desert and to the effects of thirteen hundred years of Moslem education.

d The general position at the beginning of the 4th/10th century can be summed up thus: 'Correct' Arabic, i.e., a language approaching that of Central-Arabian bedouins, was spoken in the upland regions east of the Sarāt and in a few other areas, particularly the extreme south. In the

districts adjoining the uplands, i.e., the top and western slope of the Sarāt, dialects were current which Hamdānī describes as middling (*mutawassiṭ*) or mixed (*khulaiṭā*). From the whole context this must mean dialects with some admixture of Himyaritic. Some districts spoke idioms described as barbarous (*'aghtam*). What that meant we may conclude from the inclusion of Mehri among them: these were South-Arabian dialects. It is interesting that Hamdānī noticed no similarity between them and Himyaritic. Finally, there are those districts in which the language either showed strong traces of Himyaritic (*taḥmīr*), or was 'halting' (*taʿaqqud*, *muʿaqqad*), i.e., had the Himyaritic rhythm and intonation, and those where pure (*maḥḍ*) 'halting' Himyaritic was spoken. The last-named were concentrated in two well-defined areas: the central mountain area around Sanʿā' and the southern Sarāt. Map No. 4 illustrates this distribution. The factors governing it can be easily discerned: the mountain farmers spoke Himyaritic, the bedouins 'correct' Arabic. To the west of the Himyaritic-speaking area a broad belt showed admixture of Arabic and Himyaritic, with a preponderance of the latter in the villages. This was the part of the country which had formerly spoken Himyaritic. At some time before the fourth century the Arabic element had so much increased as to arabicize the Himyaritic speakers.

e We have thus in Yemen two distinct groups of Arabic speakers, quite apart from the bedouins in the east. One, obviously the older, is represented by the Himyar and the 'substrate' population of the districts with mixed language—whether these latter had originally been identical with the Himyar or different from them—, the other consisted of Arabs speaking dialects of the West-Arabian type, who lived as nomads or semi-nomads in the hill-districts, where they seem to have been in close contact with the older population. All signs point to the second group being a recent bedouin wave from the north. The most likely time at which they could have arrived is the early Islamic period, during which large numbers of Yemenite Arabs emigrated into the conquered territories, thus making room for newcomers. Some of the inhabitants of the mixed belt bear names of tribes belonging to northern Yemen, such as the Hamdān, but it is significant that Hamdānī speaks of districts rather than tribes in most cases, as if the people of those regions had no tribal organization of any strength. This impression is confirmed by other data which show the country filled with small splinters of tribes. It is impossible with our present data to say whether these Arab immigrants merely moved from the poor lands of northern Yemen to the rich south, or whether they came from farther north, from Hijaz or Central Arabia. It is, however, important to note that the direction of this migration is contrary to that which Arab tradition assumes, the migration of Yemenite tribes to all parts of Arabia after the break of the Mārib dam. Of course the

The area of Himyaritic speech in Hamdānī's time (§5d) Map No. 4



two movements do not exclude each other. One might even say that the immigration of the latter stratum was made possible by the depopulation of the country after the first emigration. The argument against accepting Arab tradition on that point is rather to be sought in the absence of any distinguishing features of dialects of tribes considered Yemenites by the genealogists as compared with Muḍarite tribes in the same areas.

f The older, 'Himyaritic', stratum was no less mixed than the later, 'Yemenite' one. It has already been said that they may be identical with the 'Arabs' mentioned in Sabaean inscriptions, which gradually became intermingled with the pure South-Arabian stock. We may note that the areas indicated in our map as regions of pure Himyaritic are by no means identical with the centres of South-Arabian culture (cf. the map of places where inscriptions were found, in Beiträge zur Arabistik, etc., ed. R. Hartmann, Leipzig 1944, p. 57). Whence those Arabs came, and in what relation they stood to the West-Arabian tribes, we cannot say. Their original Arabic speech bears some resemblance to West-Arabian rather than to the Eastern dialects, but this impression may be due either to the archaic character of both or to influence of West-Arabian on Himyaritic. If such features as the *k* in the suffixes of the perfect singular (§ *r*) were original in the speech of the Himyaritic Arabs, then their language was very different indeed from that of the West-Arabians.[4]

g Most of the Himyaritic-speaking area is outside the territory which is assigned to the Homeritae by Greek and Latin authors. It is certain that with the establishment of Himyar hegemony many people came to be called Himyar who had before belonged to other groupings. But what about the original Homeritae? Were they 'Himyarites' or pure South-Arabians? We cannot conclude much from the fact that their kings used Sabaean in their inscriptions, since even Ge'ez kings in Ethiopia did so, and such a procedure was quite normal for the Orient (cf. also Brockelmann, GVG, i, 29). The southern part of the old Himyar territory is counted by Hamdānī among the regions of pure Arabic, the rest, including the capital Ẓafār, in the area of mixed language. Perhaps we may derive some indication from ʾAbrahā's distinction of Abyssinians and Himyar on the one hand and 'Arabs in mountains and plain' on the other (CIH 541, line 8), but such phrases in the titles of kings often mean little and may be taken over from the titles of predecessors.[5] In any event it is quite likely that some Arabs were not absorbed in the mixture which constituted the later Himyarite population. More important is that the Sabaean inscriptions betray no feeling that the Himyar were in any way foreign, but mention them in the same way as other South-Arabian peoples, e.g., CIH 350 where they are called a *sh'b* just like the author's own people, the Ḥāshid. But the South-Arabian layer in the Himyarite state may have been very thin indeed, and the majority of the

people may have been a mixture very similar to the Himyarites of Hamdānī's day.

h Apart from the spurious inscriptions in Hamdānī, we possess two short texts in Himyaritic. One is a sentence said to have been spoken at Dhamār by the mother of Wahb b. Munabbih before his birth in 34/654–5 (from the history of San'ā' by 'Abdallāh 'Abbās ar-Rāzī, quoted by Landberg, Arabica, v, 112): رايك بحلم كولدك ابنا من طيب (approximately: *ra'aiku bi-n-ḥulm ka-waladku ibnan min ṭīb*) 'I saw in a (*lit.* the) dream that I gave birth to a son of gold'.[6]

i The second text is a ditty which the soldiers of Yazīd I sang when they besieged Mecca in 72–3 H. It occurs in two apparently unconnected sources, Balādhurī (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 48) and 'Abū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 105) and is often quoted in later works. (Cf. also Nöldeke, Beitr. z. Poesie d. alten Araber, 1864, p. 21; *id.*, ZDMG, xxxviii, 413; Kampffmeyer, *ibid.*, liv, 622). 'Abū Zaid asserts that the author of the lines was a Himyarite. In Syria the Yemenite element was particularly strong (cf. Kampffmeyer, MSOS, iii, 2, p. 80 f and Sprenger, Alte Geogr. Arabiens, p. 295). We need of course not take everything in these verses as pure Himyaritic: there is obviously some admixture of Classical Arabic. The lines are:

yā bna Zubairin ṭāla mā ʿaṣaika
wa-ṭāla mā ʿannaikanā (text: *-tanā*) *'ilaika*
la-taḥzananna bi-lladhī 'ataika
la-naḍriban bi-saifina qafaika.

'Son of Zubair, long hast thou been disloyal,
Long hast thou troubled us to come to thee.
Thou wilt be grieved for what thou hast committed
(or: what is coming to thee).
Yea, with our sword we shall cut off thy neck.'

These verses are a rich gallery of Himyaritic peculiarities, with some of which we shall deal in the following paragraphs. Even if they should be nothing but a parody on 'Himyaritic' speech, they still retain their value to us in showing what other Arabs considered to be typical of it.

k The 'inscriptions' which Hamdānī made up will be found in the tenth volume of the 'Iklīl and in Müller's 'Burgen und Schlösser' and 'Studien', some of them in the volumes of the Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique. Beside these, we have the statements of philologists on the grammar and lexicography of Himyaritic. They are not always easy to evaluate, because some recur in other places as referring to Yemenite rather than Himyaritic. While there is no doubt that the two had much in common, we suspect that patriotic philologists often called words Himyaritic to lend an aura of antiquity to them. Perhaps we shall one day recover the seventh volume of Hamdānī's 'Iklīl, in which he dealt with the Himyaritic language.

l Although to our feeling Himyaritic, as shown in the documents we possess, was similar enough to Arabic, the Arabs considered it totally unintelligible. Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt ash-Shuʿarāʾ, p. 4) says: 'the language of Himyar is not the same as ours, nor is their vocabulary identical with that of the Arabs'. In 375/985, Muqaddasī (ʾAḥsan at-taqāsīm, p. 96) reported that 'there was in the region of Himyar a tribe of Arabs whose speech cannot be understood'. The Arabs had a proverb, *man dakhala Ẓafāri taḥammara* 'he who goes to Ẓafār must speak Himyaritic', to which an anecdote was attached about the Arab envoy who understood *thib* 'sit down' as 'jump', and thus found his death (Hamdānī, ʾIklīl, p. 39, etc.). Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣāʾiṣ, i, 392) states it as an accepted fact that 'the language of Himyar and the like of it are utterly different from the dialects of both Rabīʿa and Muḍar. Some of it may have intruded into the Arabic spoken by some, but it sounds all wrong (*yusāʾu ẓ-ẓannu bihi*)'. Neither he nor al-Fārisī could make any sense out of a passage written in the dialect of Ḥaurīt (hardly the place in Mesopotamia, Bakrī, p. 79), which unfortunately he does not quote.

m The people mocked at Himyaritic by applying to it the designation *ṭumṭumāniyya*. This is variously explained as 'a form of speech resembling that of non-Arabs' (ʾArdabīlī, in de Sacy, Chrest. gram., p. 118; Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 1246; Ibn ʿAbdi Rabbihi, ʿIqd, i, 294) or as 'speech full of unusual (*munkara*) words' (Qāmūs, *s.v.*). Ibn Sīda (Mukhaṣṣaṣ, ii, 122) explains *ṭimṭim* simply as 'non-Arab'. The word *ṭimṭim* is used by ʿAntara of a Yemenite (ed. ʿInānī, p. 212), but also of a Persian (*ibid.*, xxvii, 2); by ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān of Abyssinians (ʾAghānī, xvi, 156, xxi, 12). For its meaning we may compare Mishnaic Hebrew *ṭamṭēm* 'to close', *ṭamṭēm ʾeth hal-lēbh* 'deprive of understanding'. Accordingly *ṭimṭim* may have meant at first 'feeble-minded' and then 'barbarous'. To the philologist this general term was too vague, and we therefore find Thaʿālibī (Fiqh al-lugha, p. 107) restricting the name to a single feature, the use of the *am-* article.

n We get a more instructive indication in the term *muʿaqqad* 'halting' with which Hamdānī describes both Himyaritic itself and the dialects influenced by it. It seems that he means the same when he says that the people of Sarw Ḥimyar 'drawl' (*yajurrūna fī kalāmihim*). 'Drawling' in general is due to the absence of stress accent, and was probably a feature of West-Arabian altogether (cf. § 10 *p*). But South-Arabian must have had a drawling of a much more pronounced character, which produced the two-peak syllables of Minaean and other dialects (cf. Rhodokanakis, Studien, i, 12–56). It is this feature which was so noticeable about Himyaritic even to a Yemenite like Hamdānī.

o This is the place to mention two further general traits of this kind, neither of which is specifically attributed to Himyaritic, but both of which seem to have some bearing upon it. Suyūṭī (Muzhir, i, 134) attributes to

Yemenite Arabic as a whole a quality called *shinshinna*, which consists in changing *k* into *sh*, as in *labbaisha* for *labbaika*. This is not, as in Eastern Arabic, a contact-change of *k* before *i* (for the latter, cf. Barth, WZKM, xxiv, 281 ff), but the non-conditional change of *k* into *sh* (not *tsh*) common in modern South-Arabian (cf. Leslau, WZKM, xliv, 211). Final *k* becomes *sh* in some cases in the colloquial of Hadramaut, e.g. *ʿalēsh*= *ʿalaika* (Maltzan, ZDMG, xxvii, 250). Indeed this sound change probably never occurred in the Yemen. Masʿūdī (Murūj adh-dhahab, ed. Barbier de Meynard, i, 333) ascribes it to the town of Shiḥr in Hadramaut, to-day surrounded by speakers of South-Arabian. They say *hal lash fī mā qulta lī* 'can you do what you told me?' (for *laka*) and *qultu lash ʾan tajʿala lladhī maʿī fī lladhī maʿash* 'I told you to put my things with yours' (for *laka*, *maʿaka*). The sentences Masʿūdī gives look like those taken from real life, but in their form are certainly not original (cf. § 2 *w*). Suyūṭī (quoted by Anastase, Mashriq, vi, 532) knows of a trait called *fashfashat Shiḥr*, which he identifies with the use of *sh* for *k*. However, neither *shinshinna* nor *fashfasha* seem to be obvious names for such a sound-substitution. We cannot do much with *shinshinna*, for which we can only compare *shanshana* 'rustling' (of paper, of new cloth), but *fashfasha* means 'to scatter' (urine), and may perhaps have meant 'to splutter'. I suggest it is nothing but the next feature.

p The language of Shiḥr and of ʿOman is said to have been marked by a feature called *lakhlakhāniyya* (Thaʿālibī, Fiqh al-lugha, p. 107)[7]. It is explained that they said *māshallāh* instead of *mā shāʾa llāh*. This contraction, which can be heard in any colloquial, would hardly have been worth noting. The term must refer to something of a more general nature. The Yemenite Ibn Duraid (quoted Mukhaṣṣaṣ, ii, 123) applies it to the settled Arab who is showing off (*mutajahwar*) and pretends to speak like a bedouin. In the story in Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 364, the trait is ascribed to the language of the Iraq, but no explanation is given. ʾAbū ʿUbaida (d. 210/825) equates it with *ʿujma* 'talking a foreign language' (Lisān, iv, 20). The same is found in the Qāmūs *s.v.*, where it is added that *lakhlakhānī* means 'speaking incorrect Arabic' (*ghair faṣīḥ*). In a line by Buʿaith (Lisān, iv, 20) *banū l-lakhlakhāniyyāt* seems to mean 'sons of foreign women'. However, *lakhkha fī l-kalām* means 'to speak indistinctly'. In Mishnaic Hebrew *laḥlaḥ* means 'to moisten', and perhaps we have here nothing but a reference to the indistinct consonants and many 'liquid' hissing sounds of South-Arabian languages, which have earned them among Yemenite Arabs the name 'language of birds' (cf. Thomas, Four Strange Tongues, p. 7). It is not easy to see how this description could be applied to the language of Oman.

q In many of our sources the use of the *am-* article (cf. § 4 *r*) is specifically attributed to the language of Himyar. It also occurs in Hamdānī's 'inscriptions' and in the saying of Wahb's mother (cf. § *h*). But the existence of the

same article in the Ṭayyi' dialect prevents us from assuming that *am-* originated in Himyaritic and thence spread to the Arabic dialects. We must wait for further clarification of the relation of the Arabic element in Himyaritic to West-Arabian. In any event, as *han-* was used in the proto-Arabian Liḥyanic (cf. § 4 *s*), its occurence in Himyaritic does not constitute any proof for the West-Arabian character of the latter.

r The first and second persons of the singular perfect had endings with *k* instead of *t*, like Ethiopic and modern South-Arabian (cf. for the latter Leslau, JAOS, lxiii, 7). In the saying of the mother of Wahb b. Munabbih we find *waladku* 'I bore', *ra'aiku* 'I saw'. Similarly in 'inscriptions': *ḥaṣṣanku* 'I fortified', ('Iklīl, p. 26), *bahalku* 'I spoke', cf. Eth. *behla* (ZDMG, xliv, 191). For the second person two instances in the ditty: *'aṣaika* 'thou wast disloyal', *'ataika* (if this means 'thou hast come' rather than 'it has come to thee'). Such forms seem to be quite current to-day in the Yemenite countryside, where they were first heard by Von Maltzan (ZDMG, xxv, 197 and xxvii, 245). He found the 'old South-Arabian verbal suffixes' (*sic*) at Raima, among the Yāfi'ī, Ḥaushabī, Subaiḥī, Qumaishī, and Dhiyābī. Instances he quotes are: *kunk* 'I was', *qulkulek* 'I told thee', *kunk* 'thou wast', *kunkū* 'they were' (should be 'ye were'), *kūnan* 'we were' (but cf. § *t*). From a Yāfi'ī he even heard *'akhadhkes* 'I took it'='*akhadhtuhā* (with *-s*, as in Mehri). Landberg (Dathina, p. 290) emphatically denied all this, saying that during a few hours' stay at Raima he heard no such forms. However, Rossi (RSO, xvii, 258) expressly notes such forms for the Raima district. He heard them all along the Western slope of the Sarāt (*ibid.*, p. 261) i.e., practically in the area over which Himyaritic speech extended in the fourth century. Dr. Serjeant (as he kindly informed me by letter) noted *k-* suffixes in the perfect from the Subaiḥī country and also from the Yarīm district. The survival of these forms, so alien to the forms of Arabic we know from else where, is the strongest evidence for the truth of our theory about the Himyaritic language. An instructive example of the way in which later philologists treated the ancient dialects is the statement in the Lisān (xx, 330) about these forms, where it is simply said that 'some Arabs occasionally substitute *k* for *t*'.

s Were the Himyaritic suffixes borrowed from South-Arabian? It is rare for such basic formative elements to be borrowed. Actually, the *-ku* of the first person, being the oldest ascertainable Semitic form, must have existed in the parent-language of Arabic as well, and its preservation in Himyaritic may be due to the archaic character of that language, which thus would have become separated from the rest of the Arabic area before the *-ku* suffix became replaced by *-tu*. But *-ka* and the plur. *-kun* are certainly secondary developments peculiar to South-Arabian[8] and Ethiopic. We do not know at which place precisely the analogical substitution originated, but like most

linguistic changes it must have spread from somewhere. The focus must have been in South-Arabia, where, as we have seen, South-Arabians and Arabs lived intermingled from ancient times. Linguistic innovations do not always keep to linguistic boundaries: languages spoken in close proximity tend often to pass through similar changes, as e.g., the Balkan languages (cf. K. Sandfeld, Linguistique Balkanique, Paris 1930). The *-ka*, *-kun* suffixes in South-Arabian and Himyaritic may thus be evidence of a Yemenite *Sprachgemeinschaft*, rather than of loan.

t For the first plur. perfect, one of Hamdānī's 'inscriptions' has the form *ḫyw'n*, 'we lived' (Müller, Südar. Studien, p. 17). However we are to read this, it is evident that Hamdānī wanted to indicate that the suffix did not have a long vowel like the Arabic *-nā*. Von Maltzan heard *kunan*, which he translates 'we were' (ZDMG, xxvii, 245). This would fit Hamdānī's form well, which could then be read *ḫaywan* (the *'alif* serving perhaps only to indicate the *a* in an unfamiliar position). But Maltzan also mistranslated the form immediately preceding, *kunkū* (cf. § *r*), and as Rossi (RSO, xvii, 259) gives *sāræn* as third plur. fem. (this is the normal form current all over Yemen), and *sirnā* for the first plur., we must treat Maltzan's statement with suspicion. Perhaps the form in Hamdānī had short *-na*, like Ethiopic, and the *'alif* is to be explained in some other way, but it may have resembled Mehri *ghalōqen*.

u There are thus considerable survivals of the ancient Himyaritic language. Further research on the spot, including an investigation of the language of the tribe who call themselves Himyar to-day, may bring to light a good deal more. Landberg asserts that the colloquial of 'Ibb and Jibla, south of the ancient Ẓafār, has preserved many South-Arabian elements (Arabica, v, 111).

v It is clear that it was from the Himyar that the northern Arabs learned about South-Arabian civilization. South-Arabian words found in the Koran and elsewhere passed first through Himyaritic, where they may have suffered considerable changes. The value of such words for determining the vowels of South-Arabian forms is therefore rather doubtful. On the other hand, many words in Arabic which are generally considered loanwords from Ethiopic may in fact come from Himyaritic. So may some of the originally Aramaic words of religious content, such as *tābūt* 'ark' (but cf. § 10 *v*), since both Judaism and Christianity were strong among the Himyar. The Himyaritic language, in spite of its name for unintelligibility, seems to have been known at Mecca, presumably owing to commercial contacts. The prophet 'aimait beaucoup à se servir de mots Yémanites' (Landberg, Dathina, p. 282). We have already mentioned the saying in Yemenite (Himyaritic?) dialect concerning fasting (§ 4 *t*). Zaid b. Thābit (Lisān, xx, 206) reports that 'I was with the Prophet, who dictated to me a letter, when a man entered.

The Prophet said to him *unṭu*, which means in Himyaritic "be silent".' Ibn al-'A'rābī (d. 231) is quoted (Lisān, *ibid.*) as remarking 'the Prophet did indeed honour the language of Himyar'. Of course, some of these stories may be the inventions of Yemenite patriots. But the Yemenite and South-Arabian words are facts, showing that the Meccans, if not Muhammad personally, had learnt much from Yemen. It seems as if Yemenite words are more frequent in the Suras of the Meccan period than in the Medinean ones. This would fit into this picture. At Medina the Prophet was out of living contact with Yemenites, and learnt his ideas about Biblical and other matters from the local Jews, whose spiritual centre was Tiberias rather than Ẓafār.

NOTES

[1] According to Philby (JRAS, 1945, p. 125) the earliest inscription in which Himyar is mentioned is CIH. 314, under 'Ilushariḥa Yaḥḍub, shortly before 115 B.C., when the Hamdanid dynasty of Saba and Dhū Raidān (cf. Hartmann, Arabische Frage, p. 148) came into power. It is very strange indeed that no inscriptions by Himyarites from times prior to that seem to have been found, though the old Himyar country is one of the most easily accessible parts of the Yemen.

[2] Nashwān (Extr., p. 29) gives *ḥinj* 'like' as a Himyaritic word.

[3] The first hesitating suggestion in that direction was made by Müller (Südarabische Studien, p. 19). Landberg (Arabica, v, 111) proposed a view of the nature of Himyaritic which is substantially the same as that defended here, except that he stresses the element of mixture a great deal more.

[4] The Himyaritic *Qaṣīda* and its commentary (cf. Hartmann, Arab. Frage, p. 319) count the following tribes into Kahlān, the close brother-tribe of Himyar: Judham, Lakhm, Ṭayyi', 'Ash'ar, Madhḥij, Hamdān, Bājila, Khath'am, 'Azd. Discounting some possible additions by genealogical fiction, this list may contain the names of some groups which were closely connected with the Arabic substrate of the Himyar. It would account for the special position of Ṭayyi'. Of course all the more northerly tribes would have been thoroughly arabicized by later immigration.

[5] The title is in all details identical with that of Sharaḥbi'īl Ya'fur in CIH. 540.

[6] The word occurs in a tradition (Muslim, iii, 297), where it was not understood by the commentators (cf. Goldziher, Muh. Studien, ii, 243).

[7] Kofler (WZKM, xlvii, 105) reads this *lajlajāniyya*, referring to Lisān, iii, 179. There we find *lajlaja l-lisānu* 'the tongue was numb' and *lajlāj* 'indistinct of speech, heavy-tongued', but not *lajlajāniyya*. All sources I have seen (including Anastase, Mashriq, vi, 535) have *lakhlakhāniyya*. For *lajlaja* cf. Mishnaic Hebrew and Syriac *laghlēgh* 'speak haltingly, stammer'.

[8] It must be stressed that no forms of the first and second person have ever been found in South-Arabian inscriptions. We merely assume that the *k*-forms were South-Arabian because they are found both in Ethiopic and in all modern South-Arabian dialects.

Chapter 6

ʾAZD

a The ʾAzd dialect is but rarely mentioned where other Yemenite dialects are specified. Even the ʾAzdī Ibn Duraid, with all his ancestral pride, rarely mentions data from his own dialect. Yet the few data we get definitely place the ʾAzd dialect apart from other Yemenite local idioms. It is still impossible to say in which direction these peculiarities point.

b A special problem is the existence of two ʾAzd tribes: ʾAzd Sarāt (ʾAzd Shanuʾa) and ʾAzd ʿUmān. The modern colloquial of Oman is similar to that of Yemen, and we have had, and still shall have, occasion to point out in it survivals of the ancient central Yemenite dialect. For the language of Oman in early Islamic times we have little information. Three words are given as common to the dialects of Oman and Yemen: *ʿinab* 'wine' (for Yemen ʾAbū Ḥanīfa in Tāj, i, 400; for Oman cf. Jeffery, Materials, p. 49), *khamr* 'grapes' (for Yemen ʾAbū Ḥanīfa in Tāj, iii, 187; for Oman aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk, quoted by Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 310 = ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla, p. 149),[1] and *fataḥa* 'to give judgment' (Nashwān, Extr., p. 82). The first two words are somewhat doubtful, but the third is of great interest, as *fataḥa* has that meaning in South-Arabian and Ethiopic, and must have come to the Oman dialect from Yemen. The Omani words listed by Blau (ZDMG, xxvii, 319) are of no help here. There is, however, one rather striking similarity between the ʾAzd Shanuʾa dialect and the language of some inhabitants of Oman (cf. § *f* below). Some of the data for ʾAzd may refer to Oman, but *faute de mieux* we list them here under ʾAzd Shanuʾa.

c The ʾAzd (distinct from Yemen) are listed among the dialects that use *ʾanṭä* instead of *ʾaʿṭä* for 'to give' (cf. § 4 *l*).

d They are not mentioned in the list of ʾAbū Zaid (Lisān, i, 14) among the dialects that elide the *hamza* (cf. § 11 *l*). I do not think any importance can be attached to this omission: probably they were for ʾAbū Zaid part of Yemen.

e The dialect said *ʿisq* 'raceme of dates of poor quality' (Jamhara, iii, 31, MS. K only, from the ʿAin of Khalīl). This may be compared with the common Arabic *ʿidhq* 'raceme of dates'. The *dh* would be replaced here by a sibilant, *ẓ*, as in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Accadian, and further the *ẓ* assimilated to *q*. However, Ibn Duraid quotes from the same dialect the word *miʿdhār* 'veil' (Jamhara, ii, 308; Ishtiqāq, p. 136), with a *dh*. This is not an absolute proof, as Nashwān (Extr., p. 70) and ad-Ḍaḥḥāk (quoted by Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 310), give the same word for Yemen, where the *dh* was preserved, and still is (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xv), as it is also in Oman (Reinhardt, p. 4). The spelling with *dh* for the ʾAzd dialect might thus be etymological. We

cannot decide the question on the one instance of *ʿisq* because it might be a contact change. Finally, we must consider the possibility that *ʿisq* is a different root and the similarity accidental. The Lisān (xii, 122) gives *ʿasaq* 'palm bough (*ʿurjūn*) of poor quality' as a word of the ʾAsad dialect. We must strongly suspect that *ʾasadiyya* is wrong for *ʾazdiyya* (cf. on this confusion Freytag, Einführung, p. 76). Immediately after this the Lisān quotes the Tahdhīb of ʾAzharī: "*asaq* is a palm-bough, and *ʿasaq* is "darkness", like *ghasaq*.' However, *ghasaq* is also 'refuse of wheat', and one wonders whether this is not = ʾAzdī *ʿisq*, and an instance of the change of *gh* to *ʿain* (cf. Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 76). One sees what complications arise in any attempt to evaluate lexicographical data for phonetics or grammar.

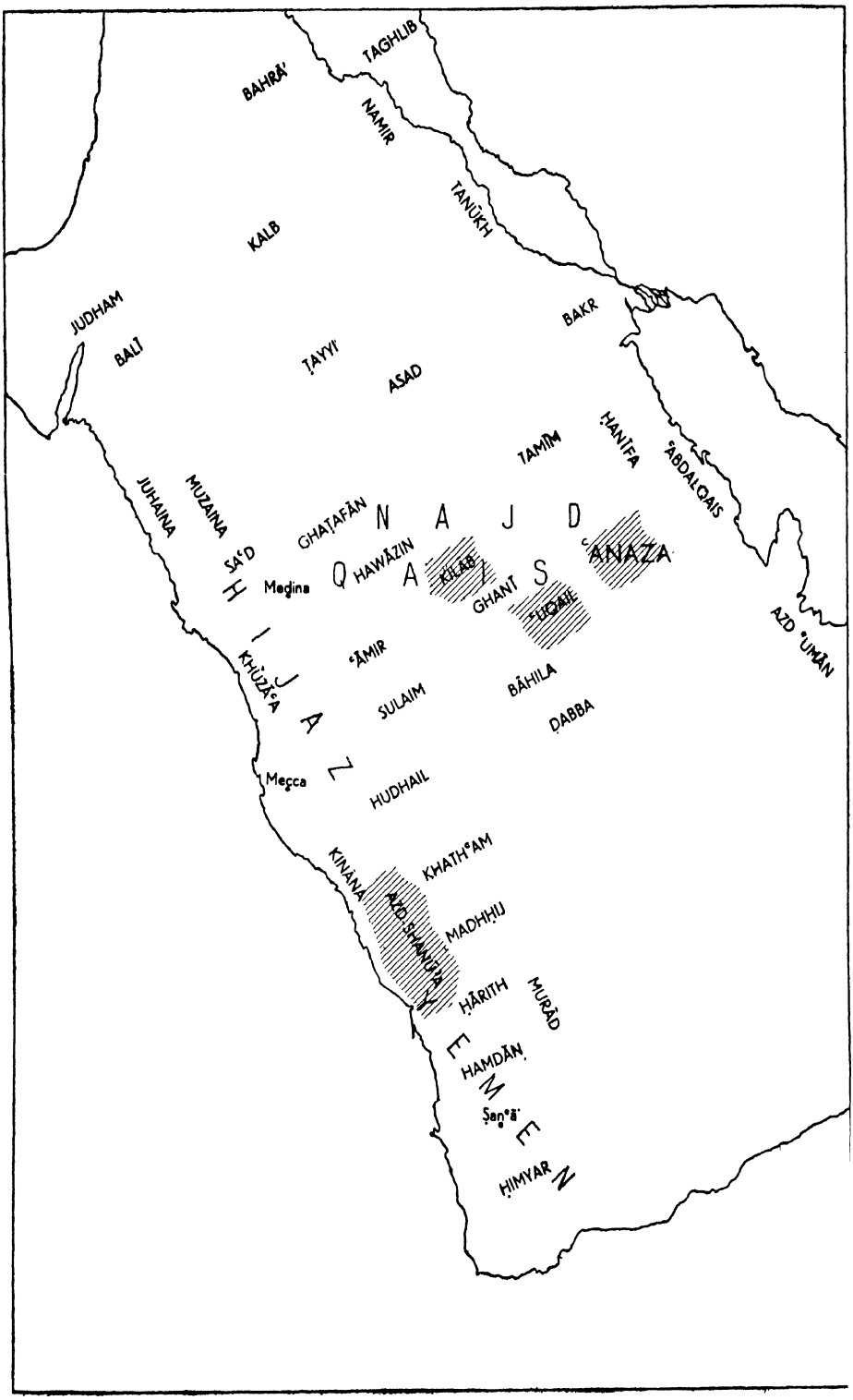
f Another difficulty in taking *ʿisq* as a purely phonetic development of *ʿidhq* lies in the assimilation, which would then be posited, of *z* to *s* before *q*. As we shall see (§ 11 *a*) there is good reason to believe that in West-Arabian *q* was a voiced sound, as it is now in Yemen (cf. Goitein, Jemenica, p. xiv; Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 77; Rossi, RSO, xvii, 235). In the ʾAzd dialect, however, this phoneme seems to have had quite a different fate. Tabrīzī (comm. on Ḥamāsa, p. 244) informs us that the ʾAzd Shanuʾa pronounced the name *quʿṣūṣ* as *juʿṣūṣ*. Palatalization of *q* into *tsh* or *ts* before front-vowels is common in Central-Arabian bedouin colloquials (cf. Socin, Diwan, iii, 195), but this cannot apply to our instance, where *q* is followed by *u*. Only one parallel to this non-conditioned change of *q* into *j* is known to me, namely among the coastal tribes of Oman (Jayakar, BRASB, 1902, p. 653). The *j* for *q* has survived in ʾAzd territory. At Ḥodeida some inhabitants of the city and surrounding country pronounce so in some words, e.g. *jaʿāda* for *qaʿāda* 'bed', *jādirī* for the tribal name *Qādirī* (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 464). At Zabīd there is a tendency to pronounce *j* for *q*, as in *julailāt* 'a few' = *qalīlāt*. We may draw the inference that the old dialect usage has been given up under the pressure of surrounding forms of speech. An old witness for palatalized *q* is the word *qāt* 'celastrus edulis', the drug plant of Yemen, which appears as ጫት *ʿǎt* in the Ethiopic chronicle of ʿĀmda Ṣĕyon (14th cent.; ed. Perruchon, JA, 1889, p. 282, l. 6). We may assume that the Arab immigrants to Ethiopia came largely from the coastal districts of Yemen. This detail is a surprising confirmation of the link between the two ʾAzd tribes. It is important to note that the assimilatory palatalization of *q* is restricted to Central Arabian bedouins and their Syrian offshoots (cf. Cantineau, Parlers, p. 33 *seq.*). We shall have further occasion to refer to their linguistic connections with the West-Arabian group. It is highly probable that the non-conditioned change in the ʾAzd dialect was preceded by a stage in which the change took place only before front vowels. Cantineau (Parlers, p. 39; Ḥoran, p. 123) found with the recently settled bedouins of the Ḥauran a tendency to turn the assimilatory palatalization of *k* (and *q*?) into an absolute

one, i.e., to say not only *dīč* 'cock', but also *dyūč* in the plural, instead of the *dyūk* of the bedouins. The social conditions of the 'Azd may have been similar, and produced a similar disturbance of phonetic balance.

g Al-'Akhfash (the Middle, d. 221/836) reported that the 'Azd Sarāt preserved in pause not only the *-ā* of the accusative, but also the case-vowels of the nominative and genitive, saying *hādhā Zaidū* 'this is Zaid' and *hādhā ʿAmrū* 'this is 'Amr' (Sībawaihi, ii, 307; Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 1271). The *-ā* of the accusative, though not pronounced in any style of reading Arabic to-day, was according to the grammarians dropped in pause only in the Rabīʿa dialect in Mesopotamia ('Azharī, Tamrīn aṭ-ṭullāb, p. 27; Suyūṭī, Bahja, p. 17, both no doubt based on Ibn Mālik's view as incorporated in 'Alfiyya, line 79), and perhaps in context, along with the other case-vowels, in the Tamīm dialect in Najd and Yamāma ('Abū 'Amr, handed down by Ibn Mālik, quoted by Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, i, 54, cf. additional evidence in Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, p. 9). Koranic spelling, which no doubt reflects the Hijazi usage of its time, shows that the *-an* in the accusative of triptote indefinite nouns was in pause sounded as *-ā*. The 'Azd dialect, therefore, did the same in the case of *-un* and *-in*, sounding them in pause as *-ū* and *-ī*. This is obviously connected with the custom of Nabataean inscriptions of spelling Arabic proper names, whether triptote or diptote, whatever their case, and whether provided with feminine *t* or not, with a final *w* (Cantineau, Nabatéen, ii, 165 ff.). An instance of this of a much earlier time is Nehemiah, vi, 6, where the name of the Arab chieftain, who elsewhere appears as *geshem*, is written *gashmū* (*gshmw*) in the context of an official document, at first written no doubt in Aramaic.[2] The name is probably Arabic *Jushamu* (cf. the Septuagint transcr. γοσεμ), and therefore diptote. The custom of writing Arabic names with *w* was thus established as early as the middle of the 5th century B.C. We must, therefore, envisage the possibility that in later times it was kept up as a tradition, not as a rendering of contemporary Arabic. In the almost entirely Arabic inscription of Al-Ḥijr of A.D. 267 (cf. ZAss., xxii, 194; Rev. Bibl., 1908, p. 242; Comptes Rendus Ac. d. Inscr., 1908, p. 270) we find *kʿbw*, *ʿbdmnwtw* (diptote genitive), *'l-ḥjrw*, and perhaps (according to Chabot's reading) *qbrw* (nom.) and *'l-qbrw* (acc.: Lidzbarski read in both places *qbwr*), but *ḥrtt* = *Ḥārithatu* and *lqṣ* (both in the genitive). This inscription is particularly important because it has one line in Thamudic: *'n lqḍ bnt ʿbdmnt* (corresponding to *lqṣ brt ʿbdmnwtw* in the Nabataean characters). One cannot help feeling that there is some inconsistency with regard to the *-w*.[3] Sixty years later, in the inscription of An-Namāra of A.D. 328 (Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, ii, 34), the (in Classical Arabic) triptote names *ʿAmr*, *Nizār*, *Maʿadd*, *Maḥāj* are all written with final *w*, though they are in oblique cases, but the diptote *Shammar* and the determinate *al-Qais* have no *w*. We may thus assume that at some time

between 400 B.C. and A.D. 300 a change occurred in the treatment of the *iʿrāb* vowels. We can identify it with the rise of the diptote declension and the differentiation between determinate and indeterminate nouns. This was reflected in the difference of spelling as it still is in the difference made between ʿ*mrw* = ʿ*Amrun* and ʿ*mr* = ʿ*Umaru*. But just as the *w* in ʿ*Amr* does not represent a sound, but is a conventional mark for something not expressed by *w* in any other context, so the differentiation observable in the An-Namāra inscription may express something quite different than the spelling suggests. That it does not represent a long *u* is obvious from the fact that it stands with words in the genitive and accusative. But at some time in history, when the spelling was first adopted, the *w* must have had a phonetic value, namely *-ū*, in the nominative, presumably in pause as well as in context. Brockelmann (GVG, i, 460) suggests that the *ʾiʿrāb* vowels were anceps, elsewhere (*ibid.*, i, 83) he claims the *a* of the accusative was lengthened in pause. The whole conception of 'anceps' vowels is to-day being abandoned (cf. Cantineau, BSL, xxxviii, 148), and it is becoming increasingly clear that pausal forms mostly represent an older stage of the language than context forms. The long vowels would obviously have been shortened through the addition of *-n*, by which they came to stand in a closed syllable, and in the status constructus, where they were mostly followed by the definite article, i.e., again stood in a closed syllable. This shortening process preceded that in the case of words determined by the definite article. Last of all came the shortening, and finally the elision, of these vowels in pause. The ʾAzd dialect thus represents an archaic state of things which in the Syrian desert had perhaps passed away before A.D. 328. As the Arabic substrate dialect of Nabataean and the language of king Imrulqais at an-Namāra probably belonged to the 'proto-Arabian' dialects, like the Thamudic of the authors of the inscription of al-Ḥijr, this similarity may lead us to surmise that the special position of the ʾAzd dialect within Yemen was due to its being 'proto-Arabian'. The ʾAzd would thus possibly belong to the same group of early Arab settlers as the Himyar. The genealogy connecting the two (cf. note § 5 *f*) may thus contain a grain of truth. The present-day colloquial of the old ʾAzd country, in Hodeida and part of the Tihāma, still pronounces nouns in the indeterminate state with a final *-u*: they say *burru* 'wheat', but *al-burr* 'the wheat' (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 465; *ibid.*, p. 264; Landberg, Langue arabe, p. 14, 16).

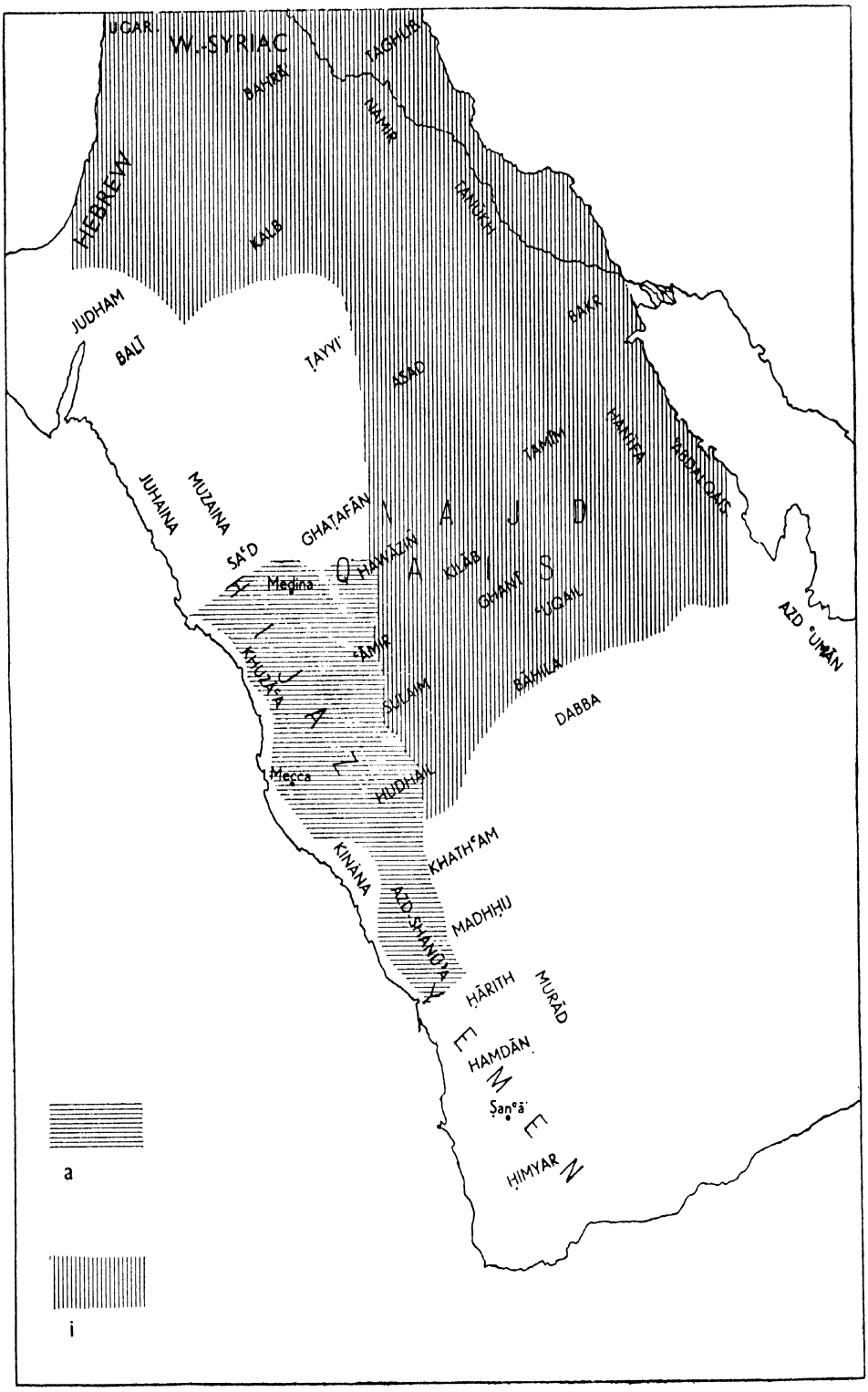
h The suffix-pronoun *-hu* could in the ʾAzd dialect be shortened in context to *-h* (Ibn Jinnī in Lisān, xx, 367). Earlier evidence is available in two verses quoted by Ibn Duraid as *shawāhid* for ʾAzdi words. In connection with *miṭw* 'companion' he quotes: *fa-bittu* (Lisān: *ʂaltu*) *ladā l-baiti l-ḥarāmi ʾukhīluhu/wa-miṭwāya mushtāqāni lah ʾariqāni* 'I stayed all night near the sanctuary, looking out for it (a thunderstorm), while my two


BAHRĀ'
TAGHLIB
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
JUDHAM
BALĪ
ṬAYYI'
ASAD
BAKR
ḤANĪFA
'ABDALQAIS
TAMĪM
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
SA'D
GHAṬAFĀN
N A J D
ANAZA
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ṬUFAIL
Medina
Q A S I M
AZD 'UMĀN
KHUZĀ'A
'ĀMIR
SULAIM
BĀHILA
ḌABBA
Meçca
HUDHAIL
KINĀNA
KHATH'AM
'AD. SHANŪ'A
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣan'ā'
ḤIMYAR
Y A M A N

companions were longing for it, lying awake' (Jamhara, iii, 118). To *lah* he remarks 'thus is his dialect'. The poet's name, given in the printed Jamhara as Yaʿlā b. al-ʾAḥwal al-Shukrī, is ʾAghānī, xix, 111 (where the dialect form is eliminated by writing *min shauqin lahu*) given as al-Yashkurī. The Yashkur b. ʿAmr were closely connected with Kināna. Another, anonymous, verse is quoted in connection with *fūma* 'ear of corn' (Jamhara, iii, 160, from the Kitāb al-majāz of ʾAbū ʿUbaida): *wa-qāla rabīʿuhum lammā ʾatānā/ bi-kaffih fūmatun ʾau fūmatāni* 'their scout said when he came to us with an ear of corn or two in his hand'. Ibn Duraid adds: 'the *h* of *kaffih* is without vowel (*khuffifa*), thus is his dialect'. In contrast to the preceding verse, where *lahu* would upset the metre, there is no necessity for the short form here; its preservation must, therefore, rest on tradition. This shortening and elision of the vowel of *-hu* after short vowel is contrary to the rules elaborated for Arabic by Fischer (Haupt Memorial Volume, p. 402). but appears to be in agreement with the rules for early Aramaic as stated by Cantineau (BSL, xxxviii, 152). The ʾAzd were, however, not alone in this respect. Not only were forms like this read by reputable Koran-readers: the Kufans Ḥamza and ʾAbū ʿAmr, but also the Medinean ʾAbū Jaʿfar (d. 130/748; Lisān, xx, 368), but we have it on the authority of al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805) that they were used by the ʿUqail and Kilāb tribes in Najd and Yamama, who spoke Eastern dialects (Lisān, xx, 367; cf. also ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 11). Sībawaihi (ii, 313) quotes a verse[4] lampooning the ʿAnaza, then living in Yamāma (Hamdānī, Jazīra, p. 162, 172), now in the Syrian desert, in which the same peculiarity is exhibited (cf. map No. 5). We can discount the Koran-readings, especially as they are principally by Kufan readers, as proof that the *-h* suffix was current anywhere else in West-Arabian. The forms of the Lakhm or ʿAbdalqais dialect, falsely attributed to the Yemen (cf. § 4 *z*), show that in other Eastern dialects the suffix form was *-uh*, corresponding to the *-o(h)* now found in most colloquials and to the *-ō* (archaic *-ōh*) of Hebrew. No clear principle can be discerned in the distribution of the *-h* form. We do not know the vowel of the suffix in the proto-Arabian dialects, but scattered as they are over disconnected parts of Arabia, the places where the short form is used make the impression of being remnants of a formerly solid territory. Outside Arabia, the only certain parallel is Aramaic, with its *-ēh*, developed out of *-ih* (Bauer-Leander, Gramm. d. Bibl. Aram., p. 78). This arose by the addition of *-h* to the status absolutus, which, as we know from cuneiform transcriptions, ended in early times in *-i* (cf. Gordon, AfO, xii, 114, § 60).[5] A form very similar to the Aramaic: *-e*, from *-ih*, is used in Syrian and Palestinian Fellaheen colloquials (Driver, Grammar, p. 28). Elsewhere forms of the type *-ah* are used, mostly in areas where Yemenite influence is strong (Iraq, North-West Africa) and in some parts of Yemen (Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 50). A feature which may

Prefix-vowel of the *a*- imperfect (§6i)

Map No. 6

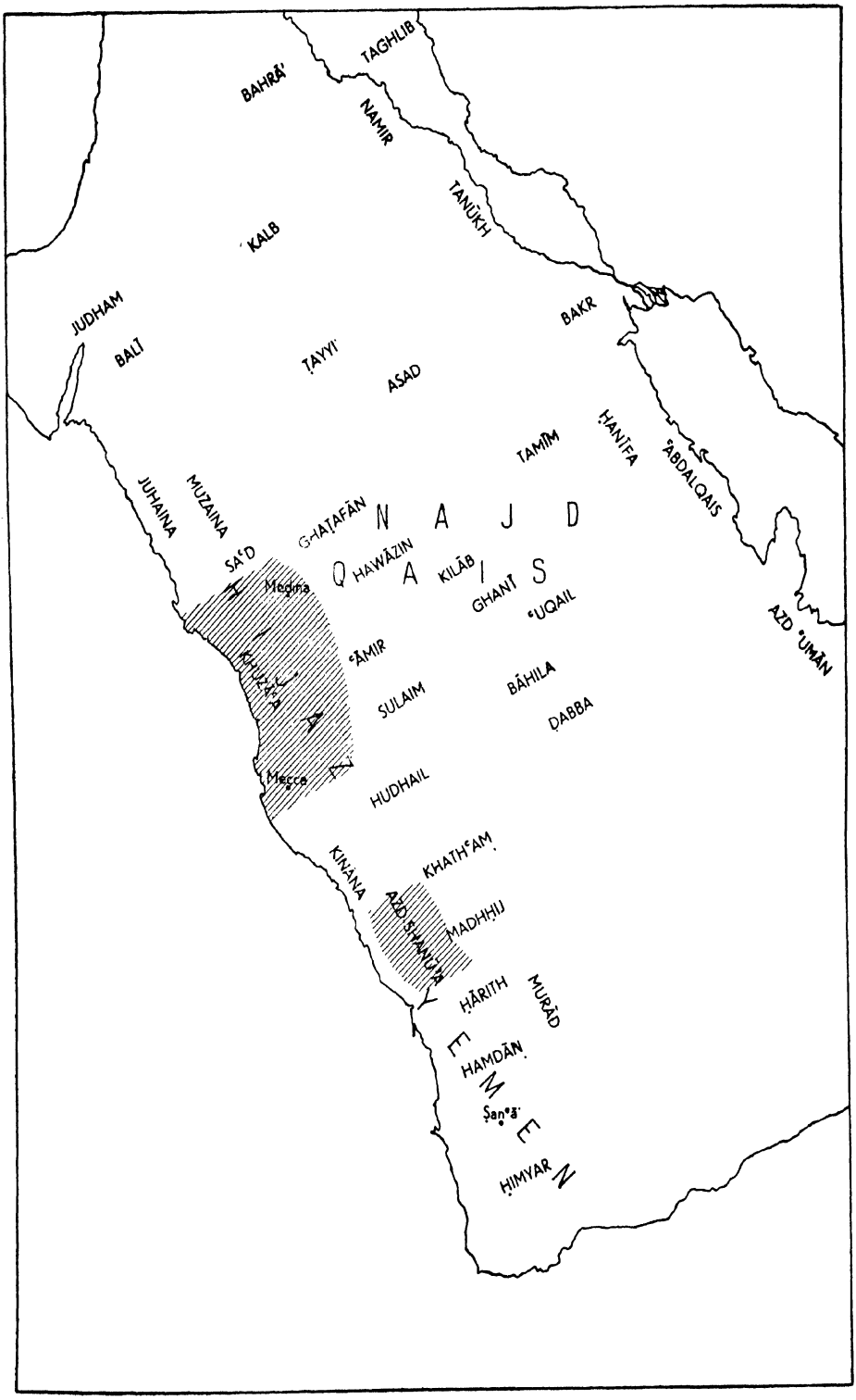


have more historical significance than we can at present ascertain, is the distinction in certain colloquials between two forms for different styles. The Ẓafār colloquial in Southern Yemen has mostly *-ah* in prose, but *-uh* in its archaic quantitative poetry (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 107). In Najd, on the contrary, *-uh* appears in prose, *-ah* in poetry (Socin, Diwan, iii, § 148 *e*).[6]

i The prefixes of the *a*-imperfects of all stems had the vowel *a* (as in Classical Arabic) in the dialects of the Hijaz, with some of the ʾaʿjāz Hawāzin, the ʾAzd Sarāt, and part of Hudhail, while the dialects of Qais, Tamīm, ʾAsad, Rabīʿa, and the *''ānmat al-ʿarab'* had *i* in those prefixes (the so-called *Taltala*), except for the third persons masculine (ʾAbū ʿAmr in Lisān, xx, 283, cf. map No. 6). Other sources restrict the area of the *a*-prefixes to the Hijaz alone (cf. § 12 *p*). ʾAbū Zaid (quoted Lisān, *loc. cit.*) even said that all proverbial sayings which originated from the Arabs should be pronounced with *i*-prefixes. The *i*-prefixes occur also in Hebrew, Western Aramaic, and Ugaritic. In the Qudaʿa dialects, which bordered on the Canaanite area, the third person also had *i*, and there is reason to believe that the whole differentiation between the prefixes of the two imperfect types arose secondarily within a circumscribed area and spread through the Qudaʿa territory into the Eastern and Central Arabic dialects (cf. the present writer's article in Journal of Jewish Studies, i, 26). The *a*-prefixes were thus old-inherited in Arabic, and their preservation in the ʾAzd dialect marks its archaic state, not necessarily its West-Arabian origin. It may be noted here that the omission of Yemen from the list does not necessarily mean that there *i*-prefixes were used. We have no evidence either way, but it is probable that it went with the rest of West-Arabian. The omission of Tayyiʾ, on the other hand, may mean that that dialect, bordering on the Qudaʿa area, had also adopted the *i*-prefixes. These seem to have penetrated further during the Middle Ages, but the differentiation is in most colloquials obscured by phonetic factors. Further investigation on this point is necessary.

k We have a further confirmation of the use of *a*-prefixes in the ʾAzd dialect. In connection with the reading *nistaʿīnu* for *nastaʿīnu* 'we ask for help' (Koran, i, 4), Farrāʾ is quoted by Suyūṭī (Muzhir, i, 152, from the Fiqh al-lugha of Ibn Fāris) as saying that the *na-* form was used only in Quraish and ʾAsad. The ʾAsad dialect is expressly included among those which had *i*-prefixes, not only in ʾAbū ʿAmr's list, but also by Farrāʾ himself (quoted Ibn Fāris, Ṣāḥibī, p. 19, 23; also Ibn Hishām, Bānat Suʿād, p. 97; Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 20). Obviously we must read here ʾAzd instead of ʾAsad (cf. § *e* above).

l One *'Taltala'* form is current in Classical Arabic, namely *'ikhālu* 'methinks'. This was used in the Western dialects of Hudhail and Ṭayyiʾ, and probably was not a *Taltala* form at all, but had another origin (cf. § 8 *bb*). The ʾAsad dialect alone is said to have used *'akhālu* instead (Ibn Hishām,


BAHRĀʾ
TAGHLIB
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
JUDHAM
BALĪ
ṬAYYIʾ
ASAD
BAKR
ḤANĪFA
ʿABDALQAIS
TAMĪM
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
GHAṬAFĀN
NAJD
SAʿD
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
Medina
ʿĀMIR
SULAIM
BĀHILA
ḌABBA
Mecca
HUDHAIL
KHATHʿAM
KINĀNA
ʿAZD SHANŪʾA
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣanʿā
ḤIMYAR
AZD ʿUMĀN

Bānat Suʿād, p. 96; Marzūqī in Tāj, vii, 313; Miṣbāḥ, p. 277). Since the ʾAsad, belonging to the *Taltala* area, would hardly have been likely to use just this one non-*Taltala* form, it is to be suspected that through an old scribal fault ʾAsad has come to stand for ʾAzd. This is all the more likely as traces of *ʾakhālu* can also be found in connection with the Hijaz. Whether we consider *ʾakhālu* an innovation on the analogy of the imperfect, or an archaic form, the collocation of ʾAzd and Quraish makes geographical sense. With Hudhail and Tayyiʾ using the common Arabic *ʾikhālu*, however, the situation within West-Arabian in this respect is somewhat complicated (cf. map No. 7).

NOTES

[1] The word *khamr* 'wine' is probably of Aramaic origin, cf. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, p. 125.

[2] Bauer and Leander (Histor. Gramm., p. 525) cite two further instances, neither of which is acceptable. *Bōkhrū* (1 Chr., viii, 38) seems to be nothing but *bĕkhōrō* 'his firstborn' (cf. the LXX and the following verse). The pointing of MT is due to the desire to bring the number up to six—the sixth son (in LXX Ασα) having been lost. *Mĕlīkhū* (Neh., xii, 14) should be read (with *kethīb* and LXX) *mallūkh(ī)*. In any case, both names are those of Jews.

[3] Similar lack of consistency can be noticed already in the early Syriac inscriptions (cf. Pognon, Inscr. sém. I, Paris 1907). Normally we have final *w*: *Maʿnū*, *Sharīdū* (A.D. 73), *Muqīmū*, *Raḥbū* (A.D. 201). The last named is feminine and therefore would be diptote. But in a connected group of texts (Nos. 3–5), *Wāʾil* is written without *w*, though in Sinaitic inscriptions it has *w*. To illustrate the confusion, one name is *wʾl br mwtrw*. In Palmyrene occasionally *Maʿnū* without *w*. Cf. Nöldeke, ZAss., xxi, 153.

[4] By Ziyād al-ʾAʿjamu, an Umayyad poet of ʿĀmir, a client of the ʿAbdalqais.

[5] A rather different view of the origin of the Aramaic form is proposed by Brockelmann (GVG, i, 312).

[6] It might be considered whether, since *-ih* and *-ah* represent the genitive and accusative, one should not take colloquial Arabic *-uh*, *-oh* (often with audible *h*) and Hebrew *-ō(h)* as representing the nominative *-u+h* rather than as contractions of *-a(h)u*, as Brockelmann does (cf. also Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 226).

Chapter 7
NORTHERN YEMEN

a The dialects spoken in the northern half of Yemen and in what is now called Tihāma and Asir have so many features in common that they form a well-defined group, distinct both from central Yemenite to the south and from the Hudhail-Hijaz group to the north, though they have close contacts with both. Indeed, we shall see when dealing with the Hijaz that the philologists often attributed Hijazi (Meccan) dialect features to the Kinana dialect. We may, therefore, assume that the northern Yemenites were a West-Arabian group recently arrived in those regions (whose former inhabitants may well have been relations of the ʾAzd). They may be connected with the Arab element that we identified (§ 5 *e*) as constituting the non-Himyaritic part of the population of the areas with *taḥmīr*, or semi-Himyaritic dialects. Hamdānī in his Jazīra mentions scattered groups of the northern Yemenite tribes as far south as Hadramaut. Indeed, the existence of some of the features described in this chapter in the modern colloquial of Hadramaut suggests that the Arab population of that country was recruited from the same wave as that which brought the north-Yemenite tribes. On the other hand, certain features common to northern Yemen and Tayyiʾ show that the north-Yemenite tribes immigrated there before the period during which the central West-Arabian dialects of Hudhail and Hijaz were subject to Eastern influence.

b The fullest list of tribes in this group (§ *f* below) mentions Kināna, Ḥārith, Khathʿam, Hamdān, ʿAnbar, Hujaim, Zubaid, Murād, and ʿUdhra. Only the first four are mentioned with any frequency. This does not imply that where only one or two of the dialects are mentioned the point in question does not apply to all of them. It is also likely that some of the data given for the Yemen or 'some Yemenites' do in fact refer only to this group. Pre-Islamic references to these tribes are scarce and uncertain. The 'sons of Hamdān' who play such an important role in Sabaean history certainly had no direct connection with the Arab tribe (cf. Hartmann, Arab. Frage, p. 264). Only the Dhū-Hamdān mentioned in the ʾAbrahā inscription of A.D. 543 (CIH, 541, line 85) may possibly be identified with the latter. It is likely, however, that the Arab Hamdān took their name from the South-Arabian *shaʿb*, as the Arab Ḥimyar did from the Homeritae. An interesting passage in ʾArḥabīʾs ʾAkhbār Mukhtāra (quoted by Müller, Sab. Denkmäler, p. 38, note 1) tells how the Hamdān, bedouins living in hair tents, occupied at first the high regions and fought the kings of Himyar (perhaps the South-Arabian Hamdān barons) until they succeeded in settling in the Jauf. In a letter of the Syrian bishop Simeon of Bēth ʾArshām, referring to A.D. 524,

the name of the then king of Najran is given as ʿḤārīth bar Kaʿb' (ed. Guidi, Ac. dei Lincei, Rome 1881, p. 9 and p. 20, note 3), which is generally taken as an early reference to the Ḥārith tribe. In Glaser 1000A, line 9, *ḥrthw* is enumerated among various parts of *dtnt* = Dathina. Grohmann (in Rhodokanakis, Altsab. Texte, p. 131) identifies this with a small group of Ḥārith tribesmen in this region which Hamdānī mentions (Jazīra, p. 81, 3). This tribal splinter would thus have maintained itself for over 1000 years! But the *ḥrthw* of Gl. 1000A are settled people, possessing towns and cultivated valleys, and have probably no connection at all with the Balḥārith.

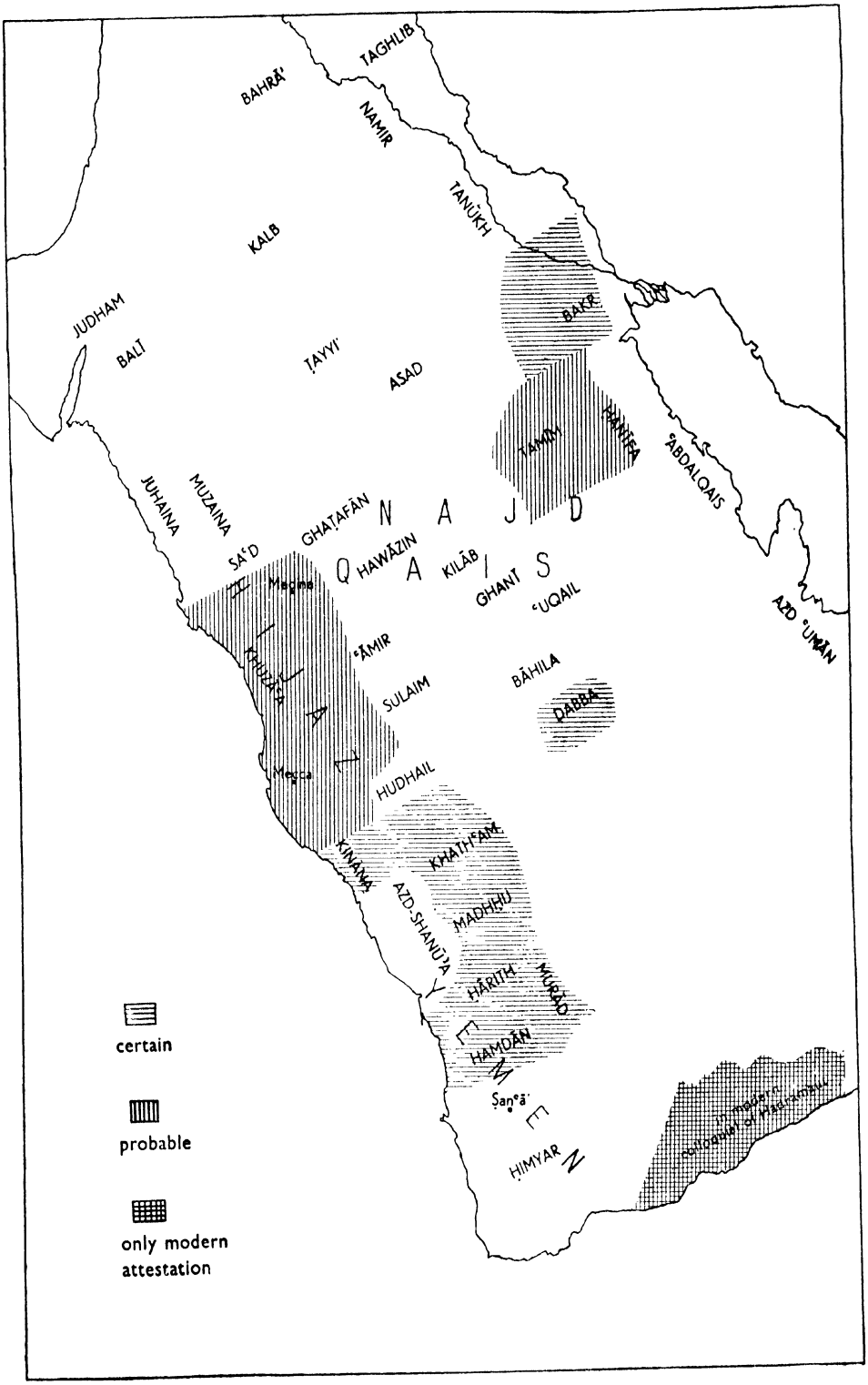
c The only information about consonant-phonemes in this region is a note by Jumaḥī (in Dīwān Hudhail, i, 73) that the Kinana, like the Hudhail, said *yāziʿahum* 'their protector' instead of *wāziʿahum*. The word will be discussed later (§ 8 *k*) in its wider setting. We cannot say whether the Kinana dialect also participated in the other changes affecting the semivowels in the Hudhail dialect.

d The Harith said *baqā* 'he remained' for *baqiya* (Lisān, xviii, 85), and *fanā* for *faniya* 'passed away' (Lisān, xx, 23; the text is corrupt). They thus had the change *iya* > *ā* like the Tayyiʾ (cf. § 14 *i*). This, although these verbs were treated differently in Hijaz (§ 12 *w*), was probably an old West-Arabian development shared with Canaanite (cf. Melilah, ii, 247).

e According to ʾAbū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 58) and Ibn Fāris (Ṣāḥibī, p. 20), *ai* was in the Harith dialect contracted into a sound written *ā*—which might have been phonetic *ā* or *ǣ*, but must have been felt to be quite distinct from the *ē* into which this diphthong is normally contracted in the colloquials. Instances given are *ʿalāhā* 'upon her' for *ʿalaihā*, and *salām ʿalākum* 'peace upon you' for *ʿalaikum*. Khalīl (quoted ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 124) cites as dialect forms, without specifying their provenance, *ʾilāka* 'to thee' for *ʾilaika*, *ladāka* 'with thee' for *ladaika*, and *ʿalāka* 'upon thee' for *ʿalaika*. The modern Hadramaut colloquial contracts *ai* into *ǣ*, e.g. *ǣḍā* 'also' = *ʾaiḍan*, *ʿǣn* 'eye' = *ʿain* (Landberg, Arabica, iii, 38).[1] It is significant in this connection that the Jewish colloquial of Central Yemen, which is one of the few Arabic colloquials to preserve *ai* as a diphthong, at the same time also occasionally contracts it into *a* or *ā*, e.g., *wān* 'where', *ʿān* 'the letter *ʿain*', *mā ʾilak* 'what has it to do with you?' = *ʾilaik* (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xvii). Hebrew, too, reconstituted *ai* as against Canaanite *ē*, e.g., Tell-Amarna *giezi*, Hebrew *qayiṣ*, and at the same time some Hebrew forms show contraction of *ai* into *ā* (Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 202). These may, as Bauer and Leander suggest, be dialect forms, but on the analogy of Jewish Yemenite we may also assume that the contraction to *ā* took place facultatively under conditions not yet ascertained. In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, which often preserves *ai* as against other Aramaic dialects, contraction into *ā* is not rare (cf. instances in Dalman, Gramm., p. 90). It is,

Extension of oblique dual in *-āni* (§7f)

Map No. 8



therefore, not necessary to consider that Targumic Aramaic *ʿalāhā* 'upon her' is due to assimilation, as Cantineau does (BSL, xxxviii, 160, note 1). Indeed we have here a form corresponding precisely to those cited for the Harith dialect. In the Harith dialect, too, not every *ai* need have been thus contracted. Thus the form *kilai* discussed below (§ *i*) may really have been pronounced with *ai* in the dialect. We get nowhere any direct information as to whether other north-Yemenite dialects had the same feature. Its existence in present-day Hadramaut speaks for a wider extension. So does its inclusion in the poem discussed in § *h* below, which does not seem to be specifically aimed at Harith.

f The dual had in northern Yemen only one form for the nominative and the oblique cases, namely *-āni*, in the construct state *-ā*. The earliest information about this comes from al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) in his Koran commentary (on xx, 63, quoted by Beck, Orientalia, xv, 181) who heard about it from a man of 'al-ʾAsad' (should no doubt be al-ʾAzd, as *ʾAsad* never has the article)[2] and quotes a line by an anonymous Harithi (the one beginning *fa-ʾaṭraqa* below, § *h*). Only the Harith are mentioned by ʾAbū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 58), ʾAkhfash (in Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 37), Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 3 *b*), and ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 172). Lisān (xvi, 172) adds Kinana. Hamdānī (Jazīra, p. 135) and Suyūṭī (Jamʿ, i, 21; ʾItqān, p. 192) have Harith, Kinana, and Khathʿam. The fullest list is Jamʿ, i, 40, where besides all the tribes enumerated in § *b* of this chapter the form is ascribed to the Eastern dialects of Bakr ibn Wāʾil and some clans of Rabīʿa. A case of this appears also in a poem by the Tamīmī Jarīr (Lisān, xii, 35 quoted § 14 *r*).

g The same single form for all cases of the dual was also used by some other tribes, who, however, coupled this with a different treatment of the final vowel, either having always *-āna* (ʾUshmūnī, i, 71; ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 172) or inflecting the ending as a triptote *rajulānu*, *rajulāni*, *rajulāna*, or *-ānun*, etc., as some Arabs are supposed to have done with the sound masculine plural (Ṣabbān, i, 71). According to Howell (iv, 26) Ibn ʿAqīl ascribed this form to the Ḍabba, north-west of the Empty Quarter. The word Ḍabba is not found in the printed texts of Ibn ʿAqīl. If the localization is correct, we would obtain an area for the extension of the single form in the dual which cuts across all dialect-group boundaries (cf. map No. 8). Moreover, it is not unlikely that the *-āni* for the oblique dual was also current in Hijaz (cf. § 12 *m*), though the evidence there is not decisive. Among modern colloquials, only that of Hadramaut has *-ān* for the dual (in all cases of course)—it is not quite clear whether the vowel is pure *ā* or the *ǣ* which appears as a contraction of *ai* (cf. Landberg, Hadramaut, p. 352).[3] The wide extension of the single form in the dual precludes any thought that this was mere phonetic substitution of *-āni* for *-aini* in the

oblique case. Rather, it bears out the opinion of Kaila (Z. Syntax d. in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens, etc., Helsingfors, 1906, p. 10, etc.) that the differentiation of cases in the Semitic dual and sound masculine plural is a late innovation (against this view cf. Kampffmeyer, ZDMG, liv, 657, and Cuny, La catégorie du duel, Bruxelles, 1931, p. 13). For South-Semitic this is confirmed by South-Arabian (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 457). The use of *-aini* for the oblique cases of the dual is thus in Arabic a comparatively late innovation which penetrated from the general direction of the Syrian desert both into the West-Arabian and the Eastern areas, but did not reach certain outlying dialects in both. The existence of such disconnected areas of older usage on the fringe of the territory of a language is a well-known phenomenon of linguistic geography.

h For this, the best-attested peculiarity of northern Yemenite, we are also in possession of a number of *shawāhid*. Farrā' quotes a sentence he heard: *hādhā khaṭṭu yadā 'akhī 'a'rifuhu* 'this is the script of my brother's hands, I know it well' (cf. Orientalia, xv, 181). He further quotes an anonymous verse (also 'Ushmūnī, i, 71): *fa-'aṭraqa 'iṭrāqa sh-shujā'i wa-lau ra'ä/ masāghan li-nābāhu sh-shujā'u la-ṣammama* 'he lowered his head like a *shujā'*-snake, and had the *sh.* but seen a point of attack for its fangs, it would have snapped', with *nābāhu* for *nābaihi*. This line is by the Eastern Arab al-Mutalammis (I, 14, ed. Vollers, Beitr. z. Ass., v, p. 170). 'Azharī is quoted (Tāj, viii, 369) as saying that Farrā' cited the line in this way, according to an 'ancient dialect of some Arabs'. This goes to support the claim of Suyūṭī that the usage was also Eastern. Another line was also first cited by Farrā' (Sībawaihi, i, 27; Zajjājī, Jumal, p. 63, and in many other places): *'idhā mittu kāna n-nāsu ṣinfāni shāmitun/wa-'ākharu mūthnin billadhī kuntu 'aṣna'u* 'when I die, men will be of two classes, he who rejoices at my misfortune and another who praises what I have accomplished'[4]. In the ensuing discussions the possibility of *ṣinfāni*, for *ṣinfaini*, being a dialect form is not mentioned anywhere, as far as I know. The third *shāhid* is the line quoted by Ibn 'Aqīl, supposedly for the Ḍabba dialect (cf. § *g*): *'uḥibbu minki l-'anfa wal-'aināna/wa-mankharaini* (*sic*) *'ashbahā ẓ-ẓubyāna* 'I love your[5] nose and your eyes, and your nostrils resembling those of gazelles', with *'aināna* for *'ainaini*, and presumably originally *mankharāna* for *mankharaini*. Another anonymous line is quoted by Ibn Fāris (Ṣāḥibī, p. 20), with *baina 'udhnāhu* for *baina 'udhnaihi* 'between his ears'. Lastly, there exists a series of verses, a veritable gallery of north-Yemenite peculiarities, which was probably composed as a parody of those dialects. The first source for it seems to be Khalīl (d. 175/791), who cites it merely as typical of the dialect of an unspecified group of 'some Arabs'. Later 'Abū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 58) ascribed it to a Yemenite; Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 522) to the Ḥārith dialect, but in another place to Ru'ba, of the Ḍabba tribe. There

is nothing inherently impossible in connecting the lines with Ḍabba. When ʾAbū Ḥātim asked ʾAbū ʿUbaida (d. 210/825) about them, the latter answered: 'Put dots over it (*unquṭ ʿalaihi*; to mark it as doubtful). This is a fabrication of al-Mufaḍḍal' (Lisān, xix, 322). Even if Mufaḍḍal invented them, the lines have some value as showing what he (who died 170/787) considered salient features of the dialect in question. As he was of Ḍabba himself, they may really refer to the language of that tribe. The doggerel occurs in many other places. I give here all the available lines; variants in brackets:

ʾayya qalūṣi rākibin tarāhā (*qalūṣin rākiban*)
shālū ʿalāhunna fa-shul ʿalāhā (*ṭārū; fa-ṭir*)
wa-shdud bi-mathnai ḥaqabin ḥiqwāhā (cf. § 8 *r*)
nājiyatan wa-nājiyan ʾabāhā (*nādiyatan; nādiyan*)[6]
ʾinna ʾabāhā wa-ʾabā ʾabāhā
qad balaghā fī l-majdi ghāyatāhā

'What do you think of her as a young she-camel for a rider?
They put their saddles upon them, put yours on her,
And tie with a double saddle strap her flanks—
Since she is swift and her sire was swift.
Verily her sire and her grandsire
Have reached the two pinnacles of noble breeding'.

i In literary Arabic *kilā* 'both' is unchangeable when it is followed by a noun, but has an oblique case *kilai-* when followed by a pronominal suffix. In the Kinana dialect, according to Farrāʾ (in the Vienna MS. of Ibn Qutaiba, ʾAdab al-kātib, p. 285) it had also before a noun the form *kilai* in the genitive, but remained *kilā* in the accusative. Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 3 *b*; cf. ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 32; Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, i, 41) states that *kilai* was used both for genitive and accusative, but this seems to be one of the systematizing efforts of which Ibn Mālik was so fond when dealing with dialects. This appears to contradict all that has been said in the last paragraphs about the dual in those dialects, but only if one takes *kilā* (*kilāni*) as a true dual form (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 456; ii, 254). However, Sībawaihi already analysed it as a singular of the form *fiʿāl*. Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 172) calls it 'singular in form, dual in meaning'. In Ugaritic it is still a singular, *klʾat* (Gordon, Grammar, p. 34), but in Moabite (*klʾy hʾšwḥ* 'the two reservoirs', Meshaʿ 23) and Hebrew (*kilʾayyim* 'two kinds') it has a dual ending attached to it, as in Ethiopic *kelʾē*[7]. The root is *klʾ* 'to restrain', the first meaning of our word probably 'yoke'. The normal *fiʿāl* form of this would of course be *kilāʾu(n)*, which in most dialects became *kilā(n)* through the usual confusion of *ʾalif mamdūda* and *ʾalif maqṣūra* (cf. especially for West-Arabian § 10 *ee*). The genitive construct of this was *kilāʾi*, the

accusative *kilā'a*. In a West Arabian dialect, where *hamza* was not pronounced, this became *kilai* and *kilā*, i.e., the Kinana forms. The diphthong, of recent origin, was here preserved, even though older *ai* may have been contracted (§ *e* above). These forms may have had a considerably wider extension than our quotation indicates: as often, Kinana may stand for the Meccan and Hijazi dialect. A pronunciation *kilai* for the word before nouns is attested by the spelling—occasionally found—كلى for *kilā* (Wright, ii, 214B). On the other hand, some Arabs are reported to have said *kilā* in the oblique case even before pronouns ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 32, from the Mughnī, but not in the ed. of the latter in my possession). These where the dialects where the form with *'alif maqṣūra* was most firmly established. Since a *kilā* with *'alif maqṣūra* would normally have *-ā*, not *-ai*, before suffixes in Classical Arabic, it may be that the *kilai-* before suffixes goes back to *kilā'i* in all Arabic dialects (perhaps by spread from the West-Arabian idioms) and was preserved there through being in the middle of the word, while the more independent form before nouns was changed in accordance with the usual noun-patterns of the non-West-Arabian dialects.

k In the dialect of the Sufyān b. 'Arḥab, a clan of Hamdan dwelling between Khaiwān and Ṣa'da, one could hear the phrase *ra'aitu 'akhawāka* (Hamdānī, Jazīra, p. 134, cf. § 4 *c*). This admits of two interpretations. If we take *'akhawāka* as dual of *'akh* 'brother', we have another instance of the oblique dual in *-ā*, of which another example is given in the same line (cf. § *g*). What reason Hamdānī saw to note this common north-Yemenite usage only in connection with an obscure group of bedouins, we cannot know. But it is also possible that *'akhawāka* is plural of *'ukht* 'sister', and stands for *'akhawātaka*. We shall see (§ 14 *z*) that the Tayyi' dropped the *t* of the sound plural feminine in pause, and that similar forms are still current in the Najd and Syria. The elision would have gone a good deal further among the Banū Sufyān, since *t* fell not only in context but even before suffix. However, the whole statement is too ambiguous to be of any value to us.

l According to Ibn Ya'īsh (p. 62) the Harith dialect used *'abā*, with the indefinite article *'aban*, instead of *'ab*, *'abun*, *'abū*, etc., 'father'. Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 181) gives this as a form used by some Arabs, who also said *'akhā* for *'akh* 'brother'. The forms occur in the doggerel quoted above (§ *h*) and in a proverb *mukrahun 'akhāka lā baṭalun* 'thy brother is compelled, not a hero' (Maidānī, ed. Freytag, ii, 699; ed. Bulaq, ii, 228[8]). Nöldeke (ZDMG, xlix, 321) rejects *'abā* as a grammarian's fancy, but similar forms do occur in various types of colloquial Arabic of Yemenite antecedents. In Hadramaut one says *bā* for *'abū* (Landberg, Arabica, iii, 81); the same form is common in Persian, where it was no doubt imported by Arab immigrants in early times. In Tlemsen we find *khāi* 'my brother', besides *būi* 'my father'

(Brockelmann, GVG, i, 331). In Palestine, one hears *yā bāyi* 'o my father' as an interjection, similarly in central Yemen *yā'bæh* (Goitein, Jemenica, p. 104). Ethiopic *'abā* as clerical title may be a loan from Aramaic, but Amharic has *abāyye* 'papa' and *abāt* 'father'. The last-named form suggests that the Koranic *yā 'abatī* is also developed out of *'abā*. Mishnaic Hebrew has *'abbā* 'my father', *'immā* 'my mother', used both as vocative and as ordinary noun (e.g., *Sanhedrin*, iii, 2: *ne'ĕmān 'alai 'abbā, ne'ĕmān 'alai 'ābhīkhā* 'I trust my own father, I trust thy father'). It is hard to believe that such a homely word should have been taken over from Aramaic (where *'abbā* is the status emphaticus).[9] What we have here are the frequent Arabic vocative forms in *-ā* (Wright, ii, 87D), representing most probably the proto-Semitic vocative. The *-ā*, since it often occurs in cases where 'my' is implied, was understood to be equivalent to the suffix of the first singular, and sometimes used without vocative meaning. E.g. the anonymous line containing the words *thumma 'āwī 'ilä 'ummā* 'then I take refuge to my mother' ('Ainī, iv, 247 and elsewhere). Bauer and Leander (Histor. Gramm., p. 450) even suggest that the long vowels in the inflection of *'ab*, etc., were originally due to false analogy from *'abā*, understood as an accusative.

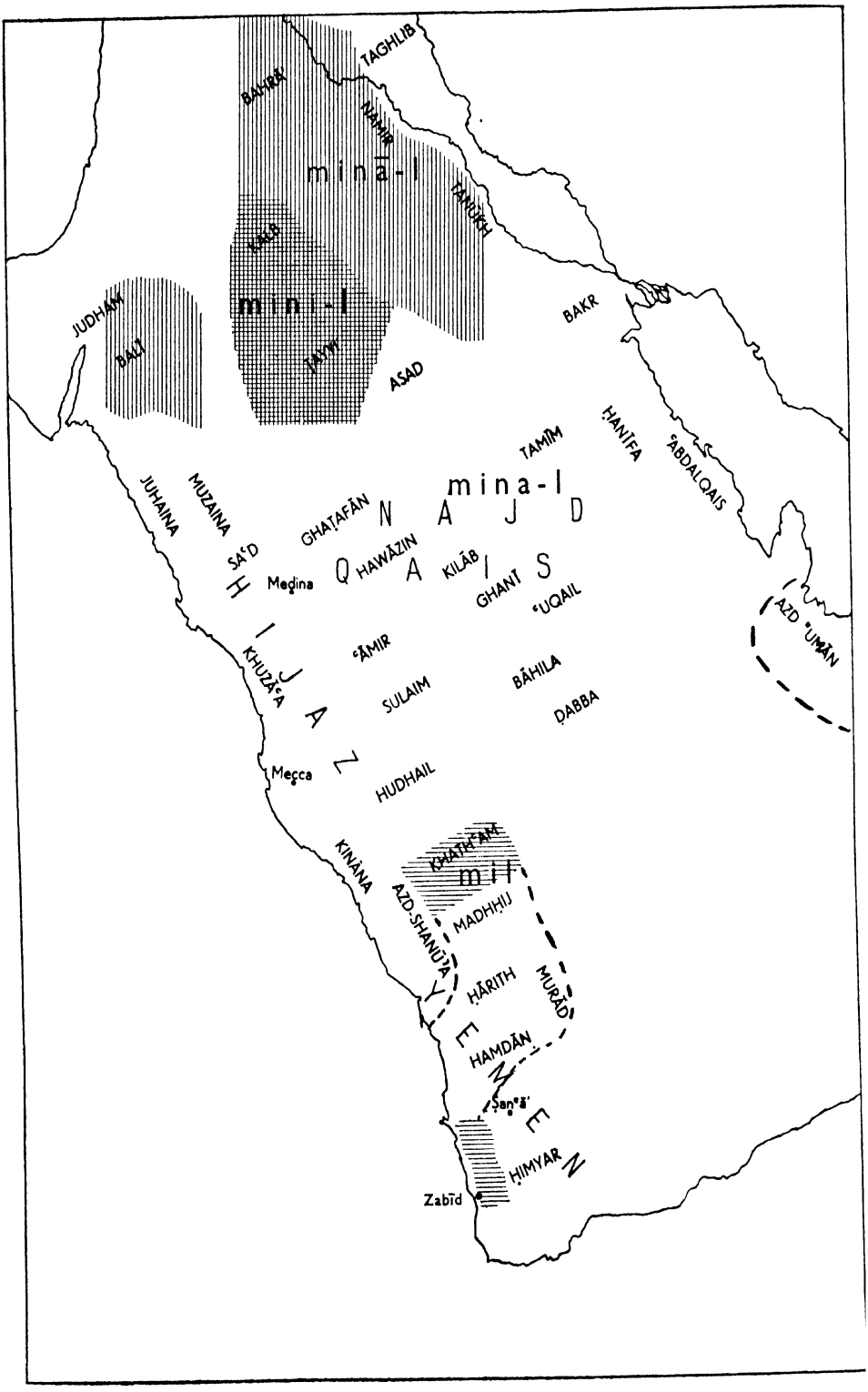
m The enlargement of biliteral roots with *-ā* seems to have had wider extension, to judge from the forms *yadā* 'hand' (cf. perhaps Ethiopic *'edē-ka*, etc.) and *damā* 'blood', said by Sībawaihi (quoted 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 175) to belong to an unspecified dialect. In passing we may mention another dialect variant of *'ab* and *'akh*, unfortunately again without localization: *'abb* (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, quoted Lane, p. 4*a*) and *'akhkh* (Ibn al-Kalbī in Jamhara, i, 15). These recall the Aramaic emphatic state *'abbā* (cf. also the Mishnaic Hebrew forms cited above) and Hebrew *'aḥim* < **'aḥḥim* (cf. Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 615).

n The Hamdan said instead of *huwa, hiya* 'he, she' *hūwa, hīya* (*huwwa, hiyya*), with long vowel (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 8 *b*; 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 10, etc.; cf. Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 13). From poetical quotations we learn that such forms were used over a rather wider area. Forms of the type *hūwe, hīye* are current in many modern colloquials (e.g., Syria, cf. Driver, Grammar, p. 25). It is not quite clear in what relation these stand to the *hū* and *hī* used in many colloquials, among them that of central Yemen (Mittwoch, Aus dem Jemen, p. 52, 58). On the other hand there seems to be a definite connection between *hūwa, hīya* and the *hū'a, hī'a* of certain colloquials (Iraq, Dathina, cf. Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 16), of South-Arabian, proto-Ethiopic (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 303), and Hebrew. One wonders whether the form, occurring as it does in a West-Arabian dialect, is not *hū'a* with elision of the *hamza* (cf. § 11 *bb*).

o The contraction *mil-* for *mina l-* (or *mini l-*, cf. § 14 *gg*) 'from the', occurs frequently in poetry from all parts of Arabia (cf. Brockelmann, GVG,

Form of *min* before the article (§70)

Map No. 9

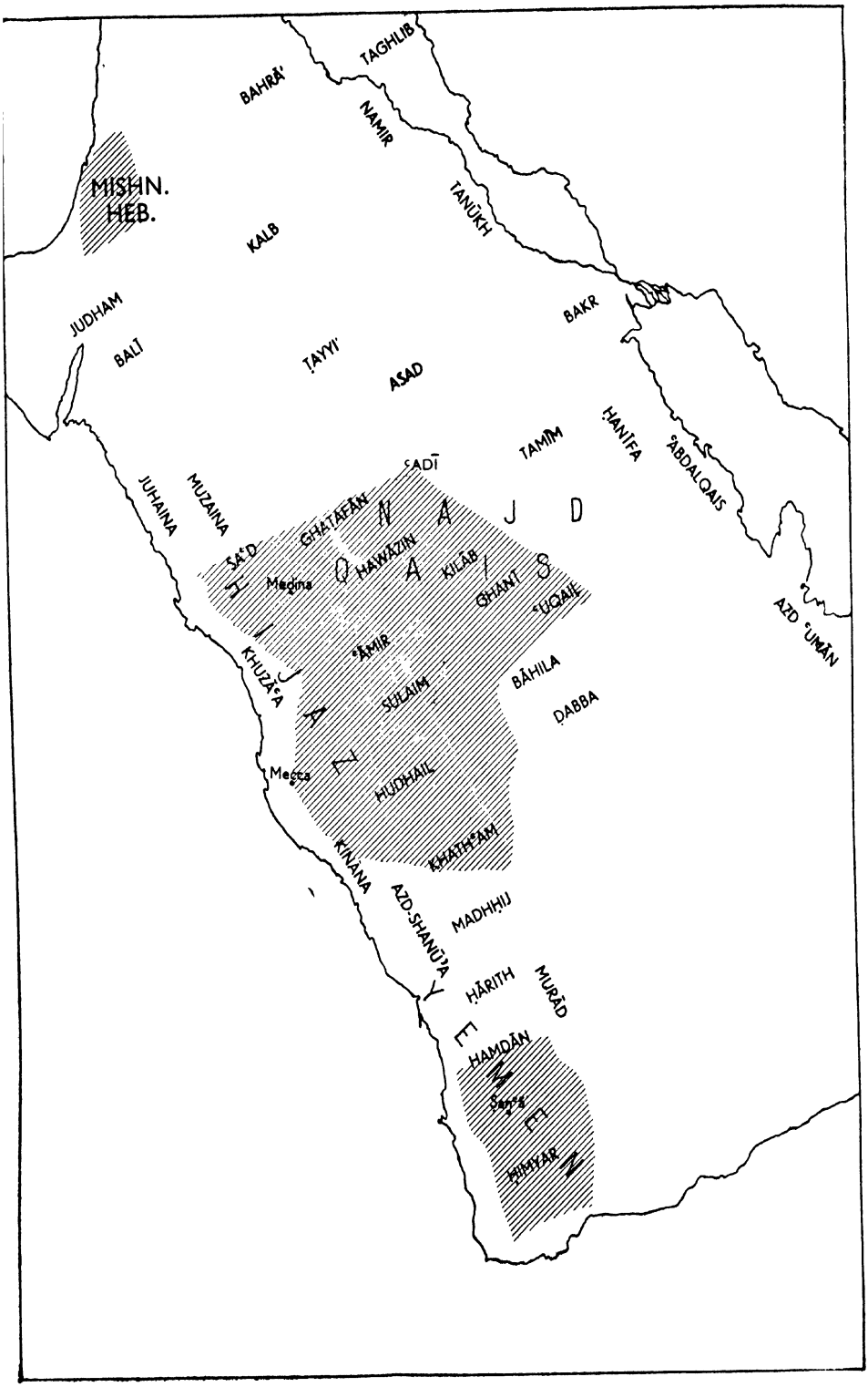


i, 263; Schwarz, Umar, iv, 111). The Lisān (xvii, 312) gives it as permitted form without any reference to dialect. However, Rāfiʿī (Tārīkh, i, 139), without indicating his source, says that this contraction was peculiar to the dialects of Khathʿam and Zubaid. Perhaps they were used in those regions in prose, too. The form is very rare in colloquials, but it does occur in Oman (Reinhardt, p. 101) and in Aleppo (Driver, Grammar, p. 214). Yemenite influence was strong in Syria (cf. § 5 *i*), and Oman has close linguistic ties with the Yemenite Tihāma; the modern survivals thus bear out Rāfiʿī's statement. The common poetic use of *mil-* needs some elucidation. A form *minā* for *min* is ascribed to Qudaʿa (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xvii, 311). The common Arabic form of *min* before the article is *mina l-*, but Tayyiʾ and Kalb are reported to have used *mini l-* instead (Lisān, *loc. cit.*). We seem here to be confronted with two regional forms, one which had an inherent final vowel and admitted of no contraction, and another, taking before *ʾalif al-waṣl* the same neutral vowel as other words ending in a consonant, and admitting of contraction, like the Hebrew *min* (Gesenius, Grammar, § 102 *b*)[10]. The extreme forms are localized at almost opposite corners of Arabia; in the intervening area the contracted form is used only in poetry—a classic instance of linguistic geography. We may not be far out, especially in view of the Hebrew connection, in considering the vowelless, contractable form as West-Arabian. We shall find further cases of assimilated *n* in Hijaz (§ 11 *qq*). ʾAbū ʾIsḥāq (az-Zajjāj; in Lisān, xvii, 312) gives *ʿal* for *ʿani l-* 'from the' as another possible contraction. This is, however, extremely rare in texts. Cf. map No. 9.

p In the same context, and probably from the same source, Rāfiʿī informs us that the equally common poetic contraction *ʿal* for *ʿalā l-* 'upon the' had its home in the Harith dialect. In contrast to *mil-*, *ʿal-* is the rule in colloquials everywhere (cf. Fischer, ZDMG, lviii, 797; Brockelmann, GVG, i, 263, 497), but in only two dialects it gave rise to a new preposition *ʿa* for *ʿalā*: Oman (Reinhardt, p. 94 *seq.*) and Syria (Driver, Grammar, p. 214)—the same that have preserved *mil-*. This again supports Rāfiʿī's statement. Of course, the reason for the rise of *ʿal-* and its wide popularity is quite different than that for the origin of *mil-*. It is the tendency to haplology (Brockelmann, GVG, i, § 97).[11]

q The Kinana said *naʿim* 'yes' instead of *naʿam* (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 86 *a*; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 145, etc.). In the Lisān (xvi, 69) an anecdote about this is told on the authority of a man of Khathʿam. The form was common West-Arabian, and is attested for Hudhail (§ 8 *c*) and Hijaz (§ 10 *i*). It was so much felt to be a correct Western form that the Kufan Kisāʾī read so in the Koran (Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, ii, 76). This is of course the older form (cf. *niʿma* < *naʿima*, Hebrew *nāʿēmū*). It was preserved in West-Arabian because of the absence of the tendency to vowel-harmony (cf. § 10 *f*).

Use of demonstrative pronoun without article (§7s) Map No. 10



r No really satisfactory explanation has been given, to my knowledge, of the adverbial idioms of the type *dhāta yaumin* 'one day', *dhā ṣabāḥin* 'one morning' (on the various idioms of this kind, see Lisān, xx, 345, 347). The remarkable thing about them is that the *dhā*, etc., exercises no influence on the meaning, the phrases being equivalent to *yauman*, etc. Similarly one can say *ʿalä dhāti ḥidatihi* or *min dhī ḥidatihi* instead of *ʿalä ḥidatihi* 'by himself'. I would suggest that *dhā*, etc., are here demonstrative elements, related to the *dhā* used in questions (Hebrew *zeh*; Gesenius, Grammar, § 136 *c*). They were however associated in the mind of the Arab speaker not with *dhā* 'this', but with *dhū* 'possessor'. According to Sībawaihi (i, 95), the Khathʿam dialect inflected this *dhā* like the noun *dhū*. He drew this conclusion from a line by the Khathʿam poet ʾAnas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika, cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 60, or Nuhaik, cf. Sīb. as quoted Lisān, iii, 333): *ʿazamtu ʿalä ʾiqāmati dhī ṣabāḥin/li-ʾamrin mā yusawwadu man yasūdu*. Sībawaihi interprets: 'I resolved upon staying one morning (before attacking), for the chief is made chief for some purpose'. But—if we can place any reliance upon context[12]—'one morning' is too indefinite to make sense in this verse. What is wanted is 'that morning', i.e. the one on which the battle was to take place. Thus *dhī* would be a demonstrative pronoun of the masculine = literary Arabic *dhā*, and it would lack the intervening definite article required in Arabic.

s To deal with the syntactic aspect first: we possess a parallel from the colloquial of Ẓafār in Southern Yemen. There the demonstrative for both genders is normally enclitic *dhī*, combined with the article: *esh-shughal dhī* 'this business' (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 108). For 'this is' there is a special masculine form, *dhē*. Twice, however, in R.'s texts *dhē* occurs adjectivally, both times before the noun, and without the article: once before a common noun in *dhē mkān* 'this place' (Rhodokanakis, i, 95, line 3), the other time before a proper name in *min dhē gefgēf etta dhī l-ugēl* 'from Jefjēf to al-Ujēl' (i, 96, line 12). The second case is remarkably like the Biblical Hebrew use of *zeh* before proper names. An old instance of a similar construction comes down in a 'tradition' concerning the Mahdī, in which there is an obvious attempt at being 'Yemenite': *yaṭlaʿu ʿalaikum rajulun min dhī yamanin ʿala wajhihi maṣḥatun min dhī malakin*, which can to my mind be rendered only 'a man will appear to you from yonder Yemen, on whose face will be some spittle of yonder angel'. Let it be noted that this is not a South-Arabian construction: the South-Arabian *dhn bytn* corresponds exactly, except for word order, with Biblical Hebrew *hab-bayith haz-zeh*, while the cases just discussed correspond as closely to Mishnaic Hebrew *bayith zeh* 'this house'. There is some evidence of proclitic *zeh* (also without intervening article) in Mishnaic Hebrew, though the matter is still somewhat doubtful (instances in Segal, Grammar, p. 201). However that may be, the existence of a

construction of the demonstrative without article both in a Canaanite dialect and in southern West-Arabian is too remarkable to be accidental. There are no cases in Hijazi texts of this construction before common nouns, but a *dhī* can in Hijazi poems be added at will to any proper name, often producing grammatically abnormal constructions (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 145). According to ʾAzharī (in Tāj, x, 436) this 'otiose *dhū*' (*sic*) was current in the speech of the Qais and their neighbours. From Lisān, xx, 344, we learn that Dhū Rumma, the poet, stated that in his native dialect one said *qabbaḥa llāhu dhā fā*, which must mean 'may God put that mouth to shame'. The ʿAdī were reckoned among the Tamīm, but dwelt far to the West of the main body of that tribe. It seems thus that we can discern, underlying all these isolated pieces of information, that West-Arabian said not *hādhā l-baitu* but *dh(ī) baitu* or *dh(ī) baitun*. Cf. map No. 10.

t Hebrew *zeh* and Aramaic *dēn* suggest proto-Semitic *dhē*. In Eastern Arabic this would have become *dhā*, as Hebrew *nēr* became *nār* (cf. § 10 *aa*) —thus fully accounting for the normal Arabic form. In some, unfortunately not specified, Arabic dialects *dhā* was pronounced with *ʾimāla*, i.e., *dhǣ* or *dhē* (Sībawaihi, ii, 289; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 160). The way in which the statement is introduced in the sources suggests that these were not dialects with general *ʾimāla*, therefore probably West-Arabian ones (cf. § 10 *q*). The colloquials that have forms like *dhē* for the masculine are the ones that most agree with Yemenite: Tlemsen, Egypt, Oman, and Yemenite ones, such as Ẓafār and Dathīna. In the strongly imalizing colloquials (*hā*)*dhā* is not affected, cf. e.g., Maltese *da* (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 318; Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 116). Theoretically, therefore, the *dhī* in our examples may be an attempt to write *dhē*. However, the Yemenite relative pronoun *dhī* for Ṭayyiʾ *dhū* (§ 4 *aa*) suggests that there was a demonstrative *dhī* which attracted the relative in form. The same happened in Hebrew where the analogy between relative *zū* and demonstrative *zeh* (fem. *zō*) led to the latter being employed in many biblical passages instead of the former. The Ethiopic *zĕ* is of no help, as it might be shortened from *dhē* as well as from *dhī*.

u A confirmation of Yemenite demonstrative *dhī* (*dhē*) may possibly be found in another 'tradition' about the Mahdī (Lisān, xx, 338) where it is said that he will be *qurashiyyun yamānin laisa min dhī wa-lā dhū* 'a Quraishite and Yemenite, being neither of *dhī* nor of *dhū*'. The explanation offered by the Lisān is that *dhū* stands for the royal house of Himyar, i.e. names such as Dhū Yazan and Dhū Ruʿain. That leaves the *dhī* unexplained. I would like to suggest that the second part of the sentence means 'being neither (wholly) of the one nor (wholly) of the other'. The *dhū* may be real Yemenite, *dhī . . . dhī* having been dissimilated into *dhī . . . dhū*, or may be an error of tradition. Perhaps the utterance was at one point understood to mean

'neither of those who say *dhī* (i.e., the Yemenites), nor of those who say *dhū* (i.e., the Tayyi'?)'—*dhī* being taken as the relative pronoun (§ 4 *aa*).

v If our analysis is correct, then the conclusions of Sībawaihi are a neat instance of the shortcomings of the Arab philologists' approach to the dialects. However, Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 36 *a*) draws a truly bewildering inference from Sībawaihi's words: that the Khath'am, alone among all Arabs, did not employ *dhā* and *dhāta* in such constructions as *dhāta yaumin*. This is the only statement known to me which asserts that some form was not found in a certain dialect. It presupposes a detailed inquiry such as was certainly never undertaken.

w I do not know what to make of the statement of some (quoted by 'Anīs, Lahajāt, p. 99, without source) that the Harith said for the dual and plural of the relative pronoun *alladhā* and *alladhī* instead of *alladhāni*, *alladhīna*. Others ascribe the feature to part of Rabī'a. Two *shawāhid*, both with the dual, are by the Taghlibi 'Akhṭal and the Tamimi Farazdaq. They may represent some poetic license (cf. Wright, Grammar, ii, 379C). In the Harith dialect, if the information is correct, these forms may belong to the range of transition forms between the West-Arabian **'allai* and *alladhīna* (cf. § 8 *z*).

x According to Ṣaffār (quoted by Ibn 'Aqīl, p. 121), the Harith dialect made the predicate of a verbal clause agree with its subject in number (the so-called *lughat 'akalūnī l-barāghīth*, cf. Wright, ii, 294C). The same usage is found in Hijaz (§ 13 *b*) and Tayyi' (§ 14 *hh*), and is typically West-Arabian.

y The use of apocopate after *lau*, which is extremely rare (Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 497) was by some considered a dialect feature (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl as quoted Khizāna, iv, 522; Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 64). Of the few *shawāhid* cited one comes from a poem which the Ḥamāsa ascribes to a woman of the Harith tribe (Ḥamāsa, p. 496, line 1), the other: *tammat*[13] *fu'āduka lau yaḥzunka ma ṣana'at/'iḥdā nisā'i banī dhuhli bni shaibāna* 'may your heart stop beating it if grieves you what a woman of the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaibān has done' (Khizāna, *loc. cit.*; Shinqīṭī, ii, 81) comes apparently from a *fakhr*-poem of the Banu Shaibān, i.e. is of Yemenite origin. This may entitle us, at least provisionally, to reckon this as a northern Yemenite usage. Since the original sense of *lau* is desiderative (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 31), there is some probability that the use of the apocopate with it is old, if not original, in Arabic, and the Yemenite usage (or is it generally Western?) an archaism. It is, indeed, the normal Arabic usage, indicative after *lau*, which needs explaining.

NOTES

[1] According to Hartmann (OLZ, xii, 28) this change is quite regular in the colloquial of the Nuṣairī mountains in Syria.

[2] Since the 'Azdi reports this of another dialect, we may infer that his own dialect did not have this form.

[3] The example given is *'aidān* 'two handles'. Thus at least in some contexts *ai* is preserved in the particular colloquial from which Landberg took this form.

[4] It is by 'Ujair b. 'Abdallāh as-Salūlī.

[5] For this function of *min*, cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, § 137, 3 *i* (p. 258).

[6] In the Ṣaḥāḥ (quoted Freytag, Einführung, p. 79) this line is given as proof that the 'Āmir dialect changed *d* into *j*.

[7] The same ending is found in Eth. *ḥaquē* 'hip' and *'edē-hū* 'his hand'. These two words are singular, but it seems that the forms originally served for the dual and were transferred to the singular when the category of the dual lapsed.

[8] Both editions write *'akhūka*, the grammars *'akhāka*.

[9] True, the English schoolboy says *pater* and the Turk *peder*. But these two words come from languages which in each case serve as a learned and polite idiom—which Aramaic was not in its relation to Hebrew at that time (though it has become so in the latest stages of Modern Hebrew).

[10] Ethiopic has preserved both forms as *emna* and *em-*. The latter form makes one wonder whether in fact the South-West Arabian form was not **mi* rather than **min*.

[11] According to Hartmann (OLZ, ix, 578), *'a* occurs in the inscription of an-Namāra (in *'kdy*, line 2).

[12] Professor Gibb suggests translating 'I decided to stage a morning attack' (literally 'that of the morning'). If this rendering is accepted, the ensuing discussion largely falls to the ground. However, apart from contradicting Sībawaihi, it presupposes that *'aqāma* had the meaning which it has in *'aqāma ṣ-ṣalāta* 'he held the prayers'. This meaning is in my opinion borrowed from Jewish usage (cf. *hēqīm miṣwāh* 'he fulfilled a commandment', also Syriac *'aqīm shlāmā* 'intone the Pax vobiscum'). If this line is genuine (and its very difficulties prove that it is) it is difficult to believe that Yemenite bedouins should not only have borrowed but further developed such a technical usage.

[13] Other reading *tāmat fu'ādaka* . . . 'a woman of the B. Dh. has enslaved your heart, even if it grieves you what she has done'.

Chapter 8
HUDHAIL

a The Hudhail, though a large tribe, played a minor role in the political and cultural events of the first Islamic centuries. Their language, however, received a good deal of attention from the philologists. Although they did not produce one first-rank poet, theirs is the only one of the many tribal dīwāns that survived. Ibn Jinnī wrote a special book about the poetry of Hudhail (cf. Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 130), which is unfortunately lost. No doubt it mainly dealt with the language. The Hudhail had a name for using particularly good Arabic (cf. § 3 *h*, *i*). In fact, their dialect seems to have been influenced by Eastern Arabic more strongly than any other West-Arabian idiom. This points to extensive Eastern contacts. The undoubted existence of a body of pre-Islamic Hudhali poetry in Classical Arabic points in the same direction. The language of the poems was, of course, imported from East-Arabia: it was their skill in using it which brought the Hudhail their linguistic fame. At the same time the everyday speech of the tribe absorbed features of the colloquial speech of the Eastern tribes, which gave the dialect its special place within West-Arabian.

b Basically, of course, there is no doubt that the Hudhail dialect was West-Arabian. Not only does it share most West-Arabian characteristics, but its known features fit precisely into its geographical position between northern Yemen and Hijaz. Besides the grammatical features to be dealt with in the course of this chapter, there are some lexical correspondences: *'awwāb* 'obedient' for Hudhail, Kinana, and Qais ('Abū 'Ubaid, Risāla, p. 156); *thāqib* 'shining' for Hudhail (Risāla, p. 155; 'Itqān, p. 311) and Kināna (Risāla, p. 162); *jadath* 'tomb' for Hudhail (Risāla, p. 155; 'Itqān, p. 311) and Tihāma (Miṣbah, p. 144)—as against *jadaf* in Najd (Miṣbāḥ) or Qais and Tamīm (Sharḥ Dīwān al-Khansā', Beirut 1890, p. 230); *kharaṣa* 'to utter lies' for Hudhail, Kinana, and Qais (Risāla, p. 157; 'Itqān, p. 311), cf. perhaps Hebrew *ḥāraṣ lāshōn* (Exod., xi, 7); *faur* 'faces' for the same tribes (Risāla, p. 143); *rajā*, *rajjā* 'to fear' for Hudhail (Risāla, p. 151, 157), Hudhail, Kinana, and Khuza'a (Sijistānī, 'Aḍḍād, p. 81), Tihāma (Baiḍāwī, ii, 37); *'usl* as plural (?) of *'asal* 'honey' for Hudhail, Kinana, and Khuza'a (Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iii, 655).

c The form *na'im* for *na'am* was current in the Hudhail and Kinana dialects (Qasṭallānī, iv, 204). It was a general West-Arabian form (cf. § 7 *q* and § 10 *i*). Its presence here proves at any rate that the Hudhail dialect had not become affected by the Eastern tendency towards vowel harmony. The phonetic implications will be more fully discussed in § 10 *f–n*.[1]

d Nor did the Hudhail dialect follow those of the East in eliding short

unstressed vowels. In the plurals of feminine segolate nouns of the type *fa'la* the Classical language inserts an *a* (*fa'alāt*), but not when the second radical is *w* or *y* (cf. Wright, i, 193). The Hudhail dialect inserted the *a* in that case, too, and said, e.g., *jawazāt* 'nuts', from *jauza* (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 6 *a*; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 77; Fā'iq, i, 43, etc.). According to Suyūṭī (Jam', i, 23) this was done only in nouns, not in adjectives. The independent examples refer to nouns only. One is a line by a Hudhali poet in which a male ostrich is described as *'abū* (*'akhū*) *bayaḍātin* 'possessor of eggs' (from *baiḍa*; 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 190; Lisān, viii, 393), the other a reading by 'A'mash of Kufa in Koran, xxiv, 57: *thalāthu 'awarātin* 'three times of privacy' (for *'aurātin*), which Zamakhsharī (Kashshāf, p. 960) says is in Hudhail dialect. This, of course, must not be taken to mean that Z. considered this a Hudhail reading, but that it agreed with what he knew to be Hudhail usage. Ibn Khālawaih (Badī', p. 103) declares 'A'mash's reading to be in the Tamīm dialect. We know from Zamakhsharī (Muf. p. 77) and Farrā' (on Koran, xiii, 7/6) that the Tamīm elided the *a* in forms like *jamarāt*, which they pronounced *jamrāt* 'coals'. Perhaps Ibn Khālawaih drew this conclusion from 'A'mash's tribal origins, or more likely, one of his sources confused Hudhail with the Tamīmī sub-tribe Ḥanẓala. We shall meet other examples of the same confusion. It is not clear whether the dialect also had *a* in the sound plurals of *fi'la* and *fu'la*. 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 189) says that to *'īr* 'caravan' there existed a plur. *'iyarāt*, used by 'other than Hudhail'. Should that mean 'by the Hudhail and others'? Liḥyānī (in Lisān, xvi, 59), commenting on the reading *ni'māt* (*ni'amāt*, *ni'imāt*) in Koran, xxxi, 30/31, asserts that *ni'imāt* was the Hijazī pronunciation. Should *ni'amāt* have been that of the Hudhail and other West-Arabians, since we may presume *ni'māt* to have been an Eastern form? It is clear, in any event, that the medial vowels in these plurals are very old in Arabic and were lost to some extent in the form of language that became Classical Arabic, and completely in the Eastern dialects. They are normal in Hebrew (*malkāh*: *mĕlākhōth*) and existed in Old Aramaic, as in the plur. *rugazē* from *rugzā* 'wrath' in an Aramaic text in cuneiform (cf. Gordon, AfO, xii, 114, § 64). In later Aramaic, the vowels having been elided as in Eastern Arabic, their former presence can still be discerned by irregular spirantization (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 430). Some instances exist also in Ethiopic. Here, as elsewhere, West-Arabian proves to be more conservative than the Eastern dialects, with Classical Arabic taking up an intermediate position.

e Another example of the preservation of an unstressed short vowel is Hudhail *'ibin* for *ibn* 'son'[2] (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 108). The medial *i* occurs in all those Semitic dialects that have the word (to the forms cited in Brockelmann, GVG, i, 332, add Amorite *Bina-ammi*, Bauer, Ostkanaanäer, p. 15, and Minaean *bhn* = *bínu*). The initial *i* is a difficulty, as it is not, like the

i of the Classical form *ibnu*, phonetically justified. Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 17) takes *(i)bnu* as the original Arabic form and the medial *i* of *'ibin* as an anaptyctic vowel like those of the Hebrew segolates. This follows his theory that the *'i'rāb*-vowels had disappeared at an early stage of the Arabic language. Such anaptyctic vowels are indeed frequent in the modern colloquial of Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkanische Sprichwörter, p. 99) and other colloquials. A form exactly like that in Hudhail, of course without *'i'rāb*, is current in modern Najd (Socin, Diwan, iii, 108). But there is no evidence that the ancient Hudhail dialect had lost the *'i'rāb*. Rather we may take *'ibin* as a compromise between Eastern *(i)bnu* (which, being mostly unstressed, had lost its vowel by Eastern sound-law) and Western **binu*, the existence of which would thus be proved.[3]

f The absence of vowel-harmony and vowel-elision mark the Hudhail dialect as West-Arabian. Whatever may have been the nature of Eastern influence on it, it certainly did not change its basic rhythmic pattern (cf. § 10 *m*, *seq.*).

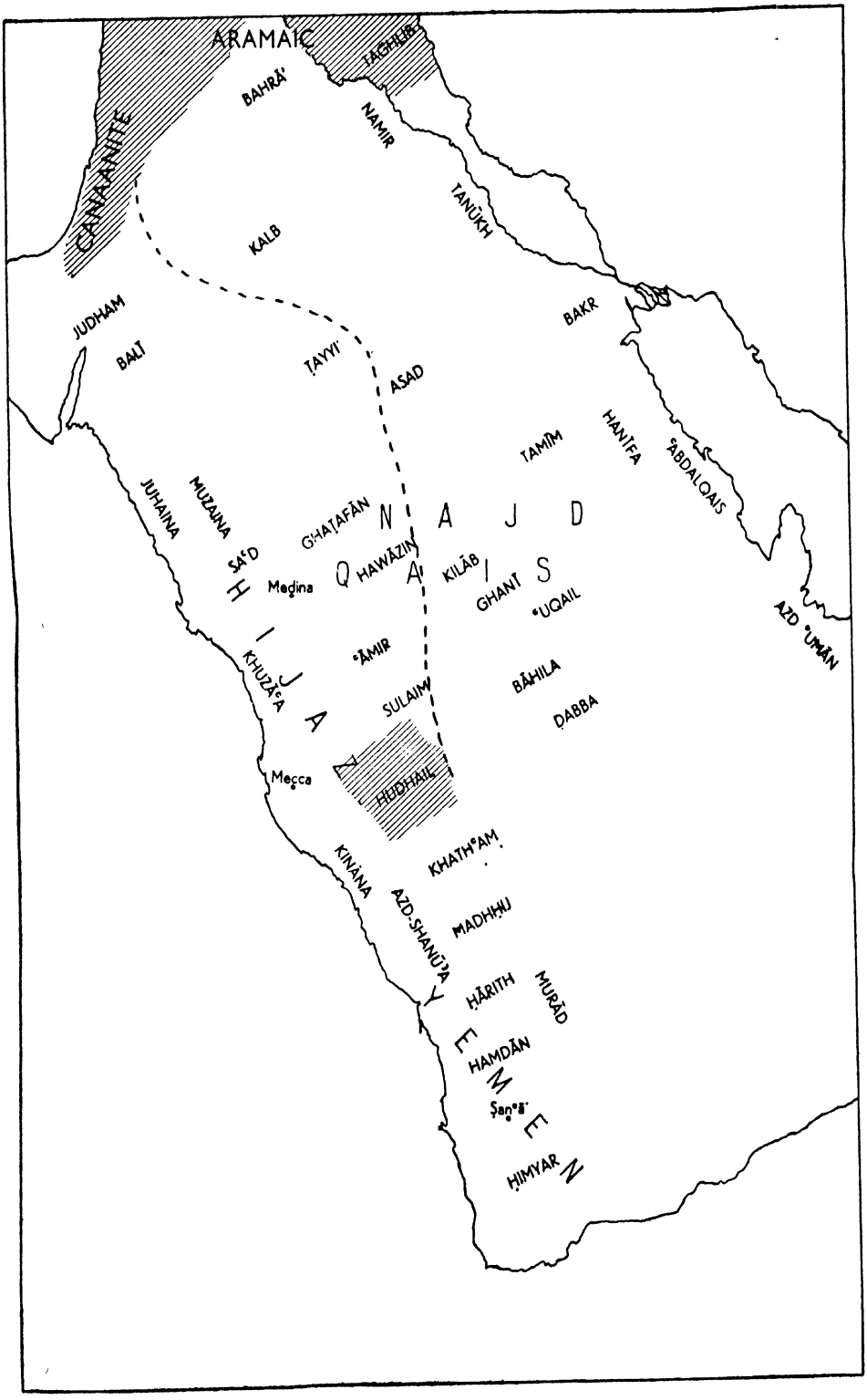
g In 'Abū Zaid's list (Lisān, i, 14) Hudhail appears among the dialects which did not sound the *hamza* (cf. map No. 15). This is supported by various forms cited from the dialect, which will be mentioned in the course of the discussion of this phenomenon in the Hijaz dialect (cf. § 11 *l*, *seq.*).

h Initial *wu-* becomes in the Hudhail dialect *u-*, initial *wi* > *i*.[4] For the first law I have only few instances: *usāda* 'pillow' for *wusāda* (Ibn Duraid, Jamhara, ii, 267); Freytag (Einführung, p. 83) cites two lines from the Dīwān Hudhail, containing *ushk* for *wushk* 'speed' and *udd* for *wudd* 'love'; the Medinean 'Ubayy is said to have had in his codex *ujūhuhum* 'their faces' for *wujūhuhum* in Koran, xxxix, 61/60 (Jeffery, Materials, p. 161). Instances of *wi* > *i* are more plentiful: *ishāḥ* 'woman's girdle' for *wishāḥ* (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 301; Jamhara, ii, 161), *ilda* 'children' for *wilda*, *i'ā'* 'vessel' for *wi'ā'*, *iqā'* 'protection' for *wiqā'* (all Ibn Sikkīt, Qalb, p. 57). The same change is also found in the Hijazi poet Nābigha (xx, 26, cf. Lisān, i, 190) where *iḍā'* stands for *wiḍā'* 'pretty ones', and a line (quoted by Ibn 'A'rābī in Lisān, iv, 458) with *ijdān* 'feeling' for *wijdān*, and finally in the common Arabic *irth* for *wirth* 'inheritance'.

i The change of *wu-* into *u-* is, of course, a result of the disappearance of *hamza*. An *u* with a 'soft on-glide' (leiser Einsatz) is practically equivalent to a *wu-*, *w* being merely an *u* in non-syllabic position. Therefore, when *hamza* disappears (always or frequently), the difference between the two weakens in the consciousness of the speaker. This has happened in many Arabic colloquials (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 187), consequent upon the prevalence of soft beginning of initial vowels in them (*ibid.*, i, 45). Cantineau (Parlers, p. 42) observed in Syrian bedouin colloquials that *hamza* was preserved in the initial position, as in *'edhen* 'ear' = *'udhn*, *'ödhfer* 'nail' = *'uẓfur*, but no

Weakening of initial *w* and *y* (§81)

Map No. 11



hamza was heard in words beginning with an *u*<*wi*, as *uṣel* 'he arrived' = *wiṣil* (literary *waṣala*) and *ulād* 'children' =*wilād*. Cantineau's treatment of *hamza* is unsatisfactory, as he himself admits, but the observation may be true enough: etymological *hamza* is facultative, but naturally appears in careful speech, while (especially in careful speech) it does not appear in those cases where etymological cognates keep the reminiscence of the *w-* alive (*uṣel*: *wāṣil*; *ulād*: *walad*). We can actually make a reversal-test. The loan word *'uqiyya* 'ounce' was pronounced *wuqiyya* in the dialect of the Banū 'Āmir near Medina (Qasṭallānī, iv, 36).[5] This could only happen if the *hamza* of *'uqiyya* was not pronounced.

k The change of *wi-* into *i-* is contrary to the tendency of the modern colloquials, which change *wi-* into *u-* (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 187). It is only intelligible on the assumption that *wi-* was first changed into *yi-*, and the latter, by the same principle as *wu*>*u*, into *i-*. However, we have no statement or examples to prove that *yi-* became *i-* in our dialect. In Ibn Jinnī's statement on the generally permissible changes (see below), that of *yi-* into *i-* is specifically excluded. It may for some unknown reason have been considered more vulgar than the other two changes.[6] A change of initial *w* into *y* is found only in North-West Semitic (Canaanite, Aramaic, and Ugaritic), where it is, however, general, not only before *i*. Of course, there, too, it may have begun as a conditioned sound-change *wi-*>*yi-* and spread by analogy. The question is, did the Hudhail dialect also change *w* into *y* before other vowels? The only instance of this is *yāzi'ahum* 'their commander' for *wāzi'ahum* in a poem by Ḥuṣaib aḍ-Ḍamrī (Dīwān Hudhail, i, 73), expressly declared by Sukkarī to be a dialect form of the Hudhail. Jumaḥī in his scholion on the passage, however, says it is Kinana dialect. As often, Kinana may stand for Western in general or Hijazi. The one instance is insufficient for deciding the case, but makes it probable that the change of *w* into *y* was more widespread than the philologists' statements allow.[7]

l The Hijazi instances quoted above, though few, suggest that the sound-changes we have discussed were generally West-Arabian. The phonetic basis—not to say necessity—for them was provided everywhere by the disappearance of *hamza*. The resemblance to Canaanite developments is striking. In Hebrew *wu-* 'and' is pronounced *u-*; the prefix of the third masc. imperf., *yi-*, was in the Middle Ages pronounced *i-* (cf. also Arabic *'Isḥāq* from Hebrew *Yiṣḥāq*), and some spellings in the old Testament text suggest a widespread confusion between *yi-* and *'i-* (cf. Bergsträsser, Hebr. Gramm., i, 104). The change of *w-* to *y-* has already been mentioned. It would be strange if the same series of sound-changes had taken place in North-West Semitic and the Hudhail dialect without any intervening geographical link. Our impression is further strengthened when we find the

philologists asserting that to change *wu-* to *u-* and *wi-* to *i-* (but not *yi-* to *i-*) is correct literary Arabic (Ibn Jinnī, quoted ʾUshmūnī, iv, 222; ʾAbū l-ʿalāʾ al-Maʿarrī, Risālat al-malāʾika, ed. Krachkovski, p. 6). Murādī (d. 749/1348) is quoted by Ṣabbān (*ad* ʾUshmūnī, *loc. cit.*) as stating that he had read in some book that the change originated in the Hudhail dialect. This proves to what extent these forms were accepted as correct by the grammarians. In actual fact we find hardly any examples of the 'Hudhail' forms in normal Classical Arabic. The view of the philologists can thus not be due to observation of literary usage. As it must have had some basis, we may seek it in their knowledge that a large number of important dialects, to wit the West-Arabian group, partook of this sound-law. There is certainly no evidence for the contention of Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 43 f.) that this sound-change was general Arabic, nay common Semitic. It belonged to one definite area of Semitic, namely North-West Semitic plus West-Arabian. It is to some extent paralleled by the fate of *y-* in Accadian, but the development of *w-* in that language is quite different. Eastern Arabic, South-Arabian, and Ethiopic maintain both *w* and *y* in every case; only Amharic arrived (for similar reasons) at a development similar to that of the north-western languages (Praetorius, Amhar. Sprache, p. 48).

m Some unspecified dialect (perhaps Eastern) changed both *ya-* and *wa-* into *a-*, thus reproducing the fate of *w-* (and to some extent *y-*, cf. *ūmu* < *yaumu*) in Accadian (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 139). Thus we have *araqān* 'blight' for *yaraqan* (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 67) and *alab* 'skin-helmets' for *yalab* (Ibn al-Muẓaffar in Lisān, i, 210) *ad* for *yad* 'hand' (Lisān, xx, 303).[8] In two cases the change is Classical Arabic: *ʾanātun* 'languid woman', originally *wanātun*, and the n. pr. fem. *ʾasmāʾ*, from *wasmāʾ* 'the beautiful one'. This is a tendency contrary to that in the Hudhail dialect.

n An unspecified dialect said *ʾabīnāʾu* for *ʾabyināʾu*, plural of *bayyin* 'eloquent' (Sībawaihi, quoted Mukhaṣṣaṣ, ii, 112). This is a similar change, but this time within the word. It is doubtful whether this has anything to do with the Hudhail phenomena.

o The Hudhalī Ibn Masʿūd read in Koran, xii, 35, for *ḥattä ḥīnin*, 'until a certain time', *ʿattä ḥīnin* (Jeffery, Materials, p. 49, etc.). The commentators and grammarians say that this was according to Hudhail dialect usage (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 42; Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 57 *b*; Baiḍāwī, i, 460, etc.). Some late sources state it as a general rule that the Hudhail substituted *ʿain* for *ḥ* (Sūyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 133; ʿAinṭābī, Qāmūs Turc., i, 284), but give few examples other than *ʿattä ḥīnin*. Yāzijī (Seventh Or. Congress, ii, 77), however, presents us with a whole sentence in Hudhail dialect: *al-laʿmu l-ʾaʿmaru ʾaʿsanu mina l-laʿmi l-ʾabyaḍi* 'red meat is better than white meat'. As Yāzijī never names his sources and is free with 'examples' found nowhere else, we cannot but treat this with suspicion. Suyūṭī identifies the change of

ḥ into *ʿain* with the *faḥfaḥat Hudhail* mentioned in some works. The word means hoarseness. Travellers in Arabia remark upon the continual hoarseness of the bedouins, which is a consequence of the dewy mornings (e.g., Guarmani, Northern Nejd, p. 22), but it is difficult to see what the change of *ḥ* to *ʿain* has to do with this. Indeed, Suyūṭī himself says elsewhere that the term *faḥfaḥa* refers to the change of *h* (not *ḥ*) into *ʿain* in the Hudhail dialect (Iqtirāḥ, quoted by Bravmann, Materialien, p. 42). I have seen no other mention of such a change. In any event it is most unlikely that *faḥfaḥa* is a name for either peculiarity of the dialect. The one available instance of *ḥattä ḥīnin* does not prove the existence of a general sound law, as it admits of other explanations. We are not told anywhere that Ibn Masʿūd read *ʿattä* for *ḥattä* everywhere in the Koran. In our case the *ʿain* may well be due to dissimilation (this is the opinion of Bergsträsser in GQ, iii, 68). However, all the cognate languages have *ʿain* in the word for 'until': South-Arabian *ʿd*, *ʿdy* (cf. § 4 *cc*), Hebrew *ʿadh*, *ʿădhē*, etc. Though *ḥattä* may have no etymological connection with *ʿad*(*ai*) (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 417), West-Arabian, if only for geographical reasons, must have used *ʿadai* at some time. The Hudhail form would then be a compromise between the two. In fact, a similar form, *ʾetta*, is to-day found in the colloquial of Ẓafār in southern Yemen. This was identified with the Hudhail word by Vollers (ZAss., xxii, 226); there is, however, the difficulty about this that the Ẓafār dialect does not elsewhere substitute *ʾalif* for *ʿain* (cf. Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 76). Perhaps *ʾetta* is a compromise between *ḥattä* and some cognate of Ethiopic *ʾeska*. The form *ʿattä* may not have been restricted to Hudhail, but seems to have been current in Southern Hijaz as well. According to a statement in the Lisān (xix, 253, without source) it was also used at Ṭāʾif.

p From Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, ii, 25) we learn that Ibn Masʿūd read in the Koran *naḥam* 'yes' for *naʿam*[9]. This contradicts the statements which report that the Hudhail said *naʿim* for *naʿam* (cf. § *c* above). However, this is not the only case where Ibn Masʿūd reads *ḥ* for *ʿain*. Farrāʾ saw in Masʿūd's codex that he wrote in Koran, c, 9, *buḥthira* for *buʿthira* 'was laid bare'. Farrāʾ heard the same reading from one of the Banū ʾAsad (cf. Beck, Orientalia, xv, 182). In this case the *ḥ* may be due to assimilation to the voiceless *th*. The inclusion of ʾAsad makes this even more probable, as we have from Tamim, another Eastern tribe, such forms as *maḥḥum* for *maʿhum* 'with them' (with Eastern *maʿ* for *maʿa*; Sībawaihi, ii, 462) and *ʾaḥḥudu*[10] for *ʾaʿhadu* 'I make a covenant' (Ibn Khālawaih, Badīʿ, p. 125). But this does not explain *naḥam*. There is a late statement to the effect that the change of *ʿain* to *ḥ* was peculiar to the dialect of the Saʿd ibn Bakr, north to Medina (§ 11 *d*). If it were somewhat better attested, we might see in it a local Medinean pronunciation which Ibn Masʿūd adopted into his reading. In any event, we must beware of falling into Voller's mistake of assuming

that Koran readers lightly imported features of their native dialects into their recitation. What they aimed at was either to be true to the way in which the words had issued from the mouth of the Prophet, or to use correct Arabic. The latter tendency, which was that of the Iraqi readers, was responsible for the importation of some Eastern dialect traits into their readings, because they considered these traits good Arabic. Ibn Mas'ūd's readings betray no dialect bias. Any grammatical irregularities in them are more likely to be due to the fact that he, and the people from whose mouth he took down the text, lived before the age of grammatical activity.

q There is thus no real evidence for a sound-change *ḥ* < *'ain* in the Hudhail dialect. There are some instances of such substitution from an area much further north. In a few Palestinian place names *'ain* appears for Hebrew or Aramaic *ḥ*, e.g., *Bēt 'ūr* for *Bēth Ḥōrōn*, *'Aṣur* for *Ḥāṣōr*, *Zanū'* for *Zānōaḥ* (cf. Kampffmeyer, ZDPV, xv, 25), *'Amta* (in northern Transjordan) for *Ḥamtān*, etc. There are, however, also some undoubted cases in which pre-Arab *aleph* became *'ain* in such names (e.g., *'Asqalān* < *'Ashqĕlōn*, *Kafr 'Ānā* < *'ōnō*, cf. Kampffmeyer, ZDPV, xv, 14). The latter change is definitely attributed to the Eastern dialects. Tamīm, 'Asad, (Eastern) Qais, 'Uqail are named in this connection (e.g., by Farrā' in Lisān, xvii, 168), but also Quḍā'a (Tha'ālibī, Fiqh al-lugha, p. 107). The latter is of particular importance, because the Quḍā'a bordered on Palestine for centuries. It is not quite clear how far the sound-change affected those dialects. According to Suyūṭī (Muzhir, i, 133) every initial *hamza* was changed, according to 'Ushmūnī (iv, 212) even every *hamza* followed by a vowel. There are, in any event, some lexicographical instances of the change, though the grammarians never adduce any example except *'an* and *'anna* 'that' (where the Eastern *'ain* may be of other than phonetic origin).[11] In the speech of the local Aramaic population *ḥ* was pronounced the same as *'aleph* (Dalman, Gramm., p. 57), so that the *'ain* in these names may be due to pharyngalization of such *alephs* by Eastern Arabs. In any case the prevailing confusion of the pharyngals in the local Aramaic makes any statement about correspondences rather hazardous. Other, equally doubtful, cases may be found among the words recorded in Talmudic literature as used in 'Arabia'. These, as A. Cohen (JQR, iii, 228) has shown, are taken from the Aramaic spoken by the Jews of northern Hijaz, but may include some Arabic loanwords. In the Palestinian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, x, 2, a Midrash is motivated by the information that 'in Arabia' they said *'ătar* for *ḥătar* 'to dig'. In literary Arabic *ḥatara* does not mean this,[12] so that it must in any case have been a local form, about which we can hardly say anything[13]. Similarly, we are told in Tanḥūmā, *Tĕrūmāh*, § 7, that in Arabia 'to steal' was *qĕbha'*. Cohen (*op. cit.*, p. 233) derives this from Arabic *qabbaḥa*, but that can only mean 'to make or consider wicked', and even *qabuḥa* 'to be wicked' never has the meaning of

stealing in normal Arabic. Nor does Arabic *qabaʿa* help much, in spite of its diversity of meanings. There is no need to look for an Arabic etymology. The Babylonian Talmud, *Rōsh Hashānāh*, f. 2 *a-b*, has *qabhʿān* 'robber', a word then already not fully understood. Our *qĕḇhaʿ* is cognate to Arabic *qabaḍa* 'to seize', and may be preserved in Syrian colloquial Arabic *qabaʿ* 'to pull out'. The two cases cannot be used as argument. The only case in which we really have *ʿain* for *ḥ* is when the Palestinian Bar Qappārā addresses the Babylonian Rabbi Ḥiyyā playfully as *ʿIyyā*, mocking at his Babylonian Aramaic pronunciation (Bab. Talmud, *Kĕrīthōth*, 8 *a*).

r The fate of the pharyngals in the Hudhail dialect is thus not at all clear. For all we know it may have largely lost the pharyngal articulation, and ʿ have become *ʾalif* and *ḥ* > *h*, as in modern Yemenite colloquials to the south and in the old Hijaz dialect to the north (cf. § 11 *e, f*). A certain indication of weak pharyngal articulation may be seen in the absence of influence of pharyngals on adjoining vowels. We shall meet such cases in the Hijaz (§ 10 *g, seq.*). For Hudhail I have only *ḥiqw* 'loins' for *ḥaqw* (Tāj, x, 95). The form with *i* would be the original one, if the word is connected with Hebrew *ḥēq* (Barth, Etym. Studien, p. 61), but Haupt (AJSL, xxvi, 227) compares the Hebrew word with Arabic *khāq* 'vulva'. On either assumption the form is difficult, since the Hebrew form points to **ḥaiq* (Bauer-Leander, Hist. Gramm., p. 202).[14] Cf., however, the cases (§ 10 *i*) where the Najd dialects have *i* for western *a*.

s Absence of the rounding influence of labial consonants is responsible for the difference between Hudhail *ʾimm* and Classical *ʾumm* 'mother' (ʾAghānī, xxi, 43: in Jamhara, i, 20, as dialect form without mention of Hudhail). The form *ʾimm, yimm*, is used in several Arabic colloquials, thus proving that it was in ancient times not restricted to the Hudhail dialect. The central Yemen colloquial uses to-day *ʾumm* (Goitein, Jemenica, p. 28), but this, like other features of that dialect, may be of post-Islamic importation. Perhaps we should oppose West-Arabian and Canaanite *ʾimm* to East-Arabian, Aramaic, and Accadian *ʾumm* (Mishnaic Hebrew *ʾūm* is a technical word and probably borrowed) as alternative Proto-Semitic forms.

t Instead of *ʿaṣāya* 'my staff' the Hudhail said *ʿaṣayya*, and similarly *qafayya* 'the nape of my neck', *hudayya* 'my guidance', *hawayya* 'my desire'. The earliest witness to this is Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/859; in Lisān, xx, 249; cf. further Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 44; Tabrīzī, Ḥamāsa comm., p. 22; Baiḍāwī, i, 593; Ibn ʿAqīl, p. 354). The form is found in a line by ʾAbū Dhuʾaib (Dīwān Hudhail, ii, No. 1, 7), but it is not restricted to that dialect. ʿIsā b. ʿUmar (d. 149) declares it to be Quraish dialect. It is common in Koran readings. The Basrian grammarian Ibn ʾAbī ʾIsḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 117/735) read in xx, 19, *ʿaṣayya* 'my staff', and in vi, 163/162 *maḥyayya* 'my life'. The Basrian al-Ḥasan and others read in xii, 19, *yā bushrayya* 'good

news to me' (where the textus receptus has *bushrā*). Some read in ii, 36/38 *hudayya* 'my guidance'; this is the reading of the Samarkand codex (cf. JAOS, lxii, 183). Zamakhsharī (Kashshāf, p. 646) tells us that in his own time (he died at Mecca 538/1143) the people of the Sarāt said in prayer *yā sayyidī wa-maulayya* 'my Lord and Master'. These forms belong to the same paradigm as the Himyaritic *qafaika* 'thy neck' (§ 5 *i*) and the certainly Western expressions *labbaika* 'hail to thee' and *sa'daika* 'good luck to thee'. The old *ai*, with which these nouns ended in proto-Semitic, is here preserved, as it is in Classical Arabic in *'alaika*, *'alayya*, etc. (cf. Sarauw, ZAss., xxi, 40). In the dialects outside West-Arabian the final *ai* of both nouns and prepositions had become, according to a sound-law peculiar to those dialects, first *ē* and then, together with the common Semitic *ē*, had coalesced with the strongly imālized *ā*. In the nouns the *ā* of the absolute form spread by analogy to the forms with suffixes, while in the prepositions the suffixed forms kept their old vocalization. The difference is perhaps due to the circumstance that the prepositions never would appear in free final position, and the change was transferred to their suffix-less forms by analogy after it had existed for some time in the nouns. In West-Arabian the *-ai* was preserved as such in the free final position (cf. § 10 *bb*), and, therefore, there was no ground for introducing *ā* into the suffixed forms. We must, therefore, assume that West-Arabian said not only *'aṣayya*, *'aṣaika*, but also **'aṣaihū* (cf. § 10 *f*), **'aṣaihā*, etc. Cases of different vocalization in West-Arabian texts are of course no argument against this, as they are either proof of the more thorough command of Classical Arabic on the part of the authors, or the result of later correction. If we find in a poem by a Ḥarithi (Ḥamāsa, p. 22, line 2) the form *hawāya* 'my longing', this might well be evidence for the change *ai* > *ā* peculiar to that dialect (§ 7 *e*). 'Astarābādī is no doubt right in remarking that there is no similar 'change' in the dual: the Hudhail said *'aṣayya*, but *khalīlāya* 'my two friends' (Kāfiya comm., i, 294). His remarks would hardly have been necessary, but for the view held by the Arab grammarians (e.g., Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 61 *b*) that there was in *'aṣayya* assimilation of the "*'alif*",[15] which of course should affect every *'alif* in the same way.

u The indeterminate state of these words in the Hudhail dialect was according to Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, iii, 488) *'aṣan*, *qafan*, just as in Classical Arabic.

v The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that some of the nouns just discussed are from roots tertiæ *w*. Both *qafan* and *'aṣan* are spelled with final *'alif*. The verb belonging to *qafan* is *qafā*, *yaqfū* 'to follow closely'; from *'aṣan* we have *'aṣautu* 'I struck with a stick'. In the Yemenite dialect it was *'aṣwun* (§ 4 *v*). There was, however, also a verb *'aṣaitu* and *'aṣītu*, which the lexicographers rather artificially distinguish from *'aṣautu*.

Ibn Sīda (in Lisān, xix, 294) calls *ʿaṣaitu* a dialect form of *ʿaṣautu*. This is the common Arabic confusion of tertiæ *w* and *y*. Conversely, the common *ʾinan* (with *y*) 'hour of the night', was in some dialect *ʾinwun* (Ibn ʾAʿrābī in Lisān, xviii, 52). On the evidence of *ʿaṣwun* we may identify that dialect as Yemenite.

w The type **ʿaṣaiun* seems not to have been the only one taken by these nouns The above-mentioned *ʾinan* 'hour of the night' appears as *ʾinyun* in a line by the Hudhali al-Mutanakhkhil (Ibn Wallād, Maqṣūr wa-mamdūd, p 7; Lisān, *loc cit*). This corresponds to the Yemenite *ʿaṣwun*. It presupposes **ʾinayun*, and was perhaps peculiar to some part of Hudhail. The plural *ʾānāʾ* is said to be Hudhail dialect (ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Ris., p. 143; Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 311).

x In Koran, xi, 107/105 the Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir (of Yemenite origin), and the Kufans ʿĀṣim (of ʾAsad) and Ḥamza (of Taim) read *yauma yaʾti* (Baiḍāwī, i, 447). It is not possible to take *yaʾti* as jussive. Zamakhsharī (Kashshāf, p. 632) remarks that such forms are frequent in the Hudhail dialect.[16] In fact the shortening of final *ī* is a well-established trait of the dialect of Hijaz, and probably of West-Arabian as a whole, affecting also the dialects of ʾAsad and Qais (cf. § 10 *gg* and map No. 13).

y The Hudhail dialect, in contrast to Yemen (§ 4 *aa*) and Ṭayyiʾ (§ 14 *v*) employed the common Arabic relative pronoun *alladhī*. A form *alladh* is found twice in a line by an unknown Hudhali (Dīwān Hudhail, i, 287) and in another, also by an unknown Hudhali (Lisān, xx, 342; Khizāna, ii, 498). Al-Laith (Lisān, *loc. cit.*) says this is a form used by some Arabs, but ʾAndalusī (quoted ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 40) denies this, asserting that it is within the limits of poetic license. We know that poetic license often reflects archaic or dialect usage. The relation between *alladhī* and *alladh* is the same as between Biblical Hebrew *hallāzeh* 'this' (Gen., xxiv, 65, xxxvii, 19; both JE) and the more frequent *hallāz*. Barth (Pronom., p. 158) argues that *alladh* is the older form, *alladhī* being due to the influence of *allatī*. But in a Western dialect like that of the Hudhail, *alladh* can be accounted for by the West-Arabian shortening and elision of final *ī*. The form *alladhī* was also used in Hijaz (§ 12 *i*) and may there have been subject to the same shortening.

z For the plural of *alladh(ī)* we are given two forms. Ibn ʿAqīl (p. 39) and ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 40) say the Hudhail use *alladhūna* for the nominative (as against Classical Arabic *alladhīna* for all cases). Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 56) cites this as unspecified dialect. Ibn Hishām (Bānat Suʿād, p. 81) says 'either the ʿUqail or the Hudhail use *alladhūna*, and the Hudhail use *allāʾūna*'. The matter seems decided by the shāhid, attributed to the ʿUqailī ʾAbū Ḥarb al-ʾAʿlam (cf. Schaw.-Indices, p. 53, b. 5), containing *alladhūna*, thus leaving *allāʾūna* as the form which was used by the Hudhail

dialect. ʿAbū Ḥayyān (in his comm. on Ibn Mālik's Tashīl, quoted Shinqīṭī, i, 58) asserts that *allā'ūnā*, oblique case *allā'īna*, was used by part of Hudhail, though the shāhid (Shaw-Ind. 52, b. 6) is quoted by Farrā' (Lisān xx, 342) and others without allusion to Hudhail. This curiously resembles the *allā'ī* used for the plural in Hijaz (§ 12 *i*). Possibly *allā'ūna* is nothing but one stage in the transition from West-Arabian **'allai* to Classical Arabic *alladhīna*.

aa In 'Abū 'Amr's comprehensive statement on the vowel of the prefixes of the *a*-imperfect (cf. § 6 *i* and map No. 6) it is said that the Hudhail partly had *a*, like the Hijaz, partly *i*, like the Eastern dialects. This illustrates the peculiar position of this dialect. The *i*-forms, of recent origin in the East, had by 'Abū ʿAmr's time (d. 154) penetrated only part of the Hudhail area, or were perhaps used concurrently with the old forms. The only example for *i*-prefixes which we get for this dialect is, however, an erroneous one. 'Aṣmaʿī ('Aḍdād, p. 52, cf. Lisān, i, 386) quotes a line by Dukain ibn Rajā' al-Fuqaimī (d. 105 H., cf. Yāqūt, 'Irshād, iv, 200) in which the word *nirbabuhu* 'we rear him', for *narabbuhu*, occurs. He declares that the *i* in the prefix is according to the Hudhail dialect. Fuqaim, however, was a clan of Ḥanẓala, belonging thus to Tamīm, and probably 'Hudhail' is a copyist's mistake. The really interesting thing in the word is not the prefix, but the strong imperfect of med. gem., which reminds one of modern South-Arabian and Ethiopic, and of the strong forms in the Hijazi jussive (§ 12 *y*). A similar form occurs in a *ḥadith* of doubtful origin: *limā yaʿruruka* 'because of what disgraces you' (Zamakhsharī, Fā'iq, ii, 67; Lisān, vi, 232). It may have been current in some dialects, since it is allowed by poetic license (Wright, ii, 378).

bb With regard to *'ikhālu* 'methinks', Marzūqī (as quoted by Tāj, vii, 313) says that this common Arabic form was of the Ṭayyi' dialect. As quoted by Freytag (Einführung, p. 82) he said that *'ikhālu* originated in Hudhail, spread thence to Tayyi', and then to all other dialects. We have mentioned Marzūqī's further assertion, that only the 'Asad said *'akhālu*, and have claimed this form for the 'Azd (§ 6 *l*). It occurs also in Hijaz (§ 12 *p*). The word is probably not a case of the Eastern imperfect with *i*-prefixes, but entirely independent. Vollers (ZAss., xvii, 308) gives several instances in which initial *'a-* before a velar or guttural consonant followed by *ā* in the next syllable was dissimilated, e.g., *'ikhwān* 'brother', *'iḥdä* 'one' (fem. of *'aḥad*). All these cases can also be explained in some other way, but in their entirety suggest a pattern for *'ikhālu*. The word, being used as a parenthesis, was pronounced with very weak stress or none, and thus more exposed to the action of phonetic tendencies. It is impossible to know what exactly Marzūqī's statement means, but it appears to imply that Hudhail and Tayyi' had *'ikhālu*, as opposed to neighbouring dialects.

cc The Hudhail dialect used *matä* (or rather the West-Arabian form *matai*) as a preposition (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 58 *a*; Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, ii, 21; Aṣma'ī and Farrā' in Lisān, xx, 364, etc.). According to the philologists it was equivalent to *bi-*, *wasṭa*, and *min* 'in, into, out of, from'. The meaning 'into' is exhibited in the stock example, first quoted by 'Abū Zaid, *waḍa'tuhu matä kummī* 'I put it into my sleeve'. Ibn Hishām even says that *matä* was, in other dialects too, a noun equivalent to *wasṭ* 'middle, inside'. All this appears to be fancy. In the quotations from Hudhali poets it always means 'from': 'Abū Dhu'aib, xi, 8 ('from the depths'); 'Abū l-Muthallam, v, 3 ('from her flanks'—other reading *ladä*); Sā'ida b. Ju'ayya, ix, 6 ('lightning from a heavy cloud'); and a line by an unnamed poet in Lisān, *loc. cit.* ('drunkenness from wine'). This encourages us to compare this *matä* with the equally strange Hebrew temporal preposition *middē* (? < **maddai*) 'since, from . . . to', the manifold constructions of which betray some uncertainty in handling it. It is not possible to connect *middē* with *kědhē* 'enough for, so that', etc., as no trace of the meaning of 'enough' can be detected in it. The equation is here offered with all due reserve.

dd According to Farrā' (in Lisān, xx, 350), some Arabs used *'idhin* with the function of *'idh-dhāka* 'at that time', like Hebrew *'āz*. This is an archaism, since the compound terms *ḥīna'idhin*, etc. (list in Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, p. 63) presuppose an earlier use of *'idhin* in this way all over Arabia. The only examples available come from Hudhali poets: 'Abū Dhu'aib (ed. Hell, xviii, 2) and Sā'ida b. 'Ajlān (Dīwān Hudhail, xxvii, 13). The Hudhail used also, according to Farrā', a compound of *'idhin* not known elsewhere, *'awāna'idhin*, found in a line by Dākhil b. Ḥarām al-Hudhali (Dīwān, 124, 11). Perhaps the implication is that *'awān* 'time' was a Hudhali or West-Arabian word.

ee In discussing Koran, lxxxvi, 4, *'in kullu nafsin lammā 'alaihā ḥāfiẓun*, Farrā' rather hesitatingly suggests that the Hudhail employ after *'in* 'not' *lammā* instead of *'illā* 'except' (Orientalia, xv, 214). We shall discuss the *'in kullu . . . lammā* construction later (§ 13 *e*). Farrā's suggestion does not help to explain it, but may be based on some actual point of Hudhail usage, not necessarily correctly understood.

ff The construction *'ammā 'anta barran fa-qtarib* 'if thou art pious, approach', gave the Arab grammarians great difficulties. Fischer (ZDMG, lxiii, 597–602) rejects it as a philologist's invention. One does not quite see why the philologists should have invented such headaches for themselves. There are only two *shawāhid*. The first: *'immā 'aqamta wa-'ammā 'anta murtaḥilan/fa-llāhu yakla'u mā ta'tī wa-mā tadharu* 'whether thou remainest or art about to depart, Allah guards what thou dost or dost not do', is ascribed to a Hudhali (cf. Schawahid-Indices, 90, b. 1). The other is generally said to be by the Sulami 'Abbās b. Mirdās, but in Broch's Mufaṣṣal edition (p. 34,

line 8) is said to be by a Hudhali. In the Khizāna (ii, 81) this ascription is attributed to a commentator of the Mufaṣṣal. Whether right or wrong, it shows a tradition that this construction was Hudhail dialect. There is certainly no cause to deny its existence. It fits in well with the use of accusative after *'ammā* in West-Arabian (cf. § 13 *cc*, *seq.*) .It would be attractive to connect it with the West-Arabian *'immā* 'if' (§ 13 *oo*), with which it is in parallelism in our first shāhid.

NOTES

[1] Sībawaihi (ii, 458) quotes 'Abū l-Khaṭṭāb as saying that *ni'ima* for *ni'ma* 'how good' was Hudhail dialect. This is not necessarily *na'ima* with vowel-harmony, but might be an 'Aufsprengung' of *ni'ma*. Still, the form is hardly Hudhail dialect, as the *shāhid* given is by Ṭarafa of the Eastern tribe of Bakr.

[2] In Lisān, xiv, 217, ascribed to Ibn Harma (d. 150/767), himself of Hudhail or Kinana (cf. 'Aghānī iv, 102).

[3] A very similar contaminated form is the early colloquial *ibint*, *abint* 'daughter' (Ḥarīrī, Durra, ed. Thorbecke, p. 118), from *bint* and *ibna*.

[4] Although, of course, these forms are written with *hamza* in the Arabic sources, I am not marking the *hamza*, since the whole *raison d'être* of the sound-change is its elision.

[5] Lisān (xx, 284) and Tāj (x, 397) write *lughatun 'āmmiyyatun* 'vulgar form' for *lughatun 'āmiriyyatun*. The phraseology of the Tāj clearly shows that a dialect, not a vulgarism is meant. The confusion is not infrequent.

[6] A parallel case may be seen in Modern Arabic reading style. Speakers who will contract most *ai* into *ē* will often refrain from contracting *au* into *ō*.

[7] Both Hebrew and Ugaritic have some words which did not change *w* into *y*. This incomplete working of a sound-law is not uncommon as a phenomenon in linguistic geography.

[8] Freytag (Einführung, p. 89) gives *ad* for *yad* as form of the dialect of Liḥyān, whom he calls a section of Hudhail. It seems more probable that the North-Arabian Liḥyān of the inscriptions are meant. Perhaps this change belonged to the later stages of 'Proto-Arabian'. I have not been able to trace Freytag's source. Perhaps *ad* goes back to some proto-Semitic form without *y*, cf. Canaanite *badiu* 'in his hand' (Amarna, 245, 35), Ugaritic *bd* 'in the hand of', and Ethiopic *ed*.

[9] No such reading is quoted in his name in Jeffery's Materials.

[10] In spite of the editor's doubts, this reading, found in both MSS., must be the right one, not his emendation *'aḥḥadu*, which in Tamīm would have become **'iḥḥadu* (§ 6 *i*). The Kufan Yaḥyā b. Waththāb read *'i'hadu*.

[11] 'Anīs (Lahajāt, p. 7) says that the Egyptian bedouins (*sukkān al-bawādī al-miṣriyya*) change *hamza* to *'ain*, but does not specify in what contexts. The Arab philologists identify the change of *hamza* to *'ain* with *'an'anat Tamim*, but this is much more likely to have been some general characteristic of Tamim speech (cf. § 14 *f*). The verb *'an'ana* means 'to moan', so that the name may have indicated some peculiar intonation.

[12] The original meaning of the word, 'to pierce' (as in Hebrew) is reflected in the phrase *ḥatarahu* 'he stared at him', abbreviated from *ḥatarahu bi-'ainaihi* 'he pierced him with his eyes'. Compare the imagery often repeated in Arabic poetry, of the beloved shooting arrows from her eyes, and Old Egyptian *sti* 'to shoot; to stare'.

[13] Possibly the verb is Hebrew, derived from Mishnaic *'ether* 'pitchfork'.

[14] However, Ethiopic *ḥaqᵘē*, *ḥauqē* also has *a*.

[15] For the Arab philologist, of course, *ā* was a combination of *a* and *'alif*, as *ū* was one of *u* and *wāw*.

[16] In the line containing the words *shtar lanā sawīqan* 'buy us gruel' (anon., Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 1320; Ḥamawī, Sharḥ shaw. al-Kashshāf, p. 95), for *shtari*, the fall of *i* has nothing to do with the phenomenon discussed here. The form is said to be Tamim dialect. What we have here is absorption of the short vowel by *r*. It is doubtful whether this was restricted to any dialect. In Koran, xli, 29, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn 'Āmir, Ya'qūb, and 'Abū Bakr, i.e., largely Hijazi readers and their followers, read *'arnā* for *'arinā* 'show us' (Baiḍāwī). The Tamīmī 'Abū 'Amr, who was born at Mecca and lived in Basra, read in lxvii, 20, *yanṣurkum* for *yanṣurukum*, in vi, 109, *yush'irkum* for *yush'irukum*, and somewhere *ya'murkum* for *ya'murukum* (Shinqīṭī, ii, 81). Similar phenomena, ascribed to Tamīm dialect, also occur with other liquids: *yu'allimhum* and *yal'anhum* (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 23).

Chapter 9

HIJAZ: INTRODUCTION

a Naturally enough, we are better informed about the Hijaz dialect than about any other. Not only does the information of our sources flow more richly, but we possess some texts which, though not written in Hijaz dialect, yet exhibit some traits of it. There is some danger in this very plenty. We may be inclined to take any peculiarity of a Hijazi text, whether it is due to bad copying or great age, as a glimpse of the dialect, and the ancient philologists were just as prone to this error. The population of Hijaz changed considerably in the first centuries of Islam; the old dialect probably became extinct in the cities and was replaced by a mixed colloquial similar to that spoken in our days. No doubt the philologists often record the speech of their contemporaries at Mecca or Medina as Hijaz dialect. It may be that the impression we get of the Hijaz dialect as tending in many respects towards the East rather than towards West-Arabian is due to this kind of information and does not apply to the language the Prophet spoke. We are gravely hindered by the almost complete lack of information about the present-day rural speech of Hijaz, which may have preserved features of the old dialect.

b The word *ḥijāz* 'barrier' was at first applicable to any part of the belt between the coastal plain, or Tihāma, and the uplands, or Najd. In practice it meant the *ḥijāz*-country around Medina (cf. Lammens, L'Arabie occid., p. 300). The statement of ʾAṣmaʿī (in Yāqūt, Muʿjam, ii, 205), presumably based on the usage of pre-Islamic poetry, may be considered typical for pre-Imperial tradition. He excludes the coastal plain, but extends the country into the interior to include the territories of Sulaim, Hilāl, and part of Hawāzin. The northern boundary runs from the point where the boundary between the tribes of Khuzāʿa and Juhaina leaves the coastal plain, to Shaghab and Badan, two places in the territory of Balī south of Teimā (cf. Hamdānī, Jazīra, p. 170). In Imperial times the province of Hijaz included Mecca, Ṭāʾif, and the rest of the Tihāma as far south as the confines of Hudhail (cf. Nöldeke, Beiträge, p. 11; Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 302). In view of the constant parallelism between *lughat Quraish* and *lughat ʾahl al-Ḥijāz* it is clear that the philologists used the name in this later sense.[1] The bedouin tribes of the interior were sometimes included in the Hijaz and at other times among the Qais.

c Qāsim b. Maʿn is quoted in the Ṣaḥāḥ (i, 33) as saying that the dialects of Mecca and Medina were identical except for the word *tābūt* 'ark', which at Medina was pronounced *tābūh* (cf. § 10 *v*). Schwarz (Umar, iv, 95, note 2) rejects this statement as worthless because it refers to the pronunciation of

a foreign word; but this is just the point of Qāsim's observation: in all essentials there was complete agreement. Actually Medina alone is mentioned several times in connection with dialect data. Qāsim's statement fits in too well with the tendency of later times to identify the Hijaz dialect with Classical Arabic (cf. § 3 *m seq.*). Of course he meant his words to apply only to the usage with regard to Koran reading or religious terms.

d In fact the difference between Mecca and Medina must have been considerable. Moreover both, having been seized by their inhabitants only shortly before Islam, must to some extent have been foreign bodies in their linguistic environment. The term *lughat 'ahl al-Ḥijāz* hides all this from us. The frequent mention of the Kināna dialect with regard to peculiarities of the Koran may give us some pointers to the idiom of Mecca. For Medina, similar material seems to be contained in data given under the heading of al-ʿĀliya. This may at first have been identical with *ʿawālī l-madīnati*, a group of villages situated 4–8 miles from Medina towards Najd (Qasṭallānī, iv, 271; Lisān, xix, 320). There was a group of Hawāzin clans near Medina, including the Saʿd b. Bakr, Jusham b. Bakr, and Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya, which were called *'aʿjāz Hawāzin* 'tail-end of the Hawāzin' or *ʿulyā Hawāzin* 'upper Hawāzin' (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, i, 23). We may perhaps render the last term more freely as 'Hawāzin of the ʿĀliya'. For Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 521), Ibn Duraid (Ishtiqāq, p. 34), and Yāqūt (Muʿjam, iii, 593) the ʿĀliya was synonymous with the old Ḥijaz as described by ʾAṣmaʿī (§ *b*). ʾAzharī (in Lisān, xix, 320) describes the *ʿāliyat al-Ḥijāz* as a spacious country, which includes the Ḥarrat Lailā (in the territory of Dhubyān; Yāqūt, ii, 250), the Ḥarrat Shaurān (near ʿAqīq; Yāqūt, ii, 249) and the Ḥarrat Sulaim (ibid.). Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 6) similarly defines the region as the triangle Medina—Khaibar—ʿOneiza, i.e., the country south of Wādī Rumma. Still wider is the definition of ʾAbū ʿAlī (quoted Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), who says that it covers 'all the country beyond Wādī Rumma towards Mecca, including the tribes ʿUkl, Taim, part of Ḍabba, all ʿĀmir, Bāhila, part of ʾAsad, and ʿAbdallah b. Ghaṭafān', i.e., South-western Nejd. For Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 16) the term simply covers 'the Quraish and their neighbours', i.e., Imperial Hijaz. It is strange that such early scholars were so vague about the meaning of the term. We cannot go far wrong, in any event, if we take it as equivalent to northern Hijaz.[2]

e In the course of his statement about the *hamza* (Lisān, i, 14) ʾAbū Zaid (d. 214/829) appears to draw a distinction between the speech of Hijaz and that of Mecca and Medina, when he enumerates 'the people of Hijaz, Hudhail, and the people of Mecca and Medina'. Perhaps he took here Hijaz in the sense of *ʿĀliyat al-Ḥijāz*. We are hardly justified in seeing in this a distinction between the speech of the cities and that of the countryside.

f What we mainly get in our sources is, of course, the idiom of the holy cities. The urban character of the Hijaz dialect is typified by the foreign words which are given as peculiar to it, such as *biṭrīq* 'patricius' (Tāj, vi, 296), *balās* 'saddlecloth' from the Persian (Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 443; Jamhara, i, 288, iii, 500), *firsik* 'peach'[3] (Jamhara, iii, 338).

g The Hijazis were proud of their native speech. This is illustrated by anecdotes in which the aristocracy of Quraish are shown jealously defending it against foreign mannerisms (§ 10 *h*, *i*), and the people of Medina become agressive in the face of correct Arabic (§ 11 *ll*). These stories are obviously tendentious, but may well contain a grain of truth. It cannot be accidental that the Hijazi school of Koran readers often preserves Hijazi peculiarities and tries to give them a greater prestige by attributing such readings to the first Caliphs. We may have here the last echoes of the lost battle for the West-Arabian language against the rising tide of an East-Arabian Classical idiom backed up by grammarians with a veneration for bedouins and by the glory of heathen bedouin poetry.

NOTES

[1] A most peculiar view is expressed by some Hijazis in Lisān, ii, 332, who say that the region of *al-Khabt* lay 'between Medina and the Hijaz'.

[2] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 57) calls the 'Aliya 'a region where dwelt innumerable fragments of scattered tribes', and ascribes to its language a mixed character. This is not borne out by the data.

[3] The form represents Palestinian Jewish Aramaic *pirsīqā*, *pirs̆eqā*, rather than Syriac *parsāyā*. The loanwords discussed in § 10 *t-v* also exhibit a form that suggests that they were taken from Palestinian rather than from Mesopotamian Aramaic.

Chapter 10

HIJAZ: THE VOWELS

a The most outstanding difference between the phonetics of the Eastern dialects and West-Arabian is that in the former vowels are changed under the influence of surrounding phonemes and of stress, while such influences are almost wholly absent from West-Arabian. The latter preserves the fuller forms found in cognate languages, such as Canaanite and Ethiopic. Classical Arabic on the whole sides more with West-Arabian in this respect than with the Eastern dialects. Since it exhibits this character in the oldest poetry, where Hijazi influence is quite unthinkable, we can only attribute the preservation of the full vowels to the archaic character of Classical Arabic, and assign to the vowel elision of the Eastern dialects a comparatively late date. In fact vowel elision in the colloquials does rarely go as far as it did, according to the grammarians, in the ancient Eastern dialects. The influence of surrounding phonemes on vowels, on the other hand, is in most colloquials more pronounced.

b In the Eastern dialects unstressed *i* and *u* were elided, thus reducing the patterns *fiʿil*, *fuʿul* to *fiʿl* and *fuʿl* (Sībawaihi, ii, 198), *faʿil* and *faʿul* to *faʿl* (*ibid.* 277), the verbal forms *faʿila* to *faʿla* (*ibid.*)—two examples in one line: ʾAkhṭal (ed. Ṣālḥānī), 217, 17—,*faʿula* to *faʿla* (Jeffery, R.S.O., xvi, 261), *fuʿila* to *fuʿla* (Jamhara, ii, 329) or to *füʿla* (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 31a). The last case shows influence of the elided vowel on the one preceding it, i.e., vowel harmony and subsequent elision. The same process produced *kilma* for *kalima* 'word' (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣāʾiṣ, i, 25), *ṣudqa* for *ṣaduqa* 'dowry' (Miṣbāḥ, p. 513), and forms like *fikhdh* for *fakhidh* 'thigh' (Lisān, v, 37) and *ʿuḍd* for *ʿaḍud* 'elbow' (Mukhaṣṣaṣ, i, 163)—the two last ones not considered dialect forms. All this is entirely absent from the Hijaz dialect. Often the forms with full vowels are specifically introduced as belonging to that dialect, even where both forms were current in Classical Arabic: *ʿunuq* for *ʿunq* 'neck' (Miṣbāḥ, p. 622), *ḍilaʿ* for *ḍilʿ* 'rib' (Tāj, v, 433), *ṣaduqa* (Miṣbāḥ, p. 513) or *ṣuduqa* (Farrāʾ on Koran, xiii, 7/6) for *ṣudqa*, *yaumu l-jumuʿati* 'Friday', where the ʿUqail said *jumaʿati* and the Tamim *jumʿati* (Farrāʾ in Orientalia, xv, 186). The Tamimi form is read here by the Kufan ʾAʿmash, the Hijazi form by the Hijazi readers and the Kufan ʿĀṣim. In some cases only the Eastern form is common in Classical Arabic, as in the case of Hijazi *ḥusun* for *ḥusn* 'beauty' (Baiḍāwī, i, 70: non-canonical reading in ii, 77/83). It cannot always be said that the Hijazi form is older and the Eastern form produced by elision. As the instance of Arabic *malik* and Hebrew *malk-* proves, there was a good deal of wavering between segolate and bisyllabic noun forms in Semitic. For the same reason one

cannot claim that the Hijaz dialect inserted vowels into forms which originally had none. Some Western poets indeed did so for the sake of the metre (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 100 *seq.*), and the Meccan colloquial of to-day freely produces anaptyctic vowels of this kind (Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkanische Sprichwörter, p. 99). The same tendency may have existed in the old dialect, but we have no proof for it.

c A special case are the plurals in *-āt* of feminine segolates. The Eastern dialects formed these by simply attaching *-āt* to the stem, West-Arabian with an additional vowel. The Classical language wavers, forming *faʿalāt* from *faʿla*, but omitting the *a* in the case of roots mediæ *w* and *y*, and *fiʿlāt*, *fuʿlāt* from *fiʿla* and *fuʿla*, admitting however *fiʿilāt* and *fiʿalāt*, etc., as well. The Hijaz dialect had everywhere the three-syllable forms. Thus the Hijazis said *mathalāt*, *ṣuduqāt* (Farrāʾ on Koran, xiii, 7/6) and *niʿimāt* (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xvi, 59). The two latter forms seem to have been peculiar to the Hijaz, other West-Arabian dialects saying *niʿamat* and *ṣudaqāt*, like Hebrew *kĕbhāśōth* from *kibhśāh* and *ḥŏrābhōth* from *ḥorbāh* (cf. on this § 8 *d*).

d The absence of elision was noticed by ʾAbū ʿUbaida (d. 210/825): 'The Hijazis give full weight to every sound (*yufakhkhimūna l-kalāma kullahu*), except for *ʿashra* "ten" which they shorten (*yajzimūnahu*). The Najdis do not give full weight to sounds (*yatrukūna t-tafkhīma fī l-kalāmi*) except in this one word, which they pronounce *ʿashira*' (quoted by Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 220). In syntax *fakhkhama* means 'to emphasize', to make the meaning quite clear (e.g., ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 5). It is again applied in connection with the Hijazi dialect to the 'pure' *a*, unchanged by *ʾimāla* (cf. § *p*).[1] Obviously here something more than the mere retention of vowels is meant, a process that is denoted by *tathqīl*, as opposed to *takhfīf* (Farrāʾ on Koran, lxii, 9, quoted Orientalia, xv, 186). There are many stages of weakening and neutralization in unstressed vowels before the vowel is completely elided. In the Hijaz dialect the unstressed short vowels were given the same sound as the stressed ones. Hijazi Arabic would thus in this respect have resembled American English, while the speech of Najd resembled King's English.

e We need not accept ʾAbū ʿUbaida's view that the case of *ʿashra* forms an exception to the Hijazi rule. The form he means is the one used in the feminine numbers from 11 to 19. Here the Hijazis said *ʾiḥdä ʿashrata*, etc., the Tamim and the people of Najd in general *ʾiḥdä ʿashirata* (Sībawaih, ii, 176; Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 364). Some Tamim said *ʾiḥdä ʿasharata* (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 175). The Hijazi is considered the better form (ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 150). Hebrew *ʿeśrēh* (in Babylonian pointing *ʿaśrōh*) and Syriac *ʿesrē* prove that it was also the proto-Semitic form. The Tamimi *ʿashira* has therefore an anaptyctic vowel. The same is the case in Tamimi *samura* for Hijaz *samra*

'gum-acacia tree' (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 50), where however Classical Arabic has adopted the Tamimi form. It is to be noted that in both cases the anaptyctic vowel appears before *r*, a consonant that seems to have exercised a peculiar effect on vowels in Eastern Arabic (cf. § 12 *k* and the note on § 8*x*). In this particular case we have a parallel from Accadian. There a short vowel following upon a syllable with short vowel is normally elided, but an *a* before *r* is not (Goetze, Orientalia, xv, 233–8). It seems that it was found difficult to pronounce an *r* immediately after another consonant. In Miṣbāḥ, p. 1079, it is stated that in the ʾAsad dialect every noun of the pattern *fuʿl* became *fuʿul*, but the only examples given are *ʿusr* 'difficulty' and *nusr* 'eagles', which became *ʿusur(un)* and *nusur(un)*. This may be merely another example of anaptyxis with *r*.[2]

f Another feature of the Eastern dialects is vowel-harmony, i.e., assimilation of unstressed short vowels to the stressed ones. In the Tamim dialect the feminine plural form *fuʿalā* was pronounced *faʿalā* (Ibn Khālawaih, Badīʿ, p. 26). The tendency is particularly strong when only a laryngal consonant (which required no adjustment of the buccal organs of articulation) intervenes, as in Tamimi *riʾī* for *rʿʾī* 'familiar spirit' (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xix, 10; Ibn Qutaiba, ʾAdab, p. 401), *biʿīr* for *baʿīr* 'camel' (Tāj, iii, 52) and so generally with *faʿīl* (Sībawaihi, ii, 274). In the ʾAsad dialect *fa-* and *wa-* 'and' became *fi-* and *wi-* before *ʾi* (ʾAkhfash in Ibn Khālawaih, Badiʿ, p. 17). Examples with other vowels: *ʾurūma* for *ʾarūma* 'origin' (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 254), *ḥaṣād* for *ḥiṣād* 'harvest' (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176).[3] The only phenomenon of this kind in Classical Arabic is the assimilation of the suffixes *-hū*, *humū*, and *-hunna* after *i* or *y*.[4] Incidentally, this is the only known case in Arabic of progressive assimilation. Even this was more radical in the Rabīʿa dialects, where it worked across a consonant, as in *minhimi* 'from them' (Sībawaihi, ii, 321) and with *-kumū* as well as *-humū* (*ibid.*). In the Hijaz dialect even this modest amount of vowel harmony was absent. There one said *bi-ghulāmihū*, *bi-ghulāmihum*, etc. (Sībawaihi, ii, 321). The Hijazi readers read in Koran, xxviii, 81, *bihū wabi-dārihū* 'upon him and his house' (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 57). The Kufan Ḥafṣ (pupil of ʿĀṣim) seems to have read in this manner fairly consistently (Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, i, 58).[5] Most readers found some compromise of their own. The Kufan Ḥamza (of Taim, a tribe of the ʿĀliya) did not assimilate after prepositions, but always after nouns ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 12), except when the pronoun came immediately before a *hamzat al-waṣl*. Thus he read in xx, 9/10 *qāla li-ʾahlihu mkuthū*. Some readers read with the third pl. *-humū*, others *-himū*; only the Basrian ʾAbū ʿAmr read *-himi*. All these readings are found in Kufic codices, where sometimes both the Hijazi and the Eastern reading are indicated by dots in different colours (Nöldeke, GQ., 1st ed., p. 328). Kisāʾī (d. 189/805) heard an old man of the Hawazin

use the forms without vowel harmony (Lisān, xx, 368). The insistence on his age may imply that the younger generation of the tribe used the Eastern forms.

g The influence of uvular, pharyngal, and emphatic consonants on adjoining vowels was stronger in the East than in the Hijaz dialect. Of course we have no means of discovering non-phonemic changes, such as *æ* to *å* (cf. Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 47), only those in which under the influence of such consonants a different vowel-phoneme was substituted. The Classical language again takes up a middle position, often having both the Western and the Eastern forms. It is often impossible to ascertain from the lexica which is to be considered the Classical form. I therefore give the forms in the following simply as Hijaz and Tamim, etc., assuming that the alternative forms were in each case used in the opposite dialect even where this is not expressly mentioned.

h The following cases can be observed:

In the neighbourhood of guttural or uvular consonants the Eastern dialects have an *a* where the Hijaz has *u*: Hijaz *ʿuqru d-dāri* against Tamim *ʿaqru* 'main part of the house' (ʾAṣmaʿī, ʾAḍdād, p. 5; Ibn Sikkīt, ʾAḍdād, p. 164), ʿĀliya *yafrughu* 'he is at rest' for *yafraghu* (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 281; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 16), *luḥd* 'grave-niche' and *rufgh* 'armpit' against Tamim *laḥd*, *rafgh* (Rāfiʿī, Tārīkh, i, 147), *shuhd* 'unrefined honey' against Tamim *shahd* (Miṣbāḥ; Tāj, ii, 392), Hijaz *juhd* 'effort' for *jahd* (Miṣbāḥ, p. 176), *zuhw* 'dates turning yellow' for *zahw* (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 490), Tamim *yajnaḥu* 'he inclines' against Qais *yajnuḥu* (Tāj, ii, 133), Bakr *bakhl* 'avarice' for *bukhl* (Ibn Khālawaihi, Badīʿ, p. 26). For *ḍaʿf* 'weakness' they said *ḍuʿf* 'in the language of the prophet' (Miṣbāḥ, p. 176). This information is no doubt derived from a hadith in which Ibn ʿOmar relates that he pronounced in Koran, xxx, 53/54 *ḍaʿf* before the Prophet, and the latter corrected him and told him to say *ḍuʿf* (Baiḍāwī, ii, 110). Only the two Kufans ʿĀṣim and Ḥamza read here *ḍaʿf*. The anecdote is interesting as it shows how the authority of the Caliphs and the Prophet himself was invoked in aid of Hijazi pronunciations. One would be inclined to take *fuqr* 'poverty' for *faqr* as Hijazi, but Laith (in Lisān, vi, 366) rejects it as *lugha radīʾa* 'a bad dialect form' (or should we perhaps read *ʾazdiyya*?). The people of Tihāma said *ʿuḍud* 'upper arm' for *ʿaḍud* and *ʿujuz* 'posterior' for *ʿajuz* (ʾAbū Zaid in Lisān, iv, 283). The Eastern form of *ʿaḍud* was *ʿaḍd* (Sībawaihi, ii, 277).[6] There are, however, also examples of the contrary relation: Hijaz *zaʿm*, inf. of *zaʿama* 'to claim' against Tamim *zuʿm* (Yūnus in Lisān, xv, 156; Tāj, viii, 324). Perhaps this is a case of *a* against *i*, cf. next §.

i In view of the many instances of *u* against *a* it is strange that there are almost none where Hijazi has *i* against Eastern *a* under the same circumstances. The Quraish said *naʿim* for *naʿam* 'yes', as did the Hudhail (§ 8 *c*)

and Kināna (§ 7 *q*). A man of Khathʿam noticed that the Prophet said *naʿim*, and the Caliph ʿOmar is reported to have insisted on this form. One of the Zubair family never heard the Quraish aristocrats use any other form than this (Lisān, xvi, 69). The Tamim used *ʾakhdh* as inf. of *ʾakhadha* instead of *ʾikhdh* (Tāj, ii, 551).[7] Conversely, the Hijaz dialect had *laḥya* for *liḥya* 'beard' (Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 864). This is all the stranger as several cases of *i* against *a* are reported for the dialect of Najd: *nihy* 'rain-pool' for *nahy* (Khizāna iii. 23; in Rāfiʿī, Tārīkh, i, 147, *nihy* is attributed to Tamim; in Lisān, xx, 219, it is merely said that *ni/ahy* means a rain-pool in Najd), *ḥijj* 'pilgraimage' for *ḥajj* (Baiḍāwī, i, 167; Jamhara, i, 49, with shāhid by the Tamimi Jarīr), *qirrī ʿainan* 'be at rest' for *qarrī*, read by some in Koran, xix, 26 according to the dialect of Najd (Baiḍāwī, i, 579). We may add to this that the Qais dialects had *ziʿm* where the Hijaz had *zaʿm*, inf. of *zaʿama*—cf. preceding paragraph (Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 15, without indication of source). Vollers (*ibid.*) concludes from these instances that in the Najd dialect short *a* was subject to ʾimāla as much as long *a*, and that the *i* in these words represented *æ* or *e*. However, this is impossible; in each case the *a* is in contact with sounds that prevent ʾimāla, and by all analogies in Semitic phonology *a* might have developed out of *i* in these words, but never *i* out of *a*. It is also impossible to know whether the 'people of Najd' are in this case the Qais or the Tamim. Only further data can throw some light on this curious inconsistency in the treatment of *i* and *u*.[8]

k In a smaller number of cases the Hijazi dialect has *i* against Eastern *u* in the neighbourhood of uvular and emphatic consonants, in most instances combined with labials: Hijaz *miṣḥaf* 'codex' against Tamim *muṣḥaf* (Jamhara, ii, 369; but *ibid.* ii, 162 *muṣḥaf* is said to be ʿĀliya dialect), *qidwa* 'model' against Tamimi *qudwa* (Yazīdī, quoted by Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176), Hijaz *qinwān* 'cluster of dates', Kalb *qinyān*, Qais *qunwān*, Tamim and Ḍabba *qunyān* (Farrā' in Tāj, x, 304), Kināna *qibilan* against Tamim *qubulan* 'face to face' (ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla, p. 145—supported by the fact that the Kufans read *qubulan* in xviii, 53/55), Tamim *sukhriyyan* 'in slavery', read xxiii, 112/110 by Nāfiʿ(!), Ḥamza, and Kisāʾī for *sikhriyyan* (ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla, p. 156), *ruḍwān* for *riḍwān* 'goodwill' (Yūnus, quoted by Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176), Hijazi *qinya* 'flocks' against Tamimi *qunwa* (*ibid.*).[9] Without the presence of uvulars or emphatics, but with gutturals: Hijazi *ʿidwa* 'peer', *ʿishwa*, 'firebrand', *ʿiswa* 'model' against Tamimi forms with *u* (*ibid.*). In the Tāj (x, 236), however, *ʿudwa* is attributed to the Quraish, *ʿidwa* to the Qais. With labial and *r*: Hijaz *mirya* 'doubt' against Tamim *murya* (ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Ris., p. 154, Yūnus in Muzhir, ii, 176; in Koran, xi, 20/17 all canonical readers read *mirya*).

l As against this, there are some instances in which the Hijaz dialect has *u* as against Classical *a*: *lumā* 'redness of the lips' for *lamā* (Ibn Sīda from

al-Ḥijrī, quoted Tāj, x, 332), *summ* 'poison' for *samm* (Yūnus in Tāj, viii, 346), cf. Hebrew and Aramaic *samm-*. This tendency to turn *a* into *u* near a labial is considerably more pronounced in all types of Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Dalmann, Grammatik, p. 89; Nöldeke, ZDMG, xxii, 455; id., Mandäische Gramm., p. 17) and in the Ẓafār colloquial in southern Yemen (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 94.)[10] As in those idioms, *i* is not influenced by labials in the Hijaz—*vide* the examples cited in § *k* above—thus this dialect contrasts with the East not by showing a stronger influence of labials, but a weaker one. This is confirmed by the preservation of *'imm* as against *'umm* in the Hudhail dialect (cf. § 8 *s*). Actually *samm* 'poison' is probably a loanword in Arabic (Fränkel, Fremdwörter, p. 262), and it is not impossible that the *u* came in with the word from an Aramaic dialect of the Palestinian type. Note that it is the ʿĀliya, the region closest to the Jewish territory in Arabia, which had this form. Other dialects may have borrowed the word from Syriac. In any event, these scanty examples give no grounds to assume, with Schwarz (Umar, iv, 101) that the dialect 'was somewhat inclined to rounding vowels'. I know of no other instance of such a tendency. In fact, in the passive perfect of mediæ *w*, where the Eastern dialects kept the lip-rounding of *ü*, the Hijaz gave it up (§ 12 *t*, *u*). The only case where the Hijaz dialect has an *u* which cannot be explained by the influence of surrounding sounds is *dhukr* for *dhikr*, inf. of *dhakara* 'to remember', quoted by Sībawaihi without comment, but said to be Hijazi by Thābit, from al-'Aḥmar (quoted Tāj, iii, 227).

m The difference between the Eastern dialects and Hijazi obviously derives from a difference in rhythm.[11] In the East the syllable had a more definite unity, so that its elements influenced each other, and similarly there was a force in the word which brought about the reduction and complete elision of some vowels. Eastern Arabic thus sides with languages such as English, German, and Russian. The type of accent possessed by these languages is called an expiratory or stress accent.[12] In Semitic, such an accent existed in Hebrew, Aramaic; it also existed in ancient Egyptian. It is typical for certain Arabic colloquials, such as the Syrian. The opposite, non-expiratory type of accent can be heard in French, American English, Indian languages, and Amharic. To those accustomed to stress accent the first impression is that the accent of such languages is constantly shifting, since of course slight expiratory prominence is lent to syllables by factors such as emphasis and sentence rhythm. Even elision of vowels is not uncommon in some languages without expiratory stress, but it is facultative and may affect any syllable in the word. The general acoustic impression of such languages varies. In some cases, as in French and Amharic, the mode of utterance appears to us crisp, almost staccato, in others, such as American English, there is what we call a drawl. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that

these are merely impressionist terms: we are moving on ground that has not been satisfactorily investigated by modern phonetics. Changes from one system of accent to the other are by no means uncommon. French still shows ample evidence of the effects of a period with strong expiratory stress, which supplanted at an earlier time the non-expiratory stress of Latin; in the English of America and England we have an instance of different systems in two closely allied dialects.

n Information about the accent of Arabic is scanty. The system according to which Arabic is stressed by European scholars (Wright, i, 27) appears to be of Syrian origin; a different system, based in a rather involved and indirect manner on the colloquial, is used in Egypt. In Koranic recitation 'nous n'avons pu remarquer un accent des mots. De temps en temps on appuie sur une syllabe' (Mayer Lambert, JA, 1897, ii, 407). In reading literary Arabic in Morocco 'wo man hier nicht eine Art *Staccato* hat oder die Ultima betont, liegt der Ton durchaus auf der Paenultima' (Kampffmeyer, MSOS, xi, 2, p. 3). It may be assumed that the style of Koran recitation has preserved some traces of Hijazi pronunciation. This is further confirmed by the type of accent found in some colloquials of West-Arabian antecedents. In Zanzibar 'der Akzent trifft das Wort nur schwach und neigt dem Wortende zu' (Praetorius, ZDMG, xxxiv, 219). Similarly in the semi-bedouin colloquial of Palmyra 'les effets de l'accent sont peu claires, pour ne pas dire inexistants' (Cantineau, Palmyre, p 103.). Detailed investigations, conducted in conjunction with an educated Egyptian by Mr. Firth, Professor of Phonetics at London University, have, as he kindly informs me, led him to the conclusion that the Cairene colloquial has no expiratory stress, only 'grammatical prominence'. There are frequent elisions of vowels, voiceless vowels, etc., especially in the rapid speech of women, but these may affect 'stressed' and long vowels as well as 'unstressed' and short ones. This curious combination of non-expiratory stress and facultative elision is well characterized by Goitein in discussing the stress of Jewish Central Yemenite (Jemenica, p. xvii): 'the stress of the word is largely determined by the rhythm of the sentence and the emphasis accorded to its function within the sentence. The principal rule that can be stated is that the accent tends to withdraw as far as possible from the end of the word or the stress unit . . . The same persons say at one time *ḥísidu*, at another *ḥsídu* and on one occasion *ḥúṣma* and on another *ḥṣáma*, or *kháshaba* and *khshába*.[13] Clearly it is not the primary shift of accent which causes the elision of vowels, but on the contrary the tendency to elide short vowels allows great latitude to vary the stress of grammatically similar forms in the interests of emphasis or sentence-rhythm.' That this is not specifically Jewish Yemenite, is shown by Rossi's less detailed statement (San'a, p. 8): 'The position of the stress depends on the emphasis of the utterance, on the position of the word within the

sentence, and on the emphasis laid on the word'. The speech of the people of Ẓafār is 'abgehackt, ruckweise herausgestossen' (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 67). Facultative elision of vowels is frequent (*ibid.* 95–6). This particular *staccato* quality seems to have been alien to the 'Himyaritic' speech of ancient times, which is on the contrary described as 'halting' (*mu'aqqad*), we should say 'drawling'. This drawling quality is also evident in the Aden colloquial. A significant description of this latter type of rhythm in the colloquial of Ḥaurān is given by J. Cantineau: 'il s'agit d'un accent faible, un peu traînant, dont la place n'est pas toujours facile à discerner—d'autant moins que cette place est parfois sujette à hésitation pour les sujets parlants eux-mêmes'. (Ḥoran, p. 184; more detailed description *ibid.* p. 190). Yet the Ḥaurān colloquial has lost unstressed *i* and *u*, and in many cases *a*, and is in this respect similar to the neighbouring bedouin dialects which possess a strong expiratory stress (Cantineau, Parlers, i, 67). This situation seems to indicate language mixture in the past.

o This drawl seems to be meant by the term *ghamghamat Quraish* (Tāj, ix, 6). Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 364) explains this as 'a manner of speech in which the sounds are not clear'. In a line by the Hudhali 'Abd Manāf b. Raba' (Lisān, xv, 341) it is used to describe the mumbling of a Christian priest in prayer. No doubt it is connected with Mishnaic Hebrew *gamgēm*, as in *mĕghamgēm wĕ-qōrē'* (Bab. Talm., *Berakhoth*, 22 *b*) 'he reads rapidly, without pronouncing distinctly'. It is possible that in West-Arabian the consonants were not articulated with the same vigour as in Eastern Arabic, but the description may as well apply to a type of rhythm lacking characteristic peaks and valleys. In the story of the various Arabic dialects (§ 3 *l*) the Kāmil and the Lisān ascribe the *ghamghama* to Quda'a, in accordance with the tendency to glorify the speech of Mecca. The speech of the Quda'a seems to have been distinguished by a quality called *'aj'aja*. This is identified ('Ushmūnī, iv, 211) with the peculiarity that *-'ī* became *-'ij*, but that sound-change is elsewhere attributed to Tayyi', and may be altogether mythical (cf. § 14 *m*). The verb *'ajja* means 'to low' and the verb *'aj'aja* is a synonym of *ghamghama* as applied to bovines. It is, therefore, very likely that we have here another name for the same drawl, which thus would not be restricted to West-Arabian dialects. The same inference may be drawn from the term *taḍajju'*, applied to the dialect of Qais (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 411), which appears to mean something like 'sloth, laziness of utterance', i.e., again some form of drawl. The *'ajrafiyyat Ḍabba* (*ibid.*) perhaps belongs to a different kind of phonetic description. It is explained by Ibn Sīda (Lisān, xi, 139) as *taqa''ur*, a term which denoted an affected, drawling manner of speaking (cf. Dozy, JA, 1869, ii, 172–3).

p It seems thus pretty well established that West-Arabian did not possess an expiratory stress. This characteristic has come down to the colloquials

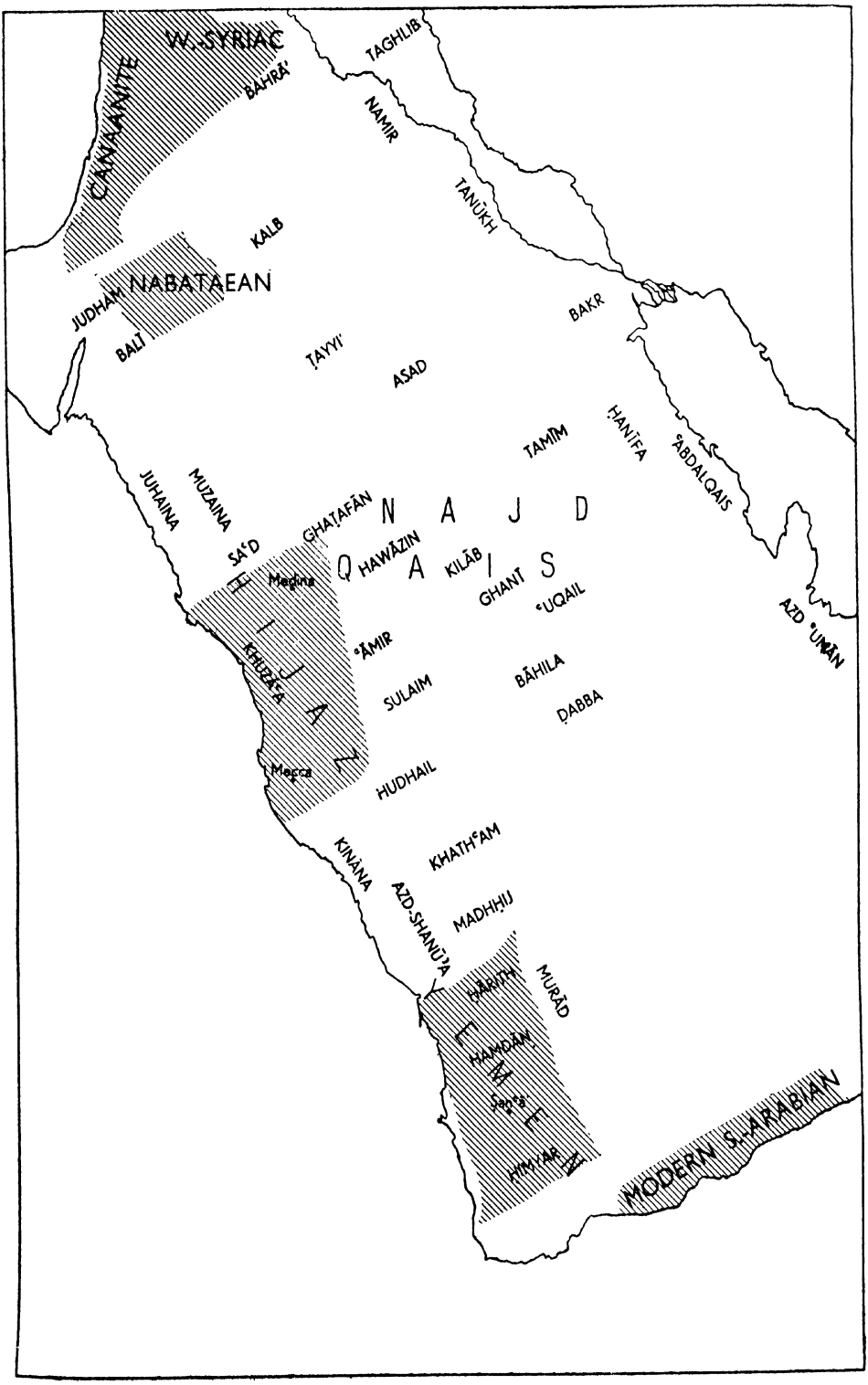
now spoken on old West-Arabian territory and to some colloquials outside Arabia which are connected with West-Arabian, but as the instance of Maghribine Arabic shows, not to all. Classical Arabic sides with West-Arabian where effects of accent are concerned,[14] we may therefore assume that the dialects on which it was based did not have expiratory stress either. The Eastern dialects in which we find such a powerful stress accent must have acquired it comparatively late. The investigation of the reasons for this change of rhythmic behaviour may throw some light on the background of those dialects. It may be pointed out that both in the case of French and Teutonic, linguistic mixture has been suggested as the cause of similar changes.

q Classical Arabic long *a* represents three proto-Semitic vowels: **ā* (Aramaic *ā*, Hebrew *ō*), **ē* (Hebrew *ē*), and in the final position **-ai* (Hebrew *-ai*, *-eh*; Ethiopic *-ē*). In the Hijaz dialect these were still distinguished. The old *ā* was not, as in the East, 'inclined' towards *ǣ* or *ē* (Sībawaihi, ii, 279, 282). The representatives of Hijazi tradition supported their usage by a 'hadith': 'the Koran was revealed with *tafkhīm*' (Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 220). Actually, it was not one of the Hijazis, but the Kufan ʿĀṣim who was most consistent in reading pure *ā*, while the extreme tendency to *'imāla* is ascribed to his fellow townsman Ḥamza, of the Western tribe of Taim (Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 1252).[15] The Hijazi *ā* is described in the sources as 'the pure sounding of the *'alif*' (Dānī, quoted Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 216), or as *tafkhīm* or *fakhāma* (Lisān xx. 365). We have seen that *tafkhīm* means no more than clear, distinct, enunciation (cf. § *d* above). Dānī (*loc. cit.*) distinguishes the intermediate *tafkhīm* (*t. mutawassiṭ*) and the extreme form (*t. shadīd*). Jazarī describes the latter as the kind of *ā* which is heard in Persia, particularly in Khurasān, i.e., phonetic *ō* (Jazarī, Nashr, ii, 29). According to him, it was not permissible in Koranic recitation. But there was one case when the *tafkhīm shadīd*, or as Makkī (Nihāya, p. 31) calls it, *'alif at-tafkhīm*, was not only permissible, but was indicated in old codices by writing *wāw* instead of *'alif*. This was the suffix-less form of feminine nouns ending in ordinary Arabic spelling in *'alif* + *tā' marbūṭa*. Since Arabic words are spelled as if in absolute pause,[16] where the *t* disappeared, the vowel indicated by *w* was final and stressed. The list of nouns thus spelled includes all nouns with *ā* before the feminine ending found in the Koran: *ṣalāh*[17] 'prayer,' *ḥayāh* 'life', *zakāh* 'alms', *najāh* 'deliverance', *ghadāh* 'morning', *mishkāh* 'lamp-niche', *manāh* 'the goddess Manāt'. To these must be added *ar-ribā* (written الربوا) 'usury'.[18] All of these have *wāw* (صلوة etc.) in most old codices, and in works on the spelling of the Koran, but in some Kufic codices are written with *'alif* (GQ, iii, 41) and are normally written so in later Arabic. The accounts of the *tajwīd* works leave no doubt that the final syllable of these words was pronounced as an *ō*, not as *au*. Makkī (*loc. cit.*)

says it was a sound between *ā* and *ū*, and compares it with *ā* in contact with emphatic consonants, i.e., roughly the English vowel in *what* (cf. Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 42). There is no reason to think that other words of the same time, such as *ghazāh*, *rajāh*, would have been treated differently had they occurred in the Koran (this is the view of Barth, Nominalbildung, p. 409). Since some of the words enumerated are Arabic, we cannot argue that the *ō* represents a foreign sound in *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, *ḥayāh*, and *mishkāh* (from Aramaic *ṣĕlōthā*, *zākhūthā*, *ḥayūthā*,[19] and Ethiopic *maskōt*[20] respectively), especially as in non-Koranic Arabic all these words are treated exactly alike. The Kufan Kisā'ī read *mishkāh* with *'imāla* (Baiḍāwī, ii, 23) and Zamakhsharī prescribes *'imāla* for *ar-ribā* (Mufaṣṣal p. 160). In the spelling of the Koran, *'alif*, not *wāw* is written when the words receive any suffixes: we may assume that the *ā* was then pronounced less like an *ō*.

r It remains to be discussed in what relation this *ō* stood to the *ā*-phoneme. The native words of this type are from roots tertiæ *w*. Bravmann Orientalia, ix, 51) maintains that they were of the pattern *fa'wa*, and that *-wa* became sometimes *-ō*, and sometimes remained, as in Koranic *najwa* 'high place'. But that means importing an unnecessary measure of phonetic anarchy. Moreover, we should expect to find instances of *fu'āh* and *fi'āh*, since *fu'wa* and *fi'wa* are so frequent. Finally, if *wa* became *ō*, we should expect it to have become the same when before suffixes, or else to have remained *wa* in that position. We must, therefore, keep to the old view which saw in these nouns original *fa'awa* forms (Barth, *loc. cit.*; Brockelmann, GVG, i, 349). No *fa'awa* nouns exist in Arabic: the triphthong was in all positions reduced to *ā*, in the Hijaz dialect as elsewhere. An exact parallel to this is the Southern English '*par*' for *power*. There was no separate *ō*-phoneme in the Hijaz dialect. The spelling with *wāw* merely represents a position-variety of the *ā*-phoneme (namely, stressed and final) in which it sounded more *ū*-like than in any other position. By chance this coincides with cases in which *ā* was developed from older *awa*. If *ā* sounded like *ō* in this particularly prominent position, it must have been essentially a back-vowel, like in English *father*. Probably it inclined towards *ō*, though less than in the final position, also in non-final stressed syllables. A confirmation of this comes from a statement of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311)[21] in the Lisān (xv, 347): '*Tafkhīm* in letters is the opposite of *'imāla*. *'Alif at-tafkhīm* is the sound between *ā* and *ū*, which one sometimes hears in *salōmun 'alaikum* and *qōma zaidun*. This is why *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, and *ḥayāh* are written with *wāw*, because the *ā* in these words inclines towards *ū*.' Perhaps Ibn Manẓūr describes here a usage of his own time, such as that of Koran readers. Or should he, who was *qāḍī* at Tripolis in North Africa, have heard such pronunciations in colloquials similar to that of rural Malta (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 142)?

s The *ō*-like character of *ā* in some modern South-Arabian languages and its possible connections with West-Arabian have been discussed in § 4 *e*. To the north, we have the well-known change of stressed *ā* to *ō* in the Canaanite of Tell el-Amarna, in Hebrew, and in Phoenician (cf. Bergsträsser, Hebr. Gramm., i, 143), the pronunciation of *ā* as *ō* in Western Syriac, and the change of tone-lengthened *a* into *ō* in the Hebrew reading-style of Northern Palestine between A.D. 100 and A.D. 350 (*ibid.*, p. 59).[22] The same shift occurred in Egyptian (cf. Sethe, ZDMG, lxxvii, 167; Gardiner, Grammar, p. 427).[23] For early North-Western Arabic the pronunciation of *ā* as *ō* is proved by the fact that in a number of Palestinian and Syrian names foreign *ō* is rendered by Arabic *ā* (to the list in Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. xvii, add *Sulaimān* = Syriac *shĕlēmōn*). The forcign *ō* was identified by the local Arabic speakers with their own stressed *ā* = *ō*; other Arabs, knowing that the *ō* of that dialect corresponded to their own *ā*, then substituted the latter. Long *ā* is still pronounced as *ō* in some parts of northern Palestine (Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas, p. 22) and in the north-Syrian mountains (Littmann, Volkspoesie, p. 8). As the Arab population of these countries has changed considerably since early Islamic times through immigration from the desert, that pronunciation is likely to have been much more widespread in earlier centuries. One might seriously consider whether the *late* Hebrew and Syriac sound-changes mentioned above were not due to the influence of the steadily increasing Arab population. The beginnings of Edessa, as is well known, were closely bound up with Arab elements. Nearer to the Hijaz, we have the frequent spellings with *wāw* where *ā* would be expected in the Nabataean inscriptions, both in Arabic names and in purely Aramaic words (Cantineau, Le Nabatéen, i, 48), which go far beyond the occasional appearances of *ō* for *ā* (especially before *n*) in other Western Aramaic dialects (Dalmann, Gramm., p. 89, 175). Guidi (Revue Biblique N.S., vii, 425) identified these as reflections of the language of the Nabataean Arabs, and connected them with the Hijazi *'alif at-tafkhīm*. These Arabs spoke, of course, what we should call a Proto-Arabic dialect. In the Proto-Arabic inscriptions proper, where long vowels are not written, no evidence for the sound of *ā* is available, but we may take freak spellings, such as Thamudic *mnwt* 'Manāt' (Ryckmans, Noms Propres, i, 19) and Safatene *slwm* = *salām* (Dussaud-Macler, No. 11) as proofs that the pronunciation of *ā* as *ō* was not strange to those idioms.[24] To spell *ō* with a *wāw* was, of course, a usage due to Aramaean scribes: to the Arabic-speaking Nabataean this *ō* was part of the *ā*-phoneme. Like the *wāw* at the end of nouns (§ 6 *g*) this foreign usage was imitated by Arabs writing their own language, and finally dropped as Arabic spelling came to stand on its own feet. The preservation of the inorganic *wāw* in the words under discussion is, perhaps, not entirely due to the peculiar sound of the *ā* in these words. It may go back to a period


W.-SYRIAC
CANAANITE
BAHRĀ'
TAGHLIB
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
NABATAEAN
JUDHAM
BALĪ
ṬAYYI'
ASAD
BAKR
ḤANĪFA
TAMĪM
'ABDALQAIS
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
GHAṬAFĀN
SA'D
NAJD
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
'UQAIL
AZD 'UMĀN
Medina
HIJAZ
KHUZĀ'A
'ĀMIR
SULAIM
BĀHILA
ḌABBA
Mecca
HUDHAIL
KHATH'AM
KINĀNA
AZD SHANŪ'A
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣan'ā'
ḤIMYAR
MODERN S. ARABIAN

when the employment of *ʾalif* for expressing the long *ā* in the middle of a word was still unknown, and *wāw* was kept on as a convenient means of distinguishing *-āh* from the ordinary feminine ending. This is confirmed by the circumstance that, to my knowledge, no spellings such as صَلَوٰة have been found in codices.[25]

t The Aramaic loanwords *ḥayāh*, *ṣalāh*, and *zakāh* are remarkable in another respect: that Aramaic *-ūthā*, *-ōthā* is represented by *-āh*, while its normal representation in Arabic is *-ūt*, with ordinary *t* and masculine gender (cf. Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften, i, 172 *seq.*). These words are completely arabicized, thus betraying their origin from a *milieu* in close contact with Aramaic speakers, presumably Medina. Perhaps they do not represent forms in *-ūtha* at all, but the archaic *status absolutus* in *-ū* (Bauer-Leander, Bibl. Aram., p. 244; Dalman, Gramm., p. 194) which may have remained alive in the speech of Hijazi Jews longer than elsewhere. Colonial dialects often preserve archaisms. A form like *zakkū*, *ṣalō*, had for the ear of the Hijazi Arab great resemblance to native words like *najō*=*najāh*. Another method of adapting these words to Arabic patterns, which probably also goes back to the absolute form, can be seen in *malkuwa*=*malakūt* 'kingdom' (*malkhūthā*) and *jabaruwwa*=*jabarūt* 'tyranny' (Syr. *gabhrūthā* 'violence').

u A special problem is raised by *ar-ribā* 'usury'. It corresponds neither to Jewish Aramaic *ribbīthā*, Syriac *rĕbhīthā*, nor to Syriac *rĕbhāyā*, and differs from the other forms under discussion by not having the feminine ending. Qasṭallānī (iv, 26) says that some said *rimā*ʾ for *ribā*. Should there have been a confusion in Arabic between **ribī* from *ribbīthā* 'usury' and **ramāh* from *ramyūthā* 'swindle'? This would, perhaps, also account for the wide application of *ribā* in Arabic, where it denotes every kind of unlawful sale (Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī, iv, 217).

v Our results permit us to account for the alleged Medinean تابوه for *tābūt* 'ark, box' (Qāsim b. Maʿn in Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 33; Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 25; Ibn Khālawaihi, Badīʿ, p. 15), which Nöldeke (GQ, 1st ed., p. 211) called 'an atrocious monstrosity'. That it would indeed be if we try to derive it from Ethiopic *tābōt*. But that word, like the Arabic, comes from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *tēbhūthā*, *tēbhōthā*, itself a derivative of Hebrew *tēbhāh*. The passage of *ē* into Arabic *ā* can hardly be explained other than on the assumption that the word passed first through the Hijaz dialect (cf. § *x*, *seq.*). In Medina, *tēbhūthā* became, according to rule, *tābāh*, written as always with a *wāw*. In Mecca, meanwhile, the same word had been taken over in the more 'modern' form *tābūt*, which was, according to Ibn Mujāhid (in Lisān, i, 227) used by everyone else (*qirāʾat an-nās*), and was enforced by the Meccan members of the 'Koran Commission' against the resistance of

Zaid b. Thābit (GQ, ii, 57). Later Arab scholars, seeing the Medinean form only in writing, failed to connect it with the well-known forms like *ṣalāh*. Ethiopic, then, must have received the word somehow via West-Arabian, through channels as yet unknown to us. That *tēbhūthā* was known to Medinean Jews seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of *Tābūt* as name of a Hijazi Jew in Ibn Hishām (p. 389; cf. Horovitz, Koranische Untersuchungen, p. 157).

w Lastly, the nouns we have discussed may give us a clue to the spelling وا for *-ā'u*, found in old codices (GQ, iii, 47). Bergsträsser (*ibid.*) proposes that this stands for اوا, the *wāw* being a glide for the *hamza* (cf. § 11 *bb*), i.e., *-āwu* < *ā'u* and the second *'alif* an *'alif al-wiqāya* (Wright, i, 11). This runs counter to the normal procedure of Koranic spelling of writing words as they appear in pause. In that position *-ā'u* would become *-ā* (since the *hamza* was elided in Hijaz), which could well be written with a *wāw*. We should thus read ضعفوا as *ḍu'afō* = *ḍu'afā('u)* 'weak ones', انبوا as *'anbō* = *'anbā('u)* 'news', etc. (cf. Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 103). The *'alif* after the *wāw* is either *'alif al-wiqāya* or a reminiscence of etymological *hamza*. On the assumption that the *-ā'u* class had more or less coincided with the *-ā* (*-āh*) types we can account for spellings before suffixes such as *'auliyāhum* = *'auliyā'uhum* 'their associates' (GQ, iii, 46). The spelling used in Kufic codices, او (cf. *ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1) may be an attempt to represent the Eastern context-form *-ā'u* (آؤ-), but the spelling used throughout mediæval Arabic, اء (where the *hamza* sign is, of course, a later addition) bears witness to our suggested reading of the Hijazi form first mentioned, to which it stands in the same relation as صلاة to صلوة.

x There is some evidence that Proto-Semitic possessed besides the three vowels of Arabic a further long vowel, *ē*. The question of the existence of such a sound has been the subject of violent discussion between Barth and Fischer (cf. references in Sarauw, ZAss., xxi, 35–6). Some outstanding modern authorities, such as Bauer-Leander (Histor. Gramm., p. 392) and most recently F. R. Blake (JAOS, lxv, 111) deny it emphatically. Others accept it somewhat half-heartedly. Thus Brockelmann (GVG, i, 141) admits that *ē* existed, but does not apply it in the discussion of the very phenomena which led others to postulate such a phoneme. Bergsträsser (Hebr. Gramm., ii, 144) explains the intransitive hollow roots with the help of Proto-Semitic *ē*, but does not discuss the *ē* among the Proto-Semitic vowels. On the whole the evidence tends towards confirming that Proto-Semitic possessed an *ē*. There is nothing inherently improbable about a system which possesses more long vowels than short ones. As opposed to the triangular system of Classical Arabic long vowels:

that of Proto-Semitic was quadrangular:

$$\begin{matrix} \bar{e} & \bar{a} \\ \bar{\imath} & \bar{u} \end{matrix}$$

It is clear that in such a system *ā* was a back-vowel, and that thus the Hijazi-Canaanite *ō*-like sound of *ā* proves to be inherited from the common speech. We must further assume, on the basis of phonological parallelism, that as *ā* was sounded closer (more like *ō*) in stressed open syllables, and as pure open *ā* in other positions, so *ē* was only sounded as *ē* in open stressed syllables, otherwise as *ǣ*. It was this fact that caused it ultimately to coincide with *ā* in Eastern Arabic into a phoneme with a range that varied from *ē* in the neighbourhood of *i* or *y*, via *ǣ* and *ā*, to *ō* in the neighbourhood of emphatics. The difficulty about this Proto-Semitic *ē* is that so far it has been traced only in forms of roots mediæ and tertiæ infirmæ and as a feminine ending; moreover it is rather difficult to separate it from the *ē* which arose in different languages through a variety of phonetic causes out of old *ī*, *ā*, and *ai*. Only West-Arabian possesses, as far as we know, no such *ē*-phoneme of secondary origin. If, therefore, it could be proved that a separate *ē*-phoneme existed here, this would be a weighty argument in favour of those who consider the sound Proto-Semitic.

y In the East the *ā* of the third person perfect of hollow verbs was not affected by *'imāla*. *'Imāla*, even where it was demanded by the phonetic surroundings, was prevented whenever the *ā* was in contact with an emphatic or uvular consonant (Sībawaihi, ii, 285). In the Hijaz, there was no *'imāla* in any case (*ibid.*, p. 279, 284, and § *q*). Yet just in the Hijaz some hollow verbs were pronounced with *'imāla*', though several of them had as radicals emphatics or uvulars: *hēba*, *khēfa* 'he feared', *ṭēba* 'he was good', *ṣēra* 'he arrived', and *mēta* 'he died'. One 'Abū 'Isḥāq (perhaps the Kufan Koran Reader 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh as-Sabī'ī, d. 132/750) heard the Hijazi poet Kuthayyir 'Azzata (d. 105/723) pronounce *ṣāra* as *ṣēra*. Only some Hijazis used these forms; perhaps the story of Kuthayyir allows us to infer that only older people spoke thus (Sībawaihi, ii, 281). The Kufan Ḥamza read full *'imāla* (=*ē*) and the Medinean Nāfi' *'imālat baina baina* (=*ǣ*) in the following ten verbs: *khēfa*, *ṭēba*, *jē'a* 'he came', *shē'a* 'he wished', *zēda* 'he increased', *rēna* 'he overcame', *khēba* 'he failed', *ḥēqa* 'he encompassed', *ḍēqa* 'it was narrow', *zēgha* 'he turned aside' (GQ, iii, 198). Of Sībawaih's other verbs, *hāba* and *ṣāra* do not occur in the Koran in relevant forms; the omission of *māta* from Ḥamza's list is striking. Other Kufan and Damascene readers read only some of these verbs with *'imāla*, while the remaining readers from the Hijaz pronounced all of them with pure *ā* (cf. Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 322). Farrā' is quoted by Ibn Ya'īsh as saying (p. 1252): 'The people of the Hijaz have *fatḥa* in verbs such as *shā'a*, *khāfa*, *jā'a*, and *kāda*, and in verbs mediæ *wāw* or *yā'*. He further says; and the majority of the

people of Najd, namely Tamim, ʾAsad, and Qais, prefer (*yasrūna ʾilā*) *kasra* in the verbs mediæ *y* and in those mentioned, but *fatḥa* in verbs mediæ *w*, such as *qāla* and *jāla*'. This author, who is generally well informed on dialect matters, thus says the exact opposite of Sībawaihi. Since this statement contradicts also all we know about Eastern *ʾimāla* from other sources, one suspects that some copyist, knowing of the connection of *ʾimāla* with Tamim, simply transposed the dialect references. That the existence of two diametrically opposed kinds of *ʾimāla* produced some malaise, we can read between the lines of the pronouncement of ʾAnbārī (ʾAsrār al-ʿarabiyya, p. 160, quoted by Fischer, ZDMG, lix, 667): 'The *ʾimāla* is peculiar to the people of Hijaz and their neighbours of Tamim and others'. Koranic '*ʾimāla*' was a difficulty for Koran readers, accustomed as they were to Eastern assimilation *ʾimāla*. ʾAbū Ḥātim as Sijistānī (d. 250/864; quoted Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 215) informs us that 'the Kufans use as their guidance for *ʾimāla* the *yāʾs* which they find in the codices in place of *ʾalifs*. They thus follow the spelling and read *ʾimāla* to fit in with those cases of *yā*''. This refers of course particularly to *ʾalif maqṣūra* (which in the Hijaz was in any case *-ai*, cf. § *bb*), but throws some light on the uncertainty readers felt on this point. This was no doubt the reason why Hijazi readers made no attempt to read the 'Hijazi *ʾimāla*'. Irregular spellings with *yāʾ* to indicate the Hijazi *ē* did exist. Sijistānī found *jāʾa* spelled with medial *yāʾ* in Meccan codices. ʿĀṣim al-Jaḥdarī (d. 128/746) reports that *ṭāba* was spelled with *yāʾ* in ʿOthman's model codex (GQ, iii, 40), and it can be seen spelled this way in the Kufic codex of Samarqand (Jeffery, JAOS, lxii, 186). Sībawaihi (ii, 398) informs us that in an unspecified dialect *kāda* 'he almost was' and *zāla* 'he ceased' were pronounced with *kasra*, as if they were spelled with *yāʾ* instead of *ʾalif*. Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 102) takes these as further instances of *ē*-verbs, while Sarauw (ZAss., xxi, 41) insists that Sībawaihi means that they were pronounced *kīda*, *zīla*, comparing them with Aramaic *mīth* = Arabic *māta* (Hijazi *mēta*, Hebrew *mēth*) and Biblical Aramaic *rim* 'was high'. But the Babylonian Massora writes *rēm*, and in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic the fem. of *mīth* is *mēthath* (Dalmann, Gramm., p. 315). These forms with *ī* are, therefore, purely Aramaic developments (cf. also Nöldeke, Neue Beitr., p. 209), and there is no reason to reject Vollers' view of the Arabic forms. In Arabic grammatical terminology *yāʾ* was used with the meaning of *ʾimāla*, cf. e.g., Suyūṭī (ʾItqān, p. 220): 'the *ʾalif* and the *yāʾ* are considered equally admissible in Koran recitation, meaning by *ʾalif* and *yāʾ* respectively *tafkhīm* and *ʾimāla*'. Similarly Ḥamza and Kisāʾī read in lxxxiii, 14, for *rāna* 'he overcame' رِيْنَ 'with *ʾimāla*'; i.e., the *yāʾ* denotes an *ē* here (Baiḍāwī). The use of *kasra* for *ʾimāla* appears in the statement of Farrāʾ quoted above. Spellings with *y* occur—partly in the same verbs as those mentioned above—in the Safatene inscriptions, e.g., *byt* 'he spent the

night' (cf. Colloquial Arabic *yabāt*); *ṣyr* 'he travelled', *ṣyd* 'he hunted', *myt* 'he died' (cf. the discussion in Littmann, Safat. Inscr., p. xvii–xviii).[26] What exactly they mean in a script that does not normally express long medial vowels, is difficult to say—perhaps the *ē* was diphthongized into *ai*—but whatever the Safatene sound was, it points to an earlier *ē* in these verbs. The reason why this spelling with *yā'* in the Hijaz, which may have come in as an Aramaic writing habit, never appears to have taken proper hold in the orthography, may be sought in the consciousness of the speakers that *ē* was parallel to the *ā*-phoneme, not one of the class of narrow vowels comprising *ī* and *ū*. It may also be sought in another factor: the way in which Sībawaihi states the matter, the exceptional course of adducing the pronunciation of a named person, and the confusion in the treatment of *ē* by the Koran-readers —all indicate that the distinction between *ē* and *ā* was maintained only by a narrow minority of speakers, perhaps the older generation, or the population of certain districts. Elsewhere in the Hijaz it was receding before the Eastern usage, which represented both by a single phoneme.

z It appears thus to be definitely established that Hijazi (and with it presumably other West-Arabian dialects) possessed a separate *ē*-phoneme. This does not necessarily mean that this phoneme was inherited from Proto-Semitic. Brockelmann (GVG, i, 608) argues that *khēfa* was formed in analogy to *khiftu*, which latter form, true to his triliteral hypothesis, he explains as contraction of **khawiftu*. This is for him all the easier as the only evidence he quotes is the statement of Farrā' (see above) where the *ē*-forms are attributed to dialects possessing *'imāla*. Even there, however, such a process is most improbable, since it would imply that imalized *ā* was felt to be a separate phoneme, somehow related to *ī* as *ā* was to *ū*—but the whole point about Eastern *'imāla* is that it was a combinatory variant of the *ā*-phoneme. For the Hijaz any argument based on *'imāla* cannot apply. On the other hand, if there were an independent *ē*-phoneme in the Hijaz dialect, the analogy suggested by Brockelmann could have been applied here, i.e., *ā* : *ē* = *u* : *i*, therefore: *zurtu* : *khiftu* = *zāra* : *khēfa*. However, if there were such a purely phonetic analogy at work, it should have applied with greater force to verbs of the type *lintu* : *yalīnu*, but we hear nothing of a general rule of this kind for the mediæ *y*. Also, other evidence for *ē* in Hijazi being rather scanty, our proof for it must rest mainly on the hollow verbs; we would thus, if we accepted Brockelmann's view, introduce a circular argument. The main reason, however, for not accepting the view that *ē* in these verbs is an internal Arabic development is the existence of similar forms in several cognate languages. We need here discuss only the cognate forms of the verbs we enumerated before. Of the fifteen verbs in question, I have not found any cognates to *khāfa*, *shā'a*, and *hāba*. If *jā'a* is connected with Hebrew *gai'* 'valley' (cf. Nöldeke, ZAss., xii, 3), we may note with interest that that

word has the alternative forms *gē'* and *ge'*, which are related to it like Hebrew *mēth* to Arabic *mait, mayyit*. Possibly *ḥāqa* is connected with Hebrew *ḥēq* 'bosom' (especially as used in the phrase 'in the bosom, in the protection'), but cf. § 8 *t*. To *rāna 'alä* or *bi-* 'overcome' (sleep, drunkenness, etc., overcoming a person) a cognate may be found in North-West Semitic *rūm* 'be high', from which Biblical Aramaic *rēm, rim* is the perfect. An *m* is often dissimilated in the vicinity of *r*, though mostly into *b* (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 226). Perhaps *zāda* is connected with Hebrew *zēdh* 'arrogant'. To *zāgha*, cf. Syriac *zī'* 'trembling'.[27] Some connect *ṣāra* with Hebrew *hiṣṭayyārū* (Josh., ix, 4) which is itself a doubtful form, and in any case useless for discovering the vocalization of the simple stem. To *ḍāqa*, compare Targumic Aramaic *'īq lī* 'I am in trouble' (Ps., xxxi, 10); to *ṭāba* Syriac *ṭebh*, Biblical Aramaic *ṭē'ēbh*. For *kāda* we have only the difficult Hebrew *kīdh* 'perdition' (Job, xxi, 20). Finally, *māta* has the best-attested cognates, Hebrew *mēth*, Aramaic *mīth*. The evidence is thus not really full enough, but in general seems to point to *ē*-forms in Hebrew and Aramaic. Since these forms have given much difficulty to grammarians, who have been able to account for them only by assuming analogies of various kinds, but quite different from those assumed in the case of Arabic, the easiest and most natural way is after all to admit identity of the Arabic and North-West Semitic forms, i.e. the existence of a Proto-Semitic *ē*. We may imagine that originally the hollow verbs had a transitive and an intransitive form of the perfect, independently of whether they were mediæ *w* or mediæ *y*, so that there were four classes: (Ia) *zāra* : *yazūru*; (Ib) *shāṭa* : *yashīṭu*; (IIa) *mēta* : *yamātu*; (IIb) *ṣēra* : *yaṣāru* (*?yaṣīru*). In the forms with suffixes, there being no short *e*, class Ib–IIb had *i*: *shiṭṭu, mittu, ṣirtu*. Gradually, however, the difference between mediæ *w* and mediæ *y* gained in importance in all languages and overshadowed the earlier opposition. In Eastern Arabic that process was no doubt speeded up by the phonetic coalescence of *ā* and *ē*. The West-Arabian forms have, as far as I can see, nothing to do with the Ethiopic forms *kōna, shēṭa*, or the South-Arabian *kwn, śym*, which contain a consonantic element not present in Arabic. The intransitive character of the verbs discussed here is not to be doubted. In the case of the mediæ *w* roots among them this is confirmed by the *ā*-imperfects. Only *māta* is treated in Classical Arabic as a normal transitive verb, but the perfect *mittu* for *muttu* is given as Hijaz dialect by 'Abū 'Ubaid (Ris., p. 155) and as Tayyi' dialect by Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, iii, 485), the imperfect *'amātu* as Tayyi' dialect (Jamhara, ii, 29). The usage of Koran readers on this point is curiously inconsistent. Ḥafṣ *'an* 'Āṣim reads *mittu* in xix, 67/66 and xix, 23, but in the second passage Ibn Kathīr, 'Abū 'Amr, Ibn 'Āmir, and 'Abū Bakr., i.e., partly the very upholders of Hijazi tradition, read *muttu*. In iii, 151–2/157–8 Ḥafṣ reads twice *muttum*, though Nāfi', Ḥamza, and Kisā'ī read *mittum*, yet

in xxiii, 37/35 Ḥafṣ himself reads *mittum*. Elsewhere Ḥafṣ has *i*. Apparently no reader read consistently *u* in the perfect of *māta*.

aa There is some evidence that *ē*, corresponding to Hebrew *ē*, occurred also in nouns. The Yemenite dialect had *'imāla* in *nār* 'fire' (Lisān, vii, 101), i.e. pronounced it *nēr*, like Hebrew *nēr* 'light'. In connection with the problem of *zyl*, etc. (§ *y* above) it is instructive to see that in the ensuing discussion it is assumed as a matter of course that this pronunciation would be noted نير, thus giving rise to a graphic confusion with بئر *bi'r* 'well'. I have so far found no statement that *jār* 'client' was anywhere pronounced *jēr*, (cf. Hebrew *gēr*) but the inadmissibility of the *argumentum e silentio* is proved by the fact that the Yemenite pronunciation of *nār* is mentioned only apropos of a difficult hadith. Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 20) saw another instance of *ē* in the statement of Suyūṭī (Muzhir, ii, 176) that *qār* 'pitch' was pronounced *qīr* in Hijaz. He proposed to read *qēr*. The word is, however, borrowed (Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. 150), and the probable sources, Syriac *qīrā* and Hebrew *qīr* 'wall' show *ī*, not *ē*, and most likely derive from Sumerian *gir* (cf. Landersdorfer, Sum. Sprachgut, p. 44). The Eastern *qār* is difficult to explain. Possibly there was some confusion with a borrowing from Palestinian Jewish Aramaic *qērā* 'wax', itself from Greek *kēros*. The Eastern form appears in the name of the river Dhū Qār, in the territory of Bakr b. Wā'il. Original *ē* was also preserved in the demonstrative pronoun *dhā*, which according to Sībawaihi (ii, 289) was in some unspecified dialect pronounced with *'imāla*, i.e., *dhē*. This, as Barth has shown (Pronominalbildung, p. 104) was the Proto-Semitic form. Sībawaihi states that those who said *dhē* also said *yaḍribē* for *yaḍribā* 'the two of them strike' (cf. § *cc* below). In view of the occurrence of *dhē* in colloquials of a Yemenite stamp (Dathīna, Ẓafār, 'Omān), it appears that the form must be claimed as Western. The so-called otiose Hijazi *dhī* (cf. § 12 *e*) may represent *dhē*.

bb As is well known, final long *a* is often indicated in Arabic spelling by a *yā'* (in the following paragraphs written *ä*). In the Arabic taught in Abbasid schools the two kinds of final *ā* were not distinguished in any way (cf. Fischer, ZDMG, lix, 665). Kufic Koran codices often write *'alif* instead of this *yā'* (GQ, iii, 39).[28] Early Christian MSS. completely confuse the two endings (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 8) and in the colloquials they have coincided with each other and with old *-ā'u*. Even the rich terminology of Arabic grammar does not provide a separate name for the *-ā* spelled with *yā'*, but calls it *'alif maqṣūra*, like the one written with *'alif* (Wright, i, 11B). Fischer (*loc. cit.*, 666) claims that the two types of *ā* rhyme freely in poetry. This needs some qualification. In two of his three instances (ar-Rā'ī an-Numairī, Ḥamāsa, p. 660 and a man of Sulaim, 'Aghānī, xvi, 137) *'alif maqṣūra* of both types also rhymes with *'alif mamdūda*, thus presupposing a pronunciation quite different from Early Classical Arabic. A survey of

Farazdaq, Jarīr, and the six poets reveals that *'alif maqṣūra* never occurs as *ṣila*, only once (Jarīr, ed. Ṣāwī, i) as *rāwī* (against the rule in Wright, ii, 352), but frequently as *ridf* before *-ni* and *-hā*. In all cases where they occur the two kinds of *ā* rhyme freely, both in Eastern and Western poets. In the Koran both kinds of *ā* are frequent in rhymes, but with very rare exceptions do not rhyme with each other (GQ, iii, 37). They rarely rhyme in the poetry of 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 102). In official Koranic orthography the two are meticulously kept apart, not only when final, but contrary to later usage also before suffixes, except that *'alif* is written for *yā'* occasionally before *'alif al-waṣl* and regularly after another *yā'*, the only exceptions from this being the name *Yaḥyä* and *suqyähā* 'her watering' (xci, 13) which rhymes with other words in *-ähā*. It is obvious that in Hijaz *-ä* was sounded differently from *-ā*. Brockelmann (GVG, i, 619) and Bergsträsser (GQ, iii, 37) assume that it was *ē* or *ǣ*. This offers some difficulty, since we have it on good authority that also the final *-ā* of words written with final *'alif*, such as *ghazā* 'he raided', *da'ā* 'he called' and *al-'ashā* 'the evening' were pronounced with *'imāla* in the Arabic taught in Iraq (Sībawaihi, ii, 280),[29] and on the other hand official *tajwīd* did not recognize *'imāla* in either final *-ä* or final *-ā* (Grünert, Imâle, p. 529–32), although the Kufans Ḥamza and Kisā'ī read *-ä* with *'imāla*, except in particles, and Kisā'ī also *-ā* (Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 320). The pronunciation *nadēhu* 'he called him' (iii, 33/9) is noted as a reading peculiar to Ḥamza and Kisā'ī (Baiḍāwī, i, 154).

cc The solution to our problem is to be found in the express statement of Sībawaihi (ii, 349), that in Hijaz and in some Qais dialects *-ä* was sounded as *-ai* in such words as *ḥublai* 'pregnant', *'af'ai* 'adder', and the place names *Ṣawarai*, *Qalahai*, and *Ḍafawai*. In another place (ii, 314) Sībawaihi states, without referring to the Hijaz dialect, that *-ä* was pronounced *-ai* in pause. This led Sarauw (ZAss., xxi, 39) and Birkeland (Pausalformen p. 76) to consider the *yā'* a pausal spelling and to maintain that the context form could not have been anything but *-ē*. Birkeland goes so far as to suggest that *ḥublä* originally ended in *-ē*, but this became in pause *-ai* on the analogy of *fatai*, the pausal form of *fatan* < **fatayun*. This view has to be corrected in the light of Sībawaihi's information (ii, 349) that the Fazāra, a Central-Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Medina, said in pause *ḥublai* but in context حبلا. This implies that this was not the usage of Hijaz, a fact which might also have been deduced from the preservation of *yā'* before suffixes in Koranic spelling. The spelling adopted by Sībawaihi also suggests that the context form of the Fazāra dialect was not *ḥublē* but *ḥublā*. We can now understand why the two kinds of *ā* rhyme as *ridf* even in the work of poets belonging to Western Qais tribes, such as Nābigha and 'Antara. Both seem to have been pronounced with *'imāla* in certain dialects (cf. above). This

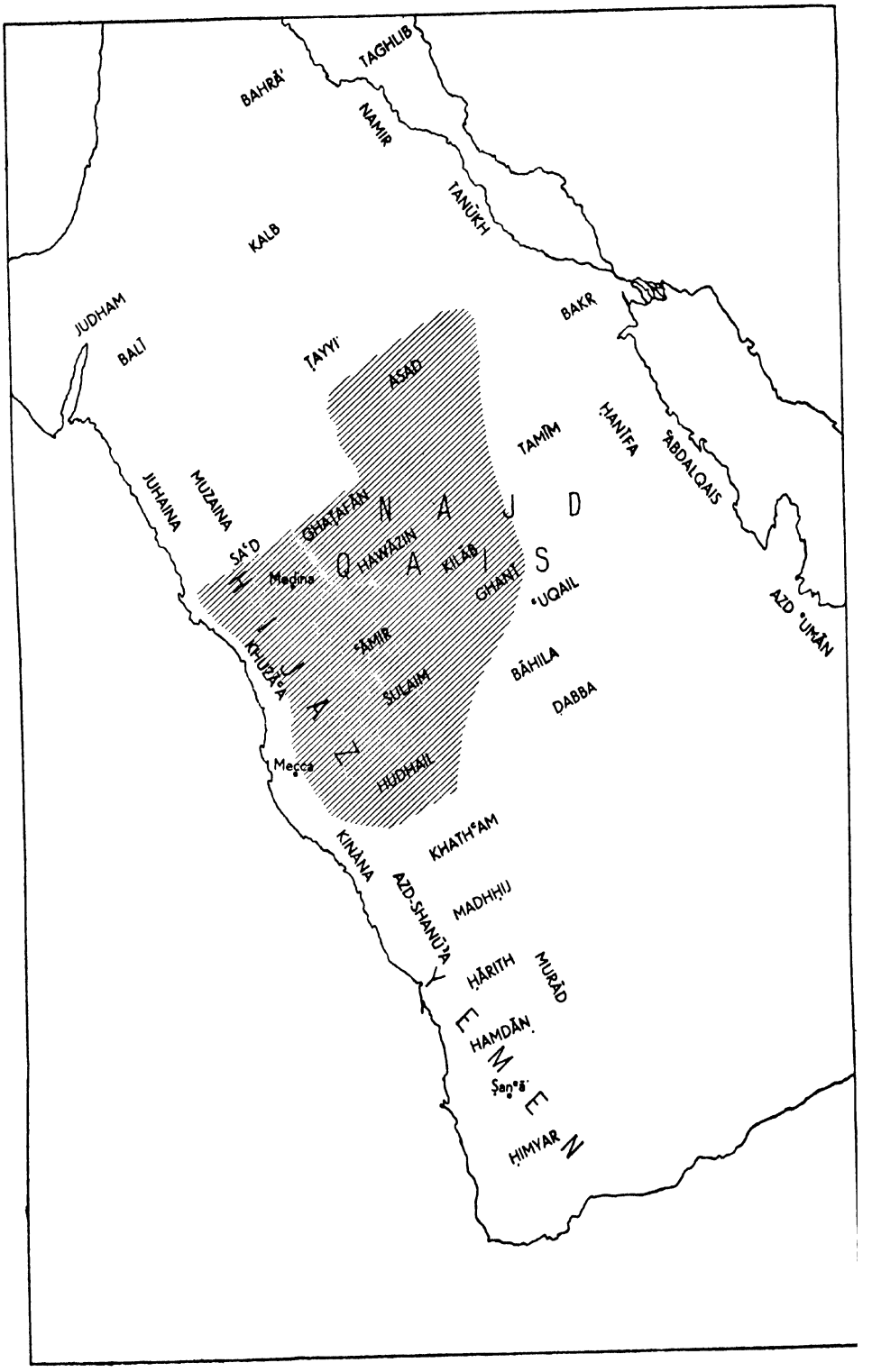
'imāla is marked by an inferior dot in Kufic manuscripts in *'annä* 'where', *naṣārä* 'Christians', just like the combinatory *'imāla* in the first syllable of *kāfirīna* (cf. Nöldeke, GQ, 1st ed., p. 328). That this *'imāla* was not a grammarian's fancy is proved by cases like the reading *'ēsē* for *'āsä* 'I mourn' in vii, 91/93 (Baiḍāwī, i, 336) where the *'imāla* in the first syllable is due to the influence of the second. I cannot explain this phenomenon. Perhaps the dialect pronunciation *yaḍribē* recorded by Sībawaihi (cf. § *aa*) may be taken to indicate a general *'imāla* of final *-ā*.

dd In any case, we can accept it as proven that Central Arabian dialects had *-ā* (*-ē*) in context and *-ai* in pause. The Hijazi dialect had *-ā* through dissimilation after *yā'* and *-ă* by monophthongization in closed syllables, since we may assume that the spellings with *'alif* before *hamzat al-waṣl* and nunation represent dialect usage and those with *yā'* a normalized spelling based on the more frequent forms without reduction. What happened phonetically was not contraction into *ē*, but loss of the *i*-element to avoid a four-moræ syllable (*iltiqā' as-sākinaini*). In the Central dialects the development no doubt began in the same way, but *-ă̄* spread from the position before *'alif al-waṣl* to all context-positions. In those (?Eastern) dialects which determined later usage it spread further into the pausal position. The earliest form was in any case *-ai*. This was also preserved to some extent in poetical and dialect Hebrew (Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 203, 512), while in most cases in normal Hebrew prose it was monophthongized into a vowel that was sounded as open *ē* (*Seghōl*) when stressed, as closed *ē* (*Ṣērē*) when unstressed.[30] The Hijazi dialect is thus marked by conservativism in this respect. The data about the declension of *'aṣā* in the Hudhail dialect (§ 8 *t*) and the forms *qafaika* = *qafāka* and *'ataika*, if = *'atāka*, in the Yemenite ditty (§ 5 *i*) leave little doubt that the same forms were current in all West-Arabian dialects. We have even a small amount of outside evidence for this. In Genesis Rabba, lxxxvii, 1, Rabbi Levi (*c.* A.D. 300) is quoted as saying that in 'Arabia' a young man is called פתיא. This is probably to be pronounced *fatayā*, and is nothing but Hijazi *fatai-* with the Aramaic article. The Syrian writer Isaac of Antioch, in a poem describing events of *c.* A.D. 457 (ed. Bickell, i, 210) renders the name of the Arab goddess *'Uzzä* as *'ūzai*. In the Sinaitic Nabataean inscriptions, however, which are earlier than the second century A.D., the same word appears in the name עבדאלעזא *'abd al-'uzzā* without the diphthongal element, thus proving that in certain dialects the monophthongization had taken place quite early.[31]

ee It must be made quite clear that, unless we choose to consider Koranic orthography a realm of anarchy, every *-ä* in the Koran must be read *-ai*. The only exception is *-ä* before *'alif al-waṣl*, which is a pausal spelling and should probably always be read *-ă̄*, as in the few cases where *'alif* is written. The name *Yaḥyä* also was not only graphically distinct from

Shortening of final *ī* (§10gg)

Map No. 13



naḥyā 'we live'.[32] This is indicated by a tradition, quoted in Suyūṭī's 'Itqān (p. 215) that the Banū Sa'd, north of Medina, pronounced *Yaḥyä* with *'imāla*, i.e., like other words ending in *-ā*. The implication is that the Medinese said *Yaḥyai*. The name itself seems to be a borrowing from a Jewish hypocoristic form such as *Yōḥai*.

ff The consistent application of the reading *-ai* for *-ä* in the verb leads to some unexpected results. Imperfect forms like *yarḍai* are paralleled in Hebrew by survivals in proper names such as *Yaḥdai*, *Yaḥmai*. What was the apocopate of those imperfects? I have found in the Koran only the one instance *yarḍa-hu* (xxxix, 9/7). This might be derived from *yarḍai*, by the same process of monophthongization as in § *dd*, or the apocopate was formed in that dialect not by phonetic reduction but on the analogy of *yabni*, *yaghzu*. More difficult is the problem offered by the third sing. masc. perf. *banai* 'he built', which will be discussed later (§ 12 *v*), as its origin seems to be morphological rather than phonetic.

gg It will be noted that in West-Arabian nouns ending in *-ai* took before suffixes the same forms as prepositions of that form. In Classical Arabic, nouns and prepositions were treated differently. Both types of Arabic had *'ilayya*, *'ilaika*, but while West-Arabian also had *qafayya*, *qafaika*, Classical Arabic used the forms *qafāya*, *qafāka*. The reason for this difference is, of course, that with nouns the form without suffixes was more in the consciousness of the speaker than with prepositions.[33] It would be strange if this distinction had been strictly observed even throughout the area where Classical Arabic developed. A reflection of some fluctuation may be discerned in statements such as the one that the Kufans Ḥamza and Kisā'ī read *matä*, *balä*, *'annä* with *'imāla*, but had no *'imāla* in *ḥattä*, *'ilä*, *'alä*, and *ladä* (Grünert, Imâla, p. 530; Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 320). Yūsuf b. Ḥusain al-'Astarābādī (quoted by 'Abū Ḥayyān, Minhāj, p. 242) reports on the authority of one Ibn Miqsam that some inhabitants of Najd and most of the Yemenites pronounced *ḥattä* 'until' with *'imāla* (cf. § 4 *cc*), which goes to confirm that in normal Classical Arabic it was not so pronounced.

hh On the negative side we may note the absence of *ü* (*yā' bi-'ishmām aḍ-ḍamma*) from the Hijazi vowel-system, cf. § 12 *t-u*. This vowel, which existed in Central Arabic, had in the Hijaz become *ī*.

ii Both in Koran and Hadith, one finds frequently forms in which a long final *i* is shortened or sometimes elided altogether (GQ, iii, 34). Even the suffix of the first person singular could be affected by this. In the vocalization, short *i* is usually indicated in such cases, but the Kufans and 'Abū 'Amr (?i.e., the Basrian, of Tamimi origin) read *'akraman* 'he honoured me' (lxxxix, 15) and *'ahānan* 'he made me low' (*ibid.*, 16), both in pause. Similar forms are frequently found in the poems of the Hijazi 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 98, 119; *id.*, ZAss., xxx, 49). The whole phenomenon

is a spread of pausal forms into context. It is fully discussed by Birkeland, Pausalformen, pp. 20 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*, 78 *seq.*), whose rich collection of material need not be repeated here. Undoubtedly it is a dialect phenomenon. Zamakhsharī ascribes the tendency to shorten long *ī* in context to the Hudhail dialect (cf. § 8 *x*). No confirmation of a similar tendency is forthcoming from any other West-Arabian dialect.[34] On the other hand Sībawaihi (ii, 328) informs us that in the dialects of Qais and ʾAsad elision of final *ī* and *ū* was so common that many speakers elided the *-ū* of forms like *qatalū* and the *-ī* of *yaqḍī* in context, thus producing forms remarkably like those of Syriac. It seems that this extreme weakness of long final vowels was peculiar to the Central area—with which the ʾAsad dialect is often in close agreement—and that perhaps the similarity with Syriac is not mere coincidence, but points to similar tendencies in the speech of the Arab population that went into the make-up of the Edessene community. It may refer to the same dialects when Sībawaihi says (ii, 302) that some Arabs said in pause *irm*, *ughz*, *ikhsh* for *irmi* 'throw', *ughzu* 'raid', *ikhsha* 'fear'. These forms again point to the North-West, to the Hebrew jussives *yibhen*, *yēsht*, etc. The situation is quite different in these Central Arabian dialects from that in the Hijaz, where *-ū* was not affected at all. It remains very questionable whether any connection existed. The elision and reduction of *-ī* seems too deeply engrained in the Hijazi dialect to consider it an effect of Central-Arabian influence. Perhaps the tendency to shorten final long vowels was inherited by all dialects of Arabia, but developed more consistently in the Central area than in West-Arabian. It also worked with varying force in different grammatical contexts, as the *ʾiʿrāb*-vowels were shortened and elided nearly everywhere, including *-ā* in the East (cf. § 6 *g*).

kk The Central area and the Hijaz are connected by the fact that the Qais and Hijaz dialects used in context the forms *hādhih(i)*, *tih(i)* 'this' (fem.) while in the Eastern dialects the context forms were *hādhī*, etc., and the pausal ones *hādhih*, etc. The *h* is, of course, *hāʾ as-saqṭ*, a purely pausal phenomenon. It is possible that *dhī* and *tī* for the feminine demonstrative pronoun were altogether foreign to West-Arabian (cf. § 12 *f*). In any event they would have been pronounced in Hijaz, following the tendency to elide *-ī*, **hādh*, etc.—cf. also the Hudhail form *alladh* (§ 8 *y*). This favoured the spread of the pausal form into context. In fact, as *hādhihi* is the only form that has real currency in Classical Arabic, it appears that it, and with it the phonetic tendency that engendered it, was well established in the dialects that served as basis for Classical Arabic. Perhaps the Hijaz dialect never knew any form but *hādhihi*, since there was none other in the dialects from which it received this type of demonstrative pronoun to replace its own *tā*. The Eastern form is preserved in a curious reading of Koran, ii, 33/5, which represents a Tamimi version of a whole phrase: *lā tiqrabā hādhī*

sh-shijrata for *lā taqrabā hādhihi sh-shajarata* 'do not approach this tree' (Baiḍāwī, i, 52).

ll In Hijazi poets we frequently find *-iya* at the end of perfect forms being treated as one syllable. A case where *nasiya* 'he forgot' rhymes with *-ī* shows that such forms were pronounced *nasī*, *balī* (cf. Schwarz, Umar, iv, 99). There are also comparatively frequent cases of *-iya* being reduced to *-ī* and *-uwa* to *-ū* in the subjunctive. It is nowhere said that this is a dialect feature, nor do forms of this type occur in the Koran.[35] The *a* of the accusative after *y* or *w* is frequently elided by poets of all tribes. It is, however, remarkable that we hear nothing in connection with Hijaz of the contraction *balā*, *nasā* which existed both to the north in the Ṭayyi' dialect and to the south in Northern Yemenite, and by its connections with Hebrew proves to be an old West-Arabian development (cf. § 14 *k*). This places the Hijazi forms into a different light. Perhaps one may suggest that they are due to purely grammatical analogy with the equally striking innovation *banai* for *banā* (cf. § 12 *v*). The form *nasī* may well be the origin of the common colloquial *nisi* (cf. further § 12 *w*). Cf., however, § 11 *cc*.

mm To sum up, we can represent the vowel system of the Hijaz dialect in the following figure:

Short			Long	
a			*ē*	*ā*
i	*u*		*ī*	*ū*
		Diphthongs		
		ai *au*		

All these were continuations of similar Proto-Semitic sounds. Long *ī* may in some cases stand in place of a *ǐ* of some older stage of the Arabic language. In certain circumstances (closed syllable, dissimilation) *ai* became *ā*.[36]

nn A number of contractions of vowels appear where vowels were brought in contact through the disappearance of the glottal stop. These changes will be discussed in § 11 *b seq.*

NOTES

[1] The term *mufakhkham* is to-day used for the 'emphatic' consonants. I cannot say how old this usage is, but it seems to me to be derived from the fact that the *'alif at-tafkhīm* occurs regularly in the vicinity of emphatic consonants. In Iraq *tafkhīm* is still employed to characterize the Baghdadi's final *ā*, which is slightly less *ē*-like than elsewhere.

[2] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 260) adduces a further instance of this, without the presence of *r*, namely Hijazi *wasma* for *wasima* 'indigo-plant'. However, his source (Lisān, xvi, 123) says exactly the opposite: Hijazi *wasa/ima* (with *tathqīl*) and the rest *wasma* (with *takhfīf*).

[3] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 262) takes *ḥasād* as the Hijazi form, *ḥisād* as that of the Tamim dialect, and quotes besides a number of other cases in which the Hijazi dialect

has *fa'āl* while that of Tamim has *fi/u'āl*, mainly from Ibn Qutaiba's 'Adab al-kātib. In those sources, however, the variant forms are not ascribed to definite dialects. The Lisān does not mention dialect differences in any of these cases, except for *raṣāṣ* 'lead', for which it gives *riṣāṣ* as a vulgar form.

[4] Barth (Pronominalbildung p. 49) denies that this is a case of vowel-harmony, but thinks the vowel of *-hi* is on the analogy of proto-Semitic *-hinna*. This may well be so, but the fact remains that the distribution of the two sets of suffixes is governed by vowel-harmony.

[5] But not according to Dānī (cf. Pretzl, Islamica, vi 297).

[6] The dialects of that region may have had a tendency to replace the pattern *fa'l* by *fu'ul*. The form *nujud* for *najd* 'upland' is by 'Akhfash (Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iv, 745; Lisān, iv, 421) declared to be Hudhail dialect, by 'Aṣma'ī (Lisān, iv, 425) dialect of Hijaz and Hudhail. In Tāj, ii, 509 the Hudhail form is given as *najud*.

[7] A Yemenite instance of the same phenomenon is *qirya* for *qarya* 'village' ('Azharī in Lisān, xx, 37), cf. Hebrew *qiryāh*.

[8] Perhaps this difference in the treatment of the two vowels is due to some inherent phonological difference between them which has also caused them to be treated differently in the final position, *ī* being shortened but not *ū* (cf. § *ll*).

[9] The alternations of *w* and *y*, and *u* and *i* in *qunwa* and *qunwān* are apparently connected. The same seems to have been the case with *kulya* 'kidney', in the Yemen dialect *kulwa* (Lisān, xx, 94), the latter being the common form in Syrian colloquials. The pronunciation *kilwa*, against which Ibn Sikkīt (d. 243/875) warns (Lisān *ibid.*), is continued by Palestinian and Ḥaurani *čelwa* (Cantineau, Ḥorân, p. 115). The original opposition may have been *kulwa* : *kilya*, but to which dialects did these belong? (Cf. also § 11 *k*.)

[10] In the Quda'a dialect *sim* 'name' became *sum* (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xix, 126), cf. Palestinian Aramaic *shum*. The form seems to have been used further east, too, since the *usm* recorded *ibid.* for the dialect of 'Amr b. Tamim must go back to **sumu*.

[11] 'Anīs (Lahajāt p. 56) comes from a study of consonant assimilation to a similar conclusion that Hijazi Arabic was spoken more slowly and deliberately. The 'drawling' type of non-expiratory stress rhythm makes of course the impression of slowness; hence the nicknames discussed later on. However, it is apparently the stress, not the speed of utterance that causes the phenomena of assimilation and elision.

[12] A. Meillet (La méthode comparative, p. 88–9) states that languages in which unstressed *a* is treated differently from unstressed *u* or *i* had 'length-stress', not intensity-stress. This would of course apply to Eastern Arabic and many colloquials. It is not quite clear to me on what data Meillet's statement is based. In any case our notions of the nature of stress are so limited that the difference may be a merely verbal one.

[13] Note that in this colloquial the vowel *before* the stress is elided, not as in the ancient Eastern dialects the one *following* the stress.

[14] The concept of stress is unknown to the Arab grammarians, cf. Schaade, Sībawaihi's Lautlehre, p. 28.

[15] The most extensive treatment of the *'imāla* of the Eastern type is Grünert, Die Imâla, der Umlaut des Arabischen, Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. lxxxi (1875), 447–542. Grünert's discussion is largely based on Suyūṭī. Cf. also Pretzl, Islamica, vi 318–25 (older *tajwīd* literature).

[16] On this principle cf. Nöldeke (Beiträge, p. 7) and Fischer (Haupt Memorial Volume, p. 402, note 1 and Islamica, iii, 52).

[17] In the following examples *h* represents *tā' marbūṭa*.

[18] Zamakhsharī says in the Kashshāf (p. 179) that the spelling represents the pronunciation of those who pronounced *ribā* with *tafkhīm*. In the Mufaṣṣal (p. 160) he prescribes *'imāla* of the *ā*.

[19] Sarauw (ZAss, xxi, 43) denies that the word could have been borrowed, 'since the Arabs must at any rate have lived'. We might with the same argument claim *exist* as an Anglo-Saxon word. The native Arabic words were *'umr* and *'aish*. Actually *ḥayawān* 'animal(s)' is derived from the plural of the same Aramaic word (*ḥayūthā* or *ḥēwthā*) in the sense of 'living being'.

[20] The derivation is Nöldeke's (Neue Beiträge, p. 51). I do not feel at all happy about it, but would rather suggest that the Ethiopic word was borrowed from Hijazi Arabic, and the latter took it from the Aramaic of the Arabian Jews who might have used the Hebrew *maśkīth* (Ezek., viii, 12) in that sense. The Targum renders *ḥadhrey maśkīthō* 'the alcove of his bedchamber', the LXX 'his hidden bedchamber'. From this one could easily derive for *maśkīth* the meaning 'alcove, niche', thence 'window-niche'. The use of Hebrew words with a learned allusion is familiar from Yiddish and Yemenite Jewish Arabic.

[21] It is strange that the author of the Lisān should mention himself by name, but I know of no other person so called. Farrā's family name seems to have been Ibn Manẓūr, but why should such a well-known man suddenly be referred to in this cryptic way?

[22] According to Kahle (Cairo Geniza, p. 52) the change of *qāmeṣ* into an *ō*-like sound occurred in Palestinian Hebrew at the same time as in Western Syriac, both in the 7–8 century A.D. This dating, if correct, would fit even better with the theory of an Arab origin of the sound-change, falling as it does immediately after the conquest.

[23] It is of course impossible to maintain any longer the theory of Praetorius (ZDMG, liv, 369) that the Canaanite shift *ā* > *ō* was due to the existence of a non-Semitic substrate. If a substrate were necessary to account for such phonetic changes we should rather assume one in the case of Eastern Arabic fronted *æ*.

[24] The oldest instance of stressed *ā* > *ō* in an Arabic dialect may be the name of the Midianite priest *Yithrō*, Moses' father-in-law, if it is really the same as *Yithrā* יתרא, the name of an Ishmaelite (?) in 2 Sam., xvii, 25 (cf. Meyer, Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, p. 324). If the Midianite dialect really had undergone this sound-change, it took place in Northern West-Arabian about the same time as in Canaanite.

[25] Perhaps we might use this Hijazi peculiarity also to account for the strange *qayyūm* 'eternal', derived from Aramaic *qayyām*. The Koranic spelling should then be taken as denoting **qayyōm*. A reminiscence of this may be found in a statement by Farrā' on Koran, iii, 12: 'Ibn Mas'ūd and the Caliph 'Omar read *qayyām* instead of *qayyūm*; though both were considered correct Hijazi dialect, *qayyām* was more commonly used'. It is, however, also possible that the Aramaic dialect from which the form was taken over had labialized the *ā* to *ū*, or that it pronounced long *ā* as *ō*, as the Yemenite Jews do to-day.

[26] In Safatene *'wr* 'was blind' and *ḥwr* 'went' = *'awira*, *ḥawira*, the *w* may have remained consonantal because of the neighbouring *r*. In Hebrew, *w* is consonantal before *r* in *ḥāwar*, Arabic *ḥawira* 'to be white', and before gutturals in *gāwa'* 'to die', *sāwaḥ* 'to shout', etc.

[27] Aramaic had apparently two roots *zw'*; one < *zwgh* 'to move away' (e.g., Mishnah, *Aboth*, v, 22), and the other related to *z'z'* 'to tremble'. The two, of course, influenced each other.

[28] There seems to have been some wavering in pronunciation even in Kufa. Farrā' tells us that the Kufans read in vi, 63 for *'anjaitanā* 'thou hast delivered us', انجينا (= *'anjainā* or *'anjēnā*), and insists that they wrote it accordingly, though some of their codices spelled the word with *'alif* (Beck, Orientalia, xvi, 355). Since long *ā* was in Kufa subject to *'imāla*, both spellings could be sounded *'anjēnā*.

[29] *'Imāla* of *ä* in *ḥublä* is prescribed by Sībawaihi (ii, 281). Kofler (WZKM, xlvii, 235) asserts that *ramä* was not pronounced with *'imāla*, but I do not know whence he derives this information.

[20] In Hebrew, as in Arabic, the *-ai* of the oblique dual was not treated in the same way as the type of *-ai* just discussed: instead of being monophthongized, it was preserved when stressed and contracted into *ey* when unstressed.

[31] Another of cəse this is probably the name of the Nabataean God דושרא written in Arabic sources *Dhū sh-sharā*. If Ed. Meyer (Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, p. 269) is right in combining the name with the Biblical *Sārai*, this provides even clearer evidence for *ai* > *ā* in the language of the Nabataean Arabs. One wonders, by the way, whether the change of *Sārai* into *Sārā(h)* (Gen., xvii, 15), recognized by some scholars as a purely phonetic change, does not signify reception into another tribal group, where *-ai* had become *-ā*. Even *Abraham* could similarly be explained as the form which *'abrām* would take in a dialect with two-peak syllables as in Minaean and occasionally in Aramaic (*reheṭ* < **rāẓ* and *beheth* < **bāth*, GVG, i, 53, are hollow roots like *rām!*).

[32] While *'aḥyā* and *naḥyā* are written with *'alif*, *yaḥyā* as a verbal form is written with *yā'*. I would suggest that this is due to purely graphic confusion with the proper name.

[33] No differentiation of this kind seems to have existed in Hebrew. The irregularities in the inflection of nouns like *mar'eh* are best explained either as remnants of the inflection of nouns originally ending in *-ī*, such as *bōneh*, or as analogies on nouns from strong roots.

[34] The Ṣaḥāḥ (ii, 569) says that some Arabs shortened final *-ī* in nouns when these had the definite article, as in *ṭiwālu l-'aidi* 'with long hands'. It is not certain whether this refers to our dialects. The *shāhid* is by a poet of 'Asad, i.e., one of the tribes mentioned in this connection.

[35] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 78) suggests that in fact the expression of modus had been lost in these forms owing to the shortening of *ī* and *ū*, and that the *wāw* and *yā'* were only 'an orthographic reminiscence'. There is hardly enough ground for such a construction of the facts.

[36] While Classical Arabic possesses no true diphthongs (Cantineau, BSL, xliii, 127), West-Arabian *ai* is a true monophonematic diphthong, on a par with the long vowels. When shortened, the opposition *ā:ai* is neutralized to *a*.

Chapter 11

HIJAZ: THE CONSONANTS

a Our information about the consonants of the dialect is scanty. It is still doubtful how far we may take the rules of early *tajwīd* as being representative of Hijazi pronunciation. It differs from Hijazi in its treatment of *hamza* (cf. § *ll* below) and may have differed in many other respects. Thus the ق of early *tajwīd* was a voiced uvular plosive (cf. Vollers, *Ninth Or. Congr.*, ii, 138) as it is to-day in bedouin colloquials and those descended from them and in Central Yemenite (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xiv; Rossi, San'a, p. 2). For Hijazi colloquial I know only the statement of Maltzan, on hearsay, that the *'gāf 'arebî'* was used at Mecca (ZDMG, xxvii, 243). In an Arabic-Tigrigna vocabulary in Ethiopic characters, published by Littmann (ZAss., xxi, 57–90) the Arabic *qāf* is almost invariably transliterated by Ethiopic *gaml*. The Arabic in the vocabulary is presumably that of merchants from Hijaz. A proof for *gāf* in ancient times might be found in the form *qaṣṣ* 'gypsum, whitewash' said by Ibn Durustawaih (in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 162) to have been used in the Hijaz for common Arabic *jaṣṣ* (Ibn Sīda, in Lisān, viii, 345, says the Hijazi form was *qaṣṣa* or *qiṣṣa*). This would be a proof that Hijazi *qāf* was voiced, but only if we derive the word from Syriac *geṣṣā* (and the latter from Greek *gypson*). However, the word in this form probably comes from South-Arabia, where it has *qāf* (*gāf*) to-day (Rossi, San'a, p. 211) and had it in the Middle Ages (Hamdānī, 'Iklīl, p. 29). In a South-Arabian inscription at Wādī Rukhaila the words *gyrm wqṣm* 'lime and plaster' appear (Stark, JRAS, 1939, plate 7; Ryckmans, Muséon, lii, 313). It is possible that the forms with *g*, as in Syriac and Mishnaic Hebrew (Mishnah, *Miqwa'oth*, xi, 2) are the older ones. In this case the *q* in South Arabia is due to distant assimilation (on this cf. GVG, i, 166), and the Hijazi form is borrowed from Yemen. As it received its *q* there, it cannot assist us in determining the sound of Hijazi *qāf*. In the Tamim dialect *q* was sounded intermediate between *qāf* and *kāf*, articulated against the uvula and 'thick' (*taghliẓu*).[1] This Tamimi sound is represented by the letter *kāf* (Jamhara, i, 5; Ibn Fāris, Ṣāḥibī, p. 25). This way of pronouncing *qāf* was called *qāf al-ma'qūda* 'tied *q*'. In the dictionaries there appears a number of cases where the Tamim dialect had *kāf* instead of *qāf*. This presupposes that the two were phonetically similar. All this leads to the conclusion that the *qāf* of the Eastern dialects was voiceless (phonetic *q*) like that of the modern Ḥaḍarī colloquials of Syria, Egypt, etc. The modern Iraqi colloquial has a voiced *qāf*, however, and must have had one at an early date because in some cases Aramaic *g* is represented in Iraqi place names by *q*, e.g., *Bāqidārī* (near Baghdad: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, i, 475) from *Bē Gĕdhārē*, Greek *Gadara*, and

Bāqirdē (with *'imāla*), or *Qardā* (Yāqūt, i, 476) from *Gardā*. The poet Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783) transcribes the Aramaic word *gamlā* 'camel' in one of his poems as *qaml* (Jawāliqī, Mu'arrab, p. 67). This is difficult to explain in view of what we said about the Eastern *qāf*. However, there are other signs that the Iraqi dialect was at some time deeply influenced by bedouin dialects of a Western type. We may, in view of the fact that the bedouin dialects and the Yemenite colloquial of our days have voiced *qāf*, assume that the *qāf* of West-Arabian was also voiced, although so far no evidence is available for ancient times. The voiced *qāf* of *tajwīd* would then be a true continuation of the Prophet's own pronunciation. But as *tajwīd* rarely represents a pure Hijazi tradition (cf. the *hamza* and the vowels), the voiced *qāf* must have been used outside the Hijaz as well, especially in those archaic Najdi dialects which provided the basis of Classical Arabic. The voiceless sound used in the Eastern dialects can, therefore, not have been old-inherited. However, the 'emphatics' were originally neutral as regards voice (cf. further the note § 14*h*) and were variously fixed in the different dialects. The voiceless *q* of Aramaic may have been a contributory factor in turning the Eastern *qāf* into a voiceless sound.

b Vollers (ZDMG, xlix, 495) observed that wherever *qāf* is voiced in Arabic, *jīm* has a palatal articulation. We might add that dialects with a voiceless *qāf* show a similar tendency to palatalize *kāf*, a tendency which was not unknown to the ancient Eastern dialects (cf. the discussion of the '*Kashkasha*' by Barth, WZKM, xxiv, 281 *seq.*). The *jīm* of early *tajwīd* cannot have been the pure palatal ɟ, as that sound was specially noted in connection with the dialect of Yemen (cf. § 4 *i*). Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 243) heard the Hijazi *jīm* pronounced 'soft, like French *dj*'. In the Arabic-Tigrigna vocabulary Arabic *jīm* is transliterated as *zhāi* ዘ, not as *djent* ጀ, so that any sound like ɟ is excluded (Littmann, ZAss., xxi, 52). Kampffmeyer (ZDPV, xv, 18) quotes an oral communication of Socin's that in parts of Hijaz *jīm* is sounded like *g*, but there is nothing to prove that this pronunciation is old.

c Data for the pharyngals are confusing. In view of what has been said in § 4 *l*, we can rule out *'anṭä* for *'aʿṭä* as evidence for the sound of *ʿain*. In the statement on the extension of that form Medina and Saʿd b. Bakr, but not Mecca, are mentioned. In the Koran *'aʿṭä* is frequent, but I know of only one case in which *'anṭä* was read for it, namely cviii, 1, where 'Ubayy's codex was said to have had *'anṭainäka*, which was also read by the Yemenite, later Basrian, Ibn as-Samaifaʿ and the older Basrian Ḥasan (Jeffery, Materials, p. 180). We can hardly attach much importance to the fact that this is one of the earliest Suras; it would be difficult to believe that the Prophet learnt only later on that *'aʿṭä* was the correct form.

d A very late source (ʿAinṭābī, Qāmūs Turc., i, 284) states that the Saʿd b. Bakr, north of Medina, pronounced *naʿam* 'yes' as *naḥam*. Ibn Mālik

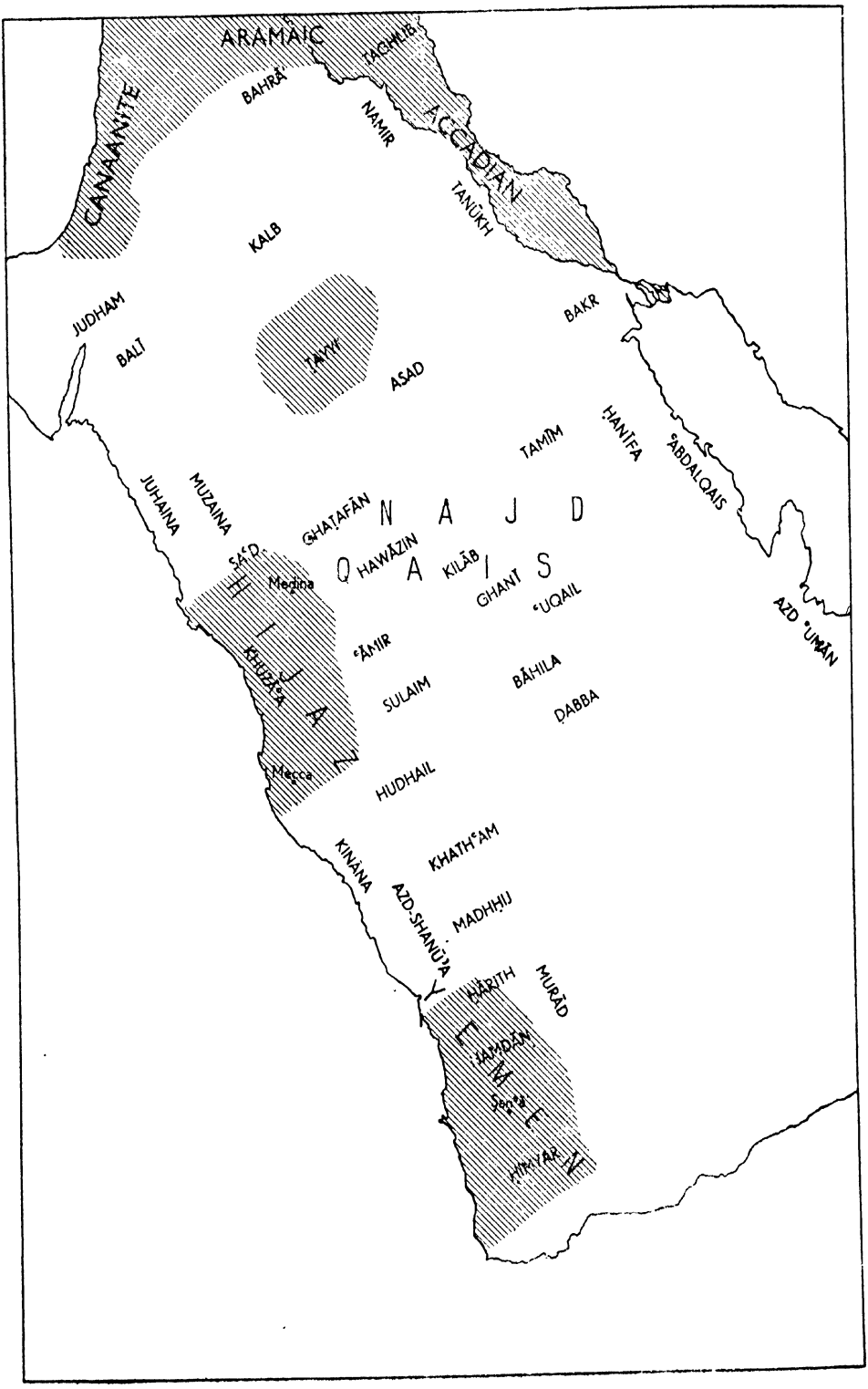
(Tashīl, f. 86 *b*) gives the same without specifying the dialect. We have seen that the Hudhali Ibn Masʿūd is said to have used that pronunciation (Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, ii, 25, cf. § 8 *p*). As in Mecca the word was pronounced *naʿim* (cf. § 10 *i*), this *naḥam* may have been a local form of Medina and district. The Shammar of the Jezira, a tribe that claims to be descended from the Ṭayyiʾ, say *haṭa* instead of *ʿaṭa* (Montagne, 'Contes', BEOIFD, p. 75, quoted by Cantineau, Parlers, p. 145). Cantineau connects this with *hāt* 'give!', but it may also be explained as the result of a double sound-change: *ʿaṭa* > *ḥaṭa* and then *ḥ* weakened to *h* (cf. § *f* below).

e ʾAzharī (in Tāj, x, 12) assigns to the Hijaz dialect the forms *ʾādä* 'he helped' and *istaʾdä* 'he asked for help', for *ʾaʿdä, istaʿdä*. The *shāhid* is by the Ṭayyiʾ poet Ṭirimmāḥ (xlviii, 8), and there is better evidence for the de-pharyngalization of *ʿain* in that dialect (cf. § 14 *q*). This does not exclude that it was current in Hijaz, as results from some hadith quotations of ʾAzharī. Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 244) heard *ʿain* pronounced like *hamza* in the neighbourhood of Ḥodeida, in the Yemenite Tihāma; at Ṣanʿāʾ, too, *ʿain* is rather weak (Rossi, San'a, p. 4). The occurrence of de-pharyngalized *ʿain* both at the southern and the northern extremity of the West-Arabian area rather strongly suggests that it was an inherent tendency of the language. As against this, the Eastern dialects are said to have changed *hamza* in certain cases into *ʿain* (references in § 8 *q*). The only instance which is at all well attested is *ʿan* for *ʾan* and *ʿanna* for *ʾanna*, and in this case it is difficult to say which form is earlier, since both the conjunction *ʾan* and the preposition *ʿan* are without cognates. It may be that *ʾan* is nothing but a de-pharyngalized, unstressed, version of *ʿan*. For the transition of meaning, one need only compare Assyrian *sha* 'of' and Phoenician and Hebrew *sha, she* 'that' (also 'who, which'). This, however, would imply extension of the de-pharyngalizing tendency as far east as the dialects which formed the basis of Classical Arabic.

f We have fuller evidence for a similar weakening of *ḥ* in Hijaz. Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, ii, 377) states it in a general way, giving as an example Hijazi *madaha* for *madaḥa* 'to praise' and a report that the Prophet said *waihaka* for *waiḥaka* 'woe to thee'. Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 517), however, says this change took place in the dialect of Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt. Two MSS. of the Kāmil add Lakhm. The latter seems to be nothing but the usual gibe at the 'Nabataeans', with whom the Lakhm in Ḥīra lived in close association. The 'Saʿd' may originally have been the Saʿd b. Bakr in the Northern Hijaz, and the other reading due to copyists. In Southern Yemen *ḥ* is almost completely devoid of pharyngal friction (Landberg, Hadramout, p. 253; Arabica, v, 77, 281; Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 75).

g In a line by Samauʾal b. ʿAdiyāʾ (ed. Cheikho, iii, 12, quoted by ʾAbū Zaid, Nawādir, p. 104; Lisān, ii, 332) a word *khabīt* occurs in rhyme.

Weakening of pharyngal consonants (§11 e, etc.) Map No. 14



ʾAṣmaʿī took this to be the same as *khabīth* 'repulsive' and concluded from it that the Jews of Khaibar prounonced *th* as *t*. He admits that Khalīl (d. 175/791) denied ever having heard of such a trait in that dialect. The author of the Lisān suggests reading *khatīt* 'contemptible'. There is nothing inherently improbable in the assumption that the Jews, who presumably spoke, or had recently spoken, Aramaic, confused *th* and *t*. The instance given, however, cannot be used to prove this. In the final position the *t* would have been pronounced *th* in Aramaic, too, and in any event *khabīt* is a good Arabic word, perhaps one peculiar to the Hijaz dialect. The form *mukhbit* 'lowly' occurs Koran, xxii, 35/34; a desert region in Hijaz is called *al-Khabt* 'the depression'. The same root recurs in the Palestinian locality *Ḥabhtā* (*Aphtha* in Josephus).[2] There is thus no difficulty in admitting that *khabīt* means 'lowly'.

h Farrāʾ (in Lisān, xiii, 74) states that the form *ban* for *bal* 'but'—which others, such as Ibn Jinnī, considered Classical Arabic—was current in the dialects of Saʿd and Kalb (in Tāj, ix, 145, Quḍāʿa for Kalb). In a separate statement he adds that he heard people of the Qais tribe Bāhila say *lā ban* for *lā bal*. This dissimilation may have occurred in a wider area and only in those two dialects the dissimilated form gained more extensive currency (cf. Tigrigna and Moroccan Arabic *ne* for *la* 'to', Brockelmann, GVG, i, 227, 224).

i In a line by ʾAʿshā (ed. Geyer, xix, 1) the verbal noun of *khawiṣa* 'to have deep-set eyes' is *khaiṣ* instead of *khauṣ*. It is not impossible that the verb had in the Hijaz dialect become *khayiṣa* or *khēṣa* (cf. § 10 *y*), or this may be an instance of the general confusion of *au* and *ai* of which we shall have examples in the Ṭayyiʾ dialect (§ 14 *n*).[3] ʾAbū l-ʾAswad (d. 69/188) heard Ibn ʿUmar use *ḥauthu* for *ḥaithu* 'where' (Lisān, ii, 444). However, Mufaḍḍal (in Lisān, viii, 300) accounts for this form by saying that in the Hijaz *-awwā-* became *-ayyā-* by substitution (*muʿāqaba*). As instances he cites *ṣayyām* for *ṣawwām* 'keen on fasting'[4] and *ṣayyāgh* for *ṣawwāgh* 'goldsmith'. The latter word is given as a Hijazi form also by Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 6).[5] In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic all verbs mediæ *w* have *yy* instead of *ww* in the intensive conjugation (Dalman, Gramm., p. 316): this is the consistent application of a process which turned already at a very early date *qawwēm* 'to maintain' into *qayyēm*, the form that appears in the Elephantine Papyri, Biblical Aramaic, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Syriac. Just as Schwarz (Umar, iv, 102) explains that the Hijazi forms are due to analogy with mediæ *y*, so does Brockelmann (GVG, i, 616) with the Aramaic ones. In Aramaic, however, the verbs mediæ *y*—always rare—were disappearing altogether, and therefore unlikely to exert any attraction on roots mediæ *w*. The Arab philologists were thus right in considering the change as a purely phonological one. We have thus a further late development common to Palestine and West-Arabia.[6]

k According to Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 108) feminines of the form *fuʿlā* from roots tertiæ *w*, when not used as elatives, turn the *w* into *y*, except for isolated cases such as *ḥulwā* 'adorned' in all dialects and *quṣwā* 'extreme' in all dialects except that of Tamim. The form *quṣwā* is specifically assigned to the Hijaz dialect by Farrā' (in Lisān, xx, 44, cf. also Ibn Qutaiba, 'Adab, p. 626; Ibn 'Aqīl, p. 371), perhaps because it occurs in the Koran (viii, 43/42). The Koran, however, also contains cases of *y*, as *dunyā*, *ʿulyā*, etc. The reason for the substitution outside the Hijaz—if indeed the *w* is specifically Hijazi—was perhaps phonetical, as other instances of vacillation between *w* and *y* after a consonant can be found. In the case of *khuṣwa*: *khuṣya* 'testicle' and *kulya*: *kulwa* 'kidney', the fact that Syrian bedouin colloquials have *khöṣwa*, *čölwa* (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 15, 222) may lead us to assign the *w*-forms to West-Arabian. This is not necessarily contradicted by Hijazi *qinya* 'flock' as against Tamimi *qunwa* (Yūnus in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176: the lexica also give the forms *qinwa* and *qunya*). It seems that, while Eastern Arabic had *qnw*, West-Arabian had *qny*, like Hebrew, Aramaic, South Arabian, and Ethiopic. The Hudhali Ṣakhr al-Ghayy (Lisān, xx, 64) used *qunyān*, which looks like a loan-word. Instances for the verb *qny* in the Lisān (*ibid.*) are all from Western sources (Hadith, Ḥātim Ṭā'ī, Ṭammāḥī).

l The most celebrated feature of the Hijaz dialect is the disappearance of the *hamza*, or glottal stop. Since it is responsible for the only real difficulties of Arabic spelling and pronunciation, this sound-change has received a great deal of attention. Apart from the work of Arab philologists, the following European works deserve mention: Weil, ZAss., xix, 1–63 (material from grammarians), Schwarz, Umar, pp. 103–9 (Hijazi poetry), *id.*, ZAss., xxx, 46–59 (spellings in Koran codices), Bergsträsser in GQ, iii, 43–9 (official Koran orthography), Vollers, Volkssprache, pp. 83–96 (various sources), Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 168–74 (a bedouin colloquial), Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 303–18 (*tajwīd*). The present writer attempted in Comptes Rendus du GLECS, iii, 77–9 to explain the facts phonetically, with illustrations from experimental work on Modern Hebrew, where the same change is now taking place. Much of the complication of the problem derives from the superposition of Eastern pronunciation upon a Western spelling, with subsequent modifications in both, which has produced our modern spelling. The same thing, a not always consistent attempt to introduce full sounding of the glottal stop into a consonant spelling that betrays a pronunciation which had lost that sound, is responsible for some peculiarities of Biblical Hebrew vocalization (cf. Bergsträsser, Hebr. Gramm., i, 89–93).

m Every Semitic dialect shows signs of this tendency to dispense with the glottal stop, though only in Aramaic can we observe that it disappeared as completely as in West-Arabian.[7] Eastern Arabic, as described by the philologists[8] was extremely conservative in this respect; it is rivalled only by

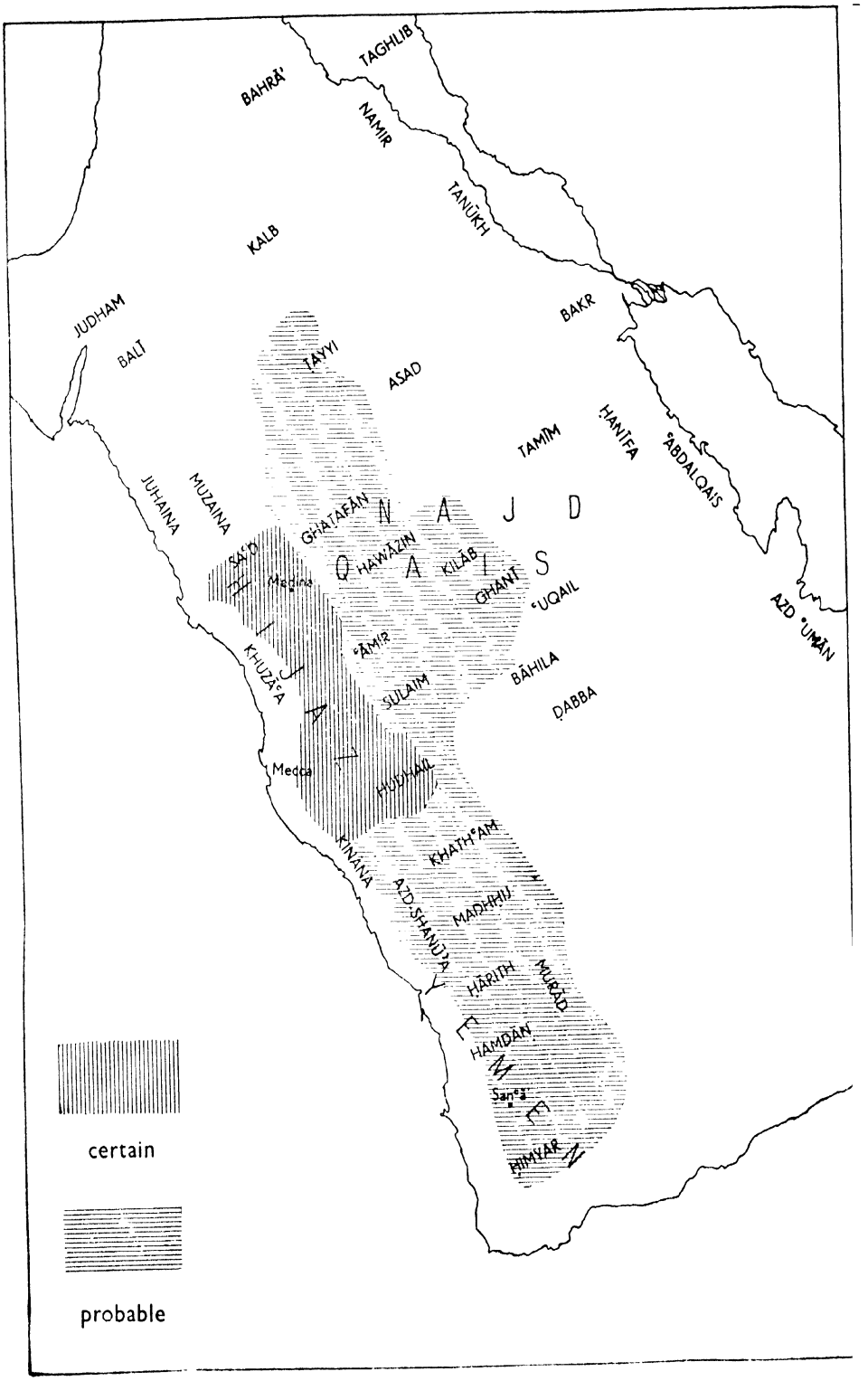
Ugaritic. Nevertheless, even there hamza was elided in *yuqtilu* < **yu'aqtilu* and in *allāh* < *al-'ilāh* (cf. Schwarz, Umar, iv, 103). In the Tamim dialect **yar'ä* (Hebrew *yir'eh*) 'he sees' became *yarä*, as elsewhere (Sībawaihi, ii, 37), and they dropped final *hamza* after a vowel in pause (*ibid.*, 311). All dialects except that of Tamim elided the second of two *hamzas* separated only by a short vowel,[9] lengthening that vowel where the *hamza* came directly before a consonant (Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 167); some unspecified dialect lengthened the vowel, but still articulated the *hamza* (*ibid.*). Yet just on this point of agreement between dialects the grammarians' views differed. The form *'a'imma*, plur. of *'imām* 'guide', which Sībawaihi rejected in favour of *'ayimma*, was adopted by all Kufan readers. The usage of the best later MSS. does not 'alleviate' the *hamza* even in such cases. Older Koranic orthography displays a notable lack of consistency (GQ, iii, 45). Contractions affecting initial vowels, as in *lawanna* for *lau 'anna*, are found in Eastern poets; *yāla* for *yā 'āla* (Wright, ii, 153B)[10] is the only form found anywhere. If our principle is correct that poetic license mirrors actual usage, then *hamza* was less firm in the Eastern dialects than the grammarians want us to believe. As for West-Arabian, there is no doubt that *hamza* had disappeared over the whole area. 'Abū Zaid (in Lisān, i, 14) limits the elision of *hamza* to 'the people of Hijaz, Hudhail, Mecca, and Medina'. Immediately afterwards he adds some of the 'Banū 'Ajlān of Qais',[11] though the Qais are said to have preserved the *hamza* (Jārabardī, quoted Howell, iv, 930) or even to have turned it occasionally into *'ain* (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 133). 'Azharī (quoted Howell, iv, 824) says that part of Ṭayyi' did not pronounce the glottal stop. We have found indications of its disappearance in the Yemenite dialect (§ 4 *n*). Cf. map. No. 14.

n The general statements of the grammarians all show clearly that *hamza* had completely disappeared as a phoneme, not merely become weakened in articulation: The Tamim always pronounce the *hamza*, the Hijazis only when they are forced ('Īsā b. 'Umar in Lisān, i, 14); the people of Hijaz find it difficult to sound even one *hamza*—let alone two consecutive ones (Sībawaihi, ii, 172); the Hijazis do not articulate the glottal stop (Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 402); *hamza* has no place in the dialect of Quraish (*laisa min lughati Q.*) (Ibn 'Athīr in Tāj, x, 128), etc. This does not mean that they did not sound a glottal stop before vowels in the absolute initial position (*ibtidā'*). That they did so is stated expressly by Ibn Fāris (Ṣāḥibī, p. 71) and by Jazarī (Nashr, i, 422). Within the sentence, of course, this glottal stop disappeared (cf. 'Astarābādī, quoted Howell, iv, 930 and Jārabardī, *ibid.*, p. 940).

o Of course the Hijazis were able to pronounce a glottal stop just as much as an Englishman is, but since it was not a phoneme of their language they would misplace it when they made an effort to pronounce it. This is what is sometimes called over-correctness. Hijazi poets often treat *hamzat al-waṣ*

Dialects in which *hamza* disappeared (§11 m)

Map No. 15



like *hamzat al-qaṭ'* (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 109). That this was not mere poetic license (Wright, ii, 377A), but unfamiliarity with correct usage, is proved by the fact that the substitution hardly ever affects the article, which was the most obvious and frequent of the words with *'alif al-waṣl*. The Hijazis said *nabī'un* instead of *nabiyyun* 'prophet', *barī'a* for *bariyya* 'creation' (Sībawaihi, ii, 175); the Hijazi Nāfi' was the only reader who read *'anbi'ā'u* for *'anbiyā'u* 'prophets' (Baiḍāwī, i, 73). The two words were of foreign origin (Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, p. 276, 76) and presumably reached Arabic in their Aramaic forms, without *hamzas*.

p The Arab grammarians do not speak of the disappearance of the glottal stop and its consequences, but of alleviation (*takhfīf*), in which they distinguish various grades: elision (*ḥadhf*), replacement by *w* or *y* (*'ibdāl*), or transformation into *hamzat baina baina* (Weil, ZAss., xix, 16). Their terminology could only operate with consonant letters. From our point of view it is sounder to consider the various happenings as due to the meeting of sounds previously separated by the *hamza*. In particular, the fall of *hamza* created diphthongs unknown to Arabic, of which the language had somehow to get rid. We thus classify our phenomena according to the position of the elided *hamza* relative to adjoining vowels and consonants. We need not consider its place within the word, since initial and final *hamza* were treated the same as medial ones, except at the absolute beginning or end of an utterance. It is quite possible that differences in sound-development were caused by the position of the elided *hamza* with relation to word stress, but I have so far found no evidence of this.

q Where *hamza* had stood between a consonant and a vowel, its elision caused no change except the displacement of the syllable boundary, as in *qi-ra* for *qir-'a* 'pestilence' ('Aṣma'ī, 'Aḍḍād, p. 5); *qu-rān* for *qur-'ān* (Nīsābūrī, Gharā'ib, i, 31). This is the same as what happened in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG, xxii, 466), Biblical and Modern Hebrew (cf. Rabin, Melilah, ii, 248), and in the colloquials (e.g., *mara* < *mar'a* 'woman', Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 74). In Koran spelling the original *hamza* is not indicated in most cases, e.g., *yasamu* (xli, 49), *tasamū* (ii, 282) for *yas'amu*, *tas'amū*; *mashamatun* (lvi, 9) for *mash'amatun*; *yanauna* (vi, 26) for *yan'auna*; *tajarū* (xxiii, 67/65) for *taj'arū*; and the frequent *'afidatun* 'hearts' for *'af'idatun*, *yasalu* 'he asks', for *yas'alu*, etc., and *malakun* 'angel' for *mal'akun*. With the article an *'alif* is normally written—no doubt because the form without article was present in the mind of the scribe—but there are cases such as *'aṣḥābu laikati* اصحاب ليكة for *'aṣḥābu l-'aikati* 'people of the forest' (xxxviii, 12/13). However, *nash'atun* is twice (xxix, 19/20; lvi, 62) spelled with an *'alif*, نشاة. As far as I know this is the only case in the Koran of a post-consonantal *hamza* being followed by the feminine ending. Apparently the form is to be read *nashātun*. Zamakhsharī

(Mufaṣṣal, p. 165) tells us that some dialects 'other than that of Hijaz' said *al-marā* for *al-mar'a* 'the woman' and *al-kamā* for *al-kam'a* 'the truffles'. The *shāhid* given is attributed to the Iraqi townsman Kumait, of Tamimi origin.[12] The Tunis colloquial also has *mrā* 'woman', which however appears to be transformed on the analogy of the pattern of *rdā*, from *ridā'* (Stumme, Grammar, p. 49). Perhaps the ancient form is also due to the tendency to avoid an unusual pattern. Other instances of lengthening are doubtful. 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a has in one line *tadābāni* for *tad'abāni* 'ye two strive' (Schwarz, iv, 106), but this probably re-derived from Hijazi *dāba* for *da'aba*. For the form *malāk* for *mal'ak* 'angel' there is no evidence earlier than the 7th/13th century (cf. Boneschi, JAOS, lxv, 109).

r Where *hamza* was elided before the *'i'rāb*-vowel, it was not expressed in writing, since in pause the vowel would also fall off. Thus *rid'u* 'assistance', Hijazi *ridu*, would become in pause *rid* ('Astarābādī, quoted Howell, iv, 801). The Tamim dialect preserved the *hamza* in pause through either transposing the case-vowel before it: *ar-ridu'*, gen. *ar-ridi'*, acc. *ar-rida'*, or in some dialects, inserting a neutral vowel before the *hamza* which took the colour of the stress vowel: *ar-ridi'* in all cases (Sībawaihi, ii, 312; cf. Birkeland, Pausalformen, p. 61). With final *hamza* Arabic orthography preserved Koranic usage, although in the body of the word it introduced the letter *'alif* to indicate the place of the *hamza* before *a*: مشاءة for Koranic مشمة etc.

s The only exception from our rule regarding hamza after consonant is where that consonant was *w* or *y*. In those cases the consonant was doubled: *'awwanta* for *'au 'anta* 'or thou', *ra'aitu ghulāmayyabīka* for *ghulamai 'abīka* 'I saw the two servants of thy father' (Sībawaihi, ii, 175–6). The latter phrase was heard by 'Abū Zaid among the Banū 'Ajlān of Qais (Lisān, i, 14, cf. § *m* above). Another example may be *ḥudayyā* for *ḥudai'a*, the diminutive of *ḥid'a* 'kite' ('Abū Ḥātim in Lisān, i, 47, cf. also § *ee* below). The same process took place in the colloquial of Ẓafār, where *hamza* is still largely preserved, e.g., *nawwe* = *nau'a* 'cloud', *hayye* = *hai'a* 'shape' (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 74).[13] Cantineau (BEO, i, 92) suggests that the same change would account for the Aramaic emphatic state of the plur. *-ayyā*, from **-ay'ā* (as in the singular *malkā* from **malka-'ā*). The *hamza* was in all these cases assimilated to the preceding semi-vowel. Such a change would, of course, have taken place before the complete disappearance of *hamza*.

t In Koranic readings there are also cases of assimilation of *hamza* to other consonants preceding it.[14] In viii, 24, some read *al-marri* for *al-mar'i* 'of the man'; in xv, 44, the Medinean Zuhrī read *juzzun* for *juz'un* 'a share'. Both are not pausal. Zamakhsharī (Kashshāf, p. 720) considers these as cases of pausal doubling (Wright, ii, 369A) transferred into context, although he, like all other grammarians, holds that pausal doubling cannot apply in words ending in *hamza* (Mufaṣṣal, p. 161). In Hijaz, there was of course no

hamza at the end of these words. It is more likely that the two words represent attempts to adapt the forms **maru*, **juzu* to more normal patterns (cf. *'abb*, *'akhkh*, § 7 *m* and *marāh*, *nashāh*, § *q* above). However, none of these explanations can apply in the case of *tarriyya* (besides *tariyya*) for *tar'iyya* 'last trace of menstrual blood', which is not described as dialect form (Laith in Lisān, xix, 10). This word, however, appears to be foreign, from Mishnaic *rĕ'iyyāh* 'a single flow of blood, an attack of gonorrhœa'.[15] It is doubtful whether any of these instances have anything to do with the Hijaz dialect.

u Where a *hamza* stood between a vowel and a consonant, closing a syllable, the vowel was lengthened and the *hamza* disappeared, as shown by Koranic orthography. The number of *moræ* was thus preserved (Arabic rhythm belongs to the '*moræ*-counting' variety, cf. Trubetzkoy, Grundzüge der Phonologie, p. 174; Cantineau, BSL, xliii, 128). The long vowels resulting from this rhyme freely with original long vowels (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 109). The *'alif* denoting the lengthened *a* was omitted in the spelling of old codices in the same way as original *ā* (GQ, iii, 33). Few cases are mentioned in the lexica. One is *jūna* for *ju'na* 'leather bag' (Yūnus in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176; Ibn Qarqūl in Tāj, ix, 159), but Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 364) knows nothing of *ju'na*, only *jūna*.[16] In the central Yemenite colloquial a vowel preceding *hamza* before consonant is lengthened, though the *hamza* is still pronounced (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xiii). Similarly, *a* becomes *ā* in Ethiopic before vowelless gutturals. This may help to account for the anomaly of Hebrew, where the vowel in words like **ra's* became *ā* and subsequently *ō* at a very early date (*rushunu* in Tell el-Amarna), and yet the *'aleph* is written in *rōsh*, *ṣōn*, etc. There is no need to assume that the *'aleph* was elided simultaneously with or before the lengthening. We may be justified in assuming the same order of events in Hijazi Arabic: first lengthening of the vowel with preservation of the *hamza*, then fall of the *hamza*, leaving only the long vowel. The term 'compensatory lengthening' thus does not apply in this case.

v For assimilation of *hamza* to a semivowel following it, there is only the one instance of *ruyyā* for *ru'yā* 'dream' (Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 641; Kisā'ī in Lisān, xix, 9). Zamakhsharī considers this form vulgar (*'āmmiyya*) and Farrā' (in Lisān, *loc. cit.*) admits it only in conversation (*fī l-kalām*), not in Koran reading. It is, however, the pronunciation on which the Koranic spelling رِيًّا is based. There was also a form *riyyā* ('Akhfash in Lisān, *loc. cit.*), not said to belong to any dialect. In view of the fact that the oldest form appears to have been *rüyyā* (so in Lisān), and the Hijaz dialect changed *ü* into *i* in the hollow verbs (§ 12 *t*), it seems probable that *riyyā* was the real Hijazi form. In the Canaanite area the same word, apparently with the same contraction, is found in *ryt* 'spectacle' in the Moabite Mesha' stele (line 12), which we therefore ought to read *riyyat*.[17] In the case of *riyyu* for *ri'yu*

'sight', which is the reading of the Medineans in Koran, xix, 75/74 and occurs in a hadith (Lisān, xix, 7), we cannot decide whether it represents *rī-yu*, with the ordinary lengthening of the vowel, or *riy-yu*, with assimilation. There are, again, some instances of assimilation of *hamza* to other consonants. It seems well established with the *t* of the eighth conjugation. The Kufan ʿĀṣim read in ii, 283 *alladhi-ttumina* for *alladhi-ʾtumina* 'who was trusted' (Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 184); the form occurs in early prose (Ṭabarī Glossary, p. cxx). Zamakhsharī (*loc. cit.*) cites *ittazara* 'to put on an *ʾizār*' as a vulgar form. In the case of *ittakhadha* 'he took for himself' the assimilation is admitted in Classical Arabic: the secondary root *takhidha* derived from it is said to be Hudhail dial. (Fārisī, Diw. Hudh. i, 86).[18] Such forms are very rare in the colloquials, e.g., *mummin* = *muʾmin* 'believer' in Syrian bedouin colloquial (Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 172). Isolated instances are found in Accadian, Aramaic, and Ethiopic (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, § 56, 64). They may be more frequent in the Koran than we suspect. The Kufic codex of Samarqand spells *shiʾtumā* 'ye two wanted' (ii, 33/35) شتما (Jeffery and Mendelsohn, JAOS, lxii, 183). This may stand for *shittumā*. Perhaps the very frequent occasions on which *ʾalif* is omitted in *ʾakhtaʾna*, *taʾwīl*, etc. (GQ, iii, 33), may hide further cases. Early Christian Arabic also writes *ittamara* 'planned', *ittamana* 'was entrusted' (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 18).[19]

w Where *hamza* was preceded and followed by the same short vowel, these were contracted into the corresponding length, as in *sāla* for *saʾala* 'he asked' (for Hijaz, Baiḍāwī, i, 552, ii, 355; for Hudhail, Tāj, vii, 365). It is not quite clear what happened if the sound-complex would have come to stand in a closed syllable, where Arabic avoided long vowels. In poetry such contractions seem to produce short vowels, as in *wailu* (*waili*) *ʾummihi* > *wailummihi* 'woe to his mother'. All cases quoted by Schwarz (Umar, iv, 107) concern initial syllables, however, where the example of the *ʾalif al-waṣl* may have led to simple elision of the initial vowel. The Koranic orthography writes *saʾaltum* with an *ʾalif*. In a hadith (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, 21; Qasṭallānī, x, 65) we find *ʾāntum* for *ʾaʾantum* 'did ye'. The Hijazis, according to the Lisān (xix, 5) even said *ʾaraʾaita* for the common *ʾaraita* 'tell me'. On its spelling in the Koran there are conflicting traditions (GQ, iii, 44). Though the form may be derived from the particle **ʾarai* 'behold' (Barth, Sprachw. Unters., ii, 27 *seq.*; Marcel Cohen, Expression du temps, p. 89) it was clearly looked upon by the Hijazi readers as a form of *raʾä* and treated accordingly. These, however, were not ordinary long vowels. ʾAbū Zaid (in Lisān, xix, 7) says that in *raʾaitu* 'if one wishes to elide the *hamza*, one pronounces the *ʾalif* without giving it full weight (*bi-ghairi ʾishlāʿin*), but does not let the *hamza* disappear altogether'. What seems to be implied is a two-peak stress, or distribution of the long *ā* over two syllables. This is the

same as the *hamzat baina baina* (§ *bb* below) but is nowhere called by this name. Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 166) lays down the use of *hamzat baina baina* even for *sa'ala*, admitting contraction as an alternative, but does not mention our case. A special case is *ka'ayyin* 'how many'. The form *kāyin* appears in a line by the Tamimi Jarīr (I, ix, 4), but the Lisān (xvii, 255) quotes a line with *kāyin* and the Western *mil-* for *mina l-* (§ 7 *o*), and the Meccan Ibn Kathīr read *kā'in* or *kāyin* in iii, 140/6. Other examples come from Labīd (ix, 2), a Ḥanafī, i.e., an Easterner (Ḥamāsa of Buḥturī, p. 18, line 1). It is in any event not proved that *kāyin* is a Western form. The Meccan Ibn Muḥaiṣin read *ka'ai* (Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 76). I cannot account for the relation between the three forms. Other cases are not available so far.

x Where *hamza* was preceded by a short vowel and followed by the corresponding long vowel, the two were contracted into one length, as in *Jibrīl* for *Jibri'īl* (Tāj, iii, 84), *rūs* for *ru'ūs* 'heads' in a line of Qais b. Khaṭīm (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 68).[20] In the vocalization of the Koran two vowels are written, but we should read only one, e.g., *khāṭīna* for the frequent *khāṭi'īna* 'sinners', in lv, 24 *munshāt* for *munsha'āt* 'lofty ones' (cf. GQ, iii, 44, 45), and of course *rūs* for *ru'ūs*. The contracted syllables were in Hijazi poems counted as one length (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 107).

y In the comparatively rare case, occurring only with *a*, where hamza was preceded by a long vowel and followed by the corresponding short one as in *sā'ala* 'he inquired' (cf. further § *kk* below), two ways were possible. One, vouchsafed by the grammarians, was to keep both vowels apart, without any contraction or glide, as two prosodic syllables (Lisān, i, 196). What separated them was a hiatus, the intention of a sound (*fī n-niyya*: Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 1308), not a sound (cf. Schaade, Sibaw. Lautlehre, p. 32; Bravmann, Materialien, p. 93). No wonder the grammarians found it impossible to describe the sound (Weil, ZAss., xix, 19). We shall find this entity, the so-called *hamzat baina baina*, again in a number of contexts. It is doubtful whether this *hamzat baina baina* really belongs to Hijazi pronunciation. While the Koranic spellings with *'alif* might possibly represent it, the two syllables are often counted as one in Hijazi poetry (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 108), thus showing that to the feeling of the Hijazi speaker they had completely coalesced. The difference is in fact only one of degree. In modern colloquial Hebrew such complexes are pronounced with a steeply falling tone, and it is often impossible to say whether one has heard one vowel or two, the first with the high pitch of a stressed syllable, the second with the low pitch of an unstressed one (cf. Rabin, GLECS, iii, 78). The contracted vowels are condemned as vulgar by Ibn Qutaiba ('Adab al-Kātib, p. 394).

z Since the *hamzat baina baina* was the nearest thing to a real *hamza* that the Hijaz dialect possessed, it was presumably the 'sound' Hijazi speakers used when they spoke carefully and tried to avoid the contractions and glides

of their dialect. In the effort to sound clearly vowels otherwise contracted, they seem occasionally to have lengthened short vowels preceding a *hamza*, and treated them in prosody as lengths (cf. Schwarz, Umar, p. 174; ZAss., xxix, 50). Traces of similar tendencies exist in Koranic spelling, but the resulting spellings seem to have been misapplied (cf. GQ, iii, 48 *seq.*). We have here another instance of over-correctness (cf. § *o* above).

aa There are no examples of *hamza* with the same long vowel before and after it in Hijazi texts. Schwarz (Umar, iv, 109) adduces *yatarāyānā* 'they pretend before each other',[21] but this is not a phonetic transformation of *yatarā'ānā*, but derived from the Hijazi third conjugation *rāyä* (Lisān, xix, 8), which is re-formed from the imperf. *yurā'ī* > *yurāyī* (cf. § 4 *p*). The Christian Arabic *qirāyāt* for *qirā'āt* (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 19) arose in the same way.

bb If the vowels flanking the *hamza* were different, various treatments of the resulting complexes existed side by side. The most common ones were to keep them separate with *hamzat baina baina* or to insert a glide between them. Observation of modern Hebrew again teaches that these are merely differences of degree, with innumerable gradations between them. The existence of the same alternatives in Central Yemenite colloquial has been observed by Goitein (Jemenica, p. xiii). The main factor is speed of utterance: the slower it is the less audible the glide. The nature of the glide is determined by the narrower vowel: between *a* and *u* it is *w*, between *a* and *i* it is *y*. Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 166) declares that the glide develops only in *u-a*, *i-a*, but not in *a-u*, *a-i*. This is a very fine phonetic observation, fully borne out by kymograms of Modern Hebrew. Yet the notations of Hijazi pronunciations write *y* and *w* in the latter case, too, as there were no other signs available, e.g., *ḥīnayidhin* for *ḥīna'idhin* 'at that time' (Ibn Khālawaih, Badī', p. 151) and Ibn 'Abbās's reading in iv, 141/142, *yurāwūna* for *yurā'ūna* 'they pretend' (Jeffery, p. 197). The word boundary was of course not respected in actual pronunciation, as in *'aqriyabāka* for *'aqri' 'abāka* 'teach thy father the Koran' (Sībawaihi, ii, 172). In the Koran such spellings are rare, but they do occur in phrases which may have been felt to form a close unity, as *yabnawumma* يبنوم for *yā bna 'umma* 'son of my mother' (xx, 95/94). The spelling with glide is applied without exception in the Koran: later usage has changed nothing except in setting a *hamza* over the glide-sound. Examples of pronunciations with glide are collected by Jārabardī (in Howell, iv, 940) and by Schwarz (Umar, iv, 106). It is not clear what glide developed between *i* and *u*. The form *sīla* (Koran, ii, 102/8) is not a phonetic development of *suyila* < *su'ila*, but is the normal Hijazi passive of the Hijazi verb *sāla* = *sa'ala*. The spelling مستهزون 'scoffers' for *mustahzi'ūna* (Koran, ii, 13/4) may either represent *mustahziwūna* or *mustahzūna*. 'Akhfash read *yastahziyūna* (*passim*; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 166).

cc The reading *mustahzūna* is an instance of another treatment of these complexes: absorption of the short vowel by the long one, or in some cases the second short vowel by the first short one. Thus we are told that *sā'ilun* 'asking' (Koran, lxx, 1) was written *sālun* in the codices of 'Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd (Jeffery, Materials, p. 173). The Hudhali 'Abū Dhu'aib (Diwan, vi, 26) uses *rādun* for *rā'idun* 'scout'. The author of the Lisān (iv, 169) asserts that this was a frequent formation in that dialect. It is likely that some of the participles of the form *qāl* from verbs mediæ hamzatæ and mediæ *w/y*, which Nöldeke collected (Neue Beiträge, p. 210-15), are to be explained in this way, especially where they are taken from Western texts. Similar forms are occasionally encountered in colloquials, particularly with participles that have lost association with their verbs. Such irregular and facultative contractions are particularly frequent at the end of words, also when followed by pronominal suffixes: *ḥayā* for *ḥayā'u* 'shame', *bahā* for *bahā'i* 'splendour' (the case vowels secured by poetical context), *tajī* for *tajī'u* 'she will come', *satunbīnī* for *satunbi'unī* 'she will tell me', *shānīki* for *shāni'uki* 'who hates thee' (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 107–8; further cases, all Western, in Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 6). It seems that with the last two words there were intermediate forms **satunbiyunī* and **shāniyuki*, which were wrongly analysed into *satunbī-unī* (*iy*=*ī*) and *shānī-uki*, so that in fact here too the longer vowel absorbed the short one. This would offer a possibility to account for *balī* = *baliya* (but see § 12 *w*), namely *baliya* being analysed as *balī-a* and contracted. Since *hamza* did not exist in the dialect it did not make any difference whether a given form ever had *hamza* or not. On the strength of the poetical examples, we should read يستهزى =*yastahzi'u* 'he mocks' (Koran, ii, 14/15) as *yastahzī*, etc. This, in fact, is nothing but the same tendency which in common Arabic reduced **al-qāḍiyu* to *al-qāḍī* and perhaps **yarmiyu* to *yarmī*, while leaving the open vowel in *al-qāḍiya*, *yarmiya* intact. Schwarz (Umar, iv, 99) claims that the contraction of *-iya* into *-ī* is common in Arabic poems—a matter I have not been able to check. It may be remarked than an accentuation like *tunbíyuni*, *shāníyuki*, *yastahzíyu*—in fact the position of the stress in the corresponding Hebrew words—would be particularly favourable to such a development. Unfortunately, we have so far no other data enabling us to study the place of the accent in our dialect, as distinct from its nature (on which see § 10 *n*). Cf. further the form *'adfūhu* for *'adfi'ūhu* 'warm him' (§ *mm* below). Ibn 'Athīr (in Tāj, x, 128) calls these contractions irregular (*shādhdh*) and stresses that the correct pronunciation is with *hamzat baina baina*. It is obvious that the contractions must have jarred on the ears of an Eastern Arab: they were perhaps the main incentive for the vigour with which the hamza was imposed upon the Koran text.

dd Final *-ā'ī* was contracted into a diphthong spelled *'alif-yā'*. Thus Ibn Kathīr read in Koran, xix, 5 *warāy* for *warā'ī*;[22] the Hijazis read in several

places *shurakāy* for *shurakā'ī* 'my rivals' (Ibn Khālawaih, Badī', p. 72); the Basrian 'Abū 'Amr read *allāy* for *allā'ī*, the rel. pron. plur. (but see § 12 *i*). The diphthongal character of the spelling seems to be the point of a remark in the treatise edited by de Sacy (Notices et Extraits, ix, 67 = Barb, Hamze, p. 35) that the *yā'* at the end of these words is not the carrier of the *hamza*, but a notation for the *i*. Similar contractions have been noted by Wetzstein in Syrian bedouin colloquials: *'asmāy* = *'asmāī* 'my names', *čerāybak* = *qarā'ibaka* 'thy relatives', *nāymīn* = *nā'imīn* 'sleepers' (ZDMG, xxii, 170), and also exist in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g., *nōy* for *nō'ī* 'beauty' (from *nā'eh*, formed on the pattern of *ḥōlī*). From words like *shurakā'*, this type of pronominal suffix spread to words ending in *'alif maqṣūra* written with *'alif*. Nāfi' read vi, 163/162 *maḥyāy* for *maḥyāya* 'my life'[23] (Baiḍāwī; 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 295). It is possible that these forms were the point of departure for the pronominal suffix *-yi* after long vowels and diphthongs (cf. § 12 *d*). The only contraction of this type in the middle of the word I have so far found is the reading of Ibn 'Abbās in lxx, 1, *sailun* for *sā'ilun* 'one who asks' (Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 1525). This way of dealing with the complex *ā'ĭ* or *ā'ĕ* recurs in other Semitic languages, e.g., Christian Palestinian Aramaic *shăylīn* 'they ask' for *shā'ĕlīn* (Nöldeke, ZDMG, xxii, 467), Ethiopic *'aidug* for *'ā'(ĕ)dug* 'ass' (Mittwoch, Tradit. Aussprache, p. 13) and the pronunciation of Hebrew in Eastern Europe: *maisĕ* for *ma'ăse* מעשה 'story'. Since here *ai* is clearly the reduction of *āy* to a normal diphthong, one wonders whether the same change did not affect also those words where *-āy* came to stand in final position, so that in actual fact they sounded *warai*, *shurakai*, *allai*.[24] This surmise is further supported by the frequent spelling شاى for *shai'* 'thing' (GQ, iii, 49). This may have owed its popularity to the desire to obviate the pronunciation *shī*,[25] but must have had some roots in accepted spelling standards. In xxi, 35/4, *'afa'in* 'if then' is spelled افاين, where again the *'alif* can only indicate *ai*. For some reason the spelling *'alif-yā'* was also used to express *i'a*, *ī'a*, and other combinations (GQ, *loc. cit.*) so that in the end it was dropped altogether. It seems that *-ā'u* was similarly reduced to *au*, as in Hijazi *ḥidau* for *ḥidā'u* 'kites' (Lisān, i, 47) and *ḥidhau* for *ḥidhā'u* 'sandal' (Zamakhsharī, Fā'iq, i, 114). Contrary to *-ai* for *-ā'ī*, these Hijazi endings could not appear in a spelling based upon pausal forms; for this reason we also prefer to find another explanation for spellings like ضعفوا for *ḍu'afā'u* (cf. § 10 *w*). Similar contractions appear in Iraqi *haula*, Spanish *haulīn* for *hā'ulā'i* 'these' (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 319). Both dialects have Western associations.

ee Contrary to the habit of Koranic orthography of showing only pausal pronunciations, the genitive of words ending in *'alif mamdūda* is in some cases written with a *yā'* (GQ, iii, 46). I do not believe that this represents a mere graphic departure from the norm; then we should expect similar cases

with *wāw* for the nominative, but apart from the doubtful plur. *-ā'u* (§ 10 *w*, 11 *dd*) these are not forthcoming. It is more probable that the *-ai* with which these forms ended was taken to be the *'alif maqṣūra* (*ä*). The paradigms of nouns in *ä* and in *'alif mamdūda* in the dialect ran thus:

'af'ä 'snake':	*al-af'ai*	*al-af'ai*	*al-af'ai*
'inā'un 'vessel':	*al-inau*	*al-inai*	*al-inā*

This partial coincidence made it easy for nouns to pass from one class into the other. Where the Nejd dialects had *shirä* 'bargain', the Hijaz had *shirā'u* (or rather *shirau*), for *milṭā'u* 'pericranium', on the other hand, it said *milṭai* (Wāqidī in Lisān, xx, 114),[26] for Tamim *zinā'u* 'adultery' *zinai* (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xix, 79; Saḥāḥ, ii, 489). In the last case the statements are borne out by the spelling of the Koran, while the Eastern form occurs in lines by Farazdaq and Nābigha al-Ja'dī quoted in the Lisān. On *'ūlā'i*, *'ūlai*, cf. § 12 *i*. The confusion became most complete in Ṭayyi' (cf. § 14 *ee*). Strangely enough, the same changes and confusions do not apply to nouns ending in *-ă'(un)*. Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 161) states that the Hijazis pronounce *kala'u* 'fresh herbage' in pause as *kalā* in all three cases, while others say *kalau* for the nominative, *kalai* for the genitive, and *kalā* for the accusative. This is fully confirmed by the Koran where *al-mala'u* (vii. 58/60) 'the nobles', *mala'un* (xi, 40/38), *al-mala'i* (ii, 247/246), and *al-mala'a* (xxviii, 19/20) are all spelled (*al-*)*malā* الملا; the same applies to the different forms of *naba'un* 'report'. All these are, of course, pausal spellings: the actual pronunciation must have been *malau*, *malai*, etc. What happened in the case of the nunated form *mala'un* we have no way of knowing.

ff Though we have so far tried to keep to purely phonetic developments, we have had to mention some analogical formations. These are particularly widespread in the verb, where the attraction of accustomed patterns ('Systemzwang') is greatest and speakers naturally tended to fit the divergent forms into existing verbal classes. Thus from the imperfects *yuwakkidu* < *yu'akkidu*, *yūṣidu* < *yu'ṣidu*, *yūkifu* < *yu'kifu* the *w* spread into the other parts of the paradigm, so that the Hijazis also said *wakkada* for *'akkada* 'he fastened' (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 177), *'auṣada* for *'āṣada* 'he bolted', and *'aukafa* for *'ākafa* 'he saddled', cf. Hebrew *'ukkāph* 'saddle' (Liḥyānī in Lisān, x, 351). Similar *w*-forms from primæ *'aleph* existed in the dialects of Yemen (§ 4 *n*) and Ṭayyi' (§ 14 *r*). They are much in evidence in the colloquials (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 590) without our being able to say at present whether these forms were inherited from West-Arabian or newly formed when the colloquials lost the *hamza*.

gg Instead of *sa'altu*, the Hijaz dialect formed *siltu*, etc., after the third person *sāla* < *sa'ala*. In the imperf., *yasalu* derives directly from *yas'alu*. This seems to have been taken as analogous to *yadharu*, etc. (Wright, i, 79C), since the imperative was *sal*, not **isal* < *is'al*. These forms occur in

poetry from all tribes, though they never became as fully established as the *hamza*-less *yarä* from *ra'ä* (Sībawaihi, ii, 175; Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, p. 6). Only early Christian Arabic MSS. take the further step of fitting the imperfect to the perfect: they write *sālū* for the plur. imperative (Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 88; Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 18).[27] This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Christian Palestinian Aramaic completely turned this verb into a mediæ *w*: imperf. *yĕshōl*, imperative *shōl* (Nöldeke, ZDMG, xxii, 466; Schulthess, Gramm., p. 66). In the Koran the imperative and imperfect of this verb never have *'alif*, but the perfect forms with consonant affixes (*sa'altum*, *sa'altuka*, *sa'altahum*, etc.) are invariably spelled with an *'alif*, indicating presumably *hamzat baina baina* (§ *y* above). One suspects that the spelling with *'alif* is applied so consistently to guard against the vulgar dialect forms *siltum*, etc. In the colloquials *sa'ala* is still largely conjugated as if the *hamza* were there (Driver, Grammar, p. 83). We can say nothing about the treatment of other verbs mediæ hamzatæ.[28] No perfect of any med. hamz. of the pattern *fa'ala* appears in the Koran. The forms of *ya'isa* 'to despair', where spelled in that way, are not genuine Hijazi. In that dialect the root appeared as *'ayisa*, imperf. *yāyasu*, 10th conjugation *istāyasa* (Ibn Khālawaih, Badī', p. 65). This is confirmed by the spelling of old codices (GQ, iii, 49–50).

hh One must beware of ascribing the confusion of verbs tertiæ hamzatæ with verbs tertiæ infirmæ[29] to the disappearance of *hamza* alone. Forms after the pattern of tertiæ *yā'* from hamzated roots are not uncommon in the work of Eastern poets (Schwarz, Umar iv, 107; Wright ii, 375-6). Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 86) gives a long list of roots in which the two classes are constantly confused. In the colloquials the two classes coincide even in regions where *hamza* is fairly well preserved. Actually, the Hijazis seem to have kept them apart as well as anyone else. The spelling of the Koran, in its own way, keeps them distinct. 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a only substitutes *y*-forms for *hamza*-forms in the imperfect (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 107). Forms like *qarātu* for *qara'tu* 'I read' (Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 165) are Hijazi pronunciations of the normal classical forms (which may have been identical with those of the dialect).

ii Of special interest is the conjugation of *ra'ä* 'to see' and *na'ä* 'to move away'. These verbs apparently lost their *hamza* before the final *-ā* had become *-ai* in the dialect (cf. § 12 *v*) and therefore retained the form *rā*, *nā*, which is that of Koranic spelling. Verses quoted in Lisān, xix, 3–4 suggest that these forms were also used outside the Hijaz. These forms were drawn into the pattern of the mediæ *y* and pronounced *rā'a*, *nā'a*, with *hamzat baina baina*. The Hijazi character of these forms is proved by their appearance in lines by the Khuza'i Kuthayyir and the Medinean Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, and by the statement of Laith that the only form of *ra'ä* with

alleviation of the *hamza* actually used is *rā'a* (Lisān, xix, 17), cf. also Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 6. Perhaps we should read the Koranic لِ, لَ (GQ, iii, 39) *rā'a* and *nā'a*. The Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir, often a representative of Hijazi usage, read *nā'a* in vii, 83. The perfect of this *rā'a* we would expect to be **rītu*, like *jītu* < *ji'tu*. Such a form, *rītu* 'I think', is indeed cited by Laith (Lisān, xix, 17), though without reference to any dialect. In the ensuing discussion it is equated with *ru'ītu*, and by Thaʿālibī with *'urītu* 'I was shown', but most probably is nothing but *ra'aitu* 'I think'. In old codices spellings like رئيتم for *ra'aitum* occur (GQ, iii, 44), while normalized Koranic orthography, as exhibited in the 'Royal Koran', invariably spells forms with consonantal affixes with medial *'alif*, whether they are of the verb *ra'ä* (e.g., xii, 31, xx, 942, xxxiii, 19, lix, 21) or of *'ara'aita*, etc., 'just consider', where only the Hijazis are said to have sounded *'alif* (cf. § *w* above). The Lisān gives some lines of poetry with *raitu* for *ra'aitu*, one of them by the Basrian grammarian 'Abū l-'Aswad ad-Du'alī, who hardly intended to write Hijazi dialect. I would suggest reading رايت as *raitu*, the *'alif* being inserted here to guard against the pronunciation *rītu*, just as it was inserted in *sa(a)ltu* to prevent the reading *siltu* (§ *gg*) and in *shai* to prevent the pronunciation *shī* (§ *dd*). The imperfect was in Hijaz, as everywhere, *yarai* (forms with *hamza* are quoted by the lexica, but I have not been able to place them geographically), the imperative *ra*, fem. *rai*, dual *rayā*, plur. *rau*, fem. *raina*, while the Tamim said *ir'a*, etc. (Lisān, xix, 5). The imperative *na*, etc., is given as common Arabic, though some said *in'a* (Lisān, xx, 171).

kk In view of the general disappearance of *hamza* in the Hijaz dialect, it seems strange to find attributed to it forms in which a common Arabic, old-inherited *yā'* or *wāw* was turned into *hamza*. We are told that the Hijazis said *ʿabā'a* for *ʿabāya* 'cloak', *ṣalā'a* for *ṣalāya* 'forehead', *siḥā'a* for *siḥāya* 'capsule', *ʿaẓā'a* for *ʿaẓāya* 'a kind of lizard'[30] (Ibn Sikkīt, Qalb, p. 56), and *dha'ä* for *dhawä* 'to wither' (Qālī, in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 30, 274). Further forms of this type are *ghazā'a* 'tracing of genealogy', *siqā'a* 'giving of water', *istiqā'a* 'request for water', *istimā'a* 'gazelle-hunt' ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 163). None of these latter forms is attributed to any dialect, nor does any of the authorities quoted in the discussion of this point in Lisān, xix, 302 *seq.* even consider the possibility of the forms with *hamza* being dialect. The word *siqāya* 'giving of water, drinking-vessel' occurs twice in the Koran and is both times spelled with *yā'*, but in ix, 19, some read سقاة, which, though Baiḍāwī takes it as *suqāh* 'givers of water', may in fact be based on an old spelling *siqā'a*. The attribution to the Hijaz rests thus entirely on the testimony of Ibn Sikkīt. Vollers is certainly not right in claiming that the *hamza* is original in these forms (Volkssprache, p. 96), since cognate words, where available, confirm the *y*; e.g., for *ʿabāya* Hebrew *ʿabheh* 'thick', Ethiopic *ʿabiy* 'big'. Schwarz (ZAss., xxx, 51) thinks

that the *hamza* represents a two-peak stress. This is no doubt correct, but does not explain the disappearance of the *y*. There is a remarkable parallel to this phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew, where the elision of *hamza* was about as complete as in the Hijaz. In one form of that idiom (it is not clear whether that form was limited to a region, viz., Babylonia, or to a period) intervocalic *y* before the stress became *'aleph*, as in *hōrā'āh* for *hōrāyāh* 'instruction', *rammā'ūth* for *rammāyūth* 'trickery', *hā'ū* for *hāyū* 'they were' (Ginsberg, MGWJ, lxxvii, 416; Porath, *ibid.*, lxxviii, 306). A similar process seems to exist also in Amharic, where the word for 'twenty', written *hĕyā*, *hayā*, is pronounced *ha'ā* (Praetorius, Amhar. Sprache, p. 54). The *'aleph* in Mishnaic Hebrew does, of course, not stand for a glottal stop, but for a hiatus or two-peak stress. This is neatly illustrated by a spelling in a MS. with Babylonian pointing of Mishnah *Berakhoth*, v, 2 (HUCA, x, 202). for *hōdhā'āh*: הוֹדָה. The scribe at first felt this to be *hōdhāh*, but in pointing became doubtful and provided two *a*-signs. In fact he writes the same word immediately afterwards with an *'aleph*. I suggest that these forms are born out of the uncertainty created by a state of language in which hiatus and glide constantly appeared in closely related forms, or even in the same form. Thus the Hijazi dialect had *badiya* for *badi'a* 'to approach', and from this formed a new verbal noun, *bidāya* (Tāj, i, 42). The verbal noun of *badi'a* was, however, *bidā'a*, Hijazi *bidā* or *bidáa*; the two forms are likely to have been used side by side. Perhaps the real point of departure was the forms with *a-i*, *a-u*, where either a glide or *hamzat baina baina* could be pronounced (cf. § *bb* above), only that we do not hear much of substitution of '*hamza*' for *y*, *w* in those cases because they had no real representation in spelling. One such case appears to be the reading *tara'inna* for *tarayinna* < **tarai-inna* 'thou wilt see' (xix, 26). The colloquials have mostly the Eastern forms with *y*, but the Syrian bedouins say *'abāh*, with suffixes *'abāti*, etc. (Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 173), which is the logical development of *'abā'a*.

11 After the orthography of the Koran had become fully established, the *hamza* was introduced into the pronunciation and finally into the writing of the sacred text under the influence of a Classical Arabic pronunciation based on Eastern speech. While the introduction of the *hamza* sign was done by grammarians and with absolute consistency, the adoption of the *hamza* in reading-style was by no means consistent, but represents various shades of compromise. No reader pronounced every *hamza*; although Hijazi readers on the whole were more inclined to omit the *hamza*, none of them omitted it everywhere (GQ, iii, 51, n. 1). The introduction of the *hamza* seems to have met with some opposition. The arguments were, as often, clothed in the form of hadith. One story asserts that the Prophet rebuked a man, who addressed him as *nabī'u llāhi*,[31] with the words 'do not screech' (*lā tanbir*) in

pronouncing my name' (Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 231; cf. Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 388). Another statement (*ibid.*) informs us that 'neither the Prophet, nor 'Abū Bakr, nor 'Omar, nor the Caliphs ever sounded the *hamza*'. As late as the time of al-Mahdī (158–68/775–85) the Kufan grammarian Kisā'ī is said to have drawn upon himself the wrath of the Medinean populace by reciting the Koran with *hamza* in public service (Tāj, iii, 553). There is, however, another version of the story (Yāqūt, Irshād, v, 186), that the reason was that he pronounced *ḍi'āfan* (Koran, iv, 10) with *'imāla*. It is possible that the term *nabra* 'screeching', which denotes the full sounding of the *hamza*, was at first employed by Hijazis as a term of contempt (cf. also *ga'yā* 'roaring', the older Massoretic term for the secondary stress, Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 155). Those who gave in to the demands of the grammarians advanced similar arguments. A hadith attributed to 'Alī asserts that 'the Koran was revealed in the language of Quraish, who do not sound the *hamza*. Had not Gabriel revealed the *hamza* to the Prophet, we would not sound it' (Rāfi'ī, Tārīkh, i, 104). More realistic is a statement attributed to Nāfi' (d. 169/785), the champion of Hijazi reading and law tradition. When asked about the correct pronunciation of words like *bi'r*, *dhi'b* (cf. § *u* above), he replied: 'If the *'arabiyya* (i.e., the rules of Classical Arabic) demands a *hamza* in them, pronounce them with *hamza*' (Dhahabī, quoted GQ, iii, 139). Sounding the *hamza* seems to have become a matter of fashion, and considered a feature specific to Koran recitation. The well-known reader, Ḥamza of Kufa (d. 158/775), himself of the Western tribe of Taim, found it necessary to warn against overdoing *hamza* and *madd* (over-lengthening of long vowels) in recitation (Tashköprüzade, quoted by Flügel, Fihrist, ii, 20).

mm This feature of the Hijaz dialect is the subject of many anecdotes, of which we shall mention here only two, because of their special interest. A tradition in the name of 'Abū Bekr tells of a prisoner who was brought before the Prophet, trembling with cold. The Prophet said *'adfi'ūhu* 'warm him', but pronounced it *'adfūhu* (§ *cc* above). The soldiers understood this as 'kill him', and did so (Jamhara, i, 74).[32] In another tradition the original linguistic point is spoilt in the version in which we have it (Bukhārī, *'Aṭ'ima* 1; Qasṭallānī, viii, 210). 'Abū Huraira meets 'Omar in the street 'and I asked him to teach me the reading of a verse (*istaqra'tuhu 'āyatan*)'. 'Omar takes him in, explains the verse, and lets him go, but immediately he has left the house he collapses with hunger. In the version of 'Abū Nu'aim, 'Abū Huraira says *'aqri'nī* 'teach me some Koran.' No doubt the original point here was that A.H. said *'aqrinī* 'give me some food' and Omar understands *'aqrīnī*=*'aqri'nī* 'teach me'. Similar stories may be hidden behind other hadiths.

nn We learn from Dānī (who was in Mecca in 397/1007) and Ibn Maṭrūḥ (quoted by Bravmann, Materialien, p. 105–6) that the Hijazis

velarized the *l* in the neighbourhood of emphatic consonants. This is called *tafkhīm al-lām.*[33] In modern Arabic pronunciation this velarized *l* is regularly heard in *Allāh* (cf. Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 19). Since only in the Hijaz *ā* in final position had the timbre associated with *a* near emphatic consonants, we may consider the holy cities the home of this pronunciation. It agrees with this that according to Tha'ālibī (quoted by Bravmann) only the Egyptians and Maghribis pronounced the *l* with *taghlīẓ* in words other than *Allāh.*

oo The Hijazi (? dialect or readers) did not assimilate the final *l* of a word to a following *r*, as in *hal ra'aita* (Sībawaihi, ii, 67). It is doubtful whether we can draw from this any conclusions concerning the articulation of either sound.

pp In the eighth conjugation of roots beginning with a *dh*, *dh-t* are mutually assimilated in the Hijaz into *dd.* This is the form found in the Koran (*muddakir* in liv, 15, etc.) and in 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (xliv, 1). In the 'Asad dialect, on the other hand, this becomes *idhdhakara* (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, xxvii, 56; Farrā' on Koran, liv, 15). In the printed Ṭabarī we find Ibn Mas'ūd quoted as saying that the Prophet pronounced *idhdhakara*; this is a printer's error and is given correctly as *iddakara* in the Lisān (v, 376). The form *dikr* 'remembrance' for *dhikr* is ascribed to the Rabi'a tribes, the north-eastern neighbours of 'Asad.[34] In spite of the Arab philologists, who consider this a wrong re-derivation from *iddakara*, this is perhaps nothing but an early colloquial form in the mouth of tribes who lived intermingled with an Aramaic-speaking population.

qq The rules for the spelling of the Koran given by Nīsābūrī (Gharā'ib, i, 31) decree that in several cases *nūn* before another consonant must not be written. The cases are: *linanẓura* 'that we may see' (x, 15/14), *fanunjiya* 'that we may deliver' (xii, 110), *nunjī* 'we shall deliver' (xxi, 88), *lananṣuru* 'we shall assist' (xl, 54/51). Only *fanunjiya* and *nunjī* have been found spelled thus in MSS. (GQ, iii, 51). The Kairene 'Royal Koran', founded on the teaching of al-Kharrāz (cf. GQ, iii, 273), writes the first *fanujjiya*, with *tashdīd*, the second *nuⁿjī*, with a *nūn* placed above the *jīm.* As the consonant following the *nūn* is in each case a dental or palatal, we may assume that the *nūn* was assimilated to it: *linaẓẓura*, etc. Schwarz (ZAss., xxx, 48) compares this with a phenomenon described by Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 189) as the hidden or alleviated *nūn.* This is mentioned among other products of partial assimilation, such as *zh* for *sh* and *ẓ* for *ṣ*, and is described as 'a humming in the nasal cavity' (*ghunna fī l-khaishūm*). The only example given is *'anka* 'from thee'. There is little doubt that Zamakhsharī is here describing the velar *ng* (ŋ) in *king.* The velar nasal has a more pronounced nasal timbre than dental *n*, and is often in popular works called the 'nasal *n*'. In modern *tajwīd* the term *nūn al-ghunna* is applied to the palatal *n* (ɲ) before *y*, which

is mostly accompanied by strong nasalization of the preceding vowel (Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 56). Schwarz is, however, going too far in identifying the 'hidden *nūn*' simply with nasalization. In consequence of this view he reads هد, which in a poem by 'Omar appears for the female name *Hind*, as *hīd* (Umar, iv, 112). That word is much more probably *hid*, i.e., a pausal form of *hiddun*, with the *n* assimilated. On the other hand the superposed *n* in *nujī* may really express nazalisation. All these phenomena are not specifically designated as Hijazi. Not so with *subul* (should we read *subbul*?) which the author of the Tāj (vii, 366) asserts is Hijaz dialect for *sunbul* 'ears of corn'. However, the Turkish Qāmūs (ii, 240) quotes from the Rauḍ al-'unuf of 'Abdarraḥmān b. 'Abdallāh as-Suhailī (d. 581/1185) a statement that 'the Hijazis considered the *n* in *sunbul* additional to the root and therefore said in the plur. *'asbāl*, while the Tamīm said *sanābila*. The Hamdān said *subūla*.' This might perhaps be understood to imply that the Hijazis said in the sing. *subul*. It may be remarked that the Lisān knows nothing of dialect differences with regard to this word.

rr In the second and third persons plural imperfect with the pronoun suffixes *-nī* and *-nā* the *-na-* of the form itself is often elided in texts of Hijazi origin by haplology, e.g., *sa-yafqidūnī* for *sa-yafqidūnanī* 'they will miss me' (Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 15), *la-tuṣaddiqunnī* for *la-tuṣaddiqunnanī* 'ye shall believe me' (*ibid.*), an energicus form. This is frequent in *ḥadīth* and *sīra* (Barth, ZDMG, lix, 165, 642). The only example with the third plural feminine perfect is *falainī* for *falainanī* 'they picked my lice' in a line of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 78). Tabrīzī (Ḥamāsa, p. 110) and Mufaḍḍal (*loc. cit.*) say expressly that this was Hijazi usage. This haplology is frequent in the readings of the Medinean Nāfi' (Fischer, ZDMG, lix, 449).

ss On the other hand the Hijazi Koran readers assimilated the *t* of the imperfects of the fifth and sixth conjugations with *t*-prefixes to the first radical, as in *taqqattalu* for *tataqattalu*, while the Kufan readers in this case read *taqattalu* with haplology (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, v, 56). It will be noted that both readings are based on the same consonant text. We may assume that the Hijazi reading corresponded to the intention of the scribes who put down the forms, and that therefore the forms themselves are Hijazi dialect, The assimilation presupposes the elision of the vowel of reflexive *ta-*. which is the rule in the colloquials of the settled population (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 530). In the camel-bedouin dialects of the Shammar and Ruwāla, however, the *ta-* has preserved its vowel: *teḥedder* 'he discarded', imperf. *iteḥedder* (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 189, 190). So it has in the central-Arabian colloquials (Socin, Diwan, iii, 155). There are thus two problems: why forms with assimilation appear only after *t*-suffixes, and why just those modern bedouin colloquials which are in other respects so closely related to West-Arabian, have forms with full *ta-*, which according to the statement of

Ṭabarī we should assign to the Eastern dialects. A further problem is offered by the forms used by the Kufans. Were these forms with haplology normal in Classical Arabic or the Eastern dialects, or do they merely constitute attempts at reading the Koranic spellings without the offensive assimilation?[35] There is also the problem of *al-muddaththir* 'he who wraps himself' (lxxiv, 1), for *al-mutadaththir*. None of the philologists discussing this suggests that it is dialect, yet it seems to have been felt not to be quite correct. One way out was the non-canonical reading *al-mudaththir* in the second conjugation, which changes the meaning. The originality of the fifth conjugation is confirmed by the 'pre-'Othmanic' reading ('Ubayy and 'A'mash) *al-mutadaththir* (Jeffery, Materials, p. 174).

tt Something like partial haplology seems to exist in the form *istā'a* for *istaṭā'a* 'to be able', said to be Hijazi (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 269). The remarkable thing about this is that the *ṭ*, not the *t*, has fallen out, thus allowing the root to become obscured. Ibn Jinnī's statement is all the stranger as in the Koran, which after all we should suppose represented Hijazi usage in this matter, there appears once *iṣṭā'ū*, with *ṭ* (xviii, 96/97). According to Baiḍāwī, some pronounced this *iṣṭā'ū*. This gives us a key to the problem of *istā'a*: since *s* and *ṭ* could not stand next to each other without some assimilation, the speaker had to choose between *iṣṭā'a*, which obscured the formation, and *istā'a*, which obscured the root. In the discussion of these forms in the Lisān (x, 112 *seq.*) no one raises the possibility of their being dialect. Not even the brief quotation from Ibn Jinnī mentions this idea. We can probably dismiss the reading of Ḥamza az-Zayyāt, *iṣṭṭā'a*, as a grammarian's invention.

NOTES

[1] *i.e.* emphatic; c.f. § *nn*.

[2] Cf. also the Hebrew *ḥābhittīm* 'flat cakes' (connected with the Arabic root in the Hebrew lexicon of Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *s.v.*).

[3] Muhammad is said to have used in prayer *ḥail* for *ḥaul* 'power' (Lisān, xiii, 143, 208).

[4] So in the lexica. The other form given there, *ṣuwwām*, has an *u* due to the influence of the adjoining consonants (cf. § 10 *l*).

[5] Farrā' (in Lisān, xv, 406) also recognizes *ṣayyāgh* as Hijazi dialect, but analyses it as a *fai'āl* form (*ṣaiwāgh* > *ṣayyāgh*) and asserts that the Hijazis use this form 'more than any other' (*'ahlu l-Ḥijāzi 'aktharu shai'in qaulan lil-fai'āli min dhawāti th-thalātha*). It is not clear to me what this means. The context might imply that *fai'āl* was used in Hijaz more than *fai'ūl*, but the example of *ṣawwāgh* excludes this.

[6] With all reserve I would like to suggest that this may also explain why South-Arabian *qwl* 'prince' is in Arabic *qail*. Perhaps *qwl* is *qawwāl* 'speaker' (cf. Hebrew *nāghīdh* 'prince' from *higgīdh* 'to speak'). In West-Arabian this would have become *qayyāl*. It would still remain to be explained how *qayyāl* became *qail*, pl. *'aqyāl*.

[7] To the material found in the comparative grammars, add now also the observation of E. Ullendorff (not yet published), that in Tigrigna there is an increasing tendency to do away with the glottal stop within words, which is beginning to influence the spelling.

[8] One suspects that even the Eastern dialects did not preserve the *hamza* as fully as the grammarians pretend. It is certainly remarkable that none of the colloquials, with all their vigorous enunciation, has done so.

[9] On the difficult Safatene spellings *''mr*, *''sd*, cf. Littmann, Safaitic Inscriptions, p. xiii.

[10] Barth (Sprachwiss, Untersuch, ii, 38–42) advances rather weighty arguments against this etymology.

[11] I know of no group of this name. Should there be an error for (Qais) 'Ailān?

[12] According to Ibn Ya'īsh (p. 1307) Farrā' and Kisā'ī permitted this substitution in Classical Arabic, so that we may perhaps be entitled to ascribe it to some Eastern dialect. Sībawaihi (ii, 175), though with some doubt, implies however that *yasālu* for *yas'alu* was used in the same dialects as *siltu* (§ gg).

[13] The same may be true of the Ḥaurān colloquial. The only instances Cantineau (Ḥorân, p. 140) gives for assimilation of post-consonantal *hamza*, are *ḍawww* = *ḍau'* 'light' and *fayy*, *fayye* = *fai'*, *fai'a* 'shadow'.

[14] In Aramaic this type of assimilation is not only common in the *ettaph'al* form = **it'aph'al*, but in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic also in the *ethpa'al* of primæ *aleph* roots, e.g., *ittaggure ittagur* 'they profited' (Bab. Talm., *Abodah Zarah*, 2 *b*).

[15] The *ta-* may be due to association with the verbal noun of the second conjugation. Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 245) has however noticed a similar addition of *ta-* in Yemenite colloquial: *terās* for *rās*, etc. I remember having seen cases in the lexica. Perhaps, as most cases seem to involve words beginning with sun-letters, this is nothing but the feminine construct ending of some word placed before it: . . . *et er-rās* > *terās* (cf. English *a napron* > *an apron*). Cf. also Palestinian colloquial *talḥamī* as gentilic of *Bēt* (*il-*)*laḥm* (Stephen, JPOS, xiii, 235).

[16] For intrusive *hamza* after long vowel (especially with *ū*) cf. § 14 *r*.

[17] According to Prof. Ryckmans, this word comes from *rwy* and means 'offering'.

[18] In Koran, xviii, 76/77, the Meccans Mujāhid, Ibn 'Abbās, and the Basrian 'Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' read *la-takhidhta* for *la-ttakhadhta*. The regular form is rejected by Tha'ālibī as contrary to the intention of the text. 'Abū Zaid read *la-takhadhta*, apparently a compromise (Lisān, v, 6). According to Baiḍāwī it was Ibn Kathīr and the 'two Basrians' who read *la-takhidhta*. In xviii, 61/60 the *'alif* is written in *fa-ttakhaḍha*, and apparently no one read *fa-takhidha*.

[19] Such assimilations occur sporadically in cognate languages e.g., Hebrew *makkōleth* < *ma'kōleth* 'food stuff', said to be a loan from Phoenician (Rosenrauch, Revue Biblique, lv, 77).

[20] In the Diwan (ed. Kowalski, no. iv, 17) the verse is amended to eliminate *rūs*.

[21] So in iv, 109. The text of the Diwan has *bitarābānā*.

[22] His *qirā'a* is given by Zamakhsharī as *warāya*, by Ibn Khālawaih (Badī', p. 83) as *warā'ī*. Both say he read *bil-qaṣr*.

[23] It is *maḥyā*, not *maḥyä*, because of the *y* (§ 10 *bb*). The possibility of the confusion of *'alif mamdūda* and *-ä* is an additional proof that the latter was in Hijaz not pronounced *-ē*.

[24] Perhaps *ṭair* 'a bird' in Koran iii, 43/9, where Hamza reads *ṭā'ir*, is a similar contraction for the latter. In Sanskrit, *ā* and *i* are in Sandhi contracted to *ē* (= *ai*), not *āi*.

[25] The *'aish* 'what' so common in hadith and colloquials is a perfectly regular form —for the Hijazi dialect. It is *'ai-shī* with the *ī* elided in accordance with § 10 *gg*.

[26] The word is first spelled *milṭā* in the Lisān, and immediately after in a quotation, *milṭä*.

[27] See note on § *q*.

[28] Such an example might be *nāsha, yanūshu* 'to fetch', as compared with *na'asha, yan'ashu*, but no one says the former is Hijazi dialect. Farrā' (in Lisān, viii, 254) only suggests that the Hijazis read in xxxiv, 51/52, *tanāwushu* 'fetching' because they derived it from *nāsha*, not from *na'asha*. In any case *tanāwushu* was also read by the Basrian 'Abū 'Amr and the Kufans.

[29] So always in early Christian Arabic (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 19).

[30] In Tāj, x, 247, the last word is assigned to the 'Āliya dialect.

[31] This was not an Eastern form, but one used in Hijaz (cf. § *o* above).

[32] For other versions see Kofler, WZKM, xlvii, 103.

[33] It is interesting that in colloquials with general *tafkhīm* of consonants it is just that is less subject to *tafkhīm* than others (cf. Cantineau, Horan, p. 107).

[34] Cf. also the discussion in Kofler, WZKM, xlvii, 86.

[35] Bravmann (Monde Oriental, xxxii, 16) advances a theory according to which haplological ellipsis of a syllable was always preceded by elision of a vowel, e.g., *falainanī* < **falainnī* < *falainī*. For *taqattalu* < *tataqattalu* Bravmann is forced to assume the improbable intermediate stage **ttaqattalu*. The development *taqqattalu* runs altogether counter to his theory. It is not clear to me whether there is any connection between the phenomena here described and the 'great *iddighām*' (cf. Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 295).

Chapter 12

HIJAZ: MORPHOLOGY

a The independent pronoun of the first singular had in Hijaz the form *ʾana* in context and *ʾanā* in pause (Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, i, 60), as it had in most Arabic dialects (Lisān, xvi, 179). This contrasts with the Tamim dialect (i.e., the Eastern dialects in general?), where *ʾanā* was used in context as well (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 8 *b*, etc.). Actually, *ʾanā* is found in context in the poetry of Westerners, such as ʿAntara, ʾAʿshā, Kaʿb, ʿOmar (Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 14). The relation between the two forms is not at all clear. One would expect shortening in the pausal form: the latter would, in the nature of things, be extremely rare. Perhaps these were originally disparate forms.[1] Long final *ā* is found in Accadian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Egyptian, short *a* in Ethiopic. To these two must be added *ʾāna* in the Qudaʿa dialect (Ibn Mālik, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 414), in Syrian bedouin dialects (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 70), in Tlemsen, in Malta, in Tigrigna, and in modern Eastern Aramaic. The Mishnaic Hebrew *ʾānū* 'we' (invariably with *qāmēṣ* in pointed MSS.) seems to belong to the same complex. Koranic spelling confirms that the pausal form had long *ā* in the Hijaz.

b The suffix-pronouns of the third person, *-hŭ*, *-hum*, *-hunna*, and *-humā*, did not become *-hĭ*, etc., after *i* and *y* (cf. § 10 *f*).

c In the ʿĀliya dialect the *a* of the suffix-pronoun of the second person singular masculine was not elided in pause. While other Arabs said *lak* 'to thee', *ʿalaik* 'upon thee', *fī dārik* 'in thy house', the people of the ʿĀliya said *lakah*, *ʿalaikah*, *fī dārikah* (ʾAbū Zaid, Nawādir, p. 171). Since the *hāʾ as-saqṭ* often represents a length (*pace* Birkeland, Pausalformen, p. 31), we may conclude that *-ka* was long in that dialect, as it was in Massoretic Hebrew.[2] Some Arabs lengthened the vowel of *-ka* and *-ki* before further suffixes, as in *ʾaʿṭaitukāhu* 'I gave him to thee' (Sībawaihi, quoted by ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 11). As often, the older form was here preserved in non-final position. The same distribution exists in Ethiopic.

d It is possible that the Classical Arabic rule with regard to the suffix of the first singular: *-ī* after short, *-ya* after long vowel or diphthong, was not observed in Hijaz. In Koran, xiv, 27/22 the Kufans ʾAʿmash and Yaḥyā or Ḥamza read *mā ʾantum bi-muṣrikhiyyi* 'you cannot assist me' for *muṣrikhiyya* (Farrāʾ, quoted Beck, Orientalia, xv, 190; also Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 704, 849). Bannāʾ (quoted by Farrāʾ) calls this a dialect form. Farrāʾ then cites a line (which Zamakhsharī calls *shiʿr majhūl* 'an untrustworthy poem'): *qāla lahā hal laki yā tā fiyyi/qālat lahu mā ʾanta bilmarḍiyyi* 'he said to her, you there, do you like me? She answered, you are not the one who pleases me.' ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 295) says this is in the dialect of the

Yarbū', a branch of the Ḥanẓala, who belonged to Tamim. However, we shall find that *tā* is a distinctly West-Arabian form of the feminine demonstrative pronoun.[3] In a line by the Westerner Nābigha Dhubyānī (i, 4) tradition reads *'alayyi* for *'alayya* (Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 53). The two Basrians Ḥasan (Kashshāf, p. 849) and 'Abū 'Amr ('Ushmūnī, ii, 211) read in Koran, xx, 19/18, *'aṣāyi* for *'aṣāya* 'my staff', where the true West-Arabian reading is *'aṣayya* (§ 8 *t*). The material is really insufficient to decide whether the *-yi* is West-Arabian or Eastern. The colloquials have largely *-yi* after long vowels, as in *'ashāyi* 'my supper', *kursīyi* 'my chair' (cf. Driver, Grammar, p. 30). Possibly the whole feature is early colloquial rather than dialect.

e In Hijazi poetry a particle *dhī* (*dhē*, cf. § 10 *aa* at end) could be added to proper names at will and without influencing meaning in any way (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 145). In some cases it would produce grammatically impossible constructions if taken as genitive of *dhū* 'possessor' (e.g. 'Omar, poem cxxxvii, 2, cclviii, 5).[4] According to 'Azharī (in Tāj, x, 436) 'otiose *dhū*' was common in the speech of Qais and neighbouring tribes. In fact this is probably nothing but the Yemenite demonstrative pronoun *dhī* (cf. § 7 *s*), which had become obsolete in Hijaz except with proper names (cf. the occurences with proper names in Ẓafār and Hebrew, *loc. cit.*). In normal Hijazi speech it had been replaced by the Eastern *dhā*. As a last remnant of the former *dhī* we may consider the facts that *dhā* for *hādhā* occurs very frequently in hadith, that Hijazi poets often insert other words between *hā* and *dhā* (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 120), and that the Hijazis used *huwa dhā* 'there he is' instead of *hā huwa dhā* ('Anbārī in Lisān, xx, 341)[5]. In the account of the negotiations at Ḥudaibiyya (Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, 15), where the dialogue is in a style markedly different from that of the narrative, and therefore presumably has some Hijazi features, we find a most illuminating passage: 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd talks to the Prophet, and is interrupted by 'Abū Bakr. He asks *man dhā* 'who is this?'. Then Mughīra hits him, and he asks again *man hādhā* 'and who is *that* now?'. If this can be taken as typical, we obtain a distinction between *dhā* and *hādhā* much like that of *hādhā* and *dhāka* in Classical Arabic.

f The feminine form of the demonstrative, which was in strict Classical Arabic *hādhī* in context, *hādhih* in pause, seems to have been borrowed into the Hijazi dialect only in the pausal form *hādhih*, which was here also used in context (Sībawaihi, ii, 314; cf. Birkeland, Pausalformen, p. 94 and Fischer, Islamica, iii, 47). The original West-Arabian form may have been *tā*, still current in the Tayyi' dialect (§ 14 *u*), or *tī*, which appears in the phrase *kaifa tīkum* 'how are you there?' used by the Prophet in addressing 'Ā'isha (Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 15). The inscription of an-Namāra has *ty* = *tī* or *tai*. However, *tā* appears also in poems, not only of the Westerner Nābigha, but

also of the Taghlibi Quṭāmī (*tālika* for *tilka*; in Diwan, xiii, 28, *hādhihi*) and of Ka'b al-Ghanawī (*hātā* for *hādhihi*), all in Lisān, xx, 341.[6]

ǧ The plural of the demonstrative pronoun is said to have been *'ūlä* in the Tamim dialect, but *'ūlā'i* in Hijaz (Ibn 'Aqīl, p. 36 and later comms. on the 'Alfiyya). The statement of the 'Alfiyya runs: 'use اولى as a demonstrative pronoun for the plural, but اولاء is better (*walmaddu 'aulä*)'. It seems that Ibn 'Aqīl's attribution of *'ūlā'i* to the Hijaz is mainly based on its occurrence in the Koran. There the form is spelled اولا, indicating a pausal form *'ūlā*. However, *'ūlā'i* in context would have been pronounced in the Hijaz *'ūlay* (cf. § 11 *dd*), and one wonders why the *-y* disappeared in pause. The spelling اولى in the Tamim dialect could not be read other than *'ūlā* (§ 10 *bb*), and is in fact meaningless unless it reflects the spelling of some dialect where final *-ai* was still pronounced. The cognate forms, Hebrew *'ēlleh*, etc., all point to a proto-Semitic' **ullai* (cf. Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 119).[7] Classical *'ūlā'i* does not fit in with the forms of the cognate languages (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 318). I would suggest that it arose by the same process that produced the Koranic reading (ii, 15/16) *ishtara'ū ḍ-ḍalālata* for *ishtarau ḍ-ḍalālata* 'they acquired error', i.e., the development of a double-peak stress and breaking up of a diphthong in order to avoid a doubly closed unstressed syllable.[8] The Koran reading is said to be according to the usage of the Qais[9] dialect (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 20), and it is quite likely that *'ūlā'i* also arose in that area and thence penetrated into Classical Arabic. We have seen that in the Qais area (Fazāra) final *-ai* was preserved in pause, but reduced to *-ē* in context, a process which started most probably before *hamzat al-waṣl* (§ 10 *cc*). Since *'ūlai* stood in Arabic normally before the article, i.e., *hamzat al-waṣl*, the form used in that position was likely to spread to all positions. That *'ūlai* became *'ūlā'i*, not *'ūlē*, may be due to its having arisen in a part of the Qais area other than Fazāra, and that there *-ai* was treated differently; or contraction and two-peak-stress may have been possible throughout those dialects.[10] Some of the Qais dialects may have had the form *'ūlē*, corresponding to the *'ūlä* ascribed by Ibn 'Aqīl to the Tamim dialect. It is quite possible that *'ūlä* was used in some Eastern dialects, as Ibn 'Aqīl says. It does not seem to be particularly frequent in poetry from that part of Arabia. In the Hijaz **'ūlai* would become *'ūlā* (written with *'alif*) before *hamzat al-waṣl* (GQ, iii, 36, cf. § 10 *bb*), and here, as in the Central-Arabian dialects, that form spread to cases where no *hamzat al-waṣl* followed, as in *hā 'antum 'ūlā('i) tuḥibbūnahum* 'those men, ye love them' (iii, 115/119) and in *ūlā('i) 'alä 'atharī* (xx, 86/84). It was an easy matter for the Moslem massoretes to turn this *'ūlā* into the Classical form by adding a *hamza* sign. A further indication for reading the Koranic spelling *'ūlā* and not *'ūlā'i* seems to me to lie in the fact that it is throughout the Koran spelled with long *ū* ("*ishbā*"). The length of the first syllable is

said by ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 31) to be merely 'a permitted variant'. Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 56) does not even mention that it can be short or long. In poetry the *u* is almost invariably short, even with the Hijazi ʿOmar (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 120). The long and short *u* are not merely accidental variants, but the long *u* represents an 'Ersatzdehnung' for the double *l* found in the cognate languages. The 'Eastern' and Hijazi *ʾūlai* were, of course, stressed on the first syllable, but in *ʾulāʾi* the stress was drawn on to the long *a* and the first syllable shortened, as in *qitāl* for *qītāl*, (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 76). The *ū* in the spelling *ʾūlāʾi* (Wright, i, 265B) is thus merely a Koranic reminiscence, but in the Koran it must have represented actual pronunciation, i.e., *ʾúlā* < *ʾúlai*. Another form of proto-Semitic' **ullai* was used in Hijaz as relative pronoun, cf. § *i* below. It goes to confirm our view about the older form of *ʾulāʾi* that *ʾulāʾika* 'those' is in good Korans (e.g., the 'Royal Koran') invariably spelled without *ʾalif*, with a consistency that strongly suggests that it was pronounced *ʾulaika*. In early Christian MSS., where the *ʾalif* is normally used to indicate long *ā*, this word is mostly written without *ʾalif* (cf. Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 16).

h ʾUshmūnī (i, 120) claims that the Hijaz dialect used *dhālika* as demonstrative for the remote object, while the Tamim used *dhāka*. This is apparently based on the observation that the Koran has only *dhālika*, but does not seem to be correct. A number of the quotations for *dhāka* collected by Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 414–6) come from Westerners; it also occurs in a line supposed to be in Ṭayyiʾ dialect (cf. § 4 *t*, second quotation). The same ʾUshmūnī (i, 122) also considers *hunālika* 'there' a Hijazi form, as against the more common *hunāka*, basing himself again on the Koran.

i From the evidence we possess it results that the Hijaz dialect used for the relative pronoun of the singular not the Western *dhī*, *dhū* (§ 4 *aa*, 14 *v*), but the Classical Arabic *alladhī*, like the Hudhail dialect (§ 8 *y*). For the feminine plural, however, instead of the various forms appearing in poetry, the Koran employs only a form written الى (GQ, iii, 32) and pointed *allāʾi*. This corresponds to a Hijazi *allāy* or *allai* (§ 11 *dd*); such was the reading of the Basrian ʾAbū ʿAmr, and of al-Bazzī, *rāwī* of the Meccan Ibn Kathīr. ʾAbū ʿAmr (d. 154/771) confirms that this was the way the Quraish pronounced the word. Warsh, *rāwī* of the Medinean Nāfiʿ, read in lxv, 4, *allāyi*, apparently a cross between the Hijazi form and the spelling-pronunciation (all from ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 41). There is nothing inherently feminine in the form, and it seems to have served for the masculine as well. The Syrian grammarian ʾAkhfash (d. 291/904), *rāwī* of the Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir, read in ii, 226 *wallāʾi yuʾlūna* 'and those who forswear' for *lilladhīna yuʾlūna*. This *allāy*, *allai*, however, seems to be none other than the demonstrative *ʾullai* used as a relative. The form *allaʾūna*, ascribed—probably

rightly—to the Hudhail dialect (cf. § 8 *z*), may be one stage in the transition of the Central West-Arabian dialects from *allai* to *alladhīna*. Another step of the same transition (not necessarily West-Arabian) can be seen in the forms *al-'ulä*, *al-'ulā'i* for the same, used almost exclusively in poetry (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 324). Here the article was added because it was felt that *al-* was the first element of *alladhī*, etc. It appears extremely doubtful to me that *al-* in *alladhī* is identical with the article, though this is the opinion both of Barth (Pronominalbidung, p. 157) and of Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 601). Both find it difficult to account for the element *-la-*. It seems to me that *alladhī* cannot be separated from the Hebrew *hallāzeh* 'this' and the Amharic *'ellazīh*, 'these'. The latter is clearly *'ella* = **'ullai* plus **dhīk*. The singular and plural forms of the demonstrative are here combined, as in colloquial Arabic *hādhōl* = *hādh-'ūlā*. It appears that at some point in the history of Arabic *'ullai* came to be used also as a singular relative pronoun. The common colloquial *illi*, *elli*, etc., is probably derived directly from it.[11] According to the grammarians *allā'u* (*'allau*, cf. § 11 *ee*) could be used in Classical Arabic for the singular. Subsequently this *'ullai* was replaced by the synonym *alladhī*. Perhaps the reason is that (?by contamination with the article) *'ullai* had become reduced after vowel-ending words to *llai*, *lla* (cf. *la* in Mesopotamia, *li* in Yemen; Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*), and thus was felt to have too little body. It is possible that at first *alladhī* was used for singular and plural, like *'ullai* (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 565): the use of *alladhī* for both numbers in Yemen (§ 4 *aa*) may possibly (there are other ways of accounting for it) be due to the new form having reached Yemen just at that stage. The extension of the use of *'ullai* to the singular and the ensuing developments have nothing to do with the Hijaz dialect. They belong to the dialects on which the Classical language was based. The Central or East-Arabian origin of *alladhī* is shown by the second *a*: this was reduced from *ā* in a dialect where final *-ai* had become *-ā*. In the Hijaz, we assume, *dhū* served for the singular before the arrival of *alladhī*, and *(a)llāy*, *(a)llai* for the plural.

k Names and appellatives of the form *fa'āli* were treated as indeclinable in Hijaz, while they were diptote in the East (Sībawaihi, ii, 37; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 269). Except for a small part of the Tamim area, however (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 79 *b*), those nouns which ended in *r* were treated as indeclinable in the East, too. 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 46) explains that in *-āri* the *ā* had become strongly imalized,[12] or rather that the *r* had taken an *i*-colouring. In any case the exception proves that the diptote flexion of these nouns in the East was secondary and of recent origin. In spite of the similarity of these names to infinitives used as imperatives like *nazāli*, we are hardly justified in analysing all these names as original commands (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 345), nor can we, as B. also proposes, identify them

with the feminine *fa'āl* adjective of Arabic and Ethiopic, since this has normal inflection. The variety of objects named or nicknamed with nouns of this form is considerable, including men, women, places, and male and female animals ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 78). Vollers (ZAss., xxii, 223) collected a list of place names of this pattern, most of which appear to belong to Yemen and neighbourhood. It is significant that the Arabs considered *fa'āli* a feminine of *fu'ăl* (cf. § 4 *o*). The latter, when used in proper names, was diptote, as were names of foreign origin, and was not considered a proper Arabic noun pattern, but substituted (*ma'dūl*) for the *fā'il* participle. If we combine this with the appearance of *fu'āl* for *fa'īl* in Yemenite Arabic (§ 4 *o*) and with the fact that *fa'ālī* appears in Ethiopic as a masculine participle, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that *fa'āli* was of Yemenite, or rather South-Arabian origin and identical with Ethiopic *fa'ālī*, the final vowel being shortened in accordance with § 10 *ii*. The rather half-hearted specialization of *fa'āli* for the feminine gender may have taken place under the influence of the existing feminine adjective pattern *fa'āl*.

l Sībawaihi (ii, 39) informs us that the Hijaz dialect treated *'amsi* 'yesterday' as an undeclinable particle, while the Eastern dialects declined it. What this came to is shown by the *shāhid*: they said *mudh 'amsu* 'since yesterday'. In spite of the statements of grammarians to the contrary, Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 440) is no doubt right in saying that all Arabs declined the word when used with full nominal force. Even the Tamim did not have an accusative *'amsa*, though some people treated it as a full diptote (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 38 *a*) the 'Uqail even as triptote when used as a noun ('Abū Zaid, Lisān, xx, 340-1). Some Arabs used *'amsa* for *'amsi* (Ibn Hishām in Tāj, iv, 97). The cognate languages do not help us with regard to the final vowel. It seems that the word was used in different parts of Arabia with different adverbial endings.

m There is some probability that at least in the dialect of Mecca (i.e., the Tihāma region of Hijaz) the dual had only one form for nominative and oblique cases, as in the northern Yemen (cf. § 7 *f seq.*). This was tentatively suggested by Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 37) as a solution to the Koranic crux *'inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni* 'verily these two are sorcerers' (xx, 66/63). The correct oblique dual in *-aini* is used elsewhere in the Koran, in conformity with Classical usage. In this one passage, however, another dialect peculiarity came into play, the use of the accusative for the predicate of a nominal clause introduced by *'inna* (§ 13 *m*). The dialect form of the sentence would have been *'inna hādhāni* (acc.) *la-sāḥirāni* (acc.) Mere substitution of literary for dialect forms would have produced: *'inna hādhaini la-sāḥiraini*, equally incorrect. A Hijazi speaker wishing to speak correctly had to remind himself not to make the adjustment of *-āni* to *-aini* in the second word. Through a psychological process well known to everyone who learns a foreign language,

the author of that reading overshot the mark and refrained from making that adjustment already in the first word, thus producing involuntarily the pure dialect version. Our ascription of oblique *-āni* to the dialect does not rest on this inference alone. In Bukhārī, *'Ādhān*, 145, the Krehl edition reads *'inna rijlayya lā taḥmilānī* 'my two feet do not carry me', but 'Abū l-Waqt—usually a stickler for grammatical correctness—and Ibn 'Asākir read *'inna rijlāya* (Qasṭallānī, ii, 126). Another tradition is quoted by 'Astarābādī in the form 'every new-born child is born with the natural religion' (*'alä l-fiṭrati*) *ḥattä yakūnu 'abāwāhu lladhāni yuhawwidānihi 'au yunaṣṣirānihi* 'so that it is his parents that make him a Jew or Christian' (Kāfiya comm., ii, 27). As predicate of *kāna* we should expect *alladhaini* (but cf. § 13 *n*). 'Ushmūnī (i, 71) quotes a tradition *lā witrāni fī lailatin* 'there are no two *witr*-prayers in one night' (Musnad Ibn Hanbal, iv, 23, line 21). Here again there should be accusative after generic *lā*.

n The Khuza'a dialect had *lika*, etc. instead of *laka* 'to thee' (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 56 *b*). According to Liḥyānī (quoted by Rāfi'ī, Tārīkh, i, 144) other dialects used the same form. It is probable that the common Arabic *li* before nouns was substituted for *la-* under the influence of *bi-* (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 495). In some West-Arabian dialects the analogy affected the rest of the paradigm. The Quda'a dialects are reported to have had not only *lihi*, but also *bahu*, i.e., complete inversion of the two inflections (Kisā'ī in Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 395, 411). A *ba-* before suffixes lies at the back of certain developments in Syrian bedouin and Ḥaḍarī dialects (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 208), i.e., in the old Quda'a area. It is somewhat improbable, though, that *li-* and *ba-* should simply have changed places. Kisā'ī's statement looks rather like a jocular distortion by neighbouring tribes, the truth being either that the Quda'a said *bahu*, or that the inflection of the two particles had become mutually assimilated, as in Hebrew (Bauer-Leander, Histor Gramm., p. 636).

o Ibn Duraid (Ishtiqāq, p. 40) states that the Hijazis, contrary to the rule (Wright, i, 58C) formed from *faḍila* 'to be gallant' the imperf. *yafḍulu*. The only other case of this he asserts to be *ḥaḍira*, *yaḥḍuru* 'to be at hand'—which he does not designate as Hijazi. Actually there are several more such verbs (cf. Wright, *loc. cit.* ; Brockelmann, GVG, i, 546; for possible reasons of a phonetic nature cf. G. R. Driver, Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System, p. 64). Sam'ānī (? the Koran commentator, d. 489/1096) referring to a statement of some older grammarians that in actual usage the imperfect of any *fa'ila* verb may be of the patterns *yaf'ilu* or *yaf'ulu*, confirms this, saying that he himself heard such forms from bedouins in Yemen and Hijaz ('Anbārī, Nuzhat al-'alibbā', p. 459). I have not been able to ascertain whether similar forms are still current in that area. Perhaps the complete absence of any rules for the imperfect vowel in Maghrebine Arabic

(Brockelmann, GVG, i, 547) is to be connected with the large-scale immigration of Hijazi and West-Najdi bedouins into the Maghrib shortly after the time of Samʿānī. In any case it appears that a tendency which was incipient in the third/ninth century in the West-Arabian area had fully developed in the fifth/eleventh. It was a tendency which had reached considerable proportions in North-Semitic (East and West) at a much earlier date.

p The prefixes of the *a*-imperfect had in the Hijaz the vowel *a*. This matter has been fully discussed in § 6 *i*. We may add here that according to Sībawaihi (ii, 275), Ibn Hishām (Bānat Suʿād, p. 97), and ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 229) Hijaz was the only region where these prefixes had not the vowel *i*; however, the statement of ʾAbū ʿAmr (cf. *loc. cit.*) is no doubt nearer to the facts. In the canonic readings of the Koran only *a*-prefixes are found, but among the *shādhdh*-readings some *i*-prefixes occur (collected by Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 129). A curious feature of these is that they appear in groups. Thus a number of *shādhdh*-readings in ii, 33/34 makes up a whole phrase in Tamim dialect: *lā tiqrabā hādhī sh-shijra* 'do not go near this tree'. In xi, 115/113 two *taltala* forms occur in one verse: *lā tirkanū* 'do not incline' and *fa-timassukum* 'and it will touch you'.

q In the intransitive verbs primæ *w* the *w* joins in the Hijazi dialect with the *a*-prefix into *au*: *yaujalu* 'he fears', *yaujaʿu* 'he feels pain'. The Tamim dialect with its *i*-prefixes assimilated the *w*: *yījalu*, *yījaʿu*. Some Qais dialects (i.e., the Western ones, who had no '*taltala*') used a form with lengthening of the *a*, as if from primæ hamzatæ: *yājalu*, *yājaʿu* (Sībawaihi, ii, 276; ʾAnbārī in Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 540; Jamhara, ii, 105). The form of the Qais dialect appears as *yālaghāni* 'they lap' in the Hijazi poet Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt (lxi, 29)[13] and as *lā tājal* in a variant of Koran, xv, 53 for *lā taujal* 'fear not'. In a line by a Tamimi poet (Naqāʾiḍ, i, 168, line 7) we find *fayaijaʿa* 'that he feel pain': this is perhaps a mixed form. Another reading of the same Koran passage has *lā tūjal*, and some read *yūlaghāni* in the line by Ibn Qais. These are the forms commonly used in the colloquials both with *i*- and with *a*-imperfects.[14] The *u* of those forms is hardly a contraction of *au*,[15] but arose in some Eastern dialect other than Tamim, where *iu* in **yiwjalu* became *ū* in conformity with § *t* below. The Qais forms with *ā*, again spread over both types of imperfect, are to-day heard in Malta, Iraq, and above all in Najd (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 599).

r In the eighth conjugation of verbs primæ *w* the standard language assimilates the *w* to the *t*, as in *ittazara*, *yattaziru* 'to commit a crime'. In the Hijaz dialect the prefix vowel is said to have been lengthened instead: *ʾītazara*, *yātaziru*, *mūtazir* (Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 100), *yātazinu* 'he is equal', *yātaʿidūna* 'they threaten each other' (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣāʾiṣ, i, 414). Forms of the eighth conjugation of this class are very few in the Koran. Those that

occur exhibit gemination of the *t*: *ittasaqa* 'is full' (lxxxiv, 18) and the frequent *ittaqā* 'to fear'. One feels that the forms with lengthening in the eighth and the first form (*yājalu*, etc.) were considered unsuitable for literary use. The whole is probably part of the confusion which existed in this dialect between roots primæ hamzatæ and primæ *w* (cf. § 11 *ff*).

s For a discussion of the intransitive perfect of mediæ *w/y* cf. § 10 *y seq.* The Hijazi dialect also had *mitnā* for *mutnā* 'we died' (ʾAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla, p. 155). Most readers follow Hijazi usage. Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim (the Egyptian Royal Koran) has *mittu*, etc., almost everywhere. In xix, 23 the Meccan Ibn Kathīr, the Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir, and ʾAbū Bakr—just those who normally represent Hijazi tradition—read *muttu*. Baiḍāwī cites no variants to *i*-forms in xxi, 35/34, xxiii, 84/82, xxiii, 37/35. The only examples of *u* in the *qirāʾa* of Ḥafṣ are two occurences of *muttum* in two successive verses (iii, 151/157 *seq.*), another instance of Eastern peculiarities coming in batches (cf. § *p* above). In this particular case the *u* may also be due to vowel-harmony, which, as we have seen (§ 10 *f*, *seq.*) had no place in Hijaz dialect. The Hijazi form is here upheld by the Medinean Nāfiʿ and the Kufans Ḥamza and Kisāʾī.

t The forms of the passive perfect mediæ *w* with vocalic affixes had in pre-classical Arabic three forms: *sīṭa* '(fluids) were whipped together' in Hijaz, *süṭa* (*kasra bi-ʾishmām aḍ-ḍamma*) in the Qais dialects and part of ʾAsad, and *sūṭa* in the dialects of Tamim and of Faqʿas and Dabr, reckoned among the *fuṣaḥāʾu banī ʾAsad* (Ibn Hishām, Bānat Suʿād, p. 69).[16] Farrāʾ (in Lisān, xiv, 92) only says that the ʾAsad said either *qīla* or *qūla* for the passive of 'to say'. In the Koran all cases of passive mediæ *w* are spelled with *ī* (*qīla*, *ghīḍa* in xi, 46/44, *sīʾa* in xi, 79/77, etc.). Baiḍāwī records no variants. The Kufan Kisāʾī, however, read in each case *ü* (GQ, iii, 198). Apparently the Classical language adopted the forms with *ü*, but with the Hijazi spelling; in the mouth of Easterners and Westerners, who had no *ü* in their own dialects, the spelling-pronunciation won the day. The forms with *ū* are considered unclassical (Suyūṭī, Bahja, p. 46). The Hijazi forms agree with Biblical Aramaic *śīm* 'was placed' (Ezra, iv, 19, etc.) and with the doubtful *zirti* 'I was detested' (?, gloss to 'I was hated') in the Tell Amarna letters (127, 34). The Tamim forms are paralleled by the Hebrew passive participle *mūl* 'circumcised', etc.,[17] and by the odd Biblical Aramaic *śŭmath* (Dan.,vi, 18), rejected as Hebraism by Bauer-Leander (Gramm. Bibl.-Aram., p. 145). It is thus possible that the two extreme forms are of disparate origin; in this case it would be rather difficult to account for the *ü* of the central area. We must, therefore, for the present keep to the old view that *süṭa* was developed from **suyiṭa*, and *ü* became *ī* in the West and *ū* in the East. By assuming this sound-law we gain an explanation for some other phenomena (§ *q* above and § *u* below).

u The passive participle of the first conjugation of mediæ *y* takes in the Hijaz dialect the form *madīn*, in the dialect of Tamim the form *madyūn*[18] (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 28; *id.*, Mughtaṣab, p. 3, 23; Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 109 *a*; Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 1419). The Tamim form is that most usual in the colloquials (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 609). The only form of this type in the Koran is *mahīl* 'heaped up' (lxxiii, 14), where Baiḍāwī registers no variants. The Hijazi form no doubt goes back to **madün* < **madiun* < **madyūn* with the same sound-change as in the preceding paragraph. The Central-Arabian dialects may have preserved this *madün*, though we hear nothing about it. The frequent occurence of *madīn* and similar forms in Classical Arabic texts suggests that this was so. The Tamīm form need not necessarily be the old *Ur-arabisch* one, but may be an analogical new-formation for **madūn*. This view is supported by the existence of parallel new-formations from mediæ *w*, such as *maqwūd* 'led' for *maqūd*, which are not specifically ascribed to any dialect, but may be Eastern (Ibn Jinnī, Mughtaṣab, p. 3).

v The third singular masculine perfect of transitive verbs tertiæ *y* is spelled like the nouns with *'alif maqṣūra* (*ä*), which, as we have seen, represents *-ai* (§ 10 *bb*). It rhymes with them, both alone and when followed by suffix-pronouns, but never with forms of tertiæ *w*. Brockelmann (GVG, i, 619) suggests that both ended in *-ā*, but the *ā* was 'coloured' to agree with the diphthong of the forms with affixes: *banaitu*, therefore *banǣ*, but *ghazautu*, therefore *ghazå̄*. Such 'colouring' is a phonological impossibility, and would moreover force us to assume that final *-ai* sometimes stood for *-ǣ*. In view of the rhymes we must take it that the form بنى was pronounced *banai*, i.e., that the vocalization of the forms with suffixes was bodily transferred to the third singular. That this was a secondary process can be seen both from the feminine *banat* and from the contracted forms *rā* 'he saw', *nā* 'he moved' (§ 11 *ii*), where the connection with the tertiæ *y* class was broken before the Proto-Semitic **-ā* of that class had changed to *-ai*. It is highly probable that we ought to read the Sabaean (not Minaean) forms with final *w* and *y* in the same manner *talau*, *banai*. In Ethiopic these were further assimilated to the strong verb as *talawa*, *banaya*, but in Tigrigna the older forms are still preserved as *talo*, *bane* (Leslau, Documents Tigrigna, p. 117). The same forms as in Hijazi are indicated by the spelling of Safatene, *'atai*, *banai* (Littmann, Safaitic Inscr., p. xiv). There, the *y* disappears before *-il* in theophoric names, thus indicating an older stage in which these verbs still ended in *-ā*.[19] We may thus take it that the *-ai* forms of the perfect developed at a very early period in 'Proto-Arabic', in West-Arabian, and in South-Arabian. The verbs tertiæ *w* did not develop in the same manner in West-Arabian, perhaps because *ghazau* 'he raided' would have given rise to confusion with *ghazau* 'they raided'. Only in South-Arabian were the verbs tertiæ *wāw* drawn into the same process.

w In northern Yemen (§ 7 *d*) and in Tayyi' (§ 14 *i*) verbs of the type *baqiya* became *baqā*. In view of the existence of the same change in Hebrew, we must consider this a common West-Arabian development, though not one common to West-Arabian and Proto-Arabic, as shown by the Safatene *fny* 'passed away', which can only be read *faniya*. In all probability the Hijaz dialect also possessed at one time the form *baqā*. This occurs in a well-attested variant by Ibn at-Tīn to a hadith (Bukhārī, *Musāqāt*, 9, cf. Qasṭallānī, iv, 202) where he reads *raqā* for *raqiya* 'he went up'.[20] Such forms may have been used in part of Hijaz. In Hijazi poetry one finds forms of the type *baqiya* frequently treated as two syllables instead of three, but they rhyme with words in *-ī* (cf. § 10 *ll*). Such a form may also be *'ukhfī* 'is hidden', read by Ḥamza and Ya'qūb in xxxii, 17 for *'ukhfiya*; while elsewhere an *-a* was added to conform with Classical Arabic grammar, the Hijazi dialect form could in this case be justified as the first singular imperfect active. Do we have here the Classical form with the final *-a* elided as happens in poetry occasionally with the *a* of accusative and subjunctive after *-i*? A case of such elision occurs in a hadith (Bukhārī, *Buyū'*, 98, Qasṭallānī, iv, 100) where all except the purist 'Abū Dharr read *ishtaraitu baqaran wa-rā'īha* 'I bought some cattle and its shepherd', instead of the expected *rā'iyaha*. The phonetic explanation, presupposing that the Classical Arabic forms had become current in the Hijaz, is possibly confirmed by the fact that the feminine active participle of tertiæ *y*, in the Tayyi' dialect *rāḍātun* (§ 14 *i*) appears in the Koran in its Classical Arabic form: *rāḍiyatun*, etc. (lxxxviii, 9–12), rhyming with other words of the pattern *fā'ilatun*. Yet we must consider the possibility that *baqī* in the Hijaz was not derived from *baqiya*, but formed on the analogy of *baqītu* as *banai* was on that of *banaitu*. It may be instructive to tabulate again the different paradigms of the defective verbs in our dialect:

First sing. perf.:	*banaitu*	*baqītu*	*ghazautu*
Third sing. perf.:	*banai*	*baqī*	*ghazā* (*ghazō*, § 10 *r*)
Imperf.:	*yabn*(*ī*) (§ 10 ii)	*yabqai* (§ 10 *dd*)	*yaghzū*

x For the passive participle of the verbs tertiæ *y* we have the curious statement of Farrā' (on Koran, xix, 56/55, in the Nuru Osmaniyye MS. only) that instead of *marḍiyyun* one said in Hijaz *marḍuwwun*,t hough no one read so in the Koran.

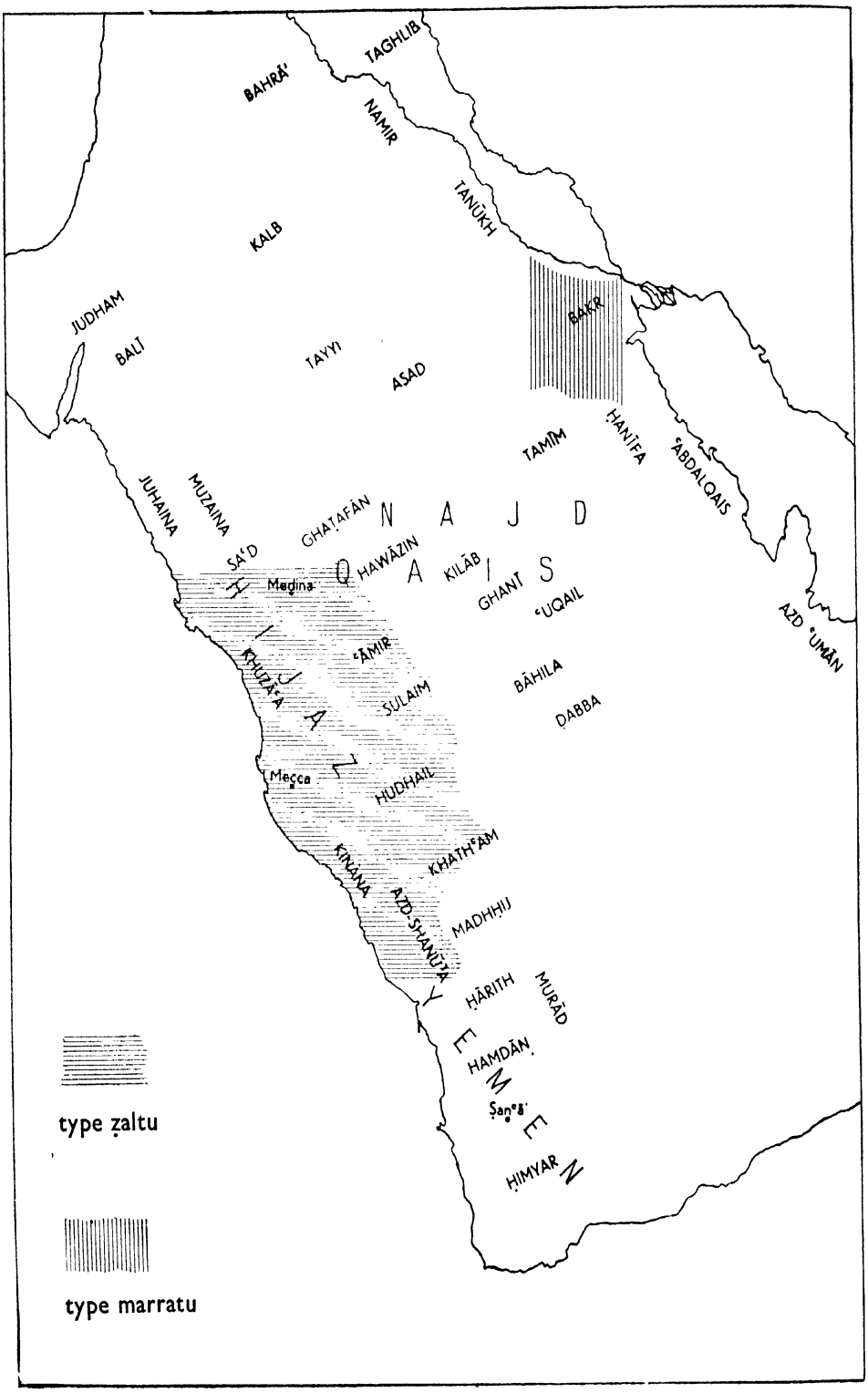
y The imperative and apocopate of verbs mediæ geminatæ were in the Hijaz dialect formed on the pattern of the strong verb, e.g., *imlal* 'be weary', *urdud* 'repel' (Sībawaihi, ii, 162; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 192). This was so not only in the first conjugation, but also in the third (Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 1324) and in the ninth (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 269), and presumably in all others. These forms were probably general West-Arabian. In a line by the Hudhali 'Abū

Kabīr, *lam yuḥlali* 'was not untied' occurs in rhyme, in conformity with the usage of Hijaz (Ḥamāsa, p. 38). Tabrīzī remarks on this 'this is Tamim dialect'. But the Tamim dialect was quite different, as we shall see immediately. This seems to be another case of the confusion between Hudhail and Ḥanẓala; Tabrīzī may have preserved in this garbled form a statement to the effect that the triliteral forms were of the Hudhail dialect. In the East biliteral forms were used everywhere, but the dialects differed with regard to the final vowel. This was at first neutral (*ə*), being merely there to avoid the meeting of three consonants. In ʾAsad and part of Tamim it was heard as *a* when followed by *hamzat al-waṣl*, as *i* otherwise (Sībawaihi, ii, 162). The Qais dialects of Ghanī, Kaʿb, and ʿUqail had invariably *-i*: *firri*, *malli*, *ruddi* (Sībawaihi, *loc. cit.*; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 168). Some Tamimis harmonized the neutral vowel with the stem-vowel: *firri*, *malla*, *ruddu* (Sībawaihi). There is a great deal of contradiction in statements made by other authors, which need not be discussed here. The important point is that Eastern Arabic said *firr(ə)*, West-Arabian *(i)frir*. The West-Arabian usage is quite isolated. Those of the cognate languages which possess triliteral forms for the imperfect of the med. gem. use these also for the indicative. Mehri, which has both types, uses the uncontracted forms for the indicative,[21] the contracted ones in the form which corresponds to the Arabic apocopate. The occurrence of the various forms in literature gives little support to their assignation to West and East. In the Koran we have *yartadid* (ii, 214/217) but also *yartadda* (v, 59/54) 'he revolts'; *yushāqiqi llāha* (viii, 13), but also *yushāqqi llāha* (lix, 4) 'sets himself against God'. To none of these have I found any variants. In ii, 282, Ḥafṣ reads *lā yuḍārra* 'let him not be harmed', but a formidable array of early Hijazi readers: ʿUmar, Fatḥ, Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, ʾAbān b. ʿUthmān, ʿIkrima, Daḥḥāk, ʾUbayy, but also the Basrian Ḥasan, are quoted in support of the reading *lā yuḍārar* (Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, p. 184; Jeffery, Materials, p. 30, 121). We shall hardly follow the opinion of Ibn Mālik (quoted Suyūṭī, ʾItqān, p. 314) who concluded from the existence of both types in the Koran that the Holy Book was revealed partly in the dialect of Hijaz and partly in that of Tamim. The same mixture of forms is found in the poems of ʿOmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʿa (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 124), but also in Eastern poets. In poets, both Eastern and Western, there are also to be found uncontracted forms of the indicative which remind one of South-Arabian, Ethiopic, or Accadian. It appears, therefore, that both ways of forming the imperative and apocopate must have been current together over a part of Arabia and were inherited simultaneously by Classical Arabic. It may be right that towards the edges of the Arab peninsula there lay areas where the one or the other was preferred or even used exclusively.

z Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 90 *b*) claims that *halumma* 'come on!', when used

by the Hijazis in that form, was an exception to the usage of their dialect. We shall hardly agree with that, as we do not analyse the word as *hā* plus the imperative of an imaginary verb *lamma*. Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 173) goes so far as to suggest that originally the word was *ulmum* in the Hijaz. While these are grammarians' fancies, it is interesting to note that the Tamim and the rest of Nejd inflected this original interjection like an imperative (Sībawaihi, quoted Lisān, xvi, 101), i.e., said *halummī* to a woman, *halummū* to several people, and *halmumna* (according to Farrā', in 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 73: *halummanna* or *halummīna*) to several women. According to Ibn Sikkīt and Laith (Lisān, *loc. cit.*) only the Banū Sa'd (b. Tamim, not the Sa'd b. Bakr near Medina) inflected *halumma*. We may take it that the Hijaz dialect did not inflect *halumma*. In Koran, vi, 151/150 and xxxiii, 18, *halumma* is addressed to several persons. No variants are cited by Baiḍāwī.

aa In the dialect of Sulaim, on the confines of Hijaz, the endings of the perfect of mediæ geminatæ verbs were affixed to a biliteral base. (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 90 *b*). Examples of this are given by other sources, as *ẓiltu* for *ẓaliltu* 'I did all day' (Miṣbāḥ, p. 1062) and *'aḥabtu* for *'aḥbabtu* (Liḥyānī in Lisān, i, 281). Ibn Mālik appears to imply that the dialect of Hijaz proper used triliteral forms, but the Miṣbāḥ attributes *ẓiltu* to Hijaz and *ẓaltu* to the dialect of the 'Āmir, the neighbours of Sulaim (the latter also in a line by an 'Azdī, cf. § 6 *h* beginning). In the Koran we find only biliteral forms of *ẓalla*. The canonical readers read these with *a*: *ẓalta* (xx, 97) and *ẓaltum* (lvi, 65). Ibn Mas'ūd, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, and Qatāda read *ẓilta*; 'Abū Ḥaiwa and perhaps Ibn Mas'ūd *ẓiltum*. Only 'Ubayy read *ẓaliltu*, only Jaḥdarī *zaliltum* (Jeffery, Materials, pp. 61, 97, 147). Of other geminate verbs of the pattern *fa'ila*, such as *ḥassa* 'to feel', *massa* 'to touch', there are no relevant forms in the Koran. Of *fa'ala* verbs there are only triliteral forms, e.g., *shaqaqnā* 'we split' (lxxx, 26), *madadnā* 'we stretched' (xv, 19), apparently without biliteral variants. The material is too scarce for any conclusions. Biliteral forms seem to have enjoyed further extension in Central Arabia. The 'Uqail, who often appear together with the Qais tribes Ghanī and Kilāb, are said to have used *ẓiltu* in poetry, though it was not of their dialect ('Abū Zaid, quoted by Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣā'iṣ, i, 387). In the east, the Bakr dialect had a different type of biliteral form, with a vowel intervening between stem and ending, *raddatu* 'I gave back', *marranā* 'we passed' (Sībawaihi, ii, 164).[22] The *a* possibly denotes here no more than a neutral glide-vowel: *marrənā*. Once this vowel existed it gave rise to a tendency towards fitting the verbs into a vowel-ending scheme. Some Arabs said *raddātu* (Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 73). This and the form *raddaitu*, which is fully assimilated to the tertiæ infirmæ, are the patterns used in the colloquials (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 634).[23] Cf. also map No. 16.


TAGHLIB
BAHRĀ'
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
BAKR
JUDHAM
BALĪ
TAYYI
ASAD
TAMĪM
ḤANĪFA
ʿABDALQAIS
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
SAʿD
GHAṬAFĀN
NAJD
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
AZD ʿUMĀN
Medina
ʿĀMIR
KHUZĀʿA
SULAIM
BĀHILA
DABBA
Mecca
HUDHAIL
KHATHʿAM
KINĀNA
AZD SHANŪʾA
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣanʿā'
ḤIMYAR
type ẓaltu
type marratu

NOTES

[1] In older Syriac we find *qāṭelnā* < *qāṭel ănā* 'I kill', but *qālēn* < *qālē ănă* 'I roast', with the two forms distributed according to a purely rhythmical principle.

[2] In the consonant text of the Bible the suffix *-kā* often has a final *h*. One wonders whether this is not related to the *hā' as-saqṭ* in the Arabic form just discussed. Between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D. a form *-ak* persistently appears in Hebrew (cf. Kahle, Geniza, p. 100), pointing perhaps to a dialect difference within Hebrew, since *-kā* reappears in the Tiberian tradition.

[3] Cf., however, § *x*.

[4] As recorded in 'Aghānī viii. 141; the Diwan reads *bilmamrūkhi*.

[5] Ḥarīrī (Durra, p. 49) reports this as an Iraqi vulgarism. One 'Abū Bakr (Lisān, loc. cit., thinks 'Anbārī must have made a mistake. The full correct plural form appears Koran, iii, 115/9.

[6] In a story describing pre-Islamic customs at Medina, however, *dhih* is used for the feminine (Bukhārī, *Ḥarth*, 12).

[7] Barth writes *ullä*, as he believed *'alif maqṣūra* to have been pronounced *æ*.

[8] The *hamza* is, of course, *hamzat baina baina* (§ 11 *y*). Such a *hamza* for intervocalic *w* or *y* is not infrequent in Classical Arabic, e.g., *qā'ūl* 'garrulous' (root *qwl*), *qā'im* 'standing', etc. Cf. § 11 *kk*.

[9] More precisely, Ghanī. That dialect is said to have replaced most verbs tertiæ *w/y* by tertiæ hamz. This process must have started from the third pl. perf.—if the whole statement is not an unwarranted generalization from that form. Farrā' (in Lisān, i, 10) calls this *hamzat at-tawahhum*, '*hamza* through false analogy'.

[10] The 'Uqail dialect is said to have used *hā'ulā'in* (Lane, p. 947 *b*). This may be another attempt to have a form that could stand both before single consonant and *hamzat al-waṣl*.

[11] Barth thought *illi* arose from *alladhī* by attrition (*Zerreibung*). No such process is proved for Arabic; and Barth's idea was rightly rejected by such eminent dialect experts as Kampffmeyer and Oestrup (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 324).

[12] The *r*-phoneme is almost entirely isolated in the phonological system of Arabic (cf. Cantineau, BSL, xliii, 122). This may partly account for its phonetic peculiarities, especially the absorption of vowel-colouring, which is also evident in pausal phenomena (cf. also Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 323).

[13] Also ascribed to the Ṭā'ī poet 'Abū Zubaid (cf. Kofler, WZKM, xlvii, 128).

[14] The vocalization of the imperfect forms of prima *w* in modern colloquials is a very complicated subject. Frequently several forms are used side by side in one locality (Cantineau, Ḥorân, p. 234). Perhaps in ancient Arabia, too, several forms co-existed in some dialects.

[15] Cases of *au* becoming *ū* are rare outside the Maghrib (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 191). Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 108 *b*) attributes the change of initial *'au* > *'ū*, as in *'ūlād* < *'aulād* 'children', to the Tamīm dialect. This would not affect our case, as the Tamīm said in any case *'ījalu* < **'iwjalu*.

[16] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 73, without indication of source) claims that *ū* was used in the dialects of Dubair, Faq'as, Hudhail, Ḍabba, and some Tamim, *ü* by some Qais and most 'Asad. The form *bū'a* 'was sold' occurs in a line by the Tamimi Ru'ba (Appendix, xiv, 3), as reported by Kisā'ī (in Suyūṭī, Sh. sh. al-Mughnī, p. 277) and Ibn 'A'rābī (Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 976). The Diwan has *bī'a*.

[17] Brockelmann (GVG, i, 613), and more cautiously Bauer-Leander (Hist. Gramm., p. 393) explain this as contraction of **mawūl*. It seems more natural to take it as a participle assimilated to the perfect, like *mēth*.

[18] It is, however, also found in a line by the Westerner 'Abbās b. Mirdās of Sulaim (quoted Howell, iv, 1503).

[19] Littmann thinks that verbs tertiæ *w* became tertiæ *y* in Safatene, as in Hebrew. The only instance is *ngy* 'he escaped', which is intransitive and may therefore have been **nagiwa*, which became **nagiya* through purely phonetical causes.

[20] Another case may be the early Christian Arabic *ghashā=ghashiya* (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 9).

[21] Such forms are found in Classical poetry (Wright, ii, 378, Ibn 'Athīr in Lisān, vi, 232). In the Lisān a hadith is quoted where the Caliph 'Omar says *ya'ruruka* for *ya'urruka* 'it affects thee'. This form may be due to the phonetic peculiarities of *r*.

[22] *Sic*, not *marrānā* (as Brockelmann writes GVG, i, 633). Similar forms appear in early Christian Arabic: ودت, احبنا (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 17). In view of the Bakrī forms we should read *waddat(u)*, *'aḥabbanā*, and not *waddēt*, *'aḥabbēnā*, which would in all probability have been spelled with *y*.

[23] According to Tāj, vii, 411, the Tamim said *ḍililtu* for *ḍaliltu*, with vowel-harmony (§ 10 *f*). This at any rate suggests that the Tamim dialect used triliteral forms. It is doubtful whether the statement is reliable, as it gives triliteral forms also for Najd and Hijaz.

Chapter 13

HIJAZ: SYNTAX

a According to a statement by al-Yazīdī (quoted by Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 177) the words *tamr* 'dates', *burr* 'wheat', *shaʿīr* 'barley', *busr* 'fresh dates' were feminine in the Hijaz dialect, masculine with the Tamim. All these words are accepted in the Lisān as masculines, without any mention of their being feminine anywhere. In a line by the Hudhali al-Mutanakhkhil (ii, 1), *burr* appears with a masculine adjective secured by the rhyme. According to ʾAkhfash (in Lisān, xii, 9) the words *ṭarīq* 'way', *sirāṭ* 'road', *sabīl* 'path', *sūq* 'bazaar', *zuqāq* 'lane', *kallā*ʾ 'sheltered bay' (name of the *sūq* of Basra) were feminine in Hijaz and masculine in Tamim. In the Koran *ṭarīq* has a masculine adjective in xlvi, 29/30, *sirāṭ* in numerous passages, *sabīl* in xv, 76. According to Farrāʾ, the name of the measure *ṣāʿ* was feminine in the Hijaz dialect, masculine in ʾAsad and Najd, but some ʾAsadīs used the feminine (Miṣbāḥ, *s.v.*). The related *ṣuwāʿ* 'cup' in Koran, xii, 72 is masculine. In a note on the margin of Mubarrad's Kāmil (p. 666, Leyden MS.) Ibn Sikkīt is quoted as saying that *ʿunuq* 'neck' is feminine in Hijaz and masculine in the ʾAsad dialect.[1] The Miṣbāḥ (p. 1087) quotes Sijistānī as saying that the word is generally (*ʾaghlab*) treated as masculine. The same (ʾAḍḍād, p. 75) says that *nakhl* 'palm trees' was feminine in Hijaz, masculine everywhere else. In the Koran *nakhl* is feminine, but in liv, 20 masculine in rhyme. Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 88 *b*) says that in the Hijaz all collective nouns with nomina unitatis in *-atun*, such as *tamr*, were treated as feminines, in the Tamim and Najd dialects as masculines. However, ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 162) says that such nouns were masculine in Hijaz, feminine everywhere else. This is certainly not right, and may be a mere copyist's error. The general trend of the evidence is that certain classes of words were still feminine in Hijaz, but in the East and in Classical Arabic, therefore partly also in the language of the Koran, had followed the pull of the tendency to make gender conform with pattern. The evidence of the cognate languages only partly supports the view that the Hijazi usage is more conservative. Hebrew *tāmār* 'date' is feminine in Mishnaic usage (cf. Mishnah, *Ṭebul Yom*, iii, 6), though Hebrew *bōser*, Syriac *besrē* 'sour grapes' are masculine; Hebrew *śĕʿōrāh*, 'barley', like Syriac *tamrĕthā*, may be nomina unitatis. Hebrew *derekh* 'way' is masculine and feminine, *shĕbhīl* 'path' and *shūq* 'market' are masculine in Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic. For *ʿunuq* we may compare Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʿunqĕthā* 'neck', and perhaps the feminine Syriac *ʿĕnāqā* 'sucker, branch'. Hebrew *naḥal*, Syriac *naḥlā* 'valley, gorge' are masculine. Some of the Hijazi words may have become feminine because partly synonymous with

words originally feminine, but this in itself would bear witness to the strength of the feminine character in these words not outwardly marked as such.[2]

b Sībawaihi (i, 4, 202–3) repeatedly condemns the error of making the predicate of a verbal clause agree in number with a plural subject (the *lughat ʾakalūnī l-barāghīth*, Wright, ii, 294C). He admits, however, that 'some Arabs' spoke thus. ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 88) regards it as a dialect feature, but does not specify which dialect. However, Ṣaffār (quoted by Ibn ʿAqīl, p. 121) ascribes it to the Hudhail dialect, and Khafājī (comm., on the Durra, p. 152) to the dialect of Tayyiʾ (cf. § 7 *w* and 14 *hh*). The instances of this construction which were collected by Nöldeke (Zur Gramm., p. 78), Brockelmann (GVG, ii, 174) and Reckendorf (Syntax, p. 25) are largely from Hijazi sources. It is very interesting that the one known occurrence of it in the poetry of Farazdaq (lxi, 5) is in a lampoon against the Ḍabba. Farazdaq occasionally uses features of his opponents' dialects to ridicule them; thus it is possible that the Ḍabba dialect observed the same rule of agreement. This dialect was not of the West-Arabian group. Since the agreement with regard to number is the normal procedure of the cognate languages and of the colloquials, it seems as if the strict observance of the rule that the verb of a verbal sentence must be in the singular was a peculiarity of those dialects that formed the base of Classical Arabic.

c The Hijazis said *mabrūran maʾjūran* 'may *your action* be accepted and rewarded' while the Tamim dialect used the nominative (Lisān, v, 117). The Tamim also said *buʿdun lahu wa-suḥqun* 'may he be far removed and destroyed' instead of the common *buʿdan lahu* (Tāj, ii, 303; not in Lisān). The exclamatory accusative and nominative alternate a good deal in Arabic idioms, and perhaps these instances (if at all correct) are nothing but local fixations of floating usage; but they may conceal basic differences in case usage unknown to us.

d Numerals from 3 to 10, when employed as appositions with suffix-pronouns appended, were in the Hijaz in the accusative, in Tamīm in the case of the nouns to which they belonged, e.g., *ʾataunī thalāthatahum* 'they came to me, the three of them', in Tamīm *thalāthatuhum* (Sībawaihi, i, 157; Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 130, etc.). No instances of this seem to occur in the Koran. The Arab philologists analysed the Hijazi accusative, in accordance with their system, as a *ḥāl* (Wright, ii, 116D). We should rather take it as an attributive accusative (cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 114). It is doubtful whether we can conclude from this one construction that the attributive accusative was more alive in the Hijaz than elsewhere.

e Under conditions which we shall investigate in the next sections the sentence-particles *ʾinna*, *ʾanna*, etc. could appear in the 'alleviated' (*mukhaffafa*) forms *ʾin*, *ʾan*. Thereby they lose their rection and their *ism*

will appear not in the accusative, but in the nominative. Some Arabs, however, put the *ism* in the accusative with the alleviated forms (Sībawaihi, i, 244, on the authority of 'one whom we trust'; Ibn Jinnī in Lisān, xvi, 175; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 137). The Kufan grammarians denied that this was possible (Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 22), but Farrā' admitted pronominal suffixes after the alleviated forms (Tāj, ix, 128). Laith (Lisān, *loc.c it.*) asserts that in the usage of Hijaz the accusative could be employed after the alleviated forms. In the nature of things, as the *ism* of *'inna*, etc., will hardly ever appear in rhyme, it is difficult to prove or disprove this. In the Koran alleviated *'in* appears before substantives only in the phrase *'in kull$^{u}/_{a}$n* (*kullu nafsin*) *lam*(*m*)*ā*(*n*), which from the context seems to mean something like 'verily all together'; the commentators' views about it differ considerably (cf. also § 8 *ee*), but most take here *'in* as alleviated *'inna*. Perhaps the phrase was a dialect idiom. It runs *'in kullu*(*n*) in xxxvi, 32/31 and lxxxvi, 4, in each case without variants reading accusative. In xi, 113/111 most readers have nominative, but the Hijazi readers had *kullan*.[3] The poetical examples with suffix pronouns suggest that the accusative was used after the alleviated forms. These are: a line with *lau 'anki* = *lau 'annaki* 'if thou' (Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 138); one containing twice *'anku* 'that thou' by the Hudhaliyya 'Amra bint 'Ajlān (Dīwān Hudhail, cxii, 17[4]); one with *'inkah* = *'innaka* 'behold thou' by the 'Asadi al-'Uqaishir (Ibn Qutaiba, Shi'r, p. 354, line 3). The *'in* is here associated with the long *a* in *-kā* which forms a feature of the 'Āliya dialect (§ 12 *c*). The only clear case of a noun in accusative with *'in* that I have so far found, however, comes from a Western source, namely a hadith. In Bukhārī, *Hiba*, 6, the version of Yūnīnī reads *'in nisā'aka yanshudnaka llāha* 'behold, thy wives adjure thee by God'. The spelling نساءك can only be read as accusative. Qasṭallānī (iv, 341) seems to have had some doubts about this construction as he finds it necessary to point out that this indeed is the text of that version (*laisa fīhā ghairuha*).

f Admittedly this is hardly enough to prove the truth of Laith's statement. However, it may well be that its real meaning is that the alleviated forms as such were at home in the Hijaz, where they were employed with their full rection. Indeed, elsewhere they may not have been used at all or with wrong rection (cf. the case of *mā*, § *l* below): the restrictions placed upon them by the Kufan grammarians may have been of a purely theoretical nature. To decide this it is necessary to examine the cases in which these alleviated forms are used. As far as I know, no rule has ever been given. It would be strange if *'in* and *'an*, which normally had functions of their own, could at the whim of the speaker have replaced *'inna* and *'anna*. We must of course beware of drawing into our discussions those cases in which conditional *'in* was followed by *la-* and was for that reason mechanically analysed as alleviated *'in*. Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 138) does this in two Koran

passages (xii, 3; vii, 100/102) where the context definitely demands 'if'. There are borderline cases where one cannot decide whether *'in* is 'behold', 'if', or 'not', as the line of the 'Asadī 'Abīd (i, 4): *'in buddilat 'ahluhā wuḥūshan*[5] 'verily/if its inhabitants have been changed for wild beasts',[6] or that of 'Ātika bint Zaid of 'Adī:' *in qatalta la-Musliman/wajabat 'alaika 'uqūbatu l-muta'ammidi* 'verily/if thou hast killed Muslim, thou must pay the fine of the intentional killer'.[7] It is not without good reason that Ibn Mālik ('Alfiyya 191; cf. 'Ushmūnī, i, 229) insists that where there is no *la-*, *'in* must have a *qarīna*, a word in the context to clarify its function. If we ignore such cases, we can come to some definite conclusions about *'in*, etc.: they can stand not only for the 'full' forms alone, but also for the full forms with pronominal suffixes, especially the *ḍamīr ash-sha'n* (so already Ibn Mālik, 'Alfiyya, 193) before *k* and other velars, before *n*, and before negations (or before *l*). The following instances could probably be much augmented.

g Before *k*: *'in kidta* = *'innaka kidta* 'thou nearly didst' (Koran, xxxvii, 54/56); *'an kullu* = *'anna kulla* (Khansā', p. 77, line 8); *bi-'an kullu* = *bi-'anna kulla* (Ḥassān b. Thābit, p. 99, line 12); *'an kilānā* = *'anna kilainā* ('Amr b. Jābir al-Ḥanafī, Ḥamāsa of Buḥturī, photogr. ed., p. 32, line 5); *ka-'an kashḥun* = *ka-'anna kashḥan* (Nābigha al-Ja'dī, Jamharat 'ash'ār al-'arab, p. 146, line 3 from end); *'an kullu* = *'anna kulla* ('Abū Ṭālib in Ibn Hishām, Sīra, p. 249, line 15); *'in kāna* = *'innahu kāna* (Ibn Sa'd IIB, p. 13, line 12, p. 41, line 7; IVA, 45, line 25; the Caliph 'Omar in 'Aghānī, ix, 146, line 3 from end; 'Ā'isha in Bukhārī *Ṣaum*, 24; 'Uthmān in Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il* 13); *'in kunnā* = *'innanā kunnā* (Ka'b b. Zuhair in 'Aghānī, ix, 146); *'in kādat* = *'innahā kādat* (Mu'āwiya b. Miḥsan al-Kindī in Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 1019, line 5); *'in kuntu* = *'innī kuntu* (Ibn Sa'd IIB, p. 130, line 16); the three examples with suffix pronouns in the last section.

Before other velars and *j*: *ka-'an jadwalun* (the 'Asadī 'Abīd, ix, 3); *'an jurḥun* = *'anna jurḥan* (the 'Absī Ḍubai'a in 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, xxxiva, 5); *bi-'an qaumukum* = *bi-'anna qaumakum* (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ix, 30); *ka-'an gharbun* = *ka-'anna gharban* (the Tamimi 'Alqama, Ahlwardt, Six Poets, xiii, 8); *ka-'an qabasun* = *ka-'anna qabasan* (the Tamimi Mujamma' b. Hilāl, Ḥamāsa, p. 344). Before *qad* with perfect, *'an* frequently stands for *'annahu* (Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 126). In Koran, xxiv, 7 and 9, for *'anna la'nata* . . . *'anna ghaḍaba*, Nāfi' and the Basrian Ya'qūb read *'an la'natu*, and Nāfi' *'an ghaḍiba llāhu* = *'annahu ghaḍiba*.

We may add here that, though the Kufans did not allow accusative after the alleviated forms, 'Akhfash and the Kufans permitted against the opinion of the Basrian[8] phrases such as *'in qāma la-Zaidun* and *'in qa'ada la-Zaidun* 'behold it was Zaid who stood up', 'behold it was Zaid who sat' ('Ushmūnī, i, 230). There is nothing remarkable in the choice of the first example, but it is unusual for Arab grammarians to give a second example unless this adds

something significant to the first. In this case it is certainly odd that the second example should also have a verb beginning with *qāf*. Perhaps this is some dim recollection of a Kufan statement permitting *'in* for *'innahu* before uvulars.

h Before *n*: the instance from Bukhārī in § *e* at end (*Hiba*, 6), and *'in naẓunnuka*=*'innanā naẓunnuka* (Koran, xxvi, 186). Before *l*: the Koranic reading *'an la'natu*, cf. preceding paragraph (xxiv, 7); *wa-'an lawi staqāmu la-'asqainālıum*=*wa-'annanā* (Koran, lxxii, 16); *'an lau nashā'u*=*'annanā* (Koran, vii, 98/100). Ibn Mālik ('Alfiyya, 195) says *wa-qalīlun dhikru lau*, which I take to mean that 'alleviated *'an* but rarely occurs before *lau*. 'Ushmūnī (i, 231), however, says it means that the grammarians rarely mention *lau* in this connection, although he asserts it is frequently found with alleviated *'an* in the speech of the Arabs.

Before negations: *ka'an lam* (Koran, x, 25/24; Ibn Waqqāṣ of Ḥārith, quoted Howell, iv, 1577); *'an laisa* (Koran, liii, 40/39); *'an lan* (Koran, xc, 5); *'an* with generic *lā* (Ḥārith b. Wa'la of Dhuhl, Ḥamāsa, p. 97; Ḥuraith b. Jābir of Tamīm, Ḥamāsa, p. 182; Ṭarafa of Bakr, ed. Ahlwardt, xiii, 16); *'an* with adverbial *lā* ('Abū Miḥjan of Thaqīf, ed. Landberg, p. 72). Mention must also be made of the extremely common *'allā*, which stands as often for *'anna lā* and *'annahu lā* as for *'an lā*. For *mā* I have found only one instance: *'an mā lanā dhanbun* 'that we have no guilt' ('Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a, ccxii, 5). This makes it look as if the essential element here is the initial *l*, not the negation.

In a class by themselves are the cases where *'an* is followed by a quotation, as in *'ākhiru da'wähum 'ani l-ḥamdu li-llāhi* 'their last cry is: praise be to God' (Koran, x, 11/10), similarly Koran, iv, 139/140; xxvii, 8. Other cases defy classification: *'an hālikun kullu* (by the Bāhilī 'A'shā, Sībawaihi, i, 243); *'an 'udhnā*=*'anna 'udhnai* (the Tamimi Farazdaq, Naqā'iḍ, li, 65[8]; *'an 'amintu* and *'an tahbiṭīna*, (both by the Hijazi Qāsim b. Ma'n, 'Ainī, Maqāṣid, ii, 297); *'ini llāhu* (Yaḥyā b. Naufal al-Yamanī in Ibn Qutaiba, Shi'r, p. 465, line 16); *'inī l-ḥaqqu* (anon., 'Ushmūnī, i, 229), *'in Mālikun* (anon., *ibid.*); *'an yu'ammalūna* (anon., 'Ainī, ii, 294); *'in yakādu* (Koran, lxviii, 51) and the proverb *'in tazīnuka la-nafsuka wa-'in tashīnuka la-hiyah* 'it is thine own soul that makes thee beautiful and it that makes thee ugly' (Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 138; perhaps one should read *'illā* for *la-*, and *ya-*). In some of these *'in* and *'an* may not be the alleviated particles.

i To explain this distribution of the alleviated forms, we may start out by accepting Reckendorf's view that *'in* and *'an* are the earlier forms, from which *'inna* and *'anna* developed under certain conditions (Syntakt. Verhältnisse, p. 354). The old forms, however, remained in combinations where the *n* had become changed by phonetic causes: to *ŋ* as in *king* before

velars, assimilated before *l*, and perhaps before *m*; possibly it had also become palatal ȷ̃ (as in *oignon*) before *j* and *y*.[9] The new forms *'inna* and *'anna*, however, gradually penetrated also into these combinations; both formations could be used for a while side by side, and this led also to some uncertainty in their use which produced the unclassifiable instances. As an interesting parallel we might adduce the Hebrew imperfect of roots primæ *n*. The *n* was assimilated to the following consonant (*yinpol* > *yippol*). The assimilation did not take place in roots where *n* was followed by a guttural (where gemination was impossible)[10] and, less consistently, in roots with *g*, *q*, *ṣ*, and *z* (but not *s*, *ś*) as second radical. The reason there is probably in the case of *g* and *q* that *n* had already become *ŋ*. For *ṣ* and *z*, see below under *saufa*.

k Ibn Mālik ('Alfiyya 194) gives an explanation along syntactical lines: 'when the *khabar* of *'an* is a verb, and not a curse or blessing or an uninflected verb, then it is best to separate them by *qad* or a negation, or *sa-*, *saufa*, or *lau*.' This partly covers our own rule, and in any event does not exclude it. The cases which remain unexplained by our rule cannot be accounted for by Ibn Mālik's either.

For *sa-* and *saufa* there are some early instances: *'an sa-yakūnu* (Koran, lxxiii, 20[11]); *za'ama l-Farazdaqu 'an sa-yaqtulu* 'Farazdaq asserts he is going to kill' (Jarīr, ed. Ṣāwī, p. 348, line 3); *'an saufa ya'tī kullu mā quddira* 'that everything that is decreed will come' (anon., Suyūṭī, Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī, p. 280). It is possible that the two particles could intervene between *'an* and its predicate (but then we should read subjunctive). Perhaps the key is given by the Hebrew parallel above, where *ṣ* and *z* restrain assimilation. I cannot say what change *n* might have undergone before *s*, but it may have differed in some way.

Many of our examples come from Western sources, but there are also some undoubtedly Eastern ones. We cannot claim to have established that there is anything specifically Western in the alleviated forms. I hope, however, to have shown that these fossil forms are of some interest.

l Special conditions appear to attach to *ka-'an* 'as if'. It appears more frequently than *'in* and *'an* before initial consonants other than those mentioned. There is some difference of opinion as to whether it exercises rection, and which case it governs. Sībawaihi quotes an anonymous line: *ka-'an thadyāhu ḥuqqāni* 'as if its two breasts were two wooden bowls', adding that Khalīl insisted that *thadyāhu* was nominative (i, 242). Khalīl takes the same attitude with regard to a line quoted immediately before this: *ka-'an ẓabyatun ta'ṭū 'ilä wāriqi s-salam* 'as if a gazelle stretched itself towards the yellow mimosa' (by some Yashkurī, i.e., a Yemenite, cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 220, *a*, 26), but Zamakhsharī heard it recited with *ẓabyatun*, *ẓabyatin*, or *ẓabyatan*—which makes one feel that Khalīl was simply laying down the law. Suyūṭī (Jam', ii, 18) knows only *ẓabyatin*, and quotes the line

as an example of intrusive *'an*. There seems indeed to have been some confusion between *ka-'an* and *ka-*. One cannot read anything but the accusative in the line of Ru'ba (Appendix, iv, 3): *ka-'an warīdaihi rishā'u khulub* 'as if its jugular veins were palm-ropes'. There is no suggestion here of Hijazi dialect.

m Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 35) says that the Hijazi dialect put both the subject (*ism*) and the predicate of a nominal clause introduced by *'inna*, *'anna*, etc., into the accusative. He quotes a hadith: *'inna qa'ra jahannama sab'īna kharīfan* 'verily the bottom of hell is seventy years' journey deep' (=Muslim, *Janna* 31, etc., but all printed texts have the nominative *sab'ūna*), and a line by 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (not found in his Diwan); ending: *'inna ḥurrāsana 'usudā* 'verily our guardians are lions'. 'Ushmūnī (i, 214) quotes further a line by 'Ajjāj (Appendix, xxxiii, 1) *yā laita 'ayyāma ṣ-ṣibā rawājī'a* 'would that the days of youth came back' and one by Muḥammad b. Dhu'aib al-'Umānī (or by 'Abū Nukhaila, cf. Khizāna, iv, 292) with double accusative after *ka'anna*. It has been shown (§ 12 *m*) that this peculiarity may help us to solve the difficulty of *'inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni* (Koran, xx, 66/63). 'Ushmūnī quotes Ibn Sīda and others as saying that this construction of the 'sisters of *'inna*' was current in some dialect, although according to Ṣabbān *ad loc.* most grammarians reject it altogether. We may accept Ibn Hishām's view that it was West-Arabian. Since it was so obviously un-Classical we need not wonder that it is so rarely found. As for *laita*, the double accusative was accepted as correct in Classical Arabic (cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr., i, 467 *seq.*; Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 124 note). This serves to confirm the existence of the Hijazi construction, which thus merely carried to its conclusion a tendency found in other forms of Arabic, viz., to assimilate the government of the sisters of *'inna* to the *'af'āl al-qalb* (Wright, ii, 48 *seq.*) with which they were apparently felt to have some connection. Indeed, if de Goeje (in a note on Wright, ii, 83) is right, then *laita* < *ra'aita* has gone along the opposite course, from the *'af'āl al-qalb* to the sentence-particles. That feeling of the Arabic speaker is crystallized in the grammarians' term for these particles, *al-ḥurūf al-mutashabbiha bil-fi'l* 'verb-like particles'.

n As against this, Khalīl (quoted by Sībawaihi, i, 242) states that some Arabs put the *ism* of *'inna* in the nominative. He gives an example, *'inna bika Zaidun ma'khūdhun*, which means perhaps 'Zaid is enthralled by thee', and where *'inna* may be no more than 'yes'. The poetical quotations immediately following have not *'inna*, but *ka'an*. The whole looks rather like an attempt to account for *'inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni* (Koran, xx, 66/63; cf. last section).

o The predicate of *kāna* is sometimes found to be in the nominative instead of the accusative (cf. Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 38; Schwarz, Umar, iv, 137; Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 97). The majority of the instances quoted is of Hijazi origin.[21] An instance from hadith, where the nominative is secured by

the spelling, is Bukhārī, *Maẓālim*, 25: *kāna dhālika sh-shahru tisʿun wa-ʿishrūna* 'that month was twenty-nine days'. Qasṭallānī (iv, 274) remarks that cases of this kind are frequent in hadith. Another case, secured by rhyme, is the line ascribed to ʾUmm ʿAqīl, the wife of ʾAbū Ṭālib, of course a Hijazi: *ʾanta takūnu mājidun nabīlun/ʾidhā tahubbu shamʾalun balīlun* 'thou wilt be generous and noble when a damp north wind blows' (Ibn ʿAqīl, p. 77, Shinqīṭī, i, 89). The *takūnu* is here taken by the Arab grammarians as *zāʾida*, but this is most improbable and makes little sense. In this respect the Hijaz dialect (if the construction was dialect) differs not only from Classical Arabic, but also from Ethiopic and modern South-Arabian (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 357). We must hold against it those cases in which the subject of non-copulative *kāna* (*kāna t-tāmmatu*) appears to be in the accusative, e.g., *ʾillā ʾan takūna tijāratan* 'but let there be some trade' (Koran, iv, 33/29;[13] *ʾin kānat ʾillā ṣaiḥatan wāḥidatan* 'there was only one cry' (xxxvi, 28/29); *ʾidhā kāna ḥīna l-ʿaṣri* 'when it was the time of the evening-prayer' (Bukhārī, *ʾIjāra*, 11, cf. Qasṭallānī, iv, 133). This is frequent in Ethiopic (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 357) and may have been common in West-Arabian. The uncertainty thus produced with regard to the subject of non-copulative *kāna* may easily have led to a similar uncertainty with regard to the predicative of the copula.

p One of the best-known syntactical features of the Hijaz dialect is that it used *mā* (and to a smaller extent *lā* and *ʾin*) in nominal clauses with the force and rection of *laisa*. This *mā Ḥijāziyya* was discussed in detail by Sībawaihi (i, 21–3) and by every subsequent Arabic grammarian. Nevertheless, we are neither certain about the frequency of its employment in the Hijaz, nor about its origins. According to Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, ii, 6) it was also employed in Tihāma and Najd, while Jauharī (Saḥāḥ, ii, 577) expressly denies that it was employed in Najd. As that region was inhabited by West-Arabian tribes as well as by Easterners, both may be right. It is not at all frequent in Hijazi sources. I have found only one instance in ʿOmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʿa (ccxii, 2, where however the edition has the nominative), and three in the Koran. Two of these are quoted by Sībawaihi (i, 22): *mā hādhā basharan* 'this one is not a mortal' (xii, 31) and *mā hunna ʾummahātihim* 'they are not their mothers' (lviii, 2). Sībawaihi adds that the Tamim, except those who knew the official spelling, pronounced these with the nominative. It appears, however, that this was not only a matter of ignorance. The Hudhalī Ibn Masʿūd is said to have read nominative in the first verse (Jeffery, Materials, p. 49). In the second verse ʿĀṣim, one of the canonical readers, read nominative (but his *rāwī* Ḥafṣ has the accusative), and Ibn Masʿūd, Rabīʿ b. Khuthaim, and ʾAbū Mijlaz read *bi-ʾummahātihim* (Jeffery, p. 99, 307). The third case: *mā minkum min ʾaḥadin ʿanhu ḥājizīna* 'not one of you can shield against it' (lxix, 47; no variants), is not mentioned by the

grammarians, perhaps because they took it as *ḥāl*. The construction of *mā* with *bi-* (§ *q* below) is frequent in the Koran (Bergsträsser, Verneinungspartikeln, p. 35).

q We have not much better evidence for the *mā* with the nominative, called by the grammarians *mā Tamīmiyya*. This is unanimously declared to be more in agreement with grammatical theory (*'aqyas*), but Ibn Ya'īsh remarks (p. 132) that the *mā Ḥijāziyya* is more elegant (*'afṣaḥ*). 'Aṣma'ī (quoted by Ibn Ya'īsh, p. 133) stated that he never heard *mā* used with the accusative in bedouin poetry. It may be noted that he did not say that he 'heard' *mā* used with the nominative. There are, however, some early instances in which the nominative is secured by the rhyme: *wa-mā kullu man talqä bi-dhālika 'ālimun* 'not everyone you meet is aware of this' (the Tamimi 'Afif b. Mundhir in 'Aghānī, xiv, 46); *wa-mā kullu mā fī n-nafsi lī minka muẓharun* 'not all I feel with regard to thee is evident' (an anonymous 'Asadī in Ḥamāsa, p. 618; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iii, 805); *mā kullu mā yahwä mru'un huwa nā'iluhu* 'not all a man desires he will achieve' (the Bakri Ṭarafa, ed. Ahlwardt, xiii, 20). In all three cases the construction is rather involved; the distance between *mā* and its predicate might be adduced as reason for the nominative. Since, however, all three are by Eastern Arabs we must let them stand, until further evidence appears, as proof that the Eastern dialects used *mā* with the nominative.[14] It seems therefore that we must read in Farazdaq (II, ed. Hell, No. 628, line 28) not as the edition has: *mā 'aḥadun min Qaisi 'Ailāna fākhiran 'alaihi* 'not one of Qais 'Ailan is nobler than he', but *fākhirun*; and in the sentence *mā 'anā mu'ākhidhᵘ/ₐka bi-shai'in taqūluhu* 'I shall not punish thee for anything thou sayest' spoken by the Hijazi Sa'd (Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 2316) *mu'ākhidhaka* (Ibn Hishām, in the parallel passage, reads *bi-*). The line of the Hawāzin poet Ṣimma al-Qushairī ('Aghānī, v, 127): *fa-mā ḥasanun 'an ta'tiya l-'amra . . .*' it is not right that thou shouldst approach the matter . . .', should perhaps be read with the accusative *ḥasanan*, in view of the West-Arabian character of the Hawāzin dialect. We hardly know which to read in Imrulqais (ed. Ahlwardt, Appendix xviii, 43) *wa-mā hādhā shaṭāratu lā'ibin* 'this is not the skilful game of a chess-player' and (*ibid.*, 24=xix, 19) *mā 'antum qabīlun wa-mā khawal* 'ye are neither tribe nor maternal uncles' (one would expect *wa-lā*), as we do not know to which grouping the Kinda dialect belonged.

r The grammarians lay down a number of cases in which even in the Hijaz dialect *mā* was followed by the nominative, or as they put it, *mā* was prevented from exercising its rection. Most of these seem to be based on the theory which required *mā* to have less full rection than *laisa*, the principal member of the class.[15] The Arab writers themselves admit that most of these rules are constantly broken. The eclectic grammarian Ibn 'Abdannūr (MS. Bodl. Uri 1079, f. 96 *b*) retains only two of them: that the predicate

must not precede the subject and that no *'illā* 'except' must intervene between *mā* and its predicate (*lā yantaqiḍu n-nafyu*). The most interesting case of violation of the first rule is a line by Farazdaq (ix, 34): *fa-'aṣbaḥū qad 'a'āda llāhu ni'matahum/'idh hum quraishun wa-'idh mā mithlahum basharun* 'thus God made their prosperity permanent, since they are Quraish and since no mortal is like them'. Some read here the accusative in *mithlahum* (Sībawaihi, i, 22[16]); as lectio difficilior this is no doubt better. Ibn 'Abdannūr explains that Farazdaq wanted to caricature the Hijaz dialect and erred through ignorance of true Hijazi usage. The poem is however, perfectly serious, and we should rather agree with Zajjāj (quoted Khizāna, ii, 130) who says 'true, Farazdaq was a Tamimi, but he was also a Moslem and had read the Koran'. In fact Farazdaq's language is by no means of a pure Eastern character, and he probably used the *mā Ḥijāziyya* as a form of Classical Arabic—without, of course, being aware of grammarians' strictures made after his time.[17]

s The second rule of Ibn 'Abdannūr is of some importance, since we should expect the predicate of *mā* after *'illā* to behave the same as without *'illā* if the accusative after *mā* is a real feature of the language. In the case of generic *lā*, the noun excepted by means of *'illā* is not in the accusative, but in the nominative. The reason is, of course, that the accusative after this *lā* is the old case of exclamation, not the normal accusative case (cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 505 and § *w* below). With regard to the exceptive sentence in which the major term is expressed (*istithnā' muttaṣil*), Sībawaihi (i, 317) says that both in Hijazi and Tamimi usage the minor term is in the nominative, as in *mā 'anta bi-shai'in 'illā shai'un lā yu'ba'u bihi* 'you are nothing but a thing no one takes any notice of'. With *laisa* the minor term is in the accusative in the Hijaz dialect, cf. also § *z* below. In sentences where the major term is not expressed, i.e., where the excepted word is grammatically directly dependent on *mā* (*istithnā' mufarragh*), the grammarians' ruling is no less strictly observed. The predicate is in the nominative not only in verses by Central or East-Arabian poets ('Alqama, xiii, 13; Ṭarafa, supplement, v, 8; Shanfarā, Lāmiyya 9; Jarīr, ed. Ṣāwī, p. 41, line 4 in rhyme), but also on numerous occasions in the Koran, where *mā* with accusative object is so rare (cf. Bergsträsser, Verneinungspartikeln, p. 35). The grammars cite two instances where the predicate is in the accusative and secured by rhyme. One is: *mā d-dahru 'illā manjanūnan bi-'ahlihi/wa-mā ṣāḥibu l-ḥājāti 'illā mu'adhdhaban* 'fate is but a wheel for those concerned with it, and he who is in need is nothing but tortured'. This line is ascribed to an anonymous 'Asadi or Sa'di, in the latter case a Ḥijazi (cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 33, *b*, 8). The first hemistich is quoted in this form by 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 267), without the *mā* by Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 69). The second instance is cited on Farrā's authority (in 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 237) in support

of his theory that *'illā* can govern the accusative in any context: *yuṭālibunī 'ammī thamānīna nāqatan/wa-mā lī yā 'afrā'u 'illā thamāniyā* 'my uncle demands from me eighty camels, but I, o 'Afrā, have only eight'. Possibly *thamāniya* should here be taken as subject and *lī* as predicate. Baghdādī (Khizāna, ii, 31) ascribes the poem to the 'Udhri 'Urwa b. Ḥizām, i.e., a Westerner, but says it is wrongly quoted and should end *ghaira thamāni(n)*.

t The Arab grammarians' opinion was that *mā* governed the accusative in Hijaz dialect because its function in the nominal clause resembled that of *laisa*. Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 331) saw the reason in its general character as copula and consequent similarity to *laisa*. Actually the accusative after *laisa* (which is of nominal origin[18] and can serve also as a verbal negation, like *mā*, cf. Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 89) is not much easier to understand than that after *mā*.[19] Whichever negation has the priority, it is certain that the point at which the action of analogy set in first was the construction with *bi-* instead of the accusative. In the Koran, as elsewhere, it is a good deal more frequent than the *mā* with the accusative or nominative. In contrast to the other two constructions it was current throughout Arabia. The question whether the *mā bi-* construction was to be identified with the Hijazi or 'Tamimi' *mā*, exercised the minds of the Arab grammarians a good deal. Sībawaihi (i, 317) and Ibn Mālik denied that it had any connection with the construction of *mā* with the accusative, while 'Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 36) held that only those who use *mā* with the accusative could also use it with *bi-* ('Ushmūnī, i, 203). The latter view was held by Baiḍāwī (ii, 317). The discussion was on a purely theoretical level. 'Ushmūnī strikes a more realistic note by remarking that *mā . . . bi-* is common in the work of Tamimi poets. A survey of the Six Poets produces curious results. It occurs once only in the poems of the Westerner Nābigha (xvii, 16) and the same in those of the Easterner (Bakri) Ṭarafa (iv, 98). I have not traced any occurrences in the poems of the Westerners 'Antara and Zuhair and the Tamimi 'Alqama. Since no cases of *mā* with nominative or accusative are found in their work, this means that they did not use *mā* in nominal clauses at all. The only poet who uses *mā bi-* with any frequency is Imrulqais (xvii, 1, 18; xxiv, 4; lii, 59; lx, 2). In the poem Suppl. xviii of that poet, two cases of the construction without *bi-* occur (cf. § *q* at end), but it is doubtful whether that piece is genuine. Farrā' (quoted Khizāna, ii, 134) states that many of the people of Najd put the predicate of a nominal clause negated by *mā* in the genitive when it was preceded by *bi-*, otherwise in the nominative. It is not clear what we should infer from this for the practice of the remaining Najdīs: did they, as Ibn Hishām taught (cf. § *p* above) employ the accusative, or should we take it, by combining the statements of Farrā' and of Jauharī (*ibid.*), that they did not know the use of *mā* in nominal clauses? The latter would fit in with the statistics referred to just now.

u The negation *'in* appears to be mainly West-Arabian, if one can judge from the instances collected by Nöldeke (Neue Beiträge, p. 21; Zur Gramm., p. 89) and Reckendorf (Syntax, p. 45). Sībawaihi and Farrā' declare that in nominal clauses the predicate after *'in* is in the nominative, Mubarrad and Kisā'ī that it is in the accusative (Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 143; fuller Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 22).[20] No dialect is mentioned, but Ibn Hishām says that the accusative is heard among the people of the ʿĀliya, as in: *'in 'aḥadun khairan min 'aḥadin 'illā bil-ʿāfiya* 'no one person is better than another except by the grace of God' or *'in dhālika nāfiʿaka wa-lā ḍārraka* 'this is neither good nor bad for you'. The accusative occurs in two anonymous verses: *'in huwa mustauliyan ʿalä 'aḥadin* 'he has no power over anyone', where the accusative is secured by the metre ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 270 = Khizāna, ii, 143) and *'ini l-mar'u maitan bi-nqiḍā'i ḥayātihi* 'a man does not die with the expiry of his life' (ʿAinī, Maqāṣid, ii, 145). In the Koran negative *'in* occurs only in association with *'illā* (vi, 29; vii, 154/155, etc.) with the predicate always in the nominative (cf. the remarks in § *s* above). An accusative after *'in* occurs, according to Baiḍāwī and Ibn Hishām (Mughnī, i, 22) in a variant reading of the Kufan Saʿīd b. Jubair (d. 94/713) in vii, 193/194: *'ini lladhīna tadʿūna min dūna llāhi ʿibādan 'amthāl^{a}/$_{u}$kum* 'those whom ye call upon besides God are not servants like yourselves'. The right way to the appreciation of this reading was indicated by 'Abū Ḥayyān (quoted Khizāna, ii, 146)[21] who declares it to be a case of the contamination of two readings (*tanāquḍ al-qirā'ataini*). Slightly improving upon 'Abū Ḥayyān, we may reconstruct those two readings as follows: (a) *'inna lladhīna . . . ʿibādan 'amthālakum* 'verily those whom . . . are servants like yourselves', i.e., the same as the standard reading, but with the Hijazi peculiarity discussed in § *m* above; and (b) *'ini lladhīna . . . ʿibādun 'amthālukum*, where *'in* is probably 'alleviated' *'in* with the meaning of *'inna* (cf. § *e* above). It could have been taken as such in the conflated reading but for the grammarians' theory that alleviated *'in* cannot exercise rection. To take *'in* as negation does not make much sense, and in any event the reading cannot serve as evidence for the case after it. The existence of accusative after *'in* does not seem to agree with the rule, acknowledged by all, that *mā 'in* cannot govern the accusative. However, there is a *shāhid* for accusative after *mā 'in* which makes the impression of being genuine: *banī ghudānata mā 'in 'antumu dhahaban / wa-lā ṣaraifan walākin 'antumu l-khazafu* 'o Banū Ghudāna, ye are neither gold nor silver, but ye are clay' ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 267 = Khizāna, ii, 124, from Ibn Sikkīt). The Banū Ghudāna were a clan of Tamim, but the word *ṣaraif* (so Khizāna) 'silver' is of South-Arabian origin, suggesting an author from South-West Arabia. While no instances of *'in* with *bi-* are available, there is one of *mā 'in* with *bi-* in a line by the Hudhalī Mutanakhkhil (ed. Hell, iv,1).

v Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 36, cf. *ibid.*, p. 16) informs us that in the Hijaz dialect also *lā* was construed like *laisa*. He lays down a number of rules resembling those about the *mā Ḥijāziyya*, with the additional restriction that both subject and predicate must be indeterminate. Ibn Mālik and his commentators follow Zamakhsharī. Sībawaihi (i, 22) gives this rather disapprovingly as the opinion of some. ʾAstarābādī twice (Kāfiya comm., i, 112, 266) denies the possibility of this construction, against the author of the Kāfiya itself, who admitted it as *shādhdh*. Ibn ʿAqīl (p. 82) claims that the Tamīm used *lā* in nominal clauses with nominative of the predicate. The construction with the accusative does not occur in the Koran. There *lā* occurs in nominal clauses only in co-ordination, where it replaces other negations (xxxi, 32/33; xxxvi, 40; lx, 10; cix, 3–5); the predicate is in each case in the nominative, apparently without any variant readings. It might be said that *lā* is in these cases equivalent to *laisa*, but it certainly has not inherited the construction of the latter. We do not know whether to read nominative or accusative in the verse of ʿOmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʿa (ccxii, 4) *lā d-dāru jāmiʿatᵘ/ₐn wa-lau jamaʿat* . . . 'the house shall not contain us together, and if it did . . .'. However, in the line of his fellow Westerner, Ḥātim Ṭāʾī: *fa-lā ṣaḥwun wa-lā l-ghaimu jāʾidu* 'there is neither clear sky nor does the cloud rain generously' (xxxix, 2), the nominative is secured by the rhyme. The *lā* is in both cases due to co-ordination, as it is in the two *shawāhid* ʾUshmūnī (i, 204) quotes for the use of the accusative: *taʿazzi fa-lā shaiʾun ʿalä l-ʾarḍi bāqiyā/wa-lā wazarun mimmā qaḍä llāhu wāqiyā* 'take courage, for nothing is permanent on earth and no fortress will guard from the decree of God' (anon.) and: *wa-ḥallat sawāda l-qalbi lā ʾanā bāghiyā/siwāhā wa-lā ʿan ḥubbihā mutarākhiyā* 'she has settled in the core of the heart; I neither desire another nor let off loving her' (ascribed to the Easterner Nābigha al-Jaʿdī). Both this verse and the one by ʿOmar are against the rule of Zamakhsharī demanding indeterminate subject. The evidence, if anything, is rather against assigning the accusative to the Hijaz. It is to be noted that the predicate is in each of the cases hitherto cited, except Koran, lx, 10, a participle. This makes it difficult not to connect the Arabic construction with the Mishnaic Hebrew usage of employing *lō* instead of *ʾeyn* before participles (Segal, Grammar, p. 162). In Mishnaic Hebrew, too, this is specially frequent where negatived participles are co-ordinated. The usage may in both languages have arisen first from the many cases in which participles are co-ordinated with finite verb-forms (as in all the Koranic instances). As for the accusative, the verses in which it occurs are too uncertain to prove its existence. We should rather rely on the cases in the Koran where the absence of variants suggests that in early times the accusative was not used in such cases. The use of *lā* in nominal clauses is of different origin and has a different function from the use of *mā* and *ʾin*.[22] We

must exclude from the discussion of this feature instances where the *lā* is only apparently a copula, but in fact generic *lā*, as in the line of Sa'd b. Mālik of Bakr (Ḥamāsa, p. 250, line 4) which ends *fa-'anā bnu Qaisin lā barāḥu*—a passage much discussed by Arab philologists. We best translate, with Sībawaihi (i, 310): 'I am the son of Qais—there is no fleeing'. In the same cycle of poems we find a line by the Bakri Murra b. Dhuhl 'if thou hast started a war against me' *fa-lā wakalun wa-lā raththu s-silāḥi*. Nöldeke (Delectus, p. 41) translates 'then I am neither a coward nor one with worn-out weapons', but perhaps one should rather take it as: '(then have no hopes, for in my tribe) there is neither a coward nor . . .'. In both these cases nominative after generic *lā* is found, as occasionally in poetry (cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 119). The same is probably true for: *naṣartuka 'idh lā ṣāḥibun ghaira khādhilin* 'I assisted thee when there was no friend other than a faithless one' (anon., Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 195), where *ghaira* is preposition. It is also doubtful whether we should include among the cases of *lā* in nominal clauses those in which the subject is a dependent clause, as *lā 'alaikum 'an lā taf'alū* 'it will be no sin for you not to do it' (Bukhārī, *Qadar*, 4; cf. Qasṭallānī, ix, 351). In Biblical Hebrew *lō* was similarly employed for *'eyn* when the subject was an infinitive, e.g., *lō ṭōbh heyōth hā-'ādhām lĕbhaddō* 'it is not good for man to be alone' (Gen., ii, 18), or *lō nākhōn la'ăśōth kēn* 'it is not proper to do so' (Ex., viii, 22).

w According to Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 15) the Hijaz dialect could introduce a predicate into a clause with generic *lā*, as in *lā rajula fī l-baiti* 'there is no man in the house', while the Tamim dialect could not have a predicate, i.e., they could only say *lā rajula* 'there is no man'. 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 112) confirms that Zamakhsharī was the originator of this observation. Apparently it is based on the fact that in the Koran generic *lā* very rarely appears without predicate, except in a few set phrases (cf. Bergsträsser, Verneinungspartikeln, p. 57). The statement was challenged by Juzūlī, who modified it by saying that the Tamim dialect could have an adverbial predicate, but not an adjectival one, and by 'Andalusī, who comments: 'I do not know whence he took this information. Perhaps he derived it by analogy. The truth is that the Tamim must elide the predicate when it is an answer to a question or a *qarīna* of some other kind points to it. If there is none, then the predicate must appear with the Tamim just as in the Hijaz' ('Astarābādī, *loc. cit.*). The purely theoretical character of the whole discussion is illustrated by Zamakhsharī's remark on a line in the diwan of Ḥātim Ṭā'ī (No. 50, line 6): *wa-lā karīma mina l-wildāni maṣbūḥu* 'and no noble born of children is given a morning drink', that Ḥātim must have given up the usage of his own dialect for that of Hijaz.[23] Predicate after *lā* occurs in Farazdaq, 'Akhṭal, and other Eastern poets, but it may have been rarer there than in the West. The construction without predicate is, of

course, the older, since the accusative was originally exclamatory (Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 47; Reckendorf, Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 343). In the way in which it is used in the Koran, the generic negation did not differ in function from clauses with *laisa* or *mā*. This gives some substance to the assumption that the generic *lā* arose in some other part of Arabia—where it continued to serve in its original exclamatory function—and was imported to Hijaz as a Classical Arabic form.

x In negative exceptive clauses in which the minor term belongs to a different logical category from the major term, as 'no man rose, only a donkey' (*istithnā' munqaṭi'*),[24] the Hijaz dialect is said to have employed the accusative for the minor term, while in the Tamim dialect it was in whichever case the major term happened to be (Sībawaihi, i, 319). The Hijazi construction occurs in Koran, iv, 156/157: *mā lahum bihi min 'ilmin 'illā ttibā'a ẓ-ẓanni* 'they have no knowledge concerning Him, only following their conjectures' and xcii, 19–20: *wa-mā li-'aḥadin 'indahu min ni'matin tujzā 'illā btighā'a wajhi rabbihi* 'no one has done any good to him which requires recompense, but seeking the face of his Lord'.[25] It also occurs in a line ascribed to the Sulamī 'Abbās b. Mirdās (Ibn Hishām, Sīra, p. 865, line 8): *wa-lam yakun/binā l-khaufu 'illā raghbatan wa-taḥazzuman* 'there was no fear in us, only desire and preparedness'. The instances for the nominative come all from Eastern sources: a Bakri (Ḥamāsa, p. 249, line 2 in rhyme); an 'Asadī (Ṭabarī, Ann. i, 1952, line 6, dto.); the Taghlibī 'Akhṭal (ed. Salḥānī, i, 2); the Numairī Jirān al- 'Aud (ed. Cairo 1350, p. 52); the Tamimi Farazdaq (ed. Boucher, lxiii, 33). Sībawaihi (i, 320) quotes a few lines in which either case can be read, remarking that the Hijazis read them with accusative, the Tamimis with nominative.

y It is, however, doubtful whether the distinction between *istithnā' munqaṭi'* and *muttaṣil* was really the decisive factor in this connection. According to Sībawaihi (i, 318) the minor term in any negative exceptive clause with *'illā* might in one dialect 'whose Arabic is trustworthy' stand in the accusative, as in *mā marartu bi-'aḥadin 'illā Zaidan* 'I passed no one except Zaid', which is of course *muttaṣil*. Cases of the accusative occur in the Koran: iv, 49/46; iv, 69/66 (reading of Ibn 'Āmir); x, 98; xi, 83/81 (all except Ibn Kathīr and 'Abū 'Amr); xi, 118/116. In all of them, except iv, 49/46 the major term is expressed. This construction did not meet with the approval of the grammarians. Baiḍāwī calls the majority reading in xi, 83/81 less elegant (*ghair al-'afṣaḥ*); Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 31) gets out of the dilemma by attaching *'illā* to an earlier positive clause (so that the accusative would be correct). The truth is probably that the real distinction in Hijazi lay not between *istithnā' muttaṣil* and *munqaṭi'*, but between these two together and *istithnā' mufarragh*, and that even this distinction was sometimes neglected, the tendency being to have always accusative after *'illā*. 'Astarābādī

(Kāfiya comm., i, 228) replaces Sībawaihi's classification by an even more complicated one into cases where the major term can be omitted without affecting the meaning, in which case the Tamim make the minor term agree with it in case, and those in which it cannot be omitted, and where the Tamim too must have the accusative. As example for the second he gives Koran, xi, 45/43: *lā ʿāṣima l-yauma min ʾamri llāhi ʾillā man raḥima* 'there is no protector to-day from the decree of God except (a protector for) those upon whom He has mercy' (where the case of *man* cannot be discerned).

z The m nor term in an exceptive clause negated by *laisa* or negative *kāna* was put in the accusative in the Hijaz dialect ('Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', quoted by Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 227). These thus differ from the Hijazi *mā* (cf. § *s* above). Cases of this occur in Koran (viii, 35; x, 20/19[26]) and Sīra (Ibn Hishām, p. 383, line 20; Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 1035, line 3). 'Abū 'Amr adds that the Tamim used in such cases the nominative, saying e.g., *laisa ṭ-ṭību ʾillā l-misku* 'perfume is none but musk'. His contemporary, 'Īsā b. 'Umar, was so amazed at this assertion that he confirmed it by direct inquiry from a Tamimi (cf. § 2 s). However, the Tamimi poet 'Aus b. Ḥajar (v, 1) is quoted by Sībawaihi (i, 317) as *shāhid* for the accusative after *laisa . . . ʾillā*. This may mean no more than that the Tamimi construction was only used in Tamimi speech, not when members of that tribe employed Classical Arabic. If Hijazi Arabic was more persistent in using the accusative in the case of *laisa*, why did it give up the accusative after *mā . . . ʾillā*? The answer lies perhaps in the purely accidental point that the instances with *mā* are almost always *istithnāʾ mufarragh*, while those with *laisa*, etc., normally express the major term, and therefore are drawn into the tendency mentioned in the last paragraph.[27]

aa In a hadith (Ibn Saʿd, IVB, 46, line 7) the Prophet says: *ʾUsāmatu ʾaḥabbu n-nāsiʾilayya mā ḥāshā Fāṭimata*. This is mostly explained as: 'Usāma is the dearest to me of all men, not excepting Fāṭima'. In the version of Ṭabrānī the words *wa-lā ghairahā* 'nor anyone else', are added to make this quite unmistakable. Ibn Mālik (quoted by Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 109) takes *mā ḥāshā* as meaning the same as *ḥāshā* 'except', adding that it might have been so employed 'in the language of the Prophet'. Ibn Mālik here contradicts his own statement ('Alfiyya, 331) that *ḥāshā* must not be accompanied by *mā*. His commentator 'Ushmūnī (ii, 127) prohibits a phrase like *qāma l-qaumu mā ḥāshā Zaidan* 'the people rose except Zaid': but that is just the phrase which Ibn Mālik adduces in the Mughnī quotation to prove his point, adding that it is sometimes used (*qad yuqālu*). Ibn Hishām and 'Ushmūnī cite as further evidence a line by the Taghlibi 'Akhṭal (p. 164, line 10): *raʾaitu n-nāsa mā ḥāshā Quraishan/fa-ʾinnā naḥnu ʾafḍaluhum faʿālan* 'I have seen the people, except for Quraish, and we are the most excellent among them in

deeds'. It seems to me that 'Akhṭal really meant 'not excepting'. In any event there seems to be no ground for assigning this usage to Hijaz.

bb This *ḥāshā* was originally a noun followed by the genitive (cf. Reckendorf, Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 426). The tendency of Arabic is to bring it into line with the verbal phrases *mā khalā*, *mā ʿadā*, by adding *mā*, as in the last paragraph, and by putting the noun after it in the accusative. The latter usage is not recognized by Sībawaihi, and given rather hesitantly by Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 31) on the authority of Mubarrad. 'Ushmūnī (cf. last par.) cites an imposing array of scholars who admit the accusative after *ḥāshā*. The available *shawāhid* point to the East: 'Akhṭal (cf. above) and the 'Asadi Jumaiḥ (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, cix, 4).

cc Besides the ordinary compound sentence (*jumla dhāt wajhaini*), Arabic possessed two other ways of lending emphasis to a clause by extraposing one of its elements:[28] The first is by means of *'ammā*, which stresses the non-extraposed part, cf. Zamakhsharī (quoted by Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 54): 'If you wish to emphasize 'Zaid is going' and to stress that he is definitely going or contemplates going, being firmly decided on it, then you must say *'ammā Zaidun fa-dhāhibun*'. The word following *'ammā* is a one-term existential clause, and therefore in the nominative (cf. Reckendorf, Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 309). The second way is by placing the extraposed word before the clause in its original case, as in *'iyyāka naʿbudu* 'Thee we worship' (Koran, i, 5). The minor clause may be introduced by *fa-*, as *Allāha fa-ʿbud* 'serve *God*' (Koran, xxxix, 66). As will be seen from the examples, this second construction strongly emphasizes the extraposed word. The two types were subsequently confused, and words after *'ammā* (always with *fa-*) were put in the accusative, when their place within the minor clause would have required that case. Thus we find *fa-'ammā l-yatīma fa-lā taqhar* 'do not wrong the orphan', etc. (xciii, 9–10); and xli, 16/17 where Ibn ʿAbbās, 'Aʿmash, and Ibn 'Abī 'Isḥāq read *'ammā Thamūdan fa-hadaināhum* 'Thamūd we guided aright'. This is especially common in commands and imprecations (Sībawaihi, i, 58), and does not seem connected with any particular dialect. There are, however, cases where *'ammā* is followed by the accusative whatever the virtual case of the noun within the minor clause, and where the dialects differ. Sībawaihi (i, 162–5) discusses such cases at great length. His exposition is far from clear and operates with logical categories which seem to have little bearing on the syntactical distinctions. I sum up as well as I can:

dd In cases such as *'ammā ʿilman fa-ʿālimun* 'as to knowledge, he is knowledgeable' or *'ammā ʿilman fa-lā ʿilmun ʿindahu* 'as for knowledge, he has no knowledge', where the extraposed noun is an indeterminate verbal noun, the accusative was the rule, only the Tamim used the nominative, though even in their dialect the accusative was considered more correct.

An example of the accusative is a phrase ascribed to a man of Harith (Ḥamāsa, p. 25, line 21): *ʾammā qatlan fa-lastu qātilan* 'as for killing, I am not a killer'.

ee In the case of *ʾammā l-ʿilmu fa-ʿālimun* 'as for knowledge, he is knowledgeable', with a determinate verbal noun,[29] the Hijaz dialect had either accusative or nominative, the Tamim always nominative. An example is in a line by a Makhzūmī, i.e., Hijazi (cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 24, *a*, 1): *ʾammā l-qitāl*^{a}/$_{u}$ *fa-lā qitāla ladaikum* 'as for fighting, you have no fight in you'.

ff When the extraposed noun was concrete, as in *ʾammā ʿabīdun fa-dhū ʿabīdin*, or *ʾammā l-ʿabīdu fa-dhū ʿabīdin*, both meaning 'as for slaves, he is a possessor of slaves', all dialects had the nominative. Sībawaihi claims to have heard from 'the Arabs' the phrase: *ʾammā bnu Muzaniyyatin fa-ʾanā bnu Muzaniyyatin* 'as for being the son of a Muzaina woman, I am the son of a Muzaina woman'. Since the Muzaina were in close contact with Medina (cf. Kowalski, Kais ibn al-Khaṭīm, p. xiv, n. 1) we may take this as a sentence spoken by a Hijazi. Yūnus (quoted Sīb., p. 164) knew of some Arabs who employed the accusative in this construction.

gg The next class is described by Sībawaihi as *ṣifāt* 'adjectives', but the term seems to be taken in a rather wide sense. The model is *ʾammā ʿāliman fa-ʿālimun* 'as for being knowledgeable, he is knowledgeable'. Here all dialects have accusative. Sībawaihi cites one example with a substantive: *ʾammā ṣadīqan muṣāfiyan fa-laisa bi ṣadīqin muṣāfin* 'as for being a sincere friend, he is not a sincere friend'. The same applies—in spite of the participial pattern of *jābin*—to: *ʾammā jābiyan fa-lā* 'as for being a tax-gatherer, no' (Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 303). The adjectival character is stronger in: *ʾammā ṣādiran fa-wasīquhu jamīlun* 'as for one who returns from battle, his booty is fine' (the Taghlibi Quṭāmī, vii, 5). One could, however, take the accusative as circumstantial: 'as for when he returns . . .'.

hh Sībawaihi analyses the accusatives variously as *ḥāl* and *tamyīz*. This is accepted by Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 793). It seems more likely that the accusative spread analogically from those cases where it was justified by the virtual place of the extraposed word. Thus the prototype of *ʾammā ʿilman fa-ʿālimun* is *huwa ʿālimun ʿilman*. Sībawaihi uses this criterion himself when he rejects *ʾammā ʿabīdan fa-dhū ʿabīdin* on the ground that one cannot say *huwa r-rajulu ʿabīdan*. Later philologists abandoned the elaborate classification of Sībawaihi. Zamakhsharī in the Mufaṣṣal does not touch upon the matter. Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 43a) only says that the accusative in *ʾammā ʿilman fa-ʿālimun* is Hijaz dialect, but the Hijazis also employed the nominative. ʾUshmūnī (iv, 34) does not mention dialect differences and treats *ʾammā l-ʿabīda fa-dhū ʿabīdin* (the construction which Sībawaihi bans) and *ʾammā Quraishan fa-ʾanā ʾafḍaluhum* 'as for Quraish, I am their most excellent one' as cases of *samāʿ* (usage not covered by grammatical theory).

In his comment he practically rejects Sībawaihi's explanation of these constructions.

ii The word *ʿasä* 'perhaps' has in Classical Arabic two constructions, one without inflection (*ʿalä t-tajrīd*): *ar-rajulāni ʿasä ʾan yafʿalā*, and one in which it agrees in gender and number with the subject: *ar-rajulāni ʿasayā ʾan yafʿalā*. Sībawaihi (i, 426) assigns them to different dialects, which he does not specify. Baiḍāwī (ii, 263) says the inflected form is Hijaz dialect, the uninflected one Tamīm dialect; Suyūṭī (Bahja, p. 33) maintains the opposite. In the Koran uninflected *ʿasä* occurs with plural or dual subject in ii, 213/216 and xlix, 11; in the latter passage the Hudhali Ibn Masʿūd and the Medinean ʾUbayy read *ʿasau*, *ʿasaina* (Jeffery, Materials, p. 93, 304). In both passages *ʿasä* occurs twice, in disjunctive co-ordination. This may have contributed to the choice of the uninflected form. Inflected *ʿasä* also occurs twice: *hal ʿasaitum . . . ʾan tufsidū* 'will ye *perchance* . . . cause mischief' (xlvii, 24/22) and *hal ʿasaitum . . . ʾallā tuqātilū* 'will ye *perchance* . . . not fight' (ii, 247/246). The meaning 'perchance' is not satisfactory: one would want something like 'dare'. This may well have been the original meaning of the verb. Nāfiʿ reads in xlvii, 24/22 *ʿasītum* for *ʿasaitum*. This is identical in sound with *ʿasiya*, a dialect form of *ʿasā*, *yaʿsū* 'to be or become big, strong' (Lisān, xix, 283). The connecting link is 'to be able' (for the transition of meaning cf. Eth. *kehla*, Bibl. Aram. *khl* 'be able', Arabic *kahala* 'be mature').[30] ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 303) quotes two cases where *ʿasä* is followed not by *ʾan* but by a noun: *ʿasaitu ṣāʾiman*, literally 'I have strength to fast' and the proverb *ʿasä l-ghuwairu ʾabʾusan* 'a small cave may bring great evils' (cf. Lisān, vi, 344).[31] The uninflected *ʿasä* is an exact parallel to the Mishnaic Hebrew *yākhōl* 'perhaps' = *yākhōl* 'he is able', e.g., *yākhōl tāqĕphāh ʿālāw mishnāthō* 'maybe his study is too hard for him' (*Aboth*, iii, 8). In both cases we have here the rare phenomenon in Semitic of a truly impersonal verb. One feels that there must be more than accidental similarity here. The use of the uninflected form must have arisen somewhere in Arabia (perhaps in an area in contact with later Hebrew) and spread, though it did not supersede the older personal construction. Whether this centre of radiation was Hijaz, we cannot say.

kk Liḥyānī (Tāj, i, 626), quoting Kisāʾī and ʾAṣmaʿī, states that the use of asyndetic object clauses with the verb in the indicative after verbs of wishing and commanding was current (*lugha fāshiya*) in Hijaz. Ibn ʾAthīr (quoted *ibid.*) adds that it is frequent in the works of Shāfiʿī. The prose examples quoted (Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 383; Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 525, etc.) come all from Western sources: Koran, xxxix, 64; ii, 77–78/83–84 (where Ibn Masʿūd possibly read apocopate, cf. Jeffery Materials, p. 27), *ḥadīth*, *sīra*, a prose utterance of a Hudhail poet (Ḥamāsa, p. 40, line 22). Instances from poetry come also from the East: ʾAʿshā of Bāhila (iv, 30-1);

the Bakrī Ṭarafa (iv, 54).[32] Sībawaihi (i, 40) does not speak of dialect, but says the construction was hardly ever used in speech. This remark is significant, as he was mainly in contact with Arabs from Eastern tribes. The asyndetic construction was obviously the older one. In West-Arabian it continued in everyday speech, while in the East it was only used as an archaism ('poetic license') in poetry. The colloquials followed in this respect West-Arabian usage.

ll According to Sībawaihi (i, 401) one could also use the apocopate in asyndetic object clauses after verbs of command. He quotes as proof: *qul . . . yuqīmū ṣ-ṣalāta* 'tell . . . that they should hold prayers' (Koran, xiv, 36/31).[33] We may add *qul . . . yaghfirū* 'tell . . . they should forgive' (xlv, 13/14); *kallimī rasūla llāhi yukallim . . .* 'speak to the Prophet he should speak . . .' (Bukhārī, *Hiba*, 8); *wa-dʿu ʿibāda llāhi yaʾtū madadan* 'call on the servants of God they should come to help' (a Khuzāʿī in Ibn Hishām, Sīra, p. 806, line 4), etc. It will be seen that the verbs employed are not specific words of command. But for the use of the apocopate, there would be no indication of jussive meaning. Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 62) observes 'an increasing dependence of the apocopate on the syntactical relation, strongly approaching the situation in conditional clauses'. There is in fact nothing to stop us from taking these as cases of ordinary conditional clauses with an imperative as protasis (*jawābu ʾamrin*, cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 492), without assuming any elision (as does Wright, ii, 38A). They are parallel to phrases like *ʾamarahu fa-faʿala* 'he told him to do it', lit. 'he told him and he did it'; *ʾamara* requires an object as much as *qāla*. There is nothing specifically Hijazi in these constructions, though all the examples given above come from Hijazi sources.

mm The Hijazi dialect seems to have employed the indicative for the apocopate even where no verb of saying or commanding was present. Farrāʾ (cf. Orientalia, xv, 182) adduces as examples of this: *ʾinnā zayannā s-samāʾa . . . lā yassamaʿūna* 'we adorned the sky . . . so that they should not listen' (Koran, xxxvii, 6–8), and *kadhālika salaknāhu . . . lā yuʾminūna bihi* 'and thus we have introduced it . . . so that they will not believe in it' (xxvi, 200-201). He states that *lā* stands here for *ʾan lā*, and that the Hijazis only used in such cases the indicative while others used the apocopate.

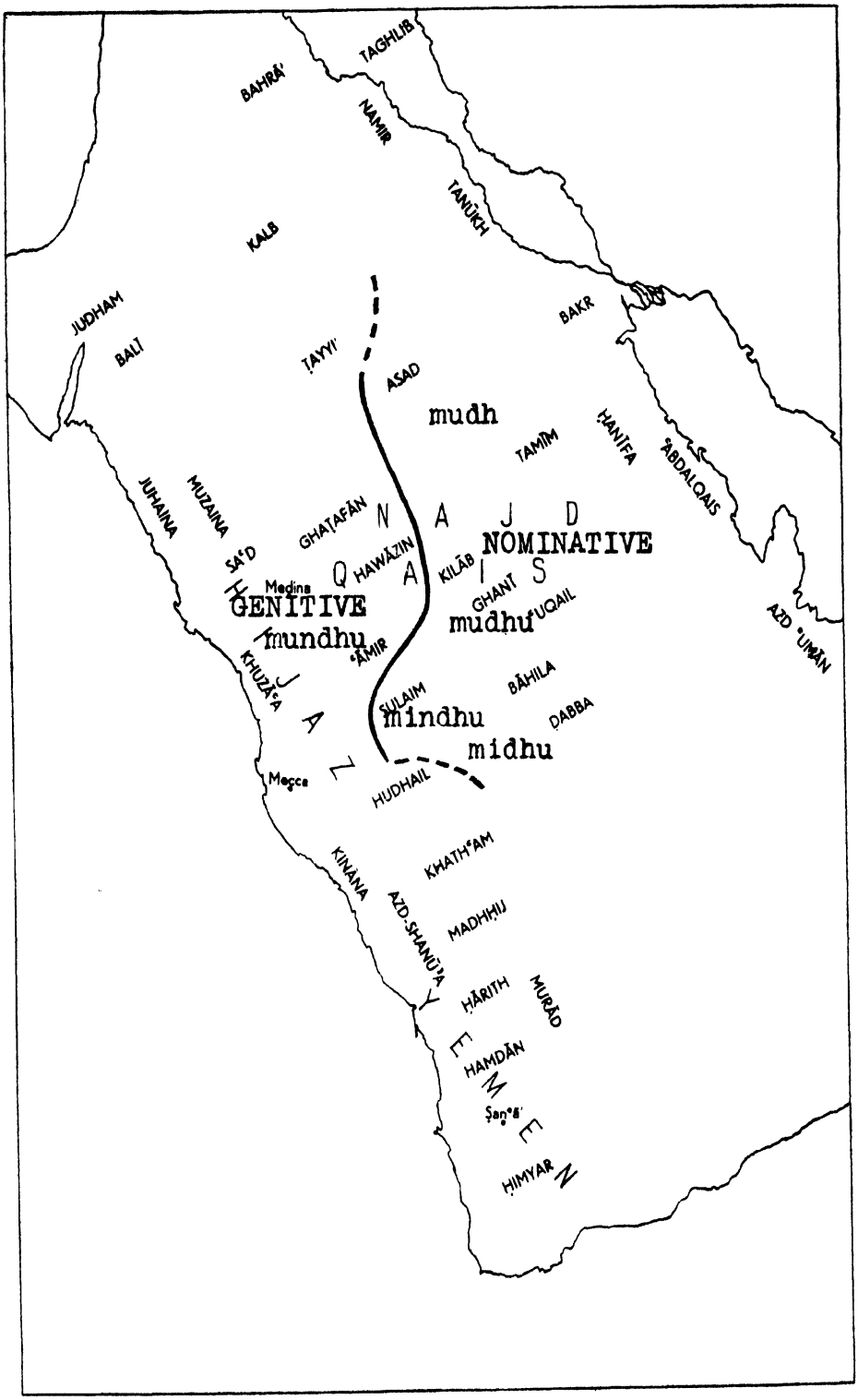
nn Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 147) says that some Arabs used the indicative even after *ʾan*. The Meccans Mujāhid or Ibn Muḥaiṣin read so in ii, 233: *ʾarāda ʾan yutimmu r-riḍāʿata* 'he wants the suckling to be completed', where the others read *yutimma*. Another example is a line by the Thaqafi ʾAbū Miḥjan: *ʾakhāfu . . . ʾan lā ʾadhūquha* (in rhyme) 'I fear . . . I shall not taste it' (Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 2316). Perhaps we ought not to take indicative after *ʾan* as a feature of the Hijaz dialect, but rather say that these Hijazis, being accustomed to asyndetic clauses with the indicative, occasionally used

the indicative in the unfamiliar *'an*-clause as well. In the case of the Koran-reading, there may have been *tanāquḍ al-qirā'atain*, conflation of two readings: *'arāda yutimmu* and *'arāda 'an yutimma*. In an anonymous line (Khizāna, iii, 559): *'an taqra'āni . . . wa-'an lā tush'irā* 'that ye call . . . and that ye let no one notice', there may be no more than poetic license. Ru'āsī (quoted by Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 3) states that 'the *fuṣaḥā'* among the Arabs use the subjunctive after *'an*, below (*dūna*) them are some who use the indicative, and below those some that use the apocopate'. The use of the apocopate is ascribed by Liḥyānī (quoted by Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 29) to the Banū Ṣabbāḥ of Ḍabba. It seems to have been more widespread in East-Central Arabia. One case of it is in a line by Imrulqais (iv, 40),[34] another in a line by the 'Udhrī Jamīl (Shinqīṭī, ii, 3). Liḥyānī (in Suyūṭī, Jam', ii, 4) goes on to say that some Arabs have the apocopate after *lan*, a construction permitted for literary usage by Ibn al-'A'rābī. In Shinqīṭī (ii, 4) Liḥyānī is quoted as saying that some Arabs *yujzimūna n-nawāṣiba wa-yunṣibūna l-jawāzim* 'use the subjunctive where others use the apocopate and vice versa'. It must be pointed out that in the two *shawāhid* the apocopate is not dependent on verbs of command, so that the construction there is not to be identified with that discussed in § *ll* above. Perhaps those dialects had no subjunctive, but employed the apocopate in dependent clauses, like Ethiopic.

oo Though the Arab grammarians refused to admit it (cf. Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 59), there is little doubt that *'immā* served as simple 'if' in Arabic. It is the cognate of Ethiopic *'emma*.[35] The examples collected in various grammars are exclusively Western: Koran (xix, 26 & fr.), 'Aswad b. Ya'fur of Naḥshal (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 451); the Ṭā'ī Jābir b. Rālān (Ḥamāsa, p. 300, line 1); Ḥassān b. Thābit (xiii, 14); the Western Qaisīs 'Antara (ii, 22) and Labīd (xlvii, 19), etc. We may thus claim the form for West-Arabian. Whether *'in* was also genuine West-Arabian or imported along with Classical Arabic is impossible to say. In the instances quoted the indicative is used.

pp According to 'Akhfash (quoted by 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 118) only the Hijaz knew *mundhu* 'since', while *mudh* was used both in Hijaz and elsewhere. The Koran contains no instance of either. A form *mindhu* is independently attested for some part of the Sulaim dialect by 'Abū Ḥayyān (Manhaj, f. 172*a*). He also quotes Liḥyānī as saying that the Banū 'Abīd of Ghanī said *mudhu* (cf. also 'Astarābādī, *loc. cit.*). This looks like a compromise between Eastern *mudh* and Western *mi/undhu*, as does also *midhu*, ascribed to 'Ukl. A form *mudhi* before *hamzat al-waṣl* is said to be used by some.

qq There seem to have been also differences with regard to the rection of this particle. The Kufan grammarians are quoted by 'Abū Ḥayyān as saying that the 'Asad and Tamim used the nominative after *mudh* (Liḥyānī adds


TAGHLIB
BAHRA'
NAMIR
TANŪKH
KALB
JUDHAM
BALI
ṬAYYI'
ASAD
BAKR
mudh
TAMĪM
ḤANĪFA
ʿABDALQAIS
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
GHAṬAFĀN
SA'D
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
AZD ʿUMĀN
NOMINATIVE
GENITIVE
mundhu
mudhu
ʿĀMIR
KHUZĀ'A
SULAIM
BĀHILA
DABBA
mindhu
midhu
HUDHAIL
Meçca
KINĀNA
KHATH'AM
AZD-SHANŪ'A
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
Ṣanʿā'
ḤIMYAR
HIJAZ
NAJD

Ḍabba, Ribāb, 'Abīd, and Sulaim) while the Muzaina, Ghaṭafān, 'Āmir' and the neighbouring Qais tribes used the genitive (cf. map No. 17)· 'Akhfash says Hijaz used the genitive, Tamim the nominative. It is impossible to say how this information is related to the distinctions between the use of nominative and genitive drawn by the grammarians (cf. Wright, ii, 173), but it seems that the latter are rather artificial. Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 237) analyses *ra'aituhu mundhu* (=*min-dhū*) *yaumāni* as 'I saw him; from that it is two days'. Accepting the identification of *dhū* with the demonstrative, I should prefer to connect its use in *mundhu* with the *zeh* employed with expressions of time in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Gesenius, Grammar, p. 443) and to translate 'I saw him from—it is two days' as in Hebrew (Gen., xxvii, 36) 'he hath supplanted me—it is two times'. In phrases like *mundhu yaumu l-jum'ati* 'since Friday' the original function is obscured and the way prepared towards equating *mundhu* with *min* and construing it with the genitive.[36] If the Western dialects have thus deviated from the earlier syntactical construction of the particle, they did keep the older form. Indeed it appears to me that even the Eastern form can be explained most easily as having arisen under West-Arabian phonetic conditions. The Eastern form of the demonstrative pronoun was *dhā*, which hardly could have been reduced to *-dh* or *-dhū*, but in West-Arabian it had the form *dhī* (cf. § 7 *u*, 12 *e*), which could in the normal phonetic development (§ 10 *ii*) be reduced to *dhi*. The resulting **mindhi* was transformed to *mundhi* through the influence of the labials, and the final *i*, being a neutral vowel (as it could be elided altogether) was assimilated. Again by a law so far observed only in the West (§ 11 *qq*) *mundh*(*u*) became *mudhdh*(*u*), and this became *mudh* by simplification of final gemination. These changes may have taken place in those Qais dialects which we have already seen as home of certain developments of Classical Arabic, and reached the literary language of the East in this form.

rr In supplementary questions with *man* meaning 'which' the Hijazis put the noun following *man* in the same case as in the original statement. Thus, on being told *ra'aitu Zaidan* 'I saw Zaid', a Hijazi might inquire *man Zaidan* 'Zaid who?', while other Arabs would presumably have said *man Zaidun* (Sībawaihi, i, 356). This is an interesting observation of colloquial usage which it will hardly be possible to check from our literary sources. Sībawaihi asserts that only proper names could be so treated, but 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 63) quotes a statement of Yūnus, handed down by Mubarrad and not found at any rate in the printed Sībawaihi, that one could also say *man 'akhā Zaidin* 'Zaid's brother who?'

ss Rāfi'ī (Tārikh, i, 145) says that the inflected *man* used mainly in supplementary questions: *manū*, *manī*, *manā*, *manūna*, etc. (cf. Wright, i, 275) was used in the Hijaz dialect. Unfortunately he does not quote his

source. If correct, this would connect the Hijaz dialect with Ethiopic *mannū* acc. *manna* and Accadian *mīnu*.[37] Forms with *-ū* are still used as subject-forms in colloquials, e.g., *'ánu* by Palestinian Fellahin, *mánu* in Aleppo (Driver, Grammar, p. 38).

NOTES

[1] On the other hand 'Abū Zaid (Lisan, iv, 386) asserts that the Tihāma dialect forms *'uḍud*, *'ujuz* (cf. § 10 *h*) are always masculine, while the Classical *'aḍud*, *'ajuz* can be either gender.

[2] Ibn 'Athīr (in Lisān, i, 380) alleges that *dhahab* 'gold' was feminine in the Hijaz dialect. But this is mere assumption (cf. 'Azharī, *ibid.*) due to failure to recognize attraction in Koran, ix, 34.

[3] Sībawaihi: the Medineans; Ibn Hishām: the Meccans, Medineans, and 'Abū Bakr; Baiḍāwī: Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr, and 'Abū Bakr. Ibn Mas'ūd read *'in kullun illā*, as all do in xxxviii, 13/14 (Jeffery, Materials, p. 48; other readings *ib.*, p. 137, 344).

[4] So in Ibn Ya 'īsh (p. 1131); in the Diwan rewritten so that both have disappeared.

[5] Unless otherwise indicated by the spelling, I am mechanically writing the nominative in the quotations now following; of course they may have been written with the intention of accusative.

[6] Lyall, in his translation, takes *'in* as conditional particle, Reckendorf (Syntax, p. 129) as alleviated *'in*.

[7] The context suggests that *'in* is conditional; Zamakhsharī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 138) takes it as alleviated *'in* because of the *la-*.

[8] In this line: *'ataghḍabu 'an 'udhnā Qutaibata ḥuzzatā / jihāran wa-lam taghḍab li-qatli bni Ḥāzimin* 'art thou wroth that the ears of Qutaiba were notched publicly, and art not wroth at the murder of Ibn Ḥāzim?', 'Aṣma'ī and the Kufans take *'an* as a conditional particle, others read *'in*; Mubarrad takes it as *'an mukhaffafa*. Here we have a clear case of nominative after the alleviated forms.

[9] Assimilation before *k*, *q*, and *j* is accepted as normal by Sībawaihi (ii, 465).

[10] This shows that the assimilation of *n* in the roots Iæ *n* took place at a very late time, after the gutturals had lost the ability to be doubled. The latter development is itself rather late (cf. Sievers, Metrische Studien, i, 300; Bergsträsser, Hebr. Gramm., i, 152). This is also proved by the preservation of *n* in cases like *linpōl* (Bergstr., *ib.*, 108) where the *shĕwā* disappeared rather late. In the imperfect *niph'āl* the *n* was assimilated much earlier.

[11] Here the preceding phrase *'alima 'allan taḥṣūhū* 'he knows that you will not count it right' may have exerted some influence.

[12] The nominative in the line by Farazdaq: *fa-lau kunta Ḍabbiyyan 'arafta qirābatī/ walakinna zanjiyyun 'aẓīmu l-mashāfiri* 'if thou wert a Ḍabbī, thou wouldst recognize me as a relative, but (thou art) a negro with thick lips' (ed. Ṣāwī, i, 262), is not of this kind. The second hemistich is a one-term nominal clause. However, in a similar line by the Bāhilī 'A'shā (ed. Geyer, clxxxvi=Sībawaihi, i, 243) the accusative appears by attraction.

[13] Only the Kufans take here *kāna* as *tāmma*.

[14] Fischer (ZDMG, lxi, 936 and lxiii, 597) cites further cases from Mutanabbī and Maqqarī, but they are too late to prove anything.

[15] Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 331) calls these rules 'a veritable exhibition-piece of medieval scholasticism'.

[16] As quoted by 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 267) and Khizāna (ii, 130); in the editions the words *wa-ba'ḍu n-nāsi yanṣibūna mithlahum*, or the like, have fallen out.

[17] Baghdādī (Khizāna, ii, 130) denies that Farazdaq could have committed a solecism because 'a bedouin cannot make his tongue pronounce a wrong form'.

[18] Only the Ḍabba dialect made *laisa* into a normal verb by conjugating *lustu* or *listu* (Tāj, iv, 244).

[19] The derivation of *mā* from the interrogative pronoun (Reckendorf, Syntakt. Verhältn., p. 83) makes little sense in nominal clauses. Perhaps it is to be connected with the Egyptian 'negative verb' *lm*, and its verbal rection explained as a last remnant of its origin. Hebrew *mah* serves to express prohibitions (Cant., v, 8, viii, 4; Ecclus., xiii, 2, xxxii, 4), just like Eg. *m* (cf. Gardiner, Grammar, p. 260). (I wish to use this opportunity to thank Professor G. R. Driver for pointing out to me the existence of negative *mah* in Hebrew).

[20] In 'Ainī (Maqāṣid, ii, 145) this has become a controversy between Basrians and Kufans.

[21] In the Manhaj, p. 65-6, the verse is mentioned, but the explanation quoted is not given.

[22] There are instances of *lā . . . bi-* (though there are none of *'in . . . bi-*): twice in co-ordination in a line by Isma'īl b. Yasār an-Nasā'ī, a contemporary of 'Abdalmalik ('Aghānī, iv, 118, line 6), and without co-ordination in a line by Ḥuṭai'a (lxviii, 5= ZDMG, xlvii, 77).

[23] In the notes appended to the Dīwān, the line is not given as Ḥātim's, but as made by a man of the Banū Nabīt of Medina—which makes the remark even more pointless.

[24] It has thus the same function as Mishnaic Hebrew and Syriac *'ellā* 'but', German *sondern*.

[25] The verse *lā ya'lamu man fī s-samāwāti wal-'arḍi l-ghaiba 'illā llāhu* 'no one in heaven and earth knows the Hidden except God' (xxvii, 66/65) is taken by Ibn Mālik (quoted Khizāna, ii, 134) as an example of the Tamimi usage in the mouth of a Hijazi. But surely the reasons for taking it as *istithnā' munqaṭi'* are purely theological.

[26] For Koran, xxxvi, 28/29, cf. § *p* above.

[27] The only case with *istithnā' mufarragh* and accusative is Koran, xvii, 95/93. Though a rhetorical question, it was perhaps conceived as a real question and has therefore the regular accusative.

[28] I will be forgiven for using the term extraposition (originated by Jespersen) rather than casus pendens, nominative absolute, etc., which suggest quite wrong conceptions.

[29] There was no doubt some subtle difference of meaning which we cannot appreciate.

[30] We may compare Hebrew *hō'īl*, which means 'begin, comply, dare', etc. All these meanings seem to go back to 'to be able', and the word to be a cognate of the Hudhail dialect word *'alā* 'to be able' (Ibn Duraid, Jamhara, i, 188). Cf. Melilah, ii, 253.

[31] In spite of the objections of Brockelmann (GVG, ii, 514, n. 1) and the difficulty of the relation of the sibilants, it seems worth while to reconsider whether *'asä* is not connected with Hebrew *'āśāh* (which perhaps at first also meant 'to have strength to').

[32] This line, which is given Wright, ii, 27A as example of the subjunctive in asyndetic clauses, is cited with the indicative by Baiḍāwī (i, 70), Sībawaihi, and Tabrīzī (Ḥamāsa, p. 438). Cf. De Goeje's note on Wright.

[33] Baiḍāwī gives a rather artificial explanation in order to avoid admitting the construction.

[34] Quoted with *ya'tinā* by the grammars (cf. Shinqīṭī, ii, 3) and Yāqūt (i, 160); in the Diwan corrected into *ya'tiya*.

[35] Probably also of Hebrew *'im*. If this had been original **'im*, it would have become **'ēm*. The absence of lengthening cannot be due to its being proclitic: the other two instances of this adduced by Bergsträsser (Gramm., i, 148), *min* and *'im*, are in inflection *minn-* and *'imm-*. Perhaps *'immā* and *(h)in* were originally disparate, and only contaminated in course of time.

[36] The next stage would be to replace *mundhu* by *min*. This happened in a line by the Westerner Zuhair (iv, 1; but some consider it forged, cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 105, *a*, 23). The substitution was carried out in the colloquial of Ḥarīrī's time (cf. Durra, ed. Thorbecke, p. 76) and is complete in the colloquials of to-day (Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 542).

[37] In Ugaritic the word for who is written *my*. As *y* must be a consonant, this points to its having been inflected: *miyū, miyī, miyā*. Gordon's reconstruction *miyā* (Grammar, p. 32) for the nominative appears to have little support from forms in cognate languages.

Chapter 14

TAYYI'

a The Tayyi' were not a considerable tribe at the time of the Prophet. In their home, the region of the present-day Ḥā'il, they were cut off from the Fertile Crescent by the Nefud desert and their political contacts were principally with the tribes of Najd, such as the Tamim clan of Yarbū', whom they fought at Rijlat at-Tais. Yet it was the Tayyi' who supplied to Syrians, Babylonian Jews, and Persians the name for the whole of the Arab race (cf. also Bailey, JRAS., 1939, 89). This suggests that in earlier times their area was much larger and covered part of the territory of the later Quda'a tribes. If this was so we might expect to find some traces of this both in the language of those tribes and in the topography. Unfortunately we know very little of the dialects of the Quda'a, who, in the words of Lammens (Arabie Occidentale, p. 308) 'appear to have lived outside the general development of the peninsula, one might almost say outside Arab life'. Some of the known features, however, connect the Quda'a with Tayyi', others, such as the *taltala*, with tribes still further east; in such cases the Tayyi' may have acted as link. Of place names suggesting a connection I have only the one instance of *al-'audātu*, in the territory of Kalb (Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 23). If this is the same as *al-'audiyatu* 'the Wadis', then it shows a sound change typical for the Tayyi' dialect (cf. § *i* below), and might be taken as evidence of earlier Tayyi' occupation.

b Genealogically the Tayyi' are counted among the Yemenite tribes, and the usual accounts were given of their emigration from Yemen. Their former home was to have been located in the Yemenite Jauf, i.e., near the Northern Yemenite tribes, with whose language the Tayyi' dialect shows some affinities. These can of course be explained in this way, but one might also say that both dialects have preserved older West-Arabian features which were given up by the Hudhail and Hijaz dialects, which were more in contact with Najd.[1] About the previous inhabitants of the Tayyi' country, two traditions existed. The more common one was that the Tayyi' expelled the 'Asad (cf. Caussin de Perceval, Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islam, i, 103). The other is preserved by Yāqūt (Mu'jam, i, 127): the former inhabitants of the Jabalā Ṭayyi'in were called Ṣuḥār. The Tayyi' overcame them, but took over their language, so that the Tayyi' dialect is the language of Ṣuḥār. The name occurs as name of towns in Oman and in Yemen;[2] in the latter country, near Ṣa'da, there was also a tribe of that name (Hamdānī, Jazīra, p. 119). In Yāqūt (iii, 368) it is said that the Ṣuḥār were part of Quda'a, and they are identified with various tribes of that group. The

idea of a linguistic 'substrate' is rather striking, but may perhaps explain some of the peculiarities of the dialect.

c The Shammar bedouins, who inhabit the Tayyi' area to-day, consider themselves descendants of that tribe. Little is known of their speech. The few items of information collected by Cantineau (Parlers, p. 230 *seq.*), do not on the whole suggest a close connection, except possibly for the trait discussed in § *f* below. Further investigation of the Shammar colloquial would in any case be highly desirable.

d Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 7) says that the Tayyi' dialect was not included among those constituting the "Arabiyya'. Nöldeke (Neue Beiträge, p. 5, n. 1) asserts that it was always included. The dialect figures in the list of 'correct' dialects by the philosopher Alfārābī[3], though it is last in the list. That the Tayyi' took part in the literary movement which carried the Classical Arabic language is proved by the comparatively large number of pre-Islamic Ṭā'ī poets, whose works the philologists unquestioningly accepted as evidence for correct usage. The dialect shares with Hijazi the distinction of having one of its peculiar features, the *dhū Ṭā'iyya* (§ *v* below) admitted as a provincial variety of correct Arabic.

e Ibn Qūṭiyya (Libro dei verbi, p. 5) reports that the Tayyi' had *tawassuʿ mina l-lughāt*, which may either mean 'a profusion of dialects' or 'a profusion of dialect peculiarities'. It is impossible to make anything of this statement in its isolation.

f A general description of the character of the Tayyi' dialect may be concealed in the term *quṭʿa*. This is said in Lisān (x, 159) to denote a propensity for violent shortenings of words in the vocative, such as *yā ʾabā l-ḥaka* for *yā ʾabā l-ḥakami*. Such *tarkhīm* forms were however found in poetry of all tribes, and there is nothing in Tayyi' poetry to suggest any greater tendency in this direction. In non-Tayyi' poets such forms are found, at least by the philologists, also outside the vocative. Thus the Lisān (xx, 162) mentions *al-manā* for *al-manāzilu* in a line of al-'Akhṭal's and *al-ḥamā* for *al-ḥamāmu* in one by al-'Ajjāj. Moreover, the statement in the Lisān adds that *al-quṭʿa* is something like the *ʿanʿana* of the Tamim dialect. The latter term is mostly applied by the grammarians to a tendency of making *ʾalif* sound like *ʿain*, but probably refers to some more general phonetic feature (cf. § 8 *q*). The Shammar colloquial of our day exhibits a tendency to weaken and elide final *t*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*, and *y* (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 230), thus depriving a great number of words of their final consonant. Such a procedure might well be called 'the cutting-off'. It is perhaps not accidental that the one example quoted by the Lisān should have a final *m*. This feature may possibly also explain the development described in § *z* below. In the Yemenite colloquial final *m*, *n*, and *l* are weakened (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 236). Perhaps we are here faced with another common

West-Arabian feature.[4] One difficulty is to understand how the *quṭ'a* tallies with the preservation of the feminine *-t* (§ *y* below).

g There is no evidence that the Tayyi' dialect shared the tendencies of the Eastern dialects for elision of short vowels, assimilation, and vowel-harmony, due to the peculiar nature of Eastern Arabic stress (cf. § 10 *m*). Actually it can be observed that these tendencies are weaker in the dialect of 'Asad, the closest neighbours of Tayyi', than e.g. in the Tamim dialect. Thus no instances of vowel-elision ever seem to be recorded for this dialect. Still, the absence of these features fits in well with the generally West-Arabian character of the Tayyi' dialect.[5]

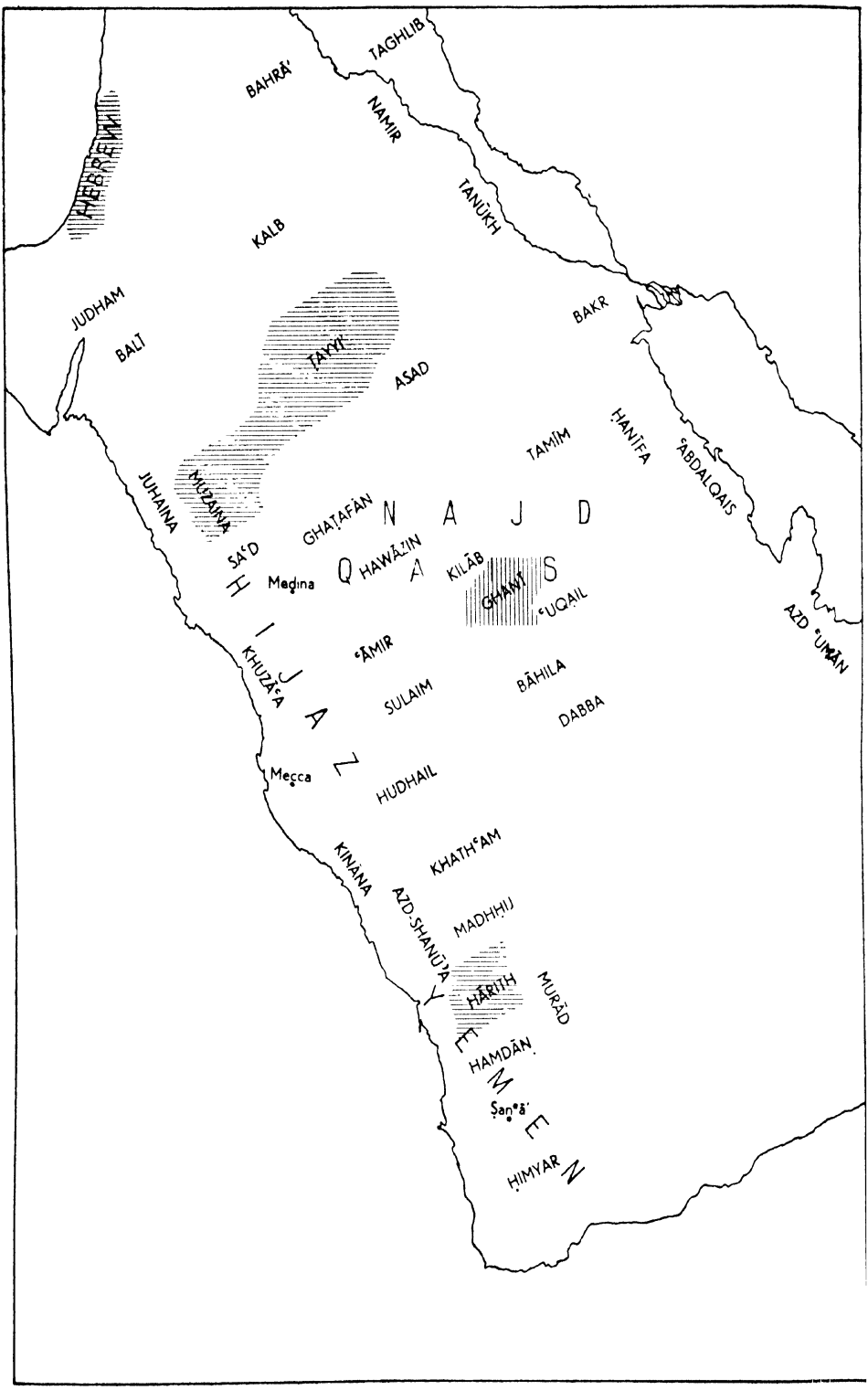
h The lesser phonetic unity of the word in the Tayyi' dialect is also proved by the statement of a Ṭā'ī, said to have been Ḥātim (Ḥātim, No. iii): *lā 'arsū wa-lā 'atama'dadu*. This is explained in the commentary as 'I do not say *zaqar* for *saqar* and *zirāṭ* for *sirāṭ*, and I do not pretend to be of Ma'add'. This substitution of *z* for *s* in the neighbourhood of—not in contact with—an emphatic is generally declared to be a peculiarity of the dialect of Kalb (Zamakhsharī, Muf., p. 177; Lisān, vi, 37). Exactly the same change is still found in the colloquial of Palmyra, on ancient Kalb territory, where *saqf* 'roof' is pronounced *zaqf*, *saqīfe* 'lintel' is *zaqīfe*, and even the *ṣād* of the bedouin loanword *gamaṣ* (*g* = *q*) becomes *z* in *gamaz* 'to gallop'. In contact with *q*, on the other hand, *z* becomes *s*, as in *sqōq* < *zuqāq* 'lane' (Cantineau, Dialecte arabe de Palmyre, p. 50 *seq.*). A pointer to the explanation of this phenomenon is given in the colloquial of the north-Transjordanian town of eṣ-Ṣalṭ, where in the neighbourhood of emphatics the difference between *s*, *z*, and *ṣ* is suspended: *zirāṭ*, *sirāṭ*, or *ṣirāṭ* 'way'; *zaqar*, *saqar*, or *ṣaqar* 'hellfire', etc. (Littmann, Volkspoesie, p. 4). The principle at work here is the phonological tendency, so well observed by Cantineau at Palmyra and in the Syrian desert (Dialecte arabe de Palmyre, p. 39 *seq.*) which makes the whole word either emphatic or non-emphatic, and in the first case turns all consonants into emphatic ones (such dialects have a complete set of emphatic[6] consonants covering all places of articulation). In the dialect of the Banū l-'Anbar b. Tamīm this had given rise to forms such as *ṣūq* for *sūq* 'market', *ṣawīq* for *sawīq* 'gruel' (Ibn Sikkīt, Qalb, p. 42; Jamhara, iii, 44). The last form is also recorded for the Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm (Yūnus, quoted by Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p. 12). In point of fact such forms were much more widespread, as evidenced by the widely used *ṣirāṭ* for *sirāṭ* < Latin *strata*. Khalīl (quoted by Qasṭallānī, iv, 3) states that in correct Arabic every *ṣād* preceding a *qāf* in the same word could alternate with *sīn*. In the Kalb dialect another factor came into play: that *ṣād* was a voiced sound.[7] The existence of voiced *ṣād* in some dialects is attested by Ibn Khālawaih (quoted Rāfi'ī, Tārīkh, i, 109). An *s* which became emphatic in this dialect would thus at the same time have had to become voiced. There

are some difficult points in this connection: Why did the tendency affect *s* rather than other consonants? Why did it, at least according to the philologists, operate with *qāf* more than with other emphatics? Finally, if the *ṣād* of the Kalb dialect was voiced, it became unvoiced somewhere in the history of the modern colloquials of that region. Why, then, did the *z* created by the velarization of *s* lose its emphatic character rather than its voice, and thus become dissociated from the old *ṣ*? Whatever answer we may give to these questions, there is little doubt that the sound-change is connected with the greater unity of the word created by the expiratory accent, and that its absence in the old Tayyi' dialect is significant.[8]

i While we know nothing about the simple vowel-sounds of the dialect, we are surprisingly well informed about the sound change *iya* > *ā*, no doubt mainly for the reason that Tayyi' poets used such forms, and that they could not be tacitly corrected because of the metre. Sībawaihi (ii, 317) mentions *ruḍā*[9] for *ruḍiya* 'was well received' and *nuhā* for *nuhiya* 'was prohibited' as permitted Classical forms, and knows nothing of their connection with the Tayyi'. In later works the forms are unanimously ascribed to the Tayyi' dialect. Instances are too numerous to permit enumeration in full. E.g., *ruḍā* in a line by Zaid al-Khail, secured by the rhyme (Jamhara, ii, 143); *walā* for *waliya* 'was near' (Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p. 767); *baqā* for *baqiya* 'remained' in a line by Zaid al-Khail (JRAS, 1907, p. 859); *raḍā* for *raḍiya* 'was pleased' (Ḥamāsa comm., p. 77).[10] The *ā* was shortened in the feminine, as in *bunat* 'was built' in a line by an anonymous Ṭā'ī (Ḥamāsa, p. 77); *baqat* 'remained' (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 448). The same change took place in the feminine of participles, and participial forms, e.g., *khāẓātun* for *khāẓiyatun* fem. of *khāẓin* 'compact' (Lisān, xviii, 254); *nāṣātun* for *nāṣiyatun* 'forelock', cf. Mishnaic Hebrew *nōṣāh* 'hair, down'[11] ('Abū 'Ubaid, Gharīb al-muṣannaf, quoted Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 141; Ibn Sīda in Lisān, xx, 200 with *shāhid* by Ḥuraith b. 'Annāb); *bādātun* 'desert-dwellers' and *qārātun* 'village-dwellers' (Lisān, xx, 38, 200); *jārātun* for *jāriyatun* 'girl' (Farrā' in Lisān, xx, 268). Of non-participial nominal forms I know only of the one, *tauṣātun* for *tauṣiyatun* 'testament', verbal noun of the second conjugation (Farrā', *ibid.*). To this we may add the *'audātu* mentioned in § *a* above.

k Forms of this type are by no means restricted to the Tayyi' dialect alone. This is stated in a general way by Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt, p. 12): '*baqā* and *fanā* . . . are forms of the Tayyi' dialect. The Arabs used them in their speech, but in the Tayyi' dialect they are more common'. It is very doubtful whether we can accept it in this general way. It is perhaps not astonishing to find the same change in forms used by poets of the Muzaina tribe, the neighbours of Tayyi', though reckoned among the Quda'a. Thus Ma'n b. 'Aus uses *'ukhlā* 'was reserved' (ed. Schwarz, vii, 1),[12] and Zuhair uses *fanā* 'passed away' (Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p. 12). The Muzaina dialect may have

shared the same phonetic development. As we never hear that this sound change took place in the Qais dialects or in Najd it is, however, surprising to find similar forms in the work of poets from the other extremity of Najd. Thus Ṭufail al-Ghanawī uses *nuhā* 'is stopped' (Sībawaihi, ii, 317, not in his Diwan), and *fanā* 'passed away' (JRAS, 1907, p. 859). The Kindī Imrulqais, one of the earliest poets known to us, uses in one line (xxix, 2) the form *bānātun* 'cleaving to the string', of a bow: this is generally explained as standing for *bāniyatun*. This poet is said to have spent some time in Tayyi' territory, but it is most unlikely that he should on that occasion have picked up the local speech. The unanimity of our sources in ascribing the sound-change to Tayyi' hardly permits us the assumption that it had taken place all over Najd. The only conclusion remaining to us is that right at the very outset of Classical Arabic poetry the Tayyi' form had become recognized as a provincial alternative which could be used as poetic license. This speaks for attributing to Tayyi' an important place in the formation of the early *'arabiyya*. The sound-change itself seems not to have been restricted to Tayyi', however, but to have been common to the northern half of West-Arabian.[13] At least we are told on good authority that the same change had taken place in the Harith dialect in northern Yemen (§ 7 *d*). The Hijaz dialect may have possessed the same form, but it was replaced by *baqī* (cf. § 12 *w*).[14] The sound change was common to northern West-Arabian and Canaanite, where we find in Hebrew *bōnāh* < **bāniyatu* as feminine of *bōneh* < *bāniyu*. This sound-change offers also in my opinion the least forced explanation for the fact that the third singular masculine perfect is represented in Hebrew not by the expected **bānō* < *banā*, but by *bānāh*; so already in the Tell Amarna letters *qabā* 'he said', *laqā* 'he took'. In all other persons the verbs tertiæ *yodh* were in Hebrew throughout conjugated after the pattern of the neuter, so already in Tell Amarna *baniti*, *laqiti* (cf. Böhl, Sprache der Amarnabriefe, p. 47). There is no reason why only the third singular should in all verbs have the active form. If **baniya* became *banā* after the change *ā* > *ō* had ceased to operate, it is easy to account for the final *ā* of the form. It seems to me that this explanation offers some advantages as against the ones based on analogy, found in the existing grammars. For a more detailed discussion of the Hebrew side of the problem, see Melilah, ii, 247 *seq.* In Hebrew there are also occasional forms with consonantal *yōdh*, such as *bōkhiyāh* (Thr., i, 16).[15] These may be due to analogy, but may also represent the usage of a part of the Hebrew-speaking area where the sound-change had not taken place, or the non-Canaanite element if we accept the idea of Hebrew as a mixed language. In any event, the change is dateable in Canaanite, as both in the third singular masculine perfect and in the feminine participle it must have taken place after the cessation of the first change of *ā* to *ō* (cf. § 10 *s*), i.e., certainly after West-Arabian and Canaanite

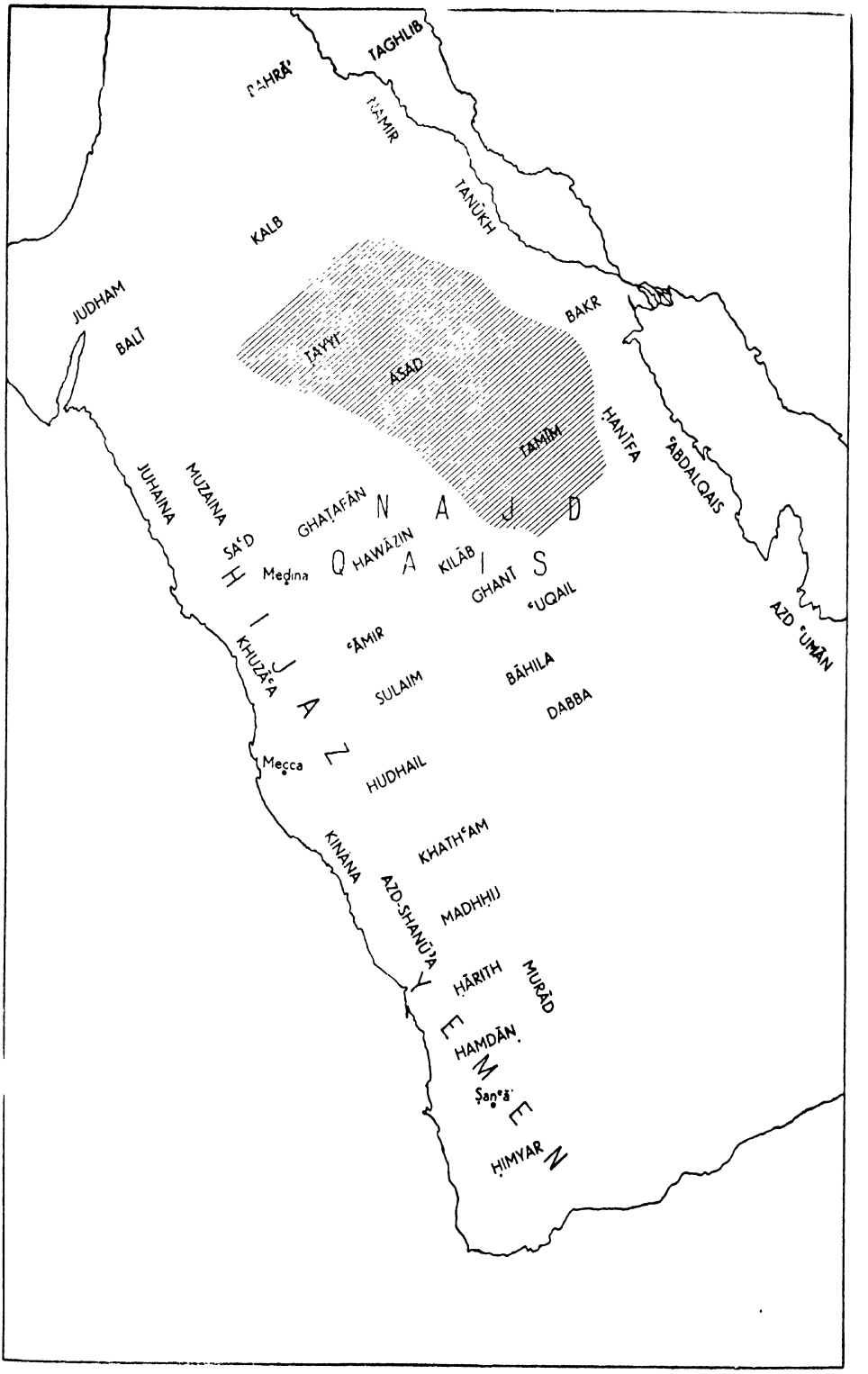

TAGHLIB
BAHRĀ'
NAMIR
TANŪKH
HEBRIEN
KALB
JUDHAM
BALĪ
ṬAYYI'
ASAD
BAKR
ḤANĪFA
TAMĪM
ʿABDALQAIS
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
GHAṬAFĀN
NAJD
SAʿD
HAWĀZIN
KILĀB
Madina
Qaṣīm
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
AZD ʿUMĀN
ʿĀMIR
KHUZĀʿA
SULAIM
BĀHILA
DABBA
HIJAZ
Mecca
HUDHAIL
KINĀNA
KHATHʿAM
AZD SHANŪʾA
MADHḤIJ
ḤĀRIṮH
MURĀD
HAMDĀN
YEMEN
Ṣanʿā'
ḤIMYAR

had begun to emerge as separate languages. We must therefore assume that part at least of the West-Arabians remained in close enough contact with speakers of Canaanite to be affected by a sound-change which took place within that language. This is not the place to work out the historical implications of this, especially as it affects the darkest part of Arab history. Cf. map No. 18.

l The change *iya* > *ā* seems not to have been the only one affecting *y* between vowels. According to Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 77*a*) the *yā'* of the imperfect suffix, if preceded by *a*, was dropped before the *nūn* energicum. This means apparently that *tarḍayinna*, the energicus of *tarḍaina* 'thou (f.) desirest', became *tarḍanna*. In fact the only instance of such a change that I know is *la-tughninna* for *la-tughniyanna* 'thou art sufficient' in a line by Ḥuraith b. ʿAnnāb (Shinqīṭī, ii, 45). There we would have a case of *iya* > *ī* with shortening in closed syllable. However, if the suggestion put forward in § *dd* below, according to which *ī* in the imperfect of tertiæ *y* became *ā* in the dialect, is correct, the word in question should be read *la-tughnanna*, from **la-tughnayinna*, and would bear out Ibn Mālik. Only further instances can decide what is right here.

m According to Farrā' (in Tāj, ii, 2) the dialects of Tayyi' and part of 'Asad turn *y* into *j* in the neighbourhood of *ʿain*. Others (also Lisān, iii, 144) ascribe this sound-change only to the Qudaʿa. The stock example is *hādhā rāʿijja kharaja maʿij* for *hādhā rāʿiyya kharaja maʿī* 'this herdsman of mine went out with me'. It will be noticed that in *rāʿijja* it is a geminated intervocalic consonantal *y* which becomes *jj*, in *maʿī* there is no *y* at all (except in Arabic writing), but a long *ī* becomes somehow *ij* under the influence of *ʿain*. This feature is nearly everywhere confused with a well-attested sound-change of the Tamim dialect: *iyy-* > *ijj-*, as in *'ijjal* for *'iyyal* 'mountain goat', *Fuqaimijjun* for *Fuqaimiyyun* 'member of the Fuqaim clan of Ḥanẓala' (Sībawaihi, ii, 314, 342; Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 141, etc. and § 8 *t*). This hardening of *yy*[16] may also have occurred in the more westerly dialects mentioned, but it is very doubtful if they ever had the change connected with *ʿain*. It seems rather as if this was guessed from the word *ʿajʿaja* which was used to describe some characteristic of the Qudaʿa dialect. In the Lisān passage, the *ʿajʿaja* is said to be similar to the *ʿanʿana* of Tamīm, which has been discussed above (§ *f*). Just as the latter term originally described the general impression Tamim speech made upon critical neighbours, and the philologists guessed that it meant the change of *'an* to *ʿan*, so *ʿajʿaja* must have been a general term. Since *ʿajja* means 'to shout', it most likely denotes some peculiarity of Qudaʿa intonation. Farrā' is the only one to apply the term to Tayyi'. Perhaps he really had in mind the change *iyy-* > *ijj-* and guessed that *ʿajʿaja* referred to it. It remains very doubtful whether we can take Farrā's statement as evidence that the change of *iyy-* to *ijj-* occurred in Tayyi'.[17]

Possible extension of the change *iyy-* > *ijj-* (§14m) Map No. 19



n The Ṭayyi' said *ḥauthu* instead of *ḥaithu* 'where' (Liḥyānī in Lisān, ii, 444; Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 116; in some sources the form is declared to be Tamimi) and *'aunuq* for *'ainuq* 'she-camels' (Ṣafadī, Lāmiyya-comm., ii, 41). Against this the dialect had *maḥaitu* for *maḥautu* 'I erased' (Lisān, xx, 139). We can neither conclude from this that the tertiæ *wāw* and the tertiæ *yā'* had coincided in this dialect as they did in Hebrew, nor that *ai* and *au* were confused. The form *ḥauthu*, as well as other irregularities with *w* and *y*, occur in the Hijaz dialect (cf. § 11 *i*). On *ḥublau* for *ḥublä* see below (§ *ee*).

o Various cases of substitution of *b* for *m* and vice versa are attributed to this dialect. They said *ḥabaltu* for *ḥamaltu* 'I carried' (Maidānī, quoted Freytag, Einführung, p. 98) and *majaḥa* for *bajaḥa* 'to rejoice' (Bräu in Enc. Islam, iv, 624[18]). The same confusion is more commonly attributed to the dialect of the Bakr or of the Māzin b. Bakr (e.g. al-Fāsī in Tāj, i, 142) and forms the subject of anecdotes (e.g. 'Aghānī, viii, 136). It occurs in South-Arabian (as in *bn* for *min*), in Amharic (Praetorius, Amh. Spr., p. 57), and in Mishnaic Hebrew (Segal, Diqdūq leshōn ha-Mishnāh, p. 38), e.g. *Yabhneh* —'Ιαμνια. Kofler (WZKM, xlvii, 71) gives a list of cases in Arabic not referred specifically to any dialect. Perhaps the change was not dialectal at all; certainly it was not carried through consistently in any dialect. Its special connection with Māzin b. Bakr may derive from their employing the dissimilated phrase *bā smuk* for *mā smuk* 'what is thy name', which in the form *bismak* is heard to-day at Ṣan'ā (Rossi, San'a, p. 8).

p The Arab philologists say that the Tayyi' turned *ss* and *ṣṣ* into *st*, *ṣṭ*, because the Tayyi' said *ṭast* for *ṭass* 'cup' (Farrā' in Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 124) and *laṣṭ* for *laṣṣ* 'robber' (*ibid.* and Liḥyānī in Lisān, viii, 356), the latter form being used also by some Medineans. There is of course no sound-change here, but the two forms are nearer to the original words in the languages from which these words were borrowed: Persian *dast* and Greek *lēstēs*. In the Tayyi' dialect these more archaic forms may bear witness to the time when that tribe was still in close contact with the non-Arab world.

q There are some instances of *'ain* becoming *'alif*. Farrā' (quoted by Ibn Sikkīt, Qalb, p. 24) gives this as a general rule for the dialect and quotes as instances *da'nī* 'permit me' and *ta'ālahu* 'He is exalted'. 'Azharī (in Tāj, x, 12) knows nothing of the existence of this change in the Tayyi' dialect, and ascribes *'a'da* 'he assisted' and similar forms to the Hijaz dialect. However, the *shāhid* he quotes, containing the form *yu'dīhim* 'he helps them' is by the Ṭā'ī poet Ṭirimmāḥ (xlviii, 8). We have found de-pharyngalization of *'ain* in Hijaz (§ 11 *e*) and elsewhere, and recognized it as a typical feature of West-Arabian. No information is available on the fate of *ḥ* in the dialect.

r Whether this de-pharyngalized *'ain* was pronounced as a glottal stop or simply disappeared depends of course on the fate of original *hamza* in this

dialect. On this ʾAzharī (Taṣrīḥ, quoted Howell, iv, 824) says that some of the tribe sounded the *hamza*, others did not. One doubts whether this statement is the result of observations carried out on the spot. Indirect evidence is contradictory. On the one hand there is *wākhä* for *ʾākhä* 'to fraternize' (Nashwān, Extracts, p. 114) which presupposes the elision of intervocalic *hamza* (cf. § 11 *ff*). On the other there is in *suʾdad* for *sūdad* 'authority' (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 130) a *hamza* not belonging to the root. Such an intrusive *hamza* was one of the features of the neighbouring Qudaʿa dialect of Kalb, where one said *daʾabba* for *dābba* 'beast of burden' and *shaʾabba* for *shābba* 'young woman' (ʾAbū Zaid in Lisān, i, 14; Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 1326). The *hamza* sign there does not necessarily represent a glottal stop, but may be an indication of a two-peak syllable which arose through the difficulty of pronouncing a long vowel in a closed syllable. This phonetic reason for the rise of the *ʾalif* does not apply in *sūdad*. We may compare this to a phenomenon found by Rhodokanakis in the Ẓafār colloquial (Dhofar, ii, 89). There a word like *shājáʿ* may facultatively be pronounced *shāʾagáʿ*. The factor which led in this case to the development of a two-peak syllable was the desire to preserve the length of the *ā* against the tendency to shorten a long unstressed vowel. If this is the explanation of the Tayyiʾ *suʾdad* it would make it necessary to assume that the word was stressed *sūʾŭdádu*, not as in Classical Arabic, *sū́dadu*. There is, however, quite a number of data suggesting the insertion of unorganic *hamza* in long syllables even where it is not possible to assume shift of stress. The dialect of Kabʿaz (*sic*) is reported to have pronounced *saʾq* instead of *sāq* 'leg' (Mukhaṣṣaṣ, ii, 52).[19] In the Lisān (xii, 35) the passage dealing with this form appears to be corrupt, which is a pity, as apparently a dialect was specified there. In that passage a line by Jarīr (which I have not traced) is quoted in the form *ʾaḥabbu l-muʾqidāni* (cf. § 7 *f*) *ʾilaika muʾsā* 'the one of the two kindlers of fire (*mūqidāni*) dearer to Thee is Mūsā'.[20] In Koran, liii, 51/50 Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr are said to have read *ʿādani luʾlä* instead of *ʿādani lʾūlä* عادا الاولى 'the first ʿĀd' (Baiḍāwī). Baiḍāwī (ii, 187) dealing with *suʾq* for *sūq* 'legs' says that the *hamza* is 'because of the *ḍamam* that precedes it', i.e., that the tendency for replacing long vowels by short vowel plus glottal stop was more pronounced with *ū*. However, in the colloquial of Sanʿā' it is *ā*, not *ū*, which shows this tendency, as in *maʾl* for *māl* (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 234). The whole seems to be a phenomenon of intonation. One is vividly reminded of Danish and Latvian, where a glottal stop (the *stød*) replaces certain tones of cognate languages.

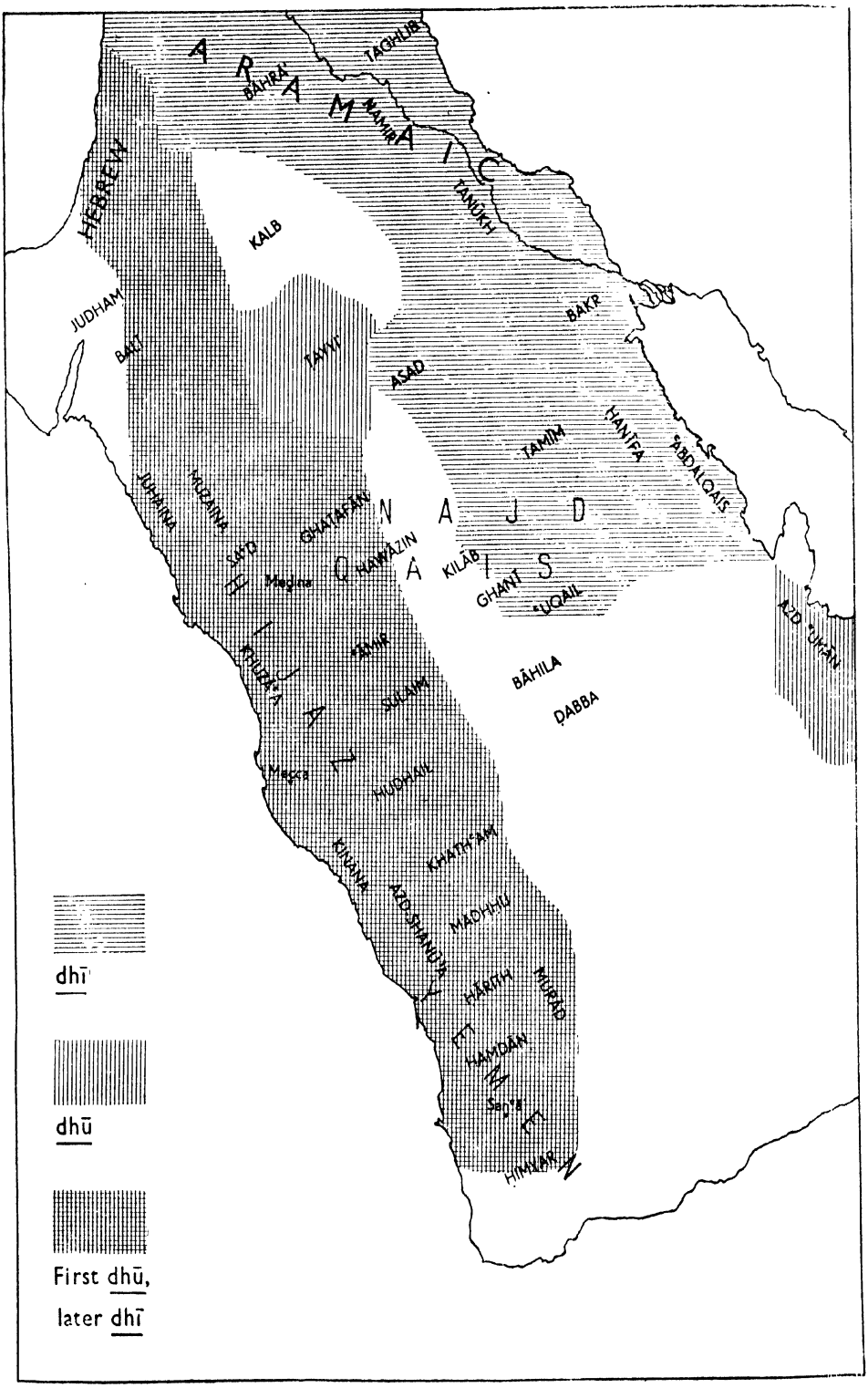
s Ibn Sikkīt (quoted by Rāfiʿī, Tārīkh, i, 138) claims that *hamza* sometimes became *h* in the Tayyiʾ dialect. As instances he quotes *hin* for *ʾin* 'if' and *lahinnaka* for *laʾinnaka* 'verily thou art'. The former is also given by other authorities, but not attributed to the Tayyiʾ dialect (Quṭrub in Lisān,

xvi, 178; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 175), the second is mentioned by Sībawaihi (quoted Lisān, xvi, 173) with the curious remark that 'not all Arabs say so'. It is difficult to say whether we can speak here of a sound-change. The word for 'if' has an initial *h* in Ugaritic (Gordon, Grammar, p. 91), in Biblical Aramaic, in Minaean, and in Qatabanian; the word corresponding to Arabic *'inna* in Hebrew is *hinneh*. There seems to be no consistent principle in the way the forms with *'alif* and *h* are distributed over the various languages. It is however interesting to see the Tayyi' dialect agree with North-Semitic in this respect.

t The suffix pronoun of the third feminine singular is in pause *-ah*, in context *-hā* (Jamhara, i, 234). The *shāhid* is by ʿĀmir b. Juwain: *fa-lam 'ara mithlahā khubāthata wājidin*[21]*/wa-nahnahtu nafsī baʿda mā kidtu 'afʿalah* 'Never have I seen a vile act like this committed in rage, but I checked myself when I had nearly committed it'. The form *mithlahā* is secured by the metre (*ṭawīl*). The distribution of the two forms confirms the theory of Brockelmann (GVG, i, 312) that Hebrew *-āh* is of pausal origin. Of the modern colloquials of N.W.-Arabia, the 'small nomads' have kept the form *-hä*, the Shammar and other camel-bedouins have *-ah*, while one section of the Khawālid, that living in Transjordan, has *-ah* after consonant, *-hā* after vowel (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 78, 182). Those bedouins which we may consider most closely connected with Tayyi' have thus inherited the old pausal form. In the inscription of an-Namāra, *'lʿrb klh* 'all Arabs' apparently also represents *al-ʿaraba kullah*.

u The feminine of the demonstrative was in the Tayyi' dialect *tā*, not the Eastern Arabic *hādhihi* (cf. § 12*f*). Although *tā* was also used in other parts of Arabia, it is expressly stated to be the Tayyi' dialect form by 'Abū 'Ubaid (quoted by Freytag, Einleitung, p. 100). It may be noted that the authors of the inscription of an-Namāra used *ty = tī* or *tai*, not *tā*.

v The relative pronoun of the dialect was *dhū*. The earliest mention of it is by Farrā' (in Lisān, xx, 348) and by the slightly younger Sijistānī (quoted Rāfiʿī, Tārīkh, i, 140). While Sijistānī, Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 11 *b*), and most others (cf. 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 41) assert that the one form *dhū* was used for all numbers, genders, and cases,[22] others maintain that it was inflected partly or altogether like *dhū* meaning 'possessor'. Farrā' tells of a beggar in a mosque at Kufa who used *dhātu* for the feminine (Howell, i, 588), and quotes a line of poetry (by the Tamimi Ru'ba, App. lxx, 1) with *dhawātu* for the feminine plural (Lisān, xx, 348). He suggests that various parts of Ṭayyi' might have had different usages in this respect, and this is the line followed in the eclectic grammars. The truth appears to be that originally *dhū* was used for all genders and numbers, like the Hebrew *zū* corresponding to it. By the time our records set in it had fallen out of use and was confused with *dhū* 'possessor' in the same way as the archaic Hebrew *zū*


ARAMAIC
BĀHRĀ'
TAGHLIB
MANIBA
TANŪKH
ḤEBRĒN
KALB
JUDHAM
BAḲĪ'
ṬAYYI'
ASAD
BAKR
ḤANĪFA
ʿABDALQAIS
YAMĪM
NAJD
ḤANWĀZIN
KILĀB
GHANĪ
ʿUQAIL
AZD
ʿUMĀN
BĀHILA
ḌABBA
JUHAINA
MUZAINA
SAʿD
GHAṬAFĀN
Mecca
ʿAMR
ḤUDHAIL
KHATHʿAM
ʿAZDSHANŪʾA
MADYAN
ḤĀRITH
MURĀD
ḤAMDĀN
Ṣanʿā'
ḤIMYAR
dhī
dhū
First dhū, later dhī

was confused with *zeh* 'this' (cf. Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 153). In the inscription of an-Namāra, *dhū* is employed as relative : *dw 'sr 'ltg = dhū 'asara 'al-tāja* 'who tied on the crown'. In the Hejr inscription of A.D. 267 *d'* appears to be used as relative pronoun in the phrase: *mn y'yr d' 'ly mnh = man yughayyir dhā* (?) *'aliya minhu* 'whoever destroys that of it which is above ground (or: written above it, cf. Lidzbarski, ZAss., xxii, 195). This *d'* is written just like the demonstrative *d'* in line 8; if we are right in our rendering, then the same confusion has happened here as in Hebrew.

w The use of *dhū* as relative particle again brings the Tayyi' dialect into clear connection with at least one of the constituent elements of the Hebrew language. Since Hebrew *zū* is poetical and archaic, it may be presumed, if we accept the mixture theory, to derive from the non-Canaanite side. Borrowing is improbable; the form must go back to the period before the separation of West-Arabian and that other language. However, the Tayyi' dialect is the only part of West-Arabian that possesses the pronoun in this form. In the south it appears in the form *dhī*, which is probably of a secondary character (cf. § 4 *aa*), especially as there is some evidence of the former existence of *dhū* in Oman. In Central and Eastern Arabic we have *alladhī*, which presupposes the existence of simple *dhī* at some point (cf. also § 12 *i*). In this way Eastern Arabic links up with Aramaic, where *zī* < *dhī* is the oldest attainable form. We have thus an isogloss between Canaanite and Aramaic clearly continued through the Arabian peninsula (cf. map. No. 20).

x The definite article was *am-*, as at the other extremity of the West-Arabian area (Nashwān, Extracts, p. 39; Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 169, 174, etc.).[23] A verse by Bujair b. 'Atama (or 'Athma) of Baulān, which is quoted in Lisān, xx, 347 as *shāhid* for *dhū*, contains the forms *am-sahmu* and *am-salama*. For full discussion cf. § 4 *x*.

y According to Ṣāghānī (in Tāj, vi, 65) the *t* of the feminine ending was in this dialect preserved in pause. The parallel passages in Ṣaḥāḥ (ii, 15) and Lisān (x, 383) mention the preservation of *t* as a *lugha*, but do not connect it with Tayyi'. The *shāhid*, where *al-ḥajafat* 'the leather shield' appears in rhyme, is ascribed to a poet named Su'r adh-Dhi'b, about whom I could not discover anything. Another poem, ascribed to 'Abū n-Najm al-'Ijlī (Lisān, xx, 361)—at any rate not a Ṭā'ī—has several nouns with *-at* in rhyme, but betrays itself as a joke by the form *mat* for *mah*, *mā* 'what'. Proof for the connection of this feature with Tayyi' is thus weak. It is better attested for the far south (§ 4 *p*). In some of the north-western dialects *t* must have been preserved, since it appears regularly in Greek and Latin transcriptions of Arabic names made before 300 A.D., as *Dumatha*, *Sabbatha*, *Maiphath*, *Odenathus* (Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 158), *Borechath = Buraika* (Waddington, No. 2396) and in Nabataean spellings (cf. Cantineau, Nabatéen, ii, 171).

The Syriac and Byzantine authors of the fifth to seventh centuries, on the other hand, transcribe the Arabic feminine ending as *-a* (Nöldeke, Haus Gafna, p. 6, note 3). One is strongly tempted to connect this with the ousting of Tayyi' in this region by the Quda'a, but the material is really too scanty for any such conclusion.

z As against the possible preservation of singular *-at*, the *t* of the feminine plural ending *-āt* was dropped in pause (Quṭrub in Zamakhsharī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 176). This phenomenon is well attested in certain bedouin colloquials of the Syrian desert and Najd (Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 182; Socin, Diwan, iii, 107; especially Cantineau, Parlers, p. 20). The purely phonetic character of the change is revealed by the position in the colloquial of the N'èm in eastern Syria, where the *t* is weak, but audible, and with the Shammar, the alleged descendants of the Tayyi', where the *ā* is followed by a weak *y*, e.g., *ĕbgarā^{y}=baqarāt*, just as in the feminine singular perfect *ktöb^{w}a^{y}=katabat* (Cantineau, p. 133). It is in those colloquials part of the general weakening of certain final consonants, which we have (§ *f* above) also suspected to have been observed in the ancient Tayyi' dialect.[24] For the possibility of the same phenomenon in the south, cf. § 7 *k*.

aa We have no information as to whether the Tayyi' dialect had in the prefixes of the *a*-imperfect *i*, like the east, or *a*, like the west (cf. § 6 *i*, 12 *p*). If our theory that the use of the *i*-prefixes developed in the Canaanite area and spread thence eastward into Arabia (cf. Journal of Jewish Studies, i, 26) is correct, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Tayyi' dialect was affected, or indeed acted as transmitter of the new forms. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether we may adduce in favour of this the statement of Marzūqī (quoted Tāj, vii, 313) that the form *'ikhālu* 'methinks' originated in the dialect of Tayyi'. This form, which was used all over Arabia, probably has nothing to do with the *i*-prefixes or *taltala* (cf. further § 8 *bb*).

bb The conjugation of intransitive verbs mediæ *w* is of an archaic pattern, as in Hijaz (cf. 12 *s*). The Tayyi' said *mittu* for *muttu* 'I died' (Jamhara, ii, 29) and *mā dimtu* for *mā dumtu* 'as long as I last' (*ibid.*, iii, 485). The form *mittu* occurs in the Ṭā'ī poet Ṭirimmāḥ (i, 16). While the Hijaz dialect, as far as we know, had to these the imperfects *yamūtu*, *yadūmu*, the Tayyi' also had the corresponding imperfects *yamātu*, *yadāmu* (cf. Jamhara, iii, 485). In the case of *yamātu*, Brockelmann (GVG, i, 608) believes that the *ā* was restored by analogy, as the verb has *ū* in all other Semitic dialects, but it may just as well be that the more archaic dialects of West-Arabian had preserved the form *yamātu*. It is used in several modern colloquials (e.g., Syria, cf. Driver, Grammar, p. 91). Ibn Ya'īsh (p. 1257) states that the *a*-imperfect of mediæ *w* was pronounced with *'imāla*. Though he mentions no dialect in this connection, this could hardly be the ordinary combinatory *'imāla* of the Eastern dialects, as no *i* is present. I would suggest that these

forms, *yamētu*, *yadēmu*, etc., were current in some West-Arabian dialects, and were due to analogy with the perfect, which was there *mēta*, *dēma* (cf. § 10 *y seq.*). The full analogy of the pairs *qumtu* : *yaqūmu* and *zidtu* : *yazīdu* should have produced *mittu* : **yamītu*. The *yamētu* described by Ibn Ya'īsh is a compromise between this and the *ā* required by the grammatical system, which can only be understood through the presence of a perfect *mēta*. We may assume that the *ē* in the third person existed in Tayyi', as in the other Western dialects.

cc The sound-change *iya* > *ā* discussed in § *i* above transformed the paradigm of the perfect of intransitive verbs tertiæ infirmæ, which ran in this dialect *baqītu*, *baqīta*, *baqā*, *baqat*. The form *baqat* for the third feminine singular is attested by grammarians and found in poetry. It is all the stranger to find an early authority like Liḥyānī declaring that the Tayyi' form was *laqayat*, corresponding to common *laqiyat*. This occurs in a line of an unnamed Ṭā'ī (Lisān, iv, 184): *lam talqa khailun qablahā mā laqayat/min ghibbi hājiratin wa-sairin mus'adi* 'no horses ever suffered what they suffered from extreme midday-heat and strenuous journey'. There follows the gloss: 'he means to say *laqiyat*, this is Tayyi' dialect'. The verb-form must have been preserved here by tradition, as nothing would prevent reading *laqiyat*. It is curiously similar to the Hebrew hapax legomenon *ḥāsāyāh* (Ps. lvii, 2), which is just as difficult to account for. Without further data it is not possible to say whether one should really take it as a form of the Tayyi' dialect. One should also take into account the odd *'amsajat* for *'amsat*, which presupposes *'amsayat* (cf. the note on § 14 *m*).

dd The verb *qalā*, *qalä* 'to dislike' had in the Tayyi' dialect the imperfect *yaqlā*, *yaqlä* (Lisān, xx, 59; Suyūṭī, Sh. Shaw. Mughnī, p. 83). The *shāhid* for *yaqlä* in the Lisān is anonymous; the verse with *yaqlī* is by 'Abū Muḥammad al-Faq'asī, of the neighbouring tribe of 'Asad. This could be easily explained on the assumption that Tayyi' *qalā* stood for *qaliya*; such a form is indeed recorded for Classical Arabic by several authorities in the Lisān passage. However, Ibn Mālik (Tashil, f. 71 *b*) states that 'all except the Tayyi' had *kasrä* in the imperfect of verbs tertiæ *yā'* in which the second radical was not a guttural'. I cannot see any other meaning to this than that, where others said *banä* : *yabnī*, the Ṭayyi' said *banä* : *yabnä*, or rather in accordance with Western usage (§ 10 *ff*) *banai* : *yabnai*. This is less surprising than it seems, since there are also some traces in Hebrew of a similar generalization of the intransitive type. The imperfect without affixes, —*yibhneh*, *yirṣeh*—may go back to **yibnai*, **yirḍai* as much as to **yibnī*, **yirḍī* (cf. Bauer-Leander, Hist. Gramm., p. 407), but *tibhkeynāh* for the third plural feminine can only be derived from **tibkaina*. The few cases of forms with *y* preserved before suffixes show (in pause) all *a*: *tibh'āyūn* 'ye will seek', *ye'ĕthāyū* 'they will come', *ye'ĕthāyēnī* 'he comes to me', although their

Arabic cognates have *i*-imperfects. In the proper names in *Ya/i-* from such roots, which no doubt represent often archaic forms of the imperfect (cf. Gees, AJSL, xxvii, 305 *seq.*, and Rabin, Journal of Jewish Studies, i, 23) final *ī* occurs in compounds (as *Yaʿăśīʾēl*, *Yaḥzīʾēl*, *Yirʾiyyāh*), but *ā* or *ai* in names not followed by a theophoric element: *Yaḥdai*, *Yaʿănai*, *Yimnāh*, *Yishwāh*, *Yeʿdai*, etc. The only exception to this is *Yishwī*, which however appears in the Septuagint as *Iessai*. The Arabic cognates of the roots contained in these names have mostly *ī*-imperfects. It is therefore not entirely out of the question that Hebrew did at one stage transform not only the perfect but also the imperfect of the transitive verbs tertiæ *y* after the intransitive pattern. This lends some plausibility to Ibn Mālik's statement. If our argument is accepted, we would have here another instance of close similarity between a West-Arabian dialect and Hebrew in a development that certainly took place after the two languages had become separate.

ee Three forms are given in our sources for the Tayyiʾ equivalent of words of the type *ḥublä*: some said *ḥublai*, others *ḥublau*, both without making a difference between pausal and context form (Sībawaihi, ii, 314); those of Tayyiʾ who sounded the *hamza* pronounced *ḥublaʾ* in pause (ʾAzharī, Taṣrīḥ, quoted by Howell, iv, 824). The effect of the disappearance of *hamza* on the inflection of nouns in *-ai* and *-āʾu* has been discussed in § 11 *ee*. After a noun like *ʾināʾ*, owing to the fall of *hamza*, had taken in the genitive the form *ʾinai* and in the nominative *ʾinau*, *ḥublai* was drawn into the same paradigm. Some parts of the Tayyiʾ area may have retained the nominative as sole form, others the genitive, or Sībawaihi's informant, having heard such words sometimes in the one case and sometimes in the other, came to the conclusion that different Ṭāʾī speakers used different forms. It is quite likely that in those districts where *hamza* was at least partly preserved the *-ai* nouns were similarly attracted into the paradigm of those with *-āʾ*.

ff According to Ibn Qūṭiyya (Libro dei Verbi, p. 5) the Tayyiʾ dialect formed the *maṣdar mīmī* of verbs primæ *w* on the pattern *mafʿal*. Thus it had *mauʿad* for *mauʿid* 'promise' and *mauzan* for *mauzin* 'weighing'. This must be combined with another piece of information, given by Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 75 *a*), that the rule according to which nomina loci of concave verbs with sound third radical have the pattern *mafʿil*, applies in all dialects except that of Ṭayyiʾ. According to Ibn Mālik, then, the Tayyiʾ said *mauḍaʿ* for *mauḍiʿ* 'place', etc. There seems to have been some principle of vowel-harmony or rhythm at work which favoured the sequence *mau.a.* as against *mau.i.*

gg The Tayyiʾ and Kalb said *mini* before *ʾalif al-waṣl* instead of *mina* (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xvii, 311). For further discussion of the form of *min*, see § 7 *o*.

hh The Tayyi', like the other West-Arabian dialects (cf. §13 *b*) made the predicate of a verbal clause agree in number with its subject (Khafājī, Sharḥ Durrat al-ghawwāṣ, p. 152).

NOTES

[1] If we accept the idea that the West-Arabians migrated in several waves from the north to their historical habitations, we might even say that the north-Yemenite tribes, being the last wave of immigrants in that province, ought to show linguistic affinities with the Tayyi', who stayed nearest the original home. The existence of some Tayyi' in northern Yemen (cf. Wellhausen, Reste arab. Heidentums, p. 129) can be due to some of the tribe having taken part in that migration.

[2] This is the place where the *Ṣuḥārī* garments were made. It may be the *ṣḥr* mentioned in the South-Arabian inscription CIH. 407, line 19, of the time of Shammar Yuhar'ish.

[3] In Al-'alfāẓ wal-ḥurūf, quoted Suyūṭī, Iqtirāḥ (Hyderabad ed. p. 19). His opinion on this matter is particularly interesting, since it presumably is that of the educated non-philologist. He grants only part of T. the seal of correctness.

[4] 'Anīs (Lahajāt, p. 7) gives a list of districts in Egypt whose dialects are known for eliding final consonants in pause. Further specification would be desirable, but the feature agrees well with the generally Western character of the Egyptian colloquial.

[5] Kofler (WZKM, xlviii, 264) quotes one example of vowel-harmony: Ṭā'ī *Sudūs* as against Yemenite *Sadūs* (Lisān, vii, 410); but this is a clan name which may have been formed independently in each area, not, as K. thinks, the word for 'cloak'.

[6] Cantineau (Ḥoran, p. 86) makes a distinction between these *mufakhkham* sounds and true emphatics.

[7] The sound of ظ was, of course, in ancient Arabic that of an emphatic *dh*, as is still demanded in *tajwīd*, not the *ẓ* of modern Egyptian pronunciation. It may be noted here that in older Arabic each emphatic consonant corresponded to a pair of non-emphatic ones, one of which was voiced and the other voiceless: *t*—*d*—*ṭ*; *s*—*z*—*ṣ*; *th*—*dh*—ظ; and (probably) *sh*—*l*—ض (cf. § 4 *m*). It was therefore of no phonological significance whether the emphatic sound was produced with or without voice. This is why ظ can be a voiced sound in modern Yemenite colloquial and ق voiced in most bedouin colloquials. (Cf. the detailed discussion by Cantineau, BSL, xliii, 111–12).

[8] Similar processes may explain the fact that Assyrian *sinqu* 'chains' was taken over into Hebrew and Aramaic as *ziqqīm*, *zanqā*. If *sinqu* is cognate to Arabic *ḍank* 'straitness' and Hebrew *ṣīnōq* 'pillory, prison', we would have all three alternatives as in Arabic; but perhaps the cognate is Arabic *shanaqa* 'to strangle'. It is possible that the prothetic *'a* of *'ăziqqīm* (Jer., xl, 1, 4) points to an effort to reproduce an unfamiliar sound, viz., **ẓ*.

[9] The vowel resulting from this contraction is in our sources spelled sometimes *-ā* and at others *-ä*. Since *ä* was in this dialect probably pronounced *ai*, as well as for other reasons, it is practically certain that *-ā* is the correct form and *-ä* written through analogy with *banä* and similar forms. In what follows I write *-ā* throughout.

[10] An instructive instance of how the philologists managed to get rid of dialect forms is a line Jamhara, i, 32 in which *suqā* 'was given to drink' occurs. In Lisān, i, 465 the line is so reconstructed that the active *saqä* appears instead.

[11] Cf. Mishnah *Ḥullīn*, iii, 4 and Bab. Talmud *Shabbath*, f. 28 *b*. In Biblical Hebrew the word means 'pinion-feather'. The root *nṣy* is of course connected with Hebrew *nṣṣ*, Targumic Aramaic *nyṣ* 'to sprout'.

[12] So Brockelmann (GVG, i, 619) - who writes *'uḫlā* - against the edition and Lisān (xviii, 261), who have *'akhlä*.

[13] It speaks for our theory that the forms in *-ā* have completely replaced those in *-iya* in the Maghrib, where West-Arabian influence is strong, and have to some extent done so in Egypt, Iraq, and Spain, dialects with many West-Arabian elements (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 621).

[14] As far as I know, no noun-forms exhibiting this sound-change have been found in texts of Hijazi origin. This does not imply that such forms were not used in the dialect.

[15] On Hebrew *ḥāsāyāh*, cf. § *cc* below.

[16] It is hardly necessary to point out that *y* and *j* are very close in articulation. Cf. Spanish *jo=yo* 'I', North-German *tya=ja* 'yes', and in the Semitic field *rejīm* for *reyīm* 'high', etc., in the Massawa dialect of Tigre (Littmann, ZAss, xiii, 149). Some unknown Arabic dialect seems also, like Tigre, to have hardened single intervocalic *y* into *j*. Ibn Ya'īsh (p. 1390) quotes from 'Abū Zaid an anonymous line: *ḥattä 'idhā 'amsajat wa-'amsajā* 'until she and the two of them reached the evening', for *'amsat, 'amsayā*. The consonantal *y*, which **'amsayat* must have had at one time, is not the same as that in Ṭayyi' *laqayat* (§ *cc* below), but reminds one of South-Arabian.

[17] On the sound of *jīm* in Ṭayyi', cf. the note on § 4 *i*.

[18] The Lisān (iii. 425) gives *majjāḥ* 'boastful' as a form of the Yeminite dialect.

[19] The Meccan Ibn Kathīr read in xxvii, 44 *'an sa'qaihā* 'from her legs' for *sāqaiha*, and in xxxviii, 32/33 *bis-su'qi* 'on the legs' ('Abū 'Amr read *bis-su'ūqi*), and in xlviii, 29 *'alä su'qihi* 'on its stems', but apparently nowhere *sa'q* for *sāq*. Baiḍāwī thinks the *hamza* in *su'q* is because of the *ū*, and was thence transferred to *sa'qaiha*. Hebrew *shōq* shows no *'aleph*.

[20] Lisān, xv, 315 we are told that the Ḍabbi 'Ajjāj said *'a'lamun* for *'ālamun* 'world' and *kha'tamun* for *khātamun* 'seal', but his son Ru'ba did not share this pronunciation. Perhaps we might see here a peculiarity of the older speakers of the Ḍabba dialect.

[21] I have emended from the Jamhara's *khubāṣata* 'spoils'. Suyūṭī (Sh. sh. al-Mughnī) has *ḫubāsata* 'injustice'. Most texts, including Sībawaihi (i. 129), read *khubāsata wāḥidin*, which leaves the second hemistich in the air.

[22] We find Ṭā'īs using *dhū* for the genitive in verse in Ḥamāsa, p. 515, line 6 and in prose, *ibid.*, p. 148, line 20.

[23] A most peculiar use occurs in the oath of a Ṭā'ī in Ḥamāsa, p. 148, line 20, *wa-dhū baituhu bi-samā'* 'whose dwelling is in heaven'. We should expect *bim-samā'* or *bis-samā'*. Is this perhaps some kind of Aramaic formula (*dĕ-bhēthēh bī-shmayyā*). It is certainly odd that such a form should have survived the vicissitudes of copying.

[24] According to 'Ushmūnī (iv, 160) the Ṭayyi' also said *haihā* for *haihāt* 'come on'. This would support our view that the change was purely phonetical, if one did not suspect that 'Ushmūnī's statement rests on apriori grounds, not on tradition.

ADDENDA

p. ix, Bibliography: Ḥammūda, 'Abdalwahhāb: Al-qirā'āt wal-lahajāt, Cairo, 1948. An important contribution to the problems discussed by Vollers. It uses extensively the Koran commentary of 'Abū Ḥayyān (on whom cf. p. 8), to which I have so far had no access, and which seems to contain many new data.

p. 7, §*d*: In 1946 Ṣalāḥaddīn Munajjad published a 'Kitāb al-lughāt fī l-Qur'ān on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasanain', which is largely identical with our Risāla. I hope to deal with the various versions of this list in another publication.

p. 27, No. 9. Cf. further G. Furlani, Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, vi, 1–11. The word may also occur in Hebrew if the emendation in 2 Sam. xxiii, 8 is right (cf. Driver, Notes on . . . Samuel, p. 364).

p. 84, § *m*: An old example for this may be Assyrian *anāqāti* "she-camels", if from a Proto-Arabian **yanāqāt* "suckling ones" (cf. Gen. xxxii, 16)=Arabic *'ainuq*, cf. Zimmern, Akkad. Fremdwörter, etc. (1915), p. 50.

p. 87, § *s*: Naḥḥās (d. 338) ascribes this to "many of Hawāzin and Hudhail" (Abū Ḥayyān, quoted Ḥammūda, p. 28).

p. 96, § *f*: Cf. further J. Fück, Arabiya (1950), p. 10.

p. 125: A story of the time of Ma'mūn (ca. 200/815), told by Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, iii, 1148, treats it as common knowledge that the substitution of *k* for *q* took place only in the Himyar dialect.

p. 126, §*c*: Tibrīzī (d. 502/1108) claims that *'anṭä* is inherited from the 'Arab al-'Āriba, the prehistoric inhabitants of Hijāz ('Abū Ḥayyān, quoted Ḥammuda, p. 123). Does this perhaps mean the original West-Arabians?

p. 142, § *gg*: The form *nā'a* is in fact ascribed to the dialects of Hawāzin, Kināna, Hudhail, and many Medineans ('Abū Shāma, 'Ibrāz al-ma'ānī, p. 379, quoted by Ḥammūda, p. 28).

p. 158, § *r*: Perhaps this formation started from the perfect, where **iutazara*>**ütazara* >*ītazara* in accordance with § *t*, and then the long vowel was extended to the other tenses by analogy.

p. 165, No. 2: The spelling *-kāh* is the rule in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which also contain such interesting archaisms as *hū'āh*, *hī'āh*, "he, she", cf. Ugaritic, South-Arabian, and Spanish Arabic *hūwat*, *hīyat*.

p. 194, § *e*: The Ṭā'ī Ḥuraith b. 'Annāb (Ḥamāsa p. 650) accuses the Ṭā'ī clan Banū Thu'al of speaking a language unintelligible to other people.

p. 202, line 9: According to Ḥammūda, p. 122, quoting (directly?) from 'Abū Zaid's Kitāb al-hamz, the dialect was not Kalb, but Kilāb. If correct, this would connect up with the change *au*>*a'u* in closed syllable reported for the neighbouring dialect of Ghanī (p. 153). The transformation of *Yājūj wa-Mājūj* into *Ya'jūj wa-Ma'jūj* is, on the other hand, ascribed to the 'Asad, the neighbours of Tayyi' (Farrā' in 'Abū Ḥayyān, quoted Ḥammūda, p. 125). This is exactly the same change as in Tayyi' *su'dad*.

Index I
DIALECT WORDS AND FORMS

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