ANCIENT WEST-ARABIAN
THE WEST-ARABIAN DIALECT AREA
ANCIENT WEST-ARABIAN

by

CHAIM RABIN
B.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Cowley Lecturer in Post-Biblical Hebrew
University of Oxford

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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a selection of available data, and I could hope for no better fate for this book than that it should rapidly become out of date.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 *hamsa* also in the initial position and noted *'alif mağṣūra*, when written with *ya*², by the symbol *ā*, which is not meant to indicate anything about the phonetic character of that sound (cf. § 10 b b). The common Classical *‘imāla*’ is indicated by *ē*, the ‘Hijazi *‘imāla*’ (cf. § 10 x) by *ē*. As for *tanwîn* and *tâ‘ 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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'Anis, Ibrāhīm: Al-lahajāt al-'arabiyya, Cairo, c. 1946. A critical study, based on wide reading. The author is mainly interested in phonetical differences, and minimizes the value of grammatical and syntactical data.

Barth, J.: Das arabische s-Suffix der zweiten Person sing. fem., WZKM, xxiv (1910), 281-6.

Blau, O.: Altarabische Sprachstudien, ZDMG, xxv (1871), 525-92. Mainly concerned with dialect differences in the first four centuries A.D.


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Freytag, W.: Einführung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache, Bonn, 1861. Pages 65-125 are devoted to the dialects. Material is arranged by dialects, but uncritically gathered mainly from Muzhir and Turkish Qāmūs.

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id.: Die arabische Verbalpartikel b (m), MSOS, iii (1900), 48-101 and Marburg 1900.

Kazem Beg: Observations sur le chapitre inconnu du Coran, JA, 1843, pp. 373-429. Discusses various, rather fanciful, forms of the definite article.

Kofler, H.: Reste altarabischer Dialekte, WZKM, lxvii–lxxix (1940–1942). Fullest collection of data to date, assembles not only forms attributed to specific dialects, but also unspecified material from the whole field of grammar. Arranged under grammar headings; no attempt at geographical treatment.

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id.: Dathina, Leiden 1905–1913.

id.: Glossaire Dathinois, Leiden 1920–47. Draws on the older dialects to illustrate a modern Yemenite colloquial.

Nöldeke, Th.: Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte, in Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg 1904, pp. 1–14.

id.: The ancient Arabic dialects and their relation to Hebrew (Hebrew), Melilah, ii (Manchester 1946), 243–55.


Rāfi‘ī M.S.; Tārīkh ḥadīth al-‘arbā, I, Cairo, 1912. On the dialects, pp. 103–58. Rarely mentions his sources, but where he can be checked he is reliable. Contains some material I have not found elsewhere.


id.: Der sprachgeschichtliche Wert einiger älterer Wortschreibungen im Koran, ZAss, xxx (1915–6), 46–59. Uses Koranic spelling to reconstruct the Hijazi dialect.

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.

Weil, G.: Die Behandlung des Hamza-Alif im Arabischen, ZAss, xix (1906), 1–63. Without intending to deal specifically with Hijazi, this careful article, based on the best Arab grammarians, throws much light on that dialect. Its statements have for our purposes to be checked with the spelling of old Korans (described in Nöldeke, Geschichte des Korans, 2nd ed.), which often differs from the grammarians’ rules.

Yāzījī, Nāṣīf: Kitāb mumayyazāt lughāt al-‘arbā, Acts of Seventh Or. Congress (1886), ii, 69–104. Rich collection of data, but sources are not named, and the author lays himself open to the charge of hasty generalization. He also freely invents ‘examples’.
List of abbreviations, editions used, etc.

'Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla fī mā warada min lughāt al-qabā‘īl (cf. § 2 d), on margin of Dīrīnm’s Taisir fī 'ilm at-tafsīr, Cairo 1310.
AFO Archiv für Orientforschung.
‘Aintābī, see Qāmūs Turc.
‘Astarābādī, comm. on the Kāfiya of Ibn Ḥājib, Istanbul 1310.
Baidāwī, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1846.
Ḥamāsa, ed. Freytag, Bonn 1828.
Ḥarīrī, Durra, Istanbul 1299.
Ḥātim Ṭā‘ī, ed. Schulthess, Leipzig 1897.
Ibn Fāris, Aṣ-Ṣāhibī, Cairo 1910.
Ibn Hishām, Mughni, ed. Cairo n.d. (Muṣṭafā Bābī al-Ḥalabī).
Ibn Mālik, Tashīl al-fawā'id, MS. India Office, Loth 963.
JA, Journal Asiatique.
Jamhara of Ibn Duraid, Hyderabad 1344–51.
Miṣbāḥ of Fayyūmī, Cairo 1916.
Mukhashṣaṣ of Ibn Sīda, Bulaq 1316–21.
Nashwān, Extracts: Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben ... herausg.
von Azimuddin Ahmad, Leiden 1916.
OLZ, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Qālī, 'Amālī, Cairo 1926.
Qāmūs Turc, by 'Ainṭābī, Bulaq 1250.
Reinhardt, C.: Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zanzibar,
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Reckendorf, H.: Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen, Leiden
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{id}: Arabische Syntax, Heidelberg 1921.
Rhodokanakis, N.: Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Dofar (Zfār), Wien.
1911.
Ris. cf. 'Abū 'Ubaid.
Rossi, E.: Il dialetto arabo parlato a San‘a, Roma 1938.
RSO Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
Ṣabbān, supercommentary on 'Ushmūnī on the Ṭalfīyya, Cairo 1329.
Shinqṭṭī, comm. on the shawāhid of Suyūṭī’s Jam‘, Cairo 1328.
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{id}: Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ fi n-naḥw, Cairo 1327–8.
{id}: Al-Bahja al-mardīyya ‘alā Ṭalfīyyat Ibn Mālik, Cairo 1291.
{id}: Al-Muzhir fi ʿulūm al-lughā, Cairo 1325.
'Ushmūnī, comm. on Ṭalfīyya of Ibn Mālik, Cairo 1329.
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, Rabī'ā, ṬAsad, 'Uqail, Ghani 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: Lihiyanic, Thamudic, Safatene, the language of the en-Namara 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 ‘Uqail 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 Tamīm and Rabī‘a. 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. Völlers 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:

2. *Id.* by Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), cf. *Fihrist*, p. 67.
3. *Id.* by ʿAbū ʿUbaida Maʿmar b. Muthannā (d. 210/825), cf. *ibid.* p. 54.
8. *Id.*, by ʿAbdallāh or ʿUmar az-Zaʿfarānī or ad-Dūmī, cf. *Fihrist*, p. 84; Yāqūṭ, ʿIrshād, 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 Barri (d. 582/1187), quoted Lisān, xx, 194. The quotation does not refer to dialect matter.


11 (?). A *kitāb al-lughāt* is mentioned by Ibn Khālawīh (d. 370/980) in his *Kitāb Laisa*, ed. Shinqiṭṭī, p. 42.
d 12. We possess only one monograph on dialects. This is a treatise ascribed to ʿAbū ʿUbaid Qāsim b. Sallām al-Herewī (d. 223/838), entitled Risāla fi mā warada fi l-qurʾānī min lughātī l-qabāʾīlī ‘Treatise on dialect words in the Koran’. The work was published on the margin of the lithographed edition of Dīrīnī’s Taisir fi ʿilm at-tafsīr (Cairo 1310), and reprinted on the margin of the Tafsīr al-Jalālīn (Cairo 1356). Suyūṭī, in his ʿIṭqān (p. 310), quotes extensively from a monograph (taʿlīf muʿfradī) of ʿAbū 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-Bāʿida, on the coast near Mecca. Remnants of that tribe were known to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763; quoted by ʿAzraqqī, ʿAkhbār Makka, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 54; cf. Nöldeke, Fünf Muʿallaqāt, iii, 27, n. 2). It is thus possible that ʿAbū 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 ʿAbū ʿUbaid’s unpublished Gharīb al-muṣānnaf.

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. Sibawaih 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 Sibawaihi noted. It was only the later eclectic and encyclopaedist grammarians, such as ʿAstarābādī (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 ʿAlfiyya. Perhaps it had already become fashion to be expert in such linguistic curiosities. The commentators of Ibn Mālik—Ibn
'Aqil, 'Ushmūnī, and Suyūṭī—are valuable secondary sources who have preserved for us many data from lost works. One of these commentaries, the mammoth work of 'Abū Ḥayyān, is recommended by Qalqashandi (d. 821/1418) as the best source of information about the dialects (Subḥ al-3'ašā, ii, 233). We may note in passing the curious fact that a knowledge of such things was considered of value for a civil servant.\(^2\)

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 'Azdī dialect\(^3\). The commentators of Diwān Hudhayl 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 Ikhāl, 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.

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 Ta‘ī 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.

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: 'Andalusī (quoted by 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 117) believes to find in a verse kā‘ meaning kā‘fa ‘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 Diwān Hudhayl 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 س at the opening of Sura xxxvi are said to represent َل َس, said to mean ‘o man’ in the dialect of Tayyī’, the letters ﺔ in Sura xx, to mean ‘o man’ or ‘o thou’ in the dialect of ‘Akk (Baidawi, ii, 156; i, 591). The Greek loanword َiqd ‘key’ is made into Yemenite dialect because it occurs in a line of poetry ascribed to ‘Tubba” (Lisan, iv, 368).

k Borrowing from different dialects was proffered as an explanation for the َأًدد، the words with two (real or imaginary) opposite meanings. When a sound-complex (harf) 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, َأًدد، p. 7). It was only a step from this to the naive attitude expressed by َأًبَع ‘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 (مَكِحَالَفَانِي) dialect’ (Suyūṭi, Muzhir, i, 111, from Zubaidī, Ṭabqaqat an-nahwiyyīn). We need not take the ‘majority’ criterion too seriously, as several usages current among the majority of desert Arabs, such as the taltala (§ 6 r) 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 َلَ, 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’i, 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 ‘an alternative form for ...’; a later author, quoting him, would substitute fa’ َذِي ُلْ-ْلُغُحِ ‘in some dialect’,
or vice versa. The restrictions placed by some writers on the use of *lughā* do not make matters any clearer. E.g., ʻAstārābdī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 31) in discussing ḥūlāʼi for ḥāʼūlāʼi, says: ʻit is not a lughā, but a shortened form of ḥāʼūlāʼi.ʼ Apparently *lughā* 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 Suyūtī’s Jamʿ al-jawāmīʿ (i, 37) we find the following passage: ʻSome say that the treatment of diptote nouns in prose as triptotes is the usage of the dialect of some Arabs. This view originated with ʻAkhfash, 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 (Kosler, WZKM, xlviii, 264). But those who realized more clearly the implication of the term dialect were not always right in applying it. Discussing Farrā’s view that *mundhu* is composed of *min* and the relative *dhū*, Ibn Yaʿish 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*, ‘ajʿaja, ‘ajrafiyya, *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 ‘anʿana of Tamīm was made to refer to the fact that that tribe said ‘an for ʿan; therefore the ‘ajʿaja of Qudaʾa and Tayyiʾ must mean that they said ‘ij for ‘i (§ 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 ‘Azd and ‘Asad dialects under one heading. Other confusions that I have found occasionally are Hudhail and Ḥanṣala (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, Khuzā‘a, Medina, the ‘Āliya, 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 Sibawaihi. Suyūtī 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, Tashil, f. 22 a). Because the Tamīm inflected halumma (§ 12 a), the uninflated halumma is made Hijazī dialect (‘Astarābādī, 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.
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: ۸Abū ‘Ubaid (d. 223/838) reports from al-Hasan: we did not know what al-enerating meant until we met a man from Yemen who told us that his countrymen used the word ۹arīka to denote the canopy under which the bridal bed is erected (Suyūṭī, Itqān, p. 310). Another interesting story is that of ۸Abū ‘Amr (d. 154/771) settling a point of dispute by sending out two emissaries to test the reactions (laqquna) of a Hijazi 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, Mughni, 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 ‘afdalu ‘strike whichever of them is the most excellent’ (‘Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 57). 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.

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, Mughni, i, 81; Tāha Ḥusain, Al-2-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).

v 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 koine 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 sarf nor by nahw. 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
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.

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, 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 ‘Omar b. ‘Abī Rabī’a. 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.

The philologists speak invariably of fixed dialect units. These are rarely localities (Mecca, Medina, Ţā’if) or small tribal sections (these especially in the case of Tamīm and Ṭaṣad), 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 hāyy, 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 townsman 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 'mi‘ma and bi‘sa take the
feminine t in all dialects' (Suyūtī, Bahja,f,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 Ma‘add 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 Ḥaḍārī 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, xcvii) says it was spoken ‘on ne sait quand’, but its grammatical form was largely due to the work of the poets. ² Anis (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.

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.

17
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' (ṣaḥaṭ l-ḥarab 'abarruthum) says a proverb (Lisān, v, 119). The philologist Farrāʾ (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 ʿAsad bedouins who dwelt near his home town (Nöldeke, Beiträge, p. 5). ʿAbū Qilābā al-Jarmī avers that the most elegant speakers of Arabic he ever saw were some Ḥārith bedouins he met at Mecca (Mubarrad, Kamīl, p. 434). The idea of bedouin ṣaḥāṭa is made the subject of a literary genre in the ʿAmālī of ʿIsmaʿīl 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 Diwān of Hudhayl. 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. 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.

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. 'Abū 'Ubaid (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 Hawāizin, in that of Yemen, etc. Some dialects have a greater share in the Koran than others' (quoted Suyūṭī, Ḥīṭqān, p. 110).4 'Abū Bakr al-Wāṣīṭī gives in his Ḥīrshād fī l-qira'āt al-ʿashr a list of fifty dialects and eight foreign languages which contributed to the vocabulary of the Koran (quoted Suyūṭī, Ḥīṭqān, p. 313).5 Ibn 'Abdālbarr (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 ('iḥṣāʿ al-qurān): '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 'Abbās, in which he explains the seven ʿaḥruf in which the Koran is said to have been revealed as seven dialect versions, five of them in the dialects of the ʿaʿjāz Hawāizin, 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 'Abbās's statement are Hijazi.

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 (Khaṣṣaʾīš, i, 379). A similar view was expressed by ʿAnbārī with reference to the ʿaḍḍād (§ 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 (furūʾ), not in essentials (ʿusūl), and all dialect forms fit into the general grammatical system of the language (laḥu mina l-qiyāsī waḥṣun).

h The popular idea of the origin of Classical Arabic among townsfolk, 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 ‘afsāḥ 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, ʾItqān, 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 fasīḥ 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 (ʾaʿrabu l-qaumī). 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 Ṭaʿīf, who were reckoned among the Upper Hawāzin, appear to have enjoyed a fairly general reputation for fasāḥa. 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, Ṭaʿīf, p. 181). The Caliph ʿOthmān 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, Sāḥibī, 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).

1 In the case of the Hudhail, we can see how this reputation for literary correctness was later misunderstood as applying to the dialect. Muqaddasī (ʾAḥsan 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 Hijāz, except that of the ʾAḥqāf, 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 Hijāz 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 Quʿāin or Quʿāin Naṣr. There were sections called Quʿāin both in ʾAsad and Qais; neither of these seems to have been in any way remarkable. One suspects the name stands for the tribe Whatcitsname, 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 Quda'a confederacy. 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.

1 This anecdote occurs in Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 364), Ḥarīrī (Durra, p. 114, ed. Thorbecke, p. 183), Zamakhshari (Mufasāl, p. 156), and Ibn ‘Abdi Rabbīhi (‘Iqd, i, 294). The following is the oldest version, that of the Kāmil: ‘One whom I do not count among my colleagues tells in the name of ‘Aṣma‘ī, who had it from Shu‘ba, who had it from Qatāda, that Mu‘awiya 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 furātīyya of Iraq, keeps to the right of the haskhasha of Tamīm and to the left of the kaskasa of Bakr, which does not have the ghamghama of Qudā‘a, nor the tamlumāniyya of Ḥimyar”. Mu‘awiya 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 talṭala of Bahrā, the ratta and lakkahkāniyya of Iraq, the fashfasha of Taghib, the tāḍajju of Qais, and the ‘ajraftiyya of ḏabba. 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 Qudā‘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 yakuun li-quraishin ‘aibun fi l-kalāmi, ‘Quraish had no flaw in their speech’.

n The steps which led to this reasoning are fairly clear. The Prophet was ‘ummi, ‘illiterate’, 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.

Khalid b. Salama states it as a commonplace that the Koran is in the dialect of the Quraish (Ṭabarī, Taṣīr, i, 23). The same ʿAbū Bakr al-Wāṣiṭī whom we have seen above (§ 6) 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, 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, Ḥṣqān, p. 314). ʿAbū l-Layth as-Samarqandi 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"' (Ḥṣqān, p. 193).

Qalqashandi (Ṣubḥ al-Jaʿshā, 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-ʿAmīr (on Mughni, i, 111) tells us that one day Ibn Masʿūd was reciting the Koran in the presence of the caliph ʿOmar, and pronounced 'attā for ḥattā (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-Tin (quoted by Suyūṭī, Ḥṣqān, p. 140), 'Othman’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'.

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; Ṣaḥībī, p. 23) and is often quoted (here in the form it has in Nisābūrī, 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 'Asad. These, therefore, are the principal sources of information. Their usage is to be relied upon in questions of lexicography, syntax, and accident. Besides these, but to a lesser degree, the Hudhail, part of Kināna, and part of Ṭayyi' 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 'Ukāz (summarized in Sulaimān Bustānī, 'Iliyādhat Homerōs mu‘arraba, 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 'Adab al-jāhili 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: 'anā 'afṣahu l- 'arabi baida 'annī min Quraishin wa-nasha'tu fī Bani Sa‘dīn (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 Sa‘d' 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'.

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. 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 ʿAbī 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 Fahn 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. § 6 below).

6 The reference to the Ḥārith dialect is to be deleted (it refers to the story of ʿAbū Qilābā mentioned in § 6 above).

7 Ibn Yaʿīsah (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: yen失望 (xvii, 53/51), muzīt (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 Saʿd’. The view that Muhammad was sent to the Saʿd 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 Saʿd. It is worth while noting that this hadith implies that such speech was almost unintelligible to the townsman of Mecca.

31 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 'ahl 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’ (ba'ḍ 'ahl 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, 'Azd, 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.

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 Tayyi' 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. ʾaim 'devil' (shaitān) (cf. Ṭabarī, Tārikh, i, 1040), Hebrew ʾemīm 'prehistoric giants' (Deut., ii, 10), ʾayōm 'gigantic', ʾemāh 'terror', Babylonian ēmu 'dragon' (for the last cf. Hommel, Ethnologie, p. 665, note 4). In South-Arabian as n. pr., CIH 434, line 10.

2. baʾl 'lord' (Baidāwī, ii, 177; ʿAbū ʿUbaid, Risāla, p. 155), cf. Hebrew baʾal 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 ʿUqailī 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. ʾafn 'vine' (ʾAzharī, quoted Tāj, ix, 162), Hebrew ge苯 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. ʾhasāb 'firewood' (Farrāʾ in Lisān, i, 310, to explain Koran, xxi, 98), Hebrew ḥasābah 'chop wood' (Is., x, 15).

7. khabālīhī 'woe for him', said when mentioning a fault of one who died recently (Jamhara, i, 239), Aramaic (especially Western) ḫēbḥal 'woe' on tombstones, etc.
8. *khāshaf* ‘thick clay’ (Jamhara, ii, 223), Biblical Aramaic ḫāsaph; in other languages with šād. Particularly interesting, because the South-Sem. forms, Eth. šāḥeb ‘clay’, and perhaps also S.-Ar. šhīf ‘throw up earthworks’, Arabic ṣ̣āhfa ‘dish’, show transposition in addition to the š, and ḥ for kh.

9. *khaššin* ‘a small axe’ (Jamhara, ii, 227), Syriac ḫeššāně, Ass. khaššinnu.  

10. *ḥalāq* ‘luck’ (six times in Koran, only in Medinean suras) is said by Ḥabū ‘Ubaid (Risāla, p. 143) to mean ‘portion’ in the Kināna dialect; cf. Bibl. Aram. ḫālaq, Hebrew ḫēlāq. As the phrase in Koran iii, 71/7 is identical with the Mishnaic Hebrew expression *ēn lāhem ḫēlāq bā’olām hab-bā‘, the word, as used in the Koran, may be a loan from Jewish Aramaic.

11. *raḥima* ‘have tender feelings towards’ (Jamhara, ii, 214), Hebrew raḥem (Pi‘el) often used of parental love; S.-Ar. ṛkmn in the epitaph of a god (CIH 40, line 5) also in Thamudic n. pr. mrkhmt. Perhaps the S.-Ar. ṛkmn and other forms of the root, which occur only in late inscriptions, are borrowed there from North-Semitic.

12. *rağada* ‘to romp’ (Jamhara, ii, 253), Hebrew rağadh and cognates.

13. *raḵana* ‘to incline’ (Koran, xvii, 76/74) is said by Ḥabū ‘Ubaid (Risāla, p. 148) to be Kināna dialect; Mishnaic Hebrew ḫarkēn ‘incline one’s head’.

14. *shaḥaba* ‘to hoe the ground’ (Jamhara, i, 223; Lisān, i, 467) may be connected with Hebrew sēḥābhōṭh ‘rags’ (Jer., xxxviii, 11) and sāḥabh ‘tear to pieces’ (ibid., xv, 3). We would thus have a root šhb ‘to tear’, different from šhb ‘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. *tashabbasa* ‘to be intertwined’ (Jamhara, i, 291), Hebrew mishbēšōth ‘intertwined gold-thread’.

16. *ašhaṭṭa* (Koran, xxxviii, 22) and its verbal noun shaṭṭa, normally translated as ‘to transgress’, is derived by Ḥabū ‘Ubaid (Risāla, p. 151) from shaṭṭa ‘to lie’ in the Khath‘am dialect. Cf. perhaps Hebrew šāṭē khāṣābh (Ps., xi, 5) and šēṭīm (Hos., v, 2), usually translated as ‘turning aside’, which would thus mean ‘liars’.


18. *ṣu‘iya* ‘to be soiled’, of clothes (Jamhara, i, 182), Hebrew bēghādhīm šōʿīm ‘filthy garments’ (Zech., iii, 3). In Arabic, with transposition, wasṭa.


20. *ṣpr* ‘pillar’ (Jamhara, ii, 379), Mishn. Hebrew šīr ‘door-hinge’, S.-Ar. tsvwr (RES. 2965, line 1, etc.).

21. *yaʿzubu* ‘is hidden (?)’ (Koran, x, 62/61) is said by Ḥabū ‘Ubaid (Ris., p. 147) to mean ‘to leave’ in the Kināna dialect. Cf. Hebrew ʿaṣabhu ‘to leave’, and cognates. (For Arabic cf. also Yahuda, ZAss., xvi, 250–8).
22. ‘azīqa ‘plain’ (Jamhara, iii, 6) is perhaps connected with the name of the town ‘āzēqāh on the edge of the Judæan plain. Perhaps also ‘azzēq (Is., v, 2) means ‘to level’.

23. qaṣakh ‘to strike in the neck’ (Jamhara, ii, 236), Mishn. Hebrew qāṣhaḥ ‘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. mēr. Arabic (i)mru ‘man’, etc., differs both in form and meaning.

26. tanassama ‘to breathe’ (Jamhara, iii, 52), Hebrew nāṣham 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 yāšabh and cognates. In Arabic ‘to jump’.


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.

For the vowel sounds of the Yemenite dialects we possess only some scanty and ambiguous indirect evidence. ‘Imāla of long a seems to be rare in present-day Yemenite colloquial; 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, Süd. Alt., p. 22, note 1; Landberg, Arabica, v, 189, 206), in ‘Azzān (Landberg, Dathina, p. 295), Shahā (Jayakar, BRASB, 1902, p. 263), Oman (Reinhardt, p. 95, 115), and Zafār (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.
A great many names of the first Islamic centuries, and later still in the West, were formed with a suffix -ān. Kammfmeier (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 -ān was none but the South-Arabian definite article -ān, which was pronounced -ān by the Yemenite bearers of these names. In fact the form -ān for the South-Arabian article -n is purely hypothetical. Kammfmeier (loc. cit., p. 649) thinks it was -ān 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 -ān. 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 (diminutives), with the Syriac diminutive suffixes -ōn and -īn, and the hypocoristic -ā used with names in modern Syrian colloquial ('Abdā for 'Abdallāh, etc.).

The absence of any express statement to the effect that long ā 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 ṣhwēt. Ibn Jinnī (SIRR as-šinā'a, quoted Bravmann, Materialien, p. 35) says that ḥayātun and zakātun were pronounced حيّة and زكوة in Yemen. We know definitely that in old ṭajwīd these words, thus spelled, were pronounced ḥayūtun, zakūtun, 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 ā; (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?

Hamdāni (Jazīra, p. 135) states that the Banū Ḥarb, one of the bedouin tribes of southern Yemen, 'had 'imāla in all their speech'. Does Hamdāni mean to say that they, contrary to other inhabitants of the province, pronounced long ā as ā or the like? This would be interesting in that it would
imply that otherwise 'imāla was unknown in Yemen, and would thus lend some indirect support to the theory that ā might have tended towards ŏ. But Hamdānī may have meant something else by 'imāla.

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 Faris (Ṣāhibī, p. 25) says it was between q, k, and j. Muqaddasī (‘Ahsan at-taqāsīm, p. 96, for Aden) describes the sound as kāf. Qārī (Al-manāh 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 harf maḥmūs. Bravmann, (Materialien, p. 49) argues from this that the description of the Yemenite sound cannot apply to a g, because a harf maḥmūs 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, j. 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 colloquial of the Ruwala, ‘Aneze, and Shammar. In all those colloquials j (which is a rather unstable sound) alternates freely with g (as in English go). Some Yemenite dialects have only g (Landberg, Dathina, p. xiii), so has the colloquial of Oman (Reinhardt, p. 4) and that of the ubiquitous Ślēb (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 ɗ, not ɗ) 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 ‘a‘in 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.

We might draw some conclusions on the sound of ‘a‘in in the west and south from the statement that Yemen, ‘Azd, Hudhail, Medina, Sa‘d ibn Bakr, and Qais said ‘antā for ‘a‘tā ‘to give’ (Nashwān, Extr., p. 104; Zamakhshari, Fā‘iq, p. 6; Lisān, xx, 206, etc.; map No. 3). At first sight it appears as if ‘a‘in had somehow turned into n (or rather emphatic n) under the influence of j. This presupposes that ‘a‘in 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 'ain (Kampffmeyer, MSOS, ii, 2, p. 200). In Zafar (southern Yemen) a vowel is nasalized if it comes between 'ain and n or m, though Rhodokanakis (Dhofar, ii, 89) did not hear any nasal timbre in the 'ain itself. Oriental Jews use a strongly nasalized 'ain 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 'antä 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 'antä. To-day the form is used in Baghdad, Southern Iraq, the colloquial of Nabliis in Palestine (Bauer, Palest. Arabisch, p. 7), and among the 'Aneze 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 'ain are recorded: Central Yemen 'öti 'give' (Goitein, Jemenica, No. 711), in the south 'ata (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 40), in Oman 'atra 'to bestow' (Reinhardt, p. 244; 'to give' is ta). We must remember that only in Arabic the root 'ty is commonly used with the meaning 'to give'.

5 Brockelmann (GVG, ii, 309, Note 1) observes that the peculiar construction of 'a'tä with double accusative is due to its being a causative of 'ata 'to reach for'. The latter verb occasionally is constructed with 'ilä (Suyuši, 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 nēṭel. The whole situation in Arabic suggests that here 'antä, the causative of nāṭū, was the older word, which was in the East replaced by a new formation from 'atä, the synonym of nāṭū, perhaps after the meaning of nāṭū had become too specialized. The connection of 'a'tä 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 'antä 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 (Bakri, Mu’jam, p. 540). Fell (ZDMG, liv, 235) argues that the root nty 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 'antä by 'a'tä. A similar reason may be found for the substitution of the root mtsō 'to come' for nty both in Aramaic and in Ethiopic. In Daniel, vii. 22 the Septuagint translates mētā by ἔδοθη; in the Elephantine papyrus Cowley No. 28, line 3, mēta’ak means 'was given to thee'. In Ethiopic mat(f)awa means 'to offer', in Amharic amaṭta 'to give'.

Possibly mtw means ‘to give presents’ in CIH, 397, line 6–7. We might see an occurrence of the same meaning in the Arabic ‘amṭā ẓ-zahra ‘give someone an animal to ride’, from which the otherwise inexplicable māṭiyya ‘mount’ is derived, originally ‘mount given (by a lord to his follower)’. Thus, a satisfactory etymological explanation for the relationship between ‘amṭā and aṭṭa can be given, and we can draw no inference as to the sound of ‘āin.

m In two roots we find alternation between ḏād and shīn: ‘ilłaṣṣ ‘jackal’ (Jamhara, iii, 93) appears also as ‘illaṣṣah (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 ḏād and shīn were lateral sounds (Bravmann, Materialien, p. 53); ḏād is still articulated laterally by some Koran readers (Gairdner, Phonetics, p. 20, Note 4). Both are lateral sounds in modern South-Arabian languages (Jahn, Mehrsprache, p. 4–5; Leslau, Lexique Sogotri, p. 31), and ḏād 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.

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 prime hamzatē with w instead of hamza, which can only be explained as wrong rederivations from the imperfect: yu‘āṭi>yuwwāṭi, thence wātaitu ‘I obeyed’ for ṭāṭaitu (Tāj, x, 10) similarly wāḥhadha ‘to reproach’ for ṣāḥhadha (Miṣbah, p. 14), wāḥhā ‘to fraternize’ for ṣāḥhā (Nashwān, Extr., p. 114), wāsā ‘to be generous’ for ṣāṣā. 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 twaḥḥhakarr = ta’akḥħhara, itfawwвал=tafa’ala, 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 fu‘āl or fu‘āl for the adjective pattern fa‘il: kubbār ‘old’ for kabhūr (Jamhara, i, 274; in Ishtiqāq, p. 254: kubār) and kuthār ‘much’ for katḥūr (Ishtiqāq, p. 40). Růžička (ZS, x, 29) gives a list of cases where fu‘āl alternates with fa‘il 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, Ṭayyi’, Oman; only a few in the Yemen. The form kubār is still alive in the Meccan colloquial kubāriyye ‘upper class’ (Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkische Sprichwörter, p. 5). The use of fu‘al and fu‘al 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 (ʿĀmirite) Labīd, line 52, the masculine dog-name *sukhām* appears by the side of the fem. *kasābi* (*shkym* and *skhm* are South-Arabian names, too). In Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, § 15, one Meccan addresses another *ʿai 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 *laīsa ʿindānā ʿarabīyyat* ‘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 Tayyī 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. (ʿAḥsan 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 *muwalled* ‘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 Tlemcen (Brock., GVG, i, 456), and regularly at Baghdad and Mosul (Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 55), Zanzibar (Prætorius, ZDMG, xxxiv, 222), and by the Slūt in southern Syria (Cantinau, Pārlers, 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-*. 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 Zafār 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 hun- (cf. Winnett, A study of Liḥyanic, p. 16–18). There are also some instances of hun- 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-hulm ‘the dream’ (cf. § 5 h), an-qushm ‘fresh vegetables’, an-hind ‘India’ (Müller, op. cit., p. 22), an-sarīf ‘silver’, an-tamīm (ibid., p. 17). The sentence which Philby quotes from the Murra has rīb‘ 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 at-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 Liḥyānic *han-* as *'inna to Ṭayyi*ī *hinna* (cf. § 14 s) and Hebrew *hinneh*, 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*.

Ibn Mālik (quoted by Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, 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, *laīsa mini m-birri m-ṣiyāmu fi 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 Jauhari (Ṣaḥāb, ii, 298) to be Himyaritic, but Liṣān, xx, 347 and elsewhere ascribed to Bujair b. Ghanama (‘Athama) of Ṭayyiʾ, *dhāka khalili wa-dhū yuʿātibuni/yardī warāʾi 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 ṣaraba raʿsahu bil-ʿaswī* (sic, read perhaps *bin-ʿaswī*) ‘the ancient old man hit his head with a stick’ (Jamhara, i, 275). Ibn Hishām (Mughnā, i, 47) says that *baʾdu taḥabati 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-*.

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-qāʿimun* ‘who is the one who stands?’ and *man fi m-bānin* ‘who is in the ... ?’, make the impression of having been taken from an ancient source. As Kampfmeyer (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 (Tashil, f. 77 b) and 'Astarābaḍī (Sharḥ al-Kāfiya, i, 14) this is a nasalization, attached to verbs and nouns, which takes
place in a vowel-ending verse (rawi muṭlag) 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 ha as-saqīt. A very similar nasal addition in pause is heard in the Ŭmur colloquial near Palmyra, e.g., byūtaka=m =buyūtaka ‘your houses’, ḍrūbo=m=darabū ‘they struck’ (Canteneau, 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 Bustāni’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 ‘aswu ‘stick’, for ‘asā which occurs in the third quotation in § t, is said by Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, i, 275; Isṭiqāq, p. 34) to be customary with ‘some Yemenites’. This no doubt goes back to the original ʿasawu as the Classical form, and resolves the triphthong by contraction, as the Hudhail dialect does in ‘inyu for ‘inā (originally ‘inayu) ‘hour of the night’ (cf. § 8 u). In the Hudhail dialect ‘asā was treated differently (§ 8 t). Our ‘aswu 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 kidhāb 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 kidhāb. 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 tif‘i‘āl for the fifth stem (modern tifi‘i‘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 nahnu naḍribu l-hām ‘we chop off heads’, and am nahnu nqaṭ‘amu t-ta‘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. Kampfmeier (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 Ḥarirī 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 ʾin, Hebrew ʾim ‘if’. The conditional particles of Semitic appear to have been at first of a generally emphasizing nature; cf. Hebrew ʾḥēn ‘behold’ and Aramaic ʾḥēn ‘if’, or the obvious connection between Arabic ʾin ‘if’ and ʾinna ‘behold’ with its ‘alleviated’ form ʾin (cf. § 13 g). An instructive parallel is Egyptian ḫr, which introduces both a casus pendens (= Arabic ʾammā) 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 Ḥarirī’s sentences) should have developed various temporal and modal functions. Another possibility is that am is connected with the ʾimmālā or ʾummālē which the common people used before an imperative (ʿAbū Ḥātim as-Sijjistānī—d. 250 H.—in Līsān, xx, 358). In a ḥadith quoted there (not found in the canonical works) the Prophet says ʾimmālā fa-ḥṣū ʾilāhi ‘well then (?) treat him well’ (the comment of the Līsān does not fit the sense, to my mind). In Syria a particle ʾammāl or ʾam 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 ʾammālā? At any rate, ʾam seems to be to ʾammālā as ʾam to ʾammāl.

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 shaddan ḥaṣāsuḥ/hattā ʾatāhu qirnuhu fa-waqaṣuḥ ‘Shaibān ceased not creating violent commotion until his match came and broke his neck’. Nashwān adds that waqaṣuḥ for waqaṣahu is ‘an incorrect form used by some Yemenites’. It would be quite normal in a modern colloquial where faʿala has lost its final vowel. The nominative ḥaṣāsuḥ for ḥaṣāsuḥu, 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 Shinqīṭi (ii, 208) who.
ascribes it to a woman of 'Abdalqais, an Eastern tribe, and 'Azhari (Taṣriḥ, 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 Nashwan 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 'Azd 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 (Nashwan, Extr., p. 39). A quotation slightly earlier than Nashwan (d. 573/1178) is found in Bahā' al-Janadī (‘Akhbār al-Qarāmīta fi l-Yaman in Tārikh 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 hakam al-ʾamīr ‘there is no help (lā buḍda) 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, Diyarā, 22) qālū lilladhī wujida fihim ‘they said to them among whom he was found’ (cf. also Ṭabarī Glossary, s.v.). The Moslem commentators (e.g., Baidāwī) recognize this usage in kḥudtum kalladhī khādū ‘ye hold discourses as those who held discourses’ (Koran, ix, 70/69). That passage seems to read better if we take alladhī = māf₁₄ ‘...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 Ṭayyī’ in the north used dhū, corresponding to the archaic Hebrew common relative xū, and there is some evidence that dhū was once current in Oman (cf. Brockelman, 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 sa, but Mehri has dī, dē (cf. Maltzan, ZDMG, xxvii, 266), and a form with i is preserved in Ethiopic ṣī’a ‘that of’, Amh. ya ‘which, who’. (Cf. map No 20),
The quotation from Bahā’ al-Janādī contains also the word ḏū ‘not’, which Hamdānī (quoted Müller, Süd. Studien, pp. 19 and 21) asserts to be Himyaritic. Near Ta‘izz, in the southernmost part of Yemen, the negation ‘no’ is dou, dar’, etc. (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 471). In South-Arabian inscriptions a particle written ḏ 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).

The particle ḥattā ‘until’ was in the Yemen pronounced with ʾimāla, 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 ḥattā 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 ‘attā (?attai) betrays contamination with ʾad(ai), which therefore must have existed in the West-Arabian area. In Sabaean we find at first the form ḏ, and in later texts ḏy=ʾadai. 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 ḏē, cf. Assyrian adī?

NOTES

1 On Himyaritic, see next chapter.
2 The Talmudic lexicon ‘Arukh (ca. 1100), declares ḥazfnā ‘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 mirʿu (Sukkarī in Lisān, i, 150, with ʿhadid by ’Abū Khrāşh). Other Arabs are supposed to have used nom. murʿu, gen. mirʿi, acc. marʿa. Cf. also mrʿlyf in Namārə, and marqaisī in the Kinda dial.
4 Ānis (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 ʾısāt for yaʿāṯeh in Ps. lxxxiv, 7. This would show that at least in one tradition of Hebrew, the root had the same meaning as in Arabic.
7 Cantineau (Horan, 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, xlvi, 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 *inferid*—Classical *farid* (Binder, WZKM, xlviii, 96). We may be tempted to take this as *in-ferid* < *am-farid*. The *m* would be labio-dental as in German *fünf*.

12 The Prophet was fond of using Yemenite expressions (cf. § 5 u) 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 Volkers (Volkssprache, p. 108) concluded from this irregular ‘nunation’ that the system of *i‘rb* 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 masdariyya* = ‘*an*. This use of the relative pronoun (=Hebrew *‘asher*, Aramaic *dī*) is common in early colloquial literature (cf. Goldziher, ZDMG, xxxv, 523–4).
Chapter 5

HIMYAR

a The rise of the Himyar 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 Ḥişn al-Ghurāb (a.d. 525) describe their country as ‘land of the Ḥimyar’, and their king as ‘king of the Himyar’, themselves as Himyarites and Ārḥabites. 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 ʾṭīb ‘gold’ (Shahari ʾṭīb), ḫg ‘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 ṣb
mentioned already in Old-Sabaean inscriptions intermingled with the remnants of South-Arabian peasantry.

c That for Hamdān 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. Shihr and al-’Asā’ 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 Ḥarib speak correct Arabic. There is little in their speech that deviates from it. Sarw Himyar and Ja’dah do not speak correct Arabic: there is some trace of Himyaritic in their speech. They drawl and are prone to elision. They say yā bnū m-amm ‘o cousin’ for yā bnū l-amm, and sima‘ ‘listen’ for isma‘. Lahj, Ibyan, and Dathīna speak a better (or: very good) Arabic. The best Arabic among them is spoken by the ʿAmīrī of Kinda and the ʿAudī. 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 Majjīd, the Banū Wāqīd, and the ʿAsh’ar. The lower Ma’ṣīr talk a barbarous language, the upper Ma’ṣīr are better than they. The Sakāsīk 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 Saḥān, Jaishān, Warākh, Ṣuḥaib, and Badr are closely allied to that of the Sarw Himyar. Yaḥdib and Ruʿain speak a better Arabic than Jublān. The language of Jublān is halting. From Ḥaql Qatab 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‘, Ṣibīl, Kaumān, al-Ḥadāj, Ḍa‘if and Dīqrār speak correct Arabic. The inhabitants of upper Khālān speak almost correct Arabic. The inhabitants of Sahmar, Qard, al-Jibla, Mulh, of upper Lahj, of Ḥamīd, Ṣutum, Wataḥ, Simīḥ, Anis, and ʿAlhān speak a middling, rather corrupt, Arabic. Ḥarāz, al-ʿAkhrūj, Shumm, Māḍīh, al-ʿAḥbūb, al-Jāḥādīb, Šaraf ʿAqyān, at-Ṭarf, Wāḍī‘, and al-Maʿlal 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-ʿAsh’ar, the district of ʿAkk, the Ḥakam b. Saʿd 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 ʿUdhar, 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 Ṣaʿdah. The
district of Sufyän b. ʿArḥab speaks correct Arabic, except for such things as am-rajul ‘the man’, gayyid baʿirāka ‘tie up thy two camels’ for baʿirāika (cf. § 7 f), and raʿaitu ʿakhwāāka ‘I saw thy sisters’ or ‘two brothers’ (cf. § 7 k). The article with m instead of l such as am-rajul, am-baʿir, is also used by the ʿAshʿar, the ʿAkk, some of the Ḥakam in the Tihāma, and the ʿUdhar. Maṭrāra, Nihm, Murhiba, Dhaibān, and those of the Balḥarīth that live in the Rāḥba, speak correct Arabic. Ṣanāf in the Upper Jauf does not use correct Arabic. There is nothing wrong with the language of Khurfān and ʿAthāfīt. 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 ṭimāla in all their speech (cf. § 4 h). The Banū Saʿd speak a better Arabic. From Dhamār to Ṣanʿaʾ the Arabic is middling. This is the district of Dhū Jura. Among the people of Ṣanʿaʾ there are remnants (sic) of pure Arabic and elements (nubadh) of Himyaritic speech. The town of Ṣanʿaʾ 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 ʿAqyān, the Maṣānī, 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-ʿIrād in Wādaʿa to Janb Fiyām, then onwards to Zubaid, to the Banū Ḥarīth and the regions adjoining the district of Shākir in Nejrān, on to the country of Yām, the country of Sanhān, and the country of Nahd, then the Banū ʿUsāma, ʿAnz, Khathʿam, Hilāl, ʿÁmir b. Ṭāribʿa, the Sarāt of al-Ḥajr, Daus, Ghāmid, Yashkur, Fahm, Thaqīf, Bajila, and the Banū ʿAli, except that the lower parts of the Sarāt of those tribes lying between the Sarāt of Khaulān and Ṭaʿīf 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 Rabiʿa (= 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.

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 (mutawassīt) 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’ (ta'aggud, mu'aggad), i.e., had the Himyaritic rhythm and intonation, and those where pure (māhd) ‘halting’ Himyaritic was spoken. The last-named were concentrated in two well-defined areas: the central mountain area around San‘ā‘ 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)
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 Muʿḍarite 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 \( \kappa \) 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 Zafār, in the area of mixed language. Perhaps we may derive some indication from ʿAbrahāʾ’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 shʿb 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.

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 Sanʿa’ by ‘Abdallāh ‘Abbās ar-Rāzī, quoted by Landberg, Arabica, v, 112): (approximately: rā’āiku bi-n-ḥulm ka-walādku ibnan min ṯīb) ‘I saw in a (lit. the) dream that I gave birth to a son of gold’.

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 ʿAbū 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).

ʾAbū 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
yā bna Zubairin tāla mā ʿaṣāika
wa-ṯāla mā ʿanna kāna (text: -tanā) ʿilaika
la-taḥzānanna bi-ʾlladhi ʿataika
la-naḍrīban bi-saifīna ʾaṣāika.
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.

The ‘inscriptions’ which Hamdānī made up will be found in the tenth volume of the ʿIkilīl 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 ʿIkilīl, in which he dealt with the Himyaritic language.
Although to our feeling Himyaric, as shown in the documents we possess, was similar enough to Arabic, the Arabs considered it totally unintelligible. Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu‘arā’, 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 (‘Aḥsan 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 Žafār taḥammara* ‘he who goes to Žafār must speak Himyaritic’, to which an anecdote was attached about the Arab envoy who understood *thīb* ‘sit down’ as ‘jump’, and thus found his death (Hamdānī, *Ikīl*, p. 39, etc.). Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣā‘īš, 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 Rabī‘a and Muǧār. Some of it may have intruded into the Arabic spoken by some, but it sounds all wrong (*yusā‘u z-zanū 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.

The people mocked at Himyaric by applying to it the designation *tumṭumāniyya*. This is variously explained as ‘a form of speech resembling that of non-Arabs’ (‘Ardabīlī, in de Sacy, Chrhist. gram., p. 118; Ibn Ya‘īsh, p. 1246; Ibn ‘Abdi Rabihi, *Iqd*, i, 294) or as ‘speech full of unusual (*munkara*) words’ (Qāmūs, s.v.). Ibn Sīda (Mukhaṣṣas, ii, 122) explains *timmīn* simply as ‘non-Arab’. The word *timmīn* is used by ‘Antara of a Yemenite (ed. ‘Inānī, p. 212), but also of a Persian (*ibid.*, xxvii, 2); by ‘Imrān b. Ḥiṭṭān of Abyssinians (*Aghānī*, xvi, 156, xxi, 12). For its meaning we may compare Mishnaic Hebrew *tămēm* ‘to close’, *tămēm* *‘eth hal-leb̄h* ‘deprive of understanding’. Accordingly *timmīn* may have meant at first ‘feeble-minded’ and then ‘barbarous’. To the philologist this general term was too vague, and we therefore find Tha’alībī (Fiqh al-lughā, p. 107) restricting the name to a single feature, the use of the *am*-article.

We get a more instructive indication in the term *mu’aqqad* ‘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’ (ya*jurrūna fi kalāmihim). ‘Drawing’ 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 drawing 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.

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. Suṣūṭī (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, xlv, 211). Final *k* becomes *sh* in some cases in the colloquial of Hadramaut, e.g. *'alēsh* = *'alaika* (Maltzan, ZDMG, xxvii, 250). Indeed this sound change probably never occurred in the Yemen. Mas'ūdī (Murūj adh-dhahab, ed. Barbier de Meynard, i, 333) ascribes it to the town of Shīhr in Hadramaut, to-day surrounded by speakers of South-Arabian. They say *hal lash fi maʾ qulta li* 'can you do what you told me?' (for *laka*) and *qultu lash *ānan tajʾalā lalāhī maʾî fi llalāhī maʾash* 'I told you to put my things with yours' (for *laka, maʾaka*). The sentences Mas'ūdī 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 Shīhr*, 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 Shīhr and of 'Oman is said to have been marked by a feature called *lakhlahāntīyya* (Thaʾalībī, Fiṣḥ al- lugha, p. 107). 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 Mukhasṣās, 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. Abū 'Ubaida (d. 210/825) equates it with *'ujma* 'talking a foreign language' (Lisān, iv, 20). The same is found in the Qāmūs s.v., where it is added that *lakhlahāni* means 'speaking incorrect Arabic' (*ghair faṣīh*). In a line by Buʾaith (Lisān, iv, 20) *banū l-lakhlahkhanīyyāt* seems to mean 'sons of foreign women'. However, *lahkhka fi l-kalām* means 'to speak indistinctly'. In Mishnaic Hebrew *lahlāh* 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 Lihyanic (cf. § 4 s), its occurrence 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. Munabbīh
we find wala'dku 'I bore', ra'a'iku 'I saw'. Similarly in 'inscriptions': ha'sānku
'I fortified', (ʾIklīl, p. 26), bahalku 'I spoke', cf. Eth. behla (ZDMG, xlix,
191). For the second person two instances in the ditty: 'apa'ika 'thou wast
disloyal', 'ata'ika (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 coun-
tryside, 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 Yāfī, Ḥaushābī, Subaiḥī, Qumaishi, and Dhiyābī. Instances he
quotes are: kunk 'I was', qulukek 'I told thee', kunk 'thou wast', kunkū
'they were' (should be 'ye were'), kūnān 'we were' (but cf. § 1). From a
Yāfī he even heard 'akhādhk̡ēs 'I took it' = 'akhādhtuhā (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 Yārim 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 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-Arabs 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.

For the first plur. perfect, one of Hamdānī’s ‘inscriptions’ has the form ḥywŏn, ‘we lived’ (Müller, Südär. 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 ħaywan (the ’alif serving perhaps only to indicate the a in an unfamiliar position). But Maltzan also mistranslated the form immediately preceding, kunhū (cf. § r), and as Rossi (RSO, xvii, 259) gives sūran as third plur. fem. (this is the normal form current all over Yemen), and sīrān 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 ɣhalōgən.

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 Zafār, has preserved many South-Arabian elements (Arabica, v, 111).

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 Yémanties’ (Landberg, Dathina, p. 282). We have already mentioned the saying in Yemenite (Himyaritic?) dialect concerning fasting (§ 4 r). 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-ʿAʿrābī (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 Žafār.

NOTES

1 According to Philby (JRAS, 1945, p. 125) the earliest inscription in which Himyar is mentioned is CIH. 314, under Ḩlushariḥa Yahdub, shortly before 115 B.C., when the Hamdanid dynasty of Saba and Ḩdn Raʿidān (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 ḥunj ‘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 Qasīdā and its commentary (cf. Hartmann, Arab. Frage, p. 319) count the following tribes into Kahlān, the close brother-tribe of Himyar: Judham, Lakhm, Ṭayyiʿ, Ḥšʿar, Madḥḥij, Hamdān, Bājila, Khathʿam, Ḥzd. 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 Ṭayyiʿ. Of course all the more northerly tribes would have been thoroughly arabized by later immigration.

5 The title is in all details identical with that of Sharaḥbiʾil Yaʿfur 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, xlvi, 105) reads this laḥlahāniyya, referring to Lisān, iii, 179. There we find laḥlahā l-ṭisāmu ‘the tongue was numb’ and laḥlāj ‘indistinct of speech, heavy-tongued’, but not laḥlahāniyya. All sources I have seen (including Anastase, Mashriq, vi, 535) have laḥhlakhāniyya. For laḥlahā 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

'AZD

a 'The 'Azd dialect is but rarely mentioned where other Yemenite dialects are specified. Even the 'Azdī Ibn Duraid, with all his ancestral pride, rarely mentions data from his own dialect. Yet the few data we get definitely place the 'Azd 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 'Azd tribes: 'Azd Sarāt ('Azd Shanu’a) and 'Azd 'Umān. 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: 'ināb 'wine' (for Yemen 'Abū Ḥanifa in Tāj, i, 400; for Oman cf. Jeffery, Materials, p. 49), khamr 'grapes' (for Yemen 'Abū Ḥanifa in Tāj, iii, 187; for Oman ad-Dāḥhāk, quoted by Suyūṭī, 'İtqān, p. 310 = 'Abū 'Ubaid, Risāla, p. 149), and fatahā '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 'Azd Shanu’a dialect and the language of some inhabitants of Oman (cf. §f below). Some of the data for 'Azd may refer to Oman, but faute de mieux we list them here under 'Azd Shanu’a.

c The 'Azd (distinct from Yemen) are listed among the dialects that use 'antā instead of 'aṭā for 'to give' (cf. § 4 l).

d They are not mentioned in the list of 'Abū 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 'Abū Zaid part of Yemen.

e The dialect said 'isg 'raceme of dates of poor quality' (Jamhara, iii, 31, MS. K only, from the 'Ain of Khalīl). This may be compared with the common Arabic 'idhq 'raceme of dates'. The dh would be replaced here by a sibilant, z, as in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Accadian, and further the z assimilated to q. However, Ibn Duraid quotes from the same dialect the word mi'dhār 'veil' (Jamhara, ii, 308; Ishtiqāq, p. 136), with a dh. This is not an absolute proof, as Nashwān (Extr., p. 70) and ad-Dāḥhāk (quoted by Suyūṭī, 'İtqān, 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 'Azd dialect might thus be etymological. We
cannot decide the question on the one instance of ‘issq because it might be a contact change. Finally, we must consider the possibility that ‘issq is a different root and the similarity accidental. The Lisān (xii, 122) gives ‘asaq ‘palm bough (‘urjūn) of poor quality’ as a word of the ‘Asad dialect. We must strongly suspect that ‘asadiyya is wrong for ‘azdīyya (cf. on this confusion Freytag, Einführung, p. 76). Immediately after this the Lisān quotes the Tahdhib of 3 Azhari: ‘‘asaq is a palm-bough, and ‘asaq is ‘darkness’, like ghasaq.’ However, ghasaq is also ‘refuse of wheat’, and one wonders whether this is not = ‘Azdī ‘issq, and an instance of the change of gh to ‘ain (cf. Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 76). One sees what complications arise in any attempt to evaluate lexicographical data for phonetics or grammar.

Another difficulty in taking ‘issq as a purely phonetic development of ‘iddhq 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 ‘Azd dialect, however, this phoneme seems to have had quite a different fate. Tabrizī (comm. on Ḥamāsa, p. 244) informs us that the ‘Azd Shana‘ pronounced the name qu‘ṣūṣ as ju‘ṣūṣ. 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 ‘Azd territory. At Ḥodeida some inhabitants of the city and surrounding country pronounce so in some words, e.g. ja‘ṣāda for qa‘ṣāda ‘bed’, jādirī for the tribal name Qādirī (Rossi, RSO, xvii, 464). At Zabīd there is a tendency to pronounce j for q, as in julaštāt ‘a few’ = qalštāt. 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 qāṭ in the Ethiopic chronicle of ‘Āmda Şeyon (14th cent.; ed. Perruchon, JA, 1889, p. 282, i. 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 ‘Azd 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 ‘Azd 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 g?) into an absolute
one, i.e., to say not only ḏēc ‘cock’, but also ḏūdē in the plural, instead of the ḏūk of the bedouins. The social conditions of the ṚAzd may have been similar, and produced a similar disturbance of phonetic balance.

g Al-若您fash (the Middle, d. 221/836) reported that the ṚAzd Sarāt preserved in pause not only the -ā of the accusative, but also the case-vowels of the nominative and genitive, saying ḥādhā Zaidū ‘this is Zaid’ and ḥādhā ‘Amrū ‘this is ‘Amr’ (Sibawaihi, 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 Rabiʿa dialect in Mesopotamia (ʿAzhari, Tamrīn at-ṭullāb, p. 27; Suyūṭi, Bahja, p. 17, both no doubt based on Ibn Mālik’s view as incorporated in ʿAlfiyya, line 79), and perhaps in context, along with the other case-vowels, in the Tamīm dialect in Najd and Yamāma (ʿAbū ‘Amr, handed down by Ibn Mālik, quoted by Suyūṭi, 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 ṚAzd 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. The name is probably Arabic ḫushamu (cf. the Septuagint transcr. γοσκυ), 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., xxi, 194; Rev. Bibl., 1908, p. 242; Comptes Rendus Ac. d. Inscr., 1908, p. 270) we find kbrw, ‘bdm̄nwtw (diptote genitive), ṛl-hjrw, and perhaps (according to Chabot’s reading) qbrw (nom.) and ṛl-qbrw (acc.: Lidzbarski read in both places qwr), but hrrt=Ḥarīthatu and Ṽqs (both in the genitive). This inscription is particularly important because it has one line in Thamudic: ṛn Ṽqs bnt ‘bdm̄nt (corresponding to Ṽqs btr ‘bdm̄nwtw in the Nabataean characters). One cannot help feeling that there is some inconsistency with regard to the -w. Sixty years later, in the inscription of An-Namāra of A.D. 328 (Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, ii, 34), the (in Classical Arabic) triptote names ṚAmr, 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 
itrāb vowels. We can identify it with the rise of the diptote declension and 
differentiation between determinate and indeterminate nouns. This was 
reflected in the difference of spelling as it still is in the difference made 
between ʿmrw = ʿAmrun and ʿmr = ʿUmaru. But just as the w in ʿAmr does 
ot represent a sound, but is a conventional mark for something not ex-
pressed 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 ʿitrāb 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 ʿAzd 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 ʿAzd dialect within Yemen 
was due to its being ‘proto-Arabian’. The ʿAzd 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 ʿAzd 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., 

h The suffix-pronoun -hu could in the ʿAzd 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 shawāhīd for ʿAzd words. In connection 
with miṭwā ‘companion’ he quotes: fa-bittu (Lisān: ẓaltu) ladā l-baiti 
l-ḥarāmī ʿukhīlūhu/wa-miṭwāya mushtāqāni lah ʿariqāni ‘I stayed all night 
near the sanctuary, looking out for it (a thunderstorm), while my two
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 Ya'ăb b. al-Aswal al-Shukri, is 'Aghānī, xix, 111 (where the dialect form is eliminated by writing min shauqin lahu) given as al-Yashkuri. The Yashkur b. 'Amr were closely connected with Kinān. Another, anonymous, verse is quoted in connection with fūma 'ear of corn' (Jamhara, iii, 160, from the Kitāb al-majāz of 'Abū 'Ubaidā): wa-qāla rabi'uhum lammā ʿatānā/ bi-kaffīh fūmatun ʿau fūmatānī '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 (khuffa), 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 'Azd were, however, not alone in this respect. Not only were forms like this read by reputable Koran-readers: the Kufans Ḥamza and 'Abū 'Amr, but also the Medinean 'Abū Ja'far (d. 130/748; Lisān, xx, 368), but we have it on the authority of al-Kisāʾi (d. 189/805) that they were used by the 'Uqail and Kilāb tribes in Najd and Yamama, who spoke Eastern dialects (Lisān, xx, 367; cf. also 'Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 11). Sibawaihi (ii, 313) quotes a verse lampooning the 'Anaza, 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 'Abdalqais dialect, falsely attributed to the Yemen (cf. § 4 x), show that in other Eastern dialects the suffix form was -uh, corresponding to the -o(h) now found in most colloquials and to the -ē (archaic -ēh) 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 -ēh (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 -ēh, 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
have more historical significance than we can at present ascertain, is the distinction in certain colloquials between two forms for different styles. The Ṣafār 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). 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 ʿaʿjāz Hawāzin, the ʿAzd Sarāt, and part of Hudhail, while the dialects of Qais, Tamīm, ʿAsad, Rabīʿa, and the “ʿammat al-ʿarab” had i in those prefixes (the so-called Taltala), except for the third persons masculine (ʿAbū 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). ʿAbū 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 ʿAzd 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 Tayyī, 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.

We have a further confirmation of the use of a-prefixes in the ʿAzd dialect. In connection with the reading nistaʿīnū for nastaʿīnū ‘we ask for help’ (Koran, i, 4), Farrāʿ 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 ʿAsad. The ʿAsad dialect is expressly included among those which had i-prefixes, not only in ʿAbū ʿAmr’s list, but also by Farrāʿ himself (quoted Ibn Fāris, Ṣāhibī, p. 19, 23; also Ibn Hishām, Bānat Suʿād, p. 97; Mufaḍḍalīyyāt, p. 20). Obviously we must read here ʿAzd instead of ʿAsad (cf. § e above).

One Taltala form is current in Classical Arabic, namely ʾikhālu ‘methinks’. This was used in the Western dialects of Hudhail and Tayyī, and probably was not a Taltala form at all, but had another origin (cf. § 8 bb). The ʿAsad dialect alone is said to have used ʾakhālu instead (Ibn Hishām,
Bānat Suʿād, p. 96; Marzūqī in Tāj, vii, 313; Miṣbāḥ, p. 277). Since the ʿAsad, 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 ʿAsad has come to stand for ʿAzd. This is all the more likely as traces of ʿakhālu can also be found in connection with the Hijaz. Whether we consider ʿakhālu an innovation on the analogy of the imperfect, or an archaic form, the collocation of ʿAzd and Quraish makes geographical sense. With Hudail and Tayyiʿ using the common Arabic ʿikhālu, 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. Bēkhrū (1 Chr., viii, 38) seems to be nothing but bēkhrōrō ‘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. Mōlīkhū (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, Sharīdu (A.D. 73), Mūqīmu, 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 Sinaic 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-ʿAjamu, an Umayyad poet of ʿAmir, a client of the Ābdalqais.

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 Ḍazd). 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 taḥmor, 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 Tayyyr 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, Khath'am, Hamdān, 'Anbar, Hujaim, Zubaid, Murād, and 'Udhra. 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 ḌAbrahā 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 sha'b, as the Arab Ḥimyar did from the Homeritae. An interesting passage in ʿArḥabil's ʿAkhbār 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 ʿArshām, referring to A.D. 524,
the name of the then king of Najran is given as ‘Hārīth bar Ka‘b’ (ed. Guidi, Ac. dei Lincei, Rome 1881, p. 9 and p. 20, note 3), which is generally taken as an early reference to the Hārīth tribe. In Glaser 1000A, line 9, ḥrṭhw is enumerated among various parts of dntt = Dathina. Grohmann (in Rhodoskanakis, Altsab. Texte, p. 131) identifies this with a small group of Hārīth tribesmen in this region which Hamdān mentions (Jazira, p. 81, 3). This tribal splinter would thus have maintained itself for over 1000 years! But the ḥrṭhw of Gl. 1000A are settled people, possessing towns and cultivated valleys, and have probably no connection at all with the Balhārīth.

c The only information about consonant-phonemes in this region is a note by Jumālī (in Dīwān Hudhail, i, 73) that the Kinana, like the Hudhail, said yāzī‘ahum ‘their protector’ instead of wāzī‘ahum. 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 semi-vowels in the Hudhail dialect.

d The Harith said baqā ‘he remained’ for baqlīya (Lisan, xviii, 85), and fanā for faniya ‘passed away’ (Lisan, xx, 23; the text is corrupt). They thus had the change iya > ā like the Tayyi’ (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 ʿAbū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 58) and Ibn Fāris (Ṣāhibī, p. 20), ai was in the Harith dialect contracted into a sound written ā—which might have been phonetic ā or ā, 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 ‘alāhā ‘upon her’ for ‘alaīhā, and salām ‘alākum ‘peace upon you’ for ‘alaikum. Khalil (quoted ʿAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 124) cites as dialect forms, without specifying their provenance, ‘īlāka ‘to thee’ for ‘īlaika, ladāka ‘with thee’ for ladaika, and ‘alāka ‘upon thee’ for ‘alaika. The modern Hadramaut colloquial contracts ai into ā, e.g. ʿādā ‘also’ = ʿaiddān, ‘ān ‘eye’ = ʿain (Landberg, Arabica, iii, 38). 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’, ‘ān ‘the letter ‘ain’, mā īlah ‘what has it to do with you?’ = ʿilation (Goitein, Jemenica, p. xvii). Hebrew, too, reconstituted ai as against Canaanite ē, e.g., Tell-Amarna giez, Hebrew qayis, 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 -dnl (§7f)
therefore, not necessary to consider that Targumic Aramaic 'alāhā '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 (§ 5) 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 § 8 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-Farrā’ (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-’Asad’ (should no doubt be al-’Azd, as ’Asad never has the article) and quotes a line by an anonymous Harithi (the one beginning fa-’atraqa below, § 8). Only the Harith are mentioned by Ābū Zaid (Nawādir, p. 58), Ākhfash (in Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 37), Ibn Mālik (Tashil, f. 3 b), and Āstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 172). Lisān (xvi, 172) adds Kinana. Hamdānī (Jazūra, p. 135) and Suyūṭī (Jam‘, i, 21; ʾIqtān, p. 192) have Harith, Kīnana, and Khath‘am. The fullest list is Jam‘, i, 40, where besides all the tribes enumerated in § b of this chapter the form is ascribed to the Eastern dialects of Bakr ibn Wā‘il and some clans of Rabi‘a. 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 (ʿUshmūnī, i, 71; Āstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 172) or inflecting the ending as a triptote rajulānu, rajulānī, 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 ā which appears as a contraction of ai (cf. Landberg, Hadramaut, p. 352). 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 verba": 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: ḥādāh khaṭṭu yadā 'akīh 'ārifūhū '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-'aṭrāqa 'itrāqa sh-shuṭā'ī wa-lau ra'ā/ masāghan li-nābāhu sh-shuṭā'u la-ṣammama 'he lowered his head like a shuṭā'-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. Völlers, Beitr. z. Ass., v, p. 170). 'Azhārī is quoted (Ṭāj, 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' (Sibawaihi, i, 27; Zajjāj, Jumal, p. 63, and in many other places): 'idhā mittu kāna n-nādsu sinfānī shāmītu/wa-ʾākharu māthnīn billadhī kuntu ʾaṣnaʾu 'when I die, men will be of two classes, he who rejoices at my misfortune and another who praises what I have accomplished'.

In the ensuing discussions the possibility of sinfānī, for sinfaini, being a dialect form is not mentioned anywhere, as far as I know. The third shāhind is the line quoted by Ibn 'Aqlī, supposedly for the Ḍabba dialect (cf. § g): 'uḥību minkī l-ʾanfā waš-ʾaināna/wa-mankharaini (sic) ʾashbahā ʾzā-ṣubyānā 'I love your5 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 (Ṣaḥibī, p. 20), with baina ʿudnāhū for baina ʿudnaihi '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 ʿAbū Zaid (Nawādīr, p. 58) ascribed it to a Yemenite; Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 522) to the Ḥārīth dialect, but in another place to Ruʿba, of the Ḍabba tribe. There
is nothing inherently impossible in connecting the lines with Ḍabba. When ḌAbū Ḥātim asked ḌAbū Ḫubaid (d. 210/825) about them, the latter answered: ‘Put dots over it (unqūt ʿalaihi; to mark it as doubtful). This is a fabrication of al-Muḥḍal’ (Lisān, xix, 322). Even if Muḥḍal 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘ayya } & \text{ qalūṣi rāḥibin tarāhā} & \text{(qalūṣin rākiban)} \\
\text{shālū } & \text{ alāhunna fa-shul alāhā} & \text{(ṭārū; fa-ṭir)} \\
\text{wa-shdud bi-mathnai ḥaqabin ḥiqwāhā} & \text{(cf. § 8 r)} \\
\text{nājiyatan wa-nājiyān } & \text{‘abāhā} & \text{(nādiyatan; nādiyān)} \\
\text{‘inna } & \text{‘abāhā wa-‘abā } & \text{‘abāhā} \\
\text{qad balaghā fī l-majdī ghāyatāhā} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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’.

1 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 Fārā (in the Vienna MS. of Ibn Qutaiba, ḌAdāb 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. ḌAstarābdī, Kāfīya comm., i, 32; Suyūṭī, Jam‘, 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 (kilānī) as a true dual form (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 456; ii, 254). However, Sībawaihi already analysed it as a singular of the form fiʿāl. Ibn Ḥīshām (Mughnī, i, 172) calls it ‘singular in form, dual in meaning’. In Ugaritic it is still a singular, kp at (Gordon, Grammar, p. 34), but in Moabite (kPy ḫʾsw ṣḫ ‘the two reservoirs’, Mesha‘ 23) and Hebrew (kiPa yyim ‘two kinds’) it has a dual ending attached to it, as in Ethiopic kePē. The root is kp ‘to restrain’, the first meaning of our word probably ‘yoke’. The normal fiʿāl form of this would of course be kilān(u)n, which in most dialects became kilān through the usual confusion of ʿalīf māmdūda and ʿalīf magṣūra (cf. especially for West-Arabian § 10 ee). The genitive construct of this was kilāʾi, the
accusative kilā'ā. 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— krist for kilā (Wright, ii, 214B). On the other hand, some Arabs are reported to have said kilā in the oblique case even before pronouns (Ashtarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 32, from the Mughni, 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.

In the dialect of the Sufyān b. 'Arḥab, a clan of Hamdan dwelling between Khaiwān and Sa'da, one could hear the phrase ra'aaitu 'akhwāka (Hamdānī, Jazīra, p. 134, cf. § 4 c). This admits of two interpretations. If we take 'akhwāka 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 'akhwāka is plural of 'ukht 'sister', and stands for 'akhwātaka. We shall see (§ 14 e) that the Tayyiib 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.

1 According to Ibn Ya'ish (p. 62) the Harith dialect used 'abā, with the indefinite article 'aban, instead of 'ab, 'abun, 'abū, etc., 'father'. Ibn Hishām (Mughni, 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 la baṭalun 'thy brother is compelled, not a hero' (Maidānī, ed. Freytag, ii, 699; ed. Bulaq, ii, 228). Nöldeke (ZDMG, xliv, 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 Tlemcen we find khaī '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 yābāh (Goitein, Jemenica, p. 104). Ethiopian ḍabā as clerical title may be a loan from Aramaic, but Amharic has abåyye ‘papa’ and abåt ‘father’. The last-named form suggests that the Koranic yā‘abati is also developed out of ḍabā. Mishnaic Hebrew has ḍabbā ‘my father’, ḍimmā ‘my mother’, used both as vocative and as ordinary noun (e.g., Sanhedrin, iii, 2: ne‘emān ‘alai ḍabbā, ne‘emān ‘alai ḍabīkhā ‘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 ḍabbā is the status emphaticus). 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 ḍawī ḍilā ḍummā ‘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 ḍab, etc., were originally due to false analogy from ḍabbā, understood as an accusative.

m The enlargement of biliteral roots with -ā seems to have had wider extension, to judge from the forms yaddā ‘hand’ (cf. perhaps Ethiopic ḍedē-ka, etc.) and damā ‘blood’, said by Sibawaihi (quoted ḍAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 175) to belong to an unspecified dialect. In passing we may mention another dialect variant of ḍab and ḍakh, unfortunately again without localization: ḍābb (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, quoted Lane, p. 4a) and ḍakhkh (Ibn al-Kalbī in Jamhara, i, 15). These recall the Aramaic emphatic state ḍabbā (cf. also the Mishnaic Hebrew forms cited above) and Hebrew ḍāhım <∗aḥhim (cf. Bauer-Leander, Histor. Gramm., p. 615).

n The Hamdan said instead of huwa, hiya ‘he, she’ hūwa, hiya (huwwa, hiyya), with long vowel (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 8 b; ḍAstarābādī, 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 hūwae, ħīye 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 ħī 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 hūwae, hiya and the hū’a, ḍhī’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 mîl- for mina l- (or mînî l-, cf. § 14 pp) ‘from the’, occurs frequently in poetry from all parts of Arabia (cf. Brockelmann, GVG,
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 Tayyiʿ 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 ʿalif 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). ʿAbū ʿIshāq (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 haplography (Brockelmann, GVG, i, § 97).\(^{11}\)

q The Kinana said naʿim ‘yes’ instead of naʿam (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 86 a; Zamakhsharī, Mufāṣṣal, 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 Kīsāʾī read so in the Koran (Suyūṭī, Jamʿ, ii, 76). This is of course the older form (cf. nīʿma < 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
No really satisfactory explanation has been given, to my knowledge, of the adverbial idioms of the type dhāta yauānīn ‘one day’, dhā sabāähin ‘one morning’ (on the various idioms of this kind, see Līsān, xx, 345, 347). The remarkable thing about them is that the dhā, etc., exercises no influence on the meaning, the phrases being equivalent to yauānīn, etc. Similarly one can say ‘alā dhātī hidāthihi or min dhī hidāthihi instead of ‘alā hidāthihi ‘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 dhī ‘possessor’. According to Sībawīhi (i, 95), the Khath’am dialect inflected this dhā like the noun dhū. He drew this conclusion from a line by the Khath’am poet ‘Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika, cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 60, or Nuhak, cf. Sib. as quoted Līsān, iii, 333): ‘azamtu ‘alā ‘iqāmati dhī sabāahin/ī-amrin mā yusawwadu man yasūdū. Sībawīhi 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 context12—‘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.

To deal with the syntactic aspect first: we possess a parallel from the colloquial of Zafār in Southern Yemen. There the demonstrative for both genders is normally enclitic dhī, combined with the article: esh-shugahl dhī ‘this business’ (Rhodikanakis, Dhofar, ii, 108). For ‘this is’ there is a special masculine form, dhē. Twice, however, in R.’s texts dhē occurs adjectively, both times before the noun, and without the article: once before a common noun in dhē mkān ‘this place’ (Rhodikanakis, i, 95, line 3), the other time before a proper name in min dhē gēṣēf etta dhī l-ugēl ‘from Jēfējēf 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’: yaṭlā‘u ‘alaikum rajulun min dhī yamanin ‘ala waqīhihi mashatun min dhī malakīn, 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 dhī bytn corresponds exactly, except for word order, with Biblical Hebrew hab-bayith hus-zeh, while the cases just discussed correspond as closely to Mishnaic Hebrew bayith zeh ‘this house’. There is some evidence of proclitic zeh₄(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 ‘Azharī (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 gabbahā lāhu dhā fā, which must mean ‘may God put that mouth to shame’. The ‘Adī 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 ħādhā l-baitu but dh(i) baitu or dh(i) baitun. Cf. map No. 10.

The 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 ‘imāla, i.e., dhē or dhē (Sibawaihi, ii, 289; Zamakhshāri, Muṣāṣal, p. 160). The way in which the statement is introduced in the sources suggests that these were not dialects with general ‘imāla, therefore probably West-Arabian ones (cf. § 10 g). 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 Zafār and Dathīnā. In the strongly i malino 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 ‘Ṭayyi’ 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 ziū and demonstrative zeh (fem. zē) led to the latter being employed in many biblical passages instead of the former. The Ethiopic zē is of no help, as it might be shortened from dhē as well as from dhī.

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 qaṛashīyyun yamāmin laisa miṇ 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 Ru‘ain. 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 Sibawaihi are a neat instance of the shortcomings of the Arab philologists' approach to the dialects. However, Ibn Mālik (Tashil, f. 36 a) draws a truly bewildering inference from Sibawaihi's words: that the Khathām, 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 Ḍīnīs, Lahajāt, p. 99, without source) that the Harith said for the dual and plural of the relative pronoun alladhā and alladhī instead of alladhānī, alladhīnā. Others ascribe the feature to part of Rabi'a. Two shawāhid, both with the dual, are by the Taglibi ḌAkhtal 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 alladhīnā (cf. § 8 x).

x According to Ṣaffār (quoted by Ibn Ḍaqī, p. 121), the Harith dialect made the predicate of a verbal clause agree with its subject in number (the so-called lughat ḍakalūnī l-barāghīth, cf. Wright, ii, 294C). The same usage is found in Hijāz (§ 13 b) and Tayyi' (§ 14 h), 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, Tashil as quoted Khizāna, iv, 522; Suyūṭi, 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 fu’āduka lau yahzunka ma šanat/al/’ihdā nisāṭi bani dhuhli nni shaibāna ‘may your heart stop beating it if it grieves you what a woman of the Banū Dhuḥli b. Shaibān has done’ (Khizāna, loc. cit.; Shinqīṭi, 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.
Since the 'Azdi reports this of another dialect, we may infer that his own dialect did not have this form.

The example given is 'a'idān 'two handles'. Thus at least in some contexts ai is preserved in the particular colloquial from which Landberg took this form.

It is by 'Ujair b. 'Abdallāh as-Salūlī.

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

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

The same ending is found in Eth. ḥaqū '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.

Both editions write 'akhūka, the grammars 'akhūka.

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).

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.

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

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 Sibawaih, it presupposes that 'aqāma had the meaning which it has in 'aqāma ʿ-salāta 'he held the prayers'. This meaning is in my opinion borrowed from Jewish usage (cf. hēqīm miyūāh '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.

Other reading tāmat fuʿādaka . . . '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. Khaṣṣā‘īṣ, 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 k, 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); thāqīb ‘shining’ for Hudhail (Risāla, p. 155; 'Iqtān, p. 311) and Kināna (Risāla, p. 162); jadath ‘tomb’ for Hudhail (Risāla, p. 155; 'Iqtān, p. 311) and Tihāma (Miṣbah, p. 144)—as against jadaf in Najd (Miṣbāḥ) or Qais and Tamīm (Sharīḥ Dīwān al-Khansā‘, Beirut 1890, p. 230); kharāṣa ‘to utter lies’ for Hudhail, Kinana, and Qais (Risāla, p. 157; 'Iqtān, p. 311), cf. perhaps Hebrew ḥāras 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, ‘Aḍdād, p. 81), Tihāma (Baiḍāwī, ii, 37); usl as plural (?) of ‘asal ‘honey’ for Hudhail, Kinana, and Khuza‘a (Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, iii, 655).

c The form na‘īm for na‘am was current in the Hudhail and Kinana dialects (Qastallānī, iv, 204). It was a general West-Arabian form (cf. § 7 j and § 10 h). 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‘ala), 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., jawasāt ‘nuts’, from jauza (Ibn Mālik, Tashih, f. 6 a; Zamakhshari, Mufsāsal, 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 by a Hudhali poet in which a male ostrich is described as ʼabū (ʼakhū) bayadātīn ‘possessor of eggs’ (from ba‘da; ʼAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 190; Lisān, viii, 393), the other a reading by ʼA‘mash of Kufa in Koran, xxiv, 57: thalāthu ʼawarātīn ‘three times of privacy’ (for ʼawarātīn), which Zamakhshari (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 Khālawa‘īn (Badi‘, p. 103) declares ʼA‘mash’s reading to be in the Tamīm dialect. We know from Zamakhshari (Muf. p. 77) and Farrā‘ī (on Koran, xiii, 7/6) that the Tamīm elided the a in forms like jamarāt, which they pronounced jamarāt ‘coals’. Perhaps Ibn Khālawa‘īn drew this conclusion from ʼA‘mash’s tribal origins, or more likely, one of his sources confused Hudhail with the Tamimī sub-tribe Ḥanzala. 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. ʼAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 189) says that to ʼīr ‘caravan’ there existed a plur. ʾiyarāt, 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: mēlākhōth) 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.

Another example of the preservation of an unstressed short vowel is Hudhail ʾibin for ibn ‘son’ (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, Ostkananāer, p. 15, and Minaean bhn =bnu). The initial i is a difficulty, as it is not, like the
of the Classical form *ibnu*, phonetically justified. Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 17) takes *i*bn as the original Arabic form and the medial *i* of *'i*bin as an anaptyctic vowel like those of the Hebrew segolates. This follows his theory that the *'i*râb-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, Meckanische Sprichwörter, p. 99) and other colloquials. A form exactly like that in Hudhail, of course without *'i*râb, is current in modern Najd (Socin, Diwan, iii, 108). But there is no evidence that the ancient Hudhail dialect had lost the *'i*râb. Rather we may take *'i*bin as a compromise between Eastern *i*bnu (which, being mostly unstressed, had lost its vowel by Eastern sound-law) and Western *'i*binu, the existence of which would thus be proved.¹

The absence of vowel-harmony and vowel-ellipsis 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.).

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.).

Initial *wv*- becomes in the Hudhail dialect *wv-, initial *wi>* *i*.¹ For the first law I have only few instances: *usādâ* 'pillow' for *wusādâ* (Ibn Duraid, Jamhara, ii, 267); Freytag (Einführung, p. 83) cites two lines from the Dîwān Hudhail, containing *uskh* for *wushk* 'speed' and *udd* for *wudd* 'love'; the Medinean *'Ubayy is said to have had in his codex *wjūhum* 'their faces' for *wjūhuhum* in Koran, xxxix, 61/60 (Jeffery, Materials, p. 161). Instances of *wi>* *i* are more plentiful: *ishāh* 'woman's girdle' for *wīshāh* (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqâq, p. 301; Jamhara, ii, 161), *ilde* 'children' for *wilâda, *'i*á* 'vessel' for *wi*á, *iqâ* 'protection' for *wiqâ* (all Ibn Sikkît, Qalb, p. 57). The change is also found in the Hijazi poet Nâbîgha (xx, 26, cf. Lisān, i, 190) where *iddâ* stands for *wiḍâ* 'pretty ones', and a line (quoted by Ibn 'A'râbî in Lisān, iv, 458) with *idān* 'feeling' for *wijdān*, and finally in the common Arabic *irth* for *wirth* 'inheritance'.

The change of *wv*- into *w- is, of course, a result of the disappearance of hamza. An *u* with a 'soft on-glide' (leiser Einsatz) is practically equivalent to a *wv-, 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 (*i*bid., i, 45). Cantineau (Parlers, p. 42) observed in Syrian bedouin colloquials that hamza was preserved in the initial position, as in *'edhen* 'ear' = *'udhn, *'ōdhfer* 'nail' = *'uṣfur, but no
Weakening of initial \( w \) and \( y \) (§81)

Map No. 11
hamza was heard in words beginning with an u<vi, as uṣel ‘he arrived’ = wīṣil (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: walaḍ). We can actually make a reversal-test. The loan word ‘uqiyya ‘ounce’ was pronounced wuqiyya in the dialect of the Banū ʿĀmir near Medina (Qaṣṭallānī, iv, 36). This could only happen if the hamza of ‘uqiyya was not pronounced.

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. 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 ad-Ḍamrī (Diwān Hudhail, i, 73), expressly declared by Sukkari to be a dialect form of the Hudhail. Jumāḥī 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.

I 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 ḫāq from Hebrew ḥāq), and some spellings in the old Testament text suggest a widespread confusion between yi- and y- (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 ʿUshmūnī, iv, 222; ʿAbū l-ʿalāʾ al-Maʿarrī, Risālāt al-malāʾika, ed. Krachkovski, p. 6). Murādī (d. 749/1348) is quoted by Ṣabbān (*ad* ʿUshmūnī, 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* < *yamu*) in Accadian (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 139). Thus we have ṣarrāḥn 'blight' for *yaraqān* (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 67) and *alab* 'skin-helmets' for *yalab* (Ibn al-Muṣaffar in Lisān, i, 210 *ad* for *yad* 'hand' (Lisān, xx, 303). In two cases the change is Classical Arabic: *anāṭun* 'languid woman', originally *wanāṭun*, and the n. pr. fem. *ʿasmāʾ*, from *wasmāʾ* 'the beautiful one'. This is a tendency contrary to that in the Hudhail dialect.

n An unspecified dialect said *ʿabīnāʾu* for *ʿabīynāʾu*, plural of *bayyin* 'eloquent' (Ṣibawaihi, quoted Mukhāṣṣas, 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 Hudhali Ibn Masʿūd read in Koran, xii, 35, for *ḥattā ḥinīn*, 'until a certain time', *ʿattā ḥinīn* (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, Tashil, f. 57 b; Baidāwī, i, 460, etc.). Some late sources state it as a general rule that the Hudhail substituted *ʿain* for *ḥ* (Sūyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 133; *ʿAināṭī*, Qāmūs Turc., i, 284), but give few examples other than *ʿattā ḥinīn*. Yāziğī (Seventh Or. Congress, ii, 77), however, presents us with a whole sentence in Hudhail dialect: *al-laʾmu l-ʿāʾmaru ṣaʾamū mina l-lāʾmī l-ʿabyāḍi* 'red meat is better than white meat'. As Yāziğī never names his sources and is free with 'examples' found nowhere else, we cannot but treat this with suspicion. Suyūṭī identifies the change of
h into ‘ain with the faẖfaḥat 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 h to ‘ain has to do with this. Indeed, Suyūṭi himself says elsewhere that the term faẖfaḥa refers to the change of h (not ḥ) into ‘ain 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 faẖfaḥa is a name for either peculiarity of the dialect. The one available instance of ḥattā ḥīnīn 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 ‘attā for ḥattā everywhere in the Koran. In our case the ‘ain may well be due to dissimilation (this is the opinion of Bergsträsser in GQ, iii, 68). However, all the cognate languages have ‘ain in the word for ‘until’: South-Arabian d, ‘dy (cf. § 4 cc), Hebrew ‘adh, ‘ādhē, etc. Though ḥattā may have no etymological connection with ‘ad(at) (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 417), West-Arabian, if only for geographical reasons, must have used ‘adai at some time. The Hudhail form would then be a compromise between the two. In fact, a similar form, ‘etta, is to-day found in the colloquial of Zafār in southern Yemen. This was identified with the Hudhail word by Vollers (ZAss., xxii, 226); there is, however, the difficulty about this that the Zafār dialect does not elsewhere substitute ḍalif for ‘ain (cf. Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 76). Perhaps ‘etta is a compromise between ḥattā and some cognate of Ethiopic eska. The form ‘attā 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 Ṭā‘īf.

p From Ibn Hishām (Mughni, ii, 25) we learn that Ibn Masʿūd read in the Koran naḥam ‘yes’ for naʾām. This contradicts the statements which report that the Hudhail said naʿim for naʾam (cf. § c above). However, this is not the only case where Ibn Masʿūd reads h for ‘ain. Farrāʾ saw in Masʿūd’s codex that he wrote in Koran, c, 9, buḥthira for buʾthira ‘was laid bare’. Farrāʾ heard the same reading from one of the Banū Ḵasad (cf. Beck, Orientalia, xv, 182). In this case the h may be due to assimilation to the voiceless th. The inclusion of ḸAsad makes this even more probable, as we have from Tamim, another Eastern tribe, such forms as maḥhum for maḥum ‘with them’ (with Eastern maʿ for maʿa; Sibawaihi, ii, 462) and aḥḥudut for aḥadu ‘I make a covenant’ (Ibn Khālawayh, Badiʿ, p. 125). But this does not explain naḥam. There is a late statement to the effect that the change of ‘ain to h 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 Vollers’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 ١<‘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 ٨, e.g., Bēt ٨ for Bēth Hōrōn, ‘Āsur for Ḥāṣōr, Zanū for Zānōāh (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., ‘Aṣqālān<‘Ashqēlōn, Kafr ٖ<‘ānā<‘ānū, 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 Līsān, xviii, 168), but also Quḍā’a (Tha‘alibī, Fiqh al-lughā, 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 hamsa was changed, according to ٩Ushmūnī (iv, 212) even every hamsa 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 ٩ was pronounced the same as ٩aleph (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 ٩tar for ḥātar ‘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, Tērūmāh, § 7, that in Arabia ‘to steal’ was gēbha. Cohen (op. cit., p. 233) derives this from Arabic qabbaha, but that can only mean ‘to make or consider wicked’, and even qabūha ‘to be wicked’ never has the meaning of
stealing in normal Arabic. Nor does Arabic *gaba‘a* 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 *gabḥ‘ān* ‘robber’, a word then already not fully understood. Our *qēbha‘* is cognate to Arabic *gabaḍa* ‘to seize’, and may be preserved in Syrian colloquial Arabic *gaba‘* ‘to pull out’. The two cases cannot be used as argument. The only case in which we really have ‘*ain for ħ* is when the Palestinian Bar Qappārā addresses the Babylonian Rabbi Ḥiyyā playfully as ‘Iyyā, mocking at his Babylonian Aramaic pronunciation (Bab. Talmud, *Kērīthōth*, 8 a).

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 ‘ have become *‘alif and ħ > 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 *hiqw* ‘loins’ for *haqw* (Ṭāj, x, 95). The form with ṯ 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). Cf., however, the cases (§ 10 i) where the Najd dialects have ṯ for western a.

Absence of the rounding influence of labial consonants is responsible for the difference between Hudhail *‘imm* and Classical *‘umm* ‘mother’ (*Ağhānî, xxi, 43: in Jamhara, i, 20, as dialect form without mention of Hudhail). The form *‘imm, 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 *‘umm* (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 *‘imm* to East-Arabian, Aramaic, and Accadian *‘umm* (Mishnaic Hebrew *‘ūm* is a technical word and probably borrowed) as alternative Proto-Semitic forms.

Instead of *‘asāya* ‘my staff’ the Hudhail said *‘asayya*, 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 Līsān, xx, 249; cf. further Zamakhshari, Mufasṣal, p. 44; Tabrizi, Ḥamāsa comm., p. 22; Baidawi, i, 593; Ibn ‘Aqīl, p. 354). The form is found in a line by *ʿAbū Dhu‘aib* (Dīwān Hudhail, ii, No. 1, 7), but it is not restricted to that dialect. ʿIsā b. ʿUmar (d. 149) declares it to be Quraiši dialect. It is common in Koran readings. The Basrian grammarian Ibn ʿAbi ʿIshaq al-Ḥadrāmi (d. 117/735) read in xx, 19, ‘*asayya* ‘my staff’, and in vi, 163/162 *mahayyya* ‘my life’. The Basrian al-Ḥasan and others read in xii, 19, *yā bushrayyya* ‘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). Zamakhshāri (Kashshāf, p. 646) tells us that in his own time (he died at Mecca 538/1143) the people of the Sarāt said in prayer َYaṣayyida wa-maulayya 'my Lord and Master'. These forms belong to the same paradigm as the Himyaritic qafāika '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 َe and then, together with the common Semitic َi, had coalesced with the strongly imālized َa. In the nouns the َa 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 َa into the suffixed forms. We must, therefore, assume that West-Arabian said not only َasayya, َasaika, but also َasaihū (cf. § 10 f), َasaihā, 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 > َa peculiar to that dialect (§ 7 e). َAstarābādī is no doubt right in remarking that there is no similar 'change' in the dual: the Hudhayl said َasayya, but َkhalitayya '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 َasayya assimilation of the َalif, َ which of course should affect every َalif in the same way.

u The indeterminate state of these words in the Hudhayl dialect was according to Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, iii, 488) َasān, 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 tertīā. Both qafan and َasān are spelled with final َalif. The verb belonging to qafān is qafāa, yaqfū 'to follow closely'; from َasān we have َasautu 'I struck with a stick'. In the Yemenite dialect it was َasūn (§ 4 v). There was, however, also a verb َasaitu and َasītu, which the lexicographers rather artificially distinguish from َasautu.
Ibn Sīdā (in Līsān, xix, 294) calls ‘āṣāitu a dialect form of ‘āṣautu. This is the common Arabic confusion of tertiē w and y. Conversely, the common ʿinān (with y) ‘hour of the night’, was in some dialect ʿinwun (Ibn ʿAʾrābī in Līsān, xviii, 52). On the evidence of ʿaswun we may identify that dialect as Yemenite.

w The type ʿaṣāiun seems not to have been the only one taken by these nouns. The above-mentioned ʿinān ‘hour of the night’ appears as ʿinyun in a line by the Hudhalī al-Mutanakhkhil (Ibn Wallād, Maqṣūr wa-mamdūd, p 7; Līsān, loc cit). This corresponds to the Yemenite ʿaswun. It presupposes ʿiṇayun, and was perhaps peculiar to some part of Hudhalī. The plural ʿānā is said to be Hudhalī dialect (ʿAbū ʿUbaīd, Ris., p. 143; Suyūṭī, Ḥidqān, p. 311).

x In Korān, xi, 107/105 the Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir (of Yemenite origin), and the Kufans ʿĀṣim (of ʿAsad) and ʿHamza (of Taim) read yauma yaʾti (Baidāwi, i, 447). It is not possible to take yaʾti as jussive. Zamakhshārī (Kashshāf, p. 632) remarks that such forms are frequent in the Hudhalī dialect. In fact the shortening of final ʾ is a well-established trait of the dialect of Hijāz, and probably of West-Arabian as a whole, affecting also the dialects of ʿAsad and Qais (cf. § 10 gg and map No. 13).

y The Hudhalī dialect, in contrast to Yemen (§ 4 aa) and Tayyiʾ (§ 14 v) employed the common Arabic relative pronoun alladhī. A form alladh is found twice in a line by an unknown Hudhalī (Dīwān Hudhalī, i, 287) and in another, also by an unknown Hudhalī (Līsān, xx, 342; Khizāna, ii, 498). Al-Laith (Līsān, loc cit.) says this is a form used by some Arabs, but ʿAndalusī (quoted ʿAstarābādī, Kafiyya 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 Hudhalī, alladh can be accounted for by the West-Arabian shortening and elision of final ʾ. The form alladhī was also used in Hijāz (§ 12 ʾ) and may there have been subject to the same shortening.

z For the plural of alladh(i) we are given two forms. Ibn ʿAqīl (p. 39) and ʿAstarābādī (Kafiyya comm., ii, 40) say the Hudhalī use alladhīnā for the nominative (as against Classical Arabic alladhīna for all cases). Zamakhshārī (Mufsāṣṣal, p. 56) cites this as unspecified dialect. Ibn Hishām (Bānat Suʿād, p. 81) says 'either the 'Uqail or the Hudhalī use alladhīna, and the Hudhalī use allāʾīna'. The matter seems decided by the shāhid, attributed to the 'Uqaili 'Abū Ḥarb al-ʿAṣlam (cf. Schaw.-Indices, p. 53, b. 5), containing alladhīna, thus leaving allāʾīna as the form which was used by the Hudhalī.
dialect. 'Abū Ḥayyān (in his comm. on Ibn Mālik's Tashīl, quoted Shinqīṭī, i, 58) asserts that allāʾūnā, oblique case allāʾīna, 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 allāʾi used for the plural in Hijaz (§ 12 i). Possibly allāʾūnā 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 pre-fixes 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 'Amr'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. 'Aṣmaʾī (Aṭdād, p. 52, cf. Lisān, i, 386) quotes a line by Dukain ibn Rajā' al-Fuqaimī (d. 105 H., cf. Yaḍīt, 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 Hanzala, 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 hadīth of doubtful origin: limā yaṟuruha 'because of what disgraces you' (Zamakhshari, 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', Marzūqi (as quoted by Tāj, vii, 313) says that this common Arabic form was of the Tayyi' 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 Marzūqi'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', 'iḥdā '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 Marzūqi's statement means, but it appears to imply that Hudhail and Tayyi' had 'ikhālu, as opposed to neighbouring dialects.
cc The Hudhail dialect used matā (or rather the West-Arabian form mата) as a preposition (Ibn Mālik, Tashīl, f. 58 a; Ibn Hishām, Mughni, ii, 21; Aṣma‘ī and Farrā‘ in Lisān, xx, 364, etc.). According to the philologists it was equivalent to bī-, wasṭa, and min ‘in, into, out of, from’. The meaning ‘into’ is exhibited in the stock example, first quoted by ʿAbū Zaid, waḍa‘tuḥu matā kummi ‘I put it into my sleeve’. Ibn Hishām even says that matā 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’: ʿAbū Dhu‘aib, xi, 8 (‘from the depths’); ʿAbū l-Muthallam, v, 3 (‘from her flanks’—other reading laḍā); 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 matā with the equally strange Hebrew temporal preposition middē (? < *maddā) ‘since, from . . . to’, the manifold constructions of which betray some uncertainty in handling it. It is not possible to connect middē with kēldē ‘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 ʿidhin with the function of ʿidh-dhāka ‘at that time’, like Hebrew ʿāz. This is an archaism, since the compound terms hīnaʿidhin, etc. (list in Nöldeke, Zur Grammatik, p. 63) presuppose an earlier use of ʿidhin in this way all over Arabia. The only examples available come from Hudhali poets: ʿAbū Dhu‘aib (ed. Hell, xviii, 2) and Sā‘ida b. ʿAjlān (Dīwān Hudhail, xxvii, 13). The Hudhail used also, according to Farrā‘, a compound of ʿidhin not known elsewhere, ʿawānaʿidhin, found in a line by Dākhil b. Ḥarām al-Hudhali (Dīwān, 124, 11). Perhaps the implication is that ʿawān ‘time’ was a Hudhali or West-Arabian word.

ee In discussing Koran, lxxxvi, 4, ʿin kullu nafsin lamāʾ alaihā ḥāfiẓun, Farrā‘ rather hesitatingly suggests that the Hudhail employ after ʿin ‘not’ lamāʾ instead of ʾillā ‘except’ (Orientalia, xv, 214). We shall discuss the ʿin kullu . . . lamāʾ 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 ʿammā ʿanta 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: ʿimmā ʿagamta wa-ʿammā ʿanta mūtauḥi, fa-llāhu yaklaʾu mā tāʾti wa-mā tadhāru ‘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 ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, but in Broch’s Mufassal edition (p. 34,
line 8) is said to be by a Hudhalī. In the Khīzāna (ii, 81) this ascription is attributed to a commentator of the Mufaṣṣal. Whether right or wrong, it shows a tradition that this construction was Hudhalī dialect. There is certainly no cause to deny its existence. It fits in well with the use of accusative after ʾammā in West-Arabian (cf. § 13 cc, seq.). It would be attractive to connect it with the West-Arabian ʾimmā ‘if’ (§ 13 oo), with which it is in parallelism in our first shāhid.

NOTES

1 Sibawaihi (ii, 458) quotes ʿAbū l-Khaṭṭāb as saying that niʿma for niʿma ‘how good’ was Hudhalī dialect. This is not necessarily naʿima with vowel-harmony, but might be an ‘Aufsprengung’ of niʿma. Still, the form is hardly Hudhalī dialect, as the shāhid given is by Tarafa of the Eastern tribe of Bakr.

2 In Lisān, xiv, 217, ascribed to Ibn Harma (d. 150/767), himself of Hudhalī or Kinana (cf. ʿAghānī 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 ʿāmmiyiyatun ‘vulgar form’ for lughatun ʿāmiriyiyatun. 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 ē.

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 Hudhalī. 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 bādiʿ ‘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 ʾāḥḥadu, which in Tamīm would have become *ʾiḥḥadu (§ 6 i). The Kufan Yaḥyā b. Wathṭāb read ʾiḥḥadu.

11 ‘Anīs (Lahajāt, p. 7) says that the Egyptian bedouins (sukkān al-bawāṭi 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 Tamīm, but this is much more likely to have been some general characteristic of Tamīm 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-ʿainaihi ‘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 stī ‘to shoot; to stare’.

13 Possibly the verb is Hebrew, derived from Mishnaic ʿether ‘pitchfork’.
14 However, Ethiopic ḥaqē, ḥauqē also has ā.

15 For the Arab philologist, of course, ā was a combination of a and ‘alif, as ā was one of u and wāw.

16 In the line containing the words shtar lanā sawīqan ‘buy us gruel’ (anon., Ibn Ya‘ish, 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 ʿAbū Bakr, i.e., largely Hijazi readers and their followers, read ʿarnā for ʿarinā ‘show us’ (Baidāwī). The Tamīmī ʿAbū ʿAmr, who was born at Mecca and lived in Basra, read in lxvii, 20, yansurkum for yansurukum, in vi, 109, yushʾirkum for yushʾirukum, and somewhere yaʾmurkum for yaʾmurukum (Shinqīṭ, ii, 81). Similar phenomena, ascribed to Tamīm dialect, also occur with other liquids: yuʾallimhum and yaluʾanhum (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 23).
Chapter 9

HIZAJ: 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 *hijāz* `barrier’ was at first applicable to any part of the belt between the coastal plain, or Tihāma, and the uplands, or Najj. In practice it meant the *hijāz*-country around Medina (cf. Lammens, L’Arabie occid., p. 300). The statement of Ṣaḥmā‘ (in Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, 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 Khuzā‘a and Juhaina leaves the coastal plain, to Shaghab and Badan, two places in the territory of Balī south of Teimā (cf. Hamdānī, Jazāra, p. 170). In Imperial times the province of Hijaz included Mecca, Tā‘if, 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-Hijāz* it is clear that the philologists used the name in this later sense. The bedouin tribes of the interior were sometimes included in the Hijaz and at other times among the Qais.

c Qāsim b. Ma‘n 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.

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-‘Āliya. This may at first have been identical with ‘awālī l-madinati, a group of villages situated 4–8 miles from Medina towards Najd (Qaṣṭallānī, iv, 271; Lisān, xix, 320). There was a group of Hawāzin clans near Medina, including the Sa’d b. Bakr, Jusham b. Bakr, and Naṣr b. Mu‘āwiya, which were called ‘aǧās Hawāsīn ‘tail-end of the Hawāzin’ or ‘ulyā Hawāsīn ‘upper Hawāzin’ (Ṭabarî, Ṭafsīr, i, 23). We may perhaps render the last term more freely as ‘Hawāzin of the ‘Āliya’. For Jauhari (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 521), Ibn Duraid (Iṣṭiqāq, p. 34), and Yāqūt (Mu‘jam, iii, 593) the ‘Āliya was synonymous with the old Hijaz as described by ʿAṣma’i (§ b). ʿAzhari (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.). Völlers (Volkssprache, p. 6) similarly defines the region as the triangle Medina—Khaibar—‘Oneiza, i.e., the country south of Wādī Rumma. Still wider is the definition of ʿAbū ʿAlī (quoted Yāqūt, loc. cit.), who says that it covers ‘all the country beyond Wādī Rumma towards Mecca, including the tribes ‘Ukl, Taim, part of Ḍabba, all ‘Āmir, Bāhila, part of ʿAsad, and ʿAbdallah b. Gaḥṭafān’, i.e., South-western Najd. 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

In the course of his statement about the hamza (Lisān, i, 14) ʿAbū 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.
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 *bitriq* 'patricius' (Ṭāj, vi, 296), *balās* 'saddlecloth' from the Persian (Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 443; Jamhara, i, 288, iii, 500), *firsik* 'peach' (Jamhara, iii, 338).

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 aggressive in the face of correct Arabic (§ 11 ii). 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 *pirṣiqā*, *pirṣeqā*, rather than Syriac *parsaγā*. 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 fi‘il, fu‘ul to fi‘l and fu‘l (Sibawaihi, ii, 198), fa‘il and fa‘ul to fa‘l (ibid. 277), the verbal forms fa‘ila to fa‘la (ibid.) — two examples in one line: ʾAkhṭal (ed. Ṣālḥānī), 217, 17— , fa‘ula to fa‘la (Jeffery, R.S.O., xvi, 261), fu‘ila to fu‘la (Jamhara, ii, 329) or to fū‘lā (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, Khaṣṣā‘iṣ, i, 25), šudqa for šaduqa ‘dowry’ (Miṣbāḥ, p. 513), and forms like fikhāh for fakhidh ‘thigh’ (Līsān, v, 37) and ʿudd for ʿadud ‘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: ‘unuq for ‘unq ‘neck’ (Miṣbāḥ, p. 622), dīla‘ for dīl ‘rib’ (Tāj, v, 433), šaduqa (Miṣbāḥ, p. 513) or šudqa (Farrā‘ on Koran, xiii, 7/6) for šudqa, yaunu l- jumu‘ati ‘Friday’, where the ‘Uqail said juma‘ati and the Tamim jum‘ati (Farrā‘ in Orientalia, xv, 186). The Tamimi form is read here by the Kufan ʿA‘mash, the Hijazi form by the Hijazi readers and the Kufan ʿĀsim. In some cases only the Eastern form is common in Classical Arabic, as in the case of Hijazi ḥusun for ḥusn ‘beauty’ (Baidāwī, 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 mediae w and y, and fīlāt, fuʿlāt from fīla and fuʿla, admitting however fīlāt and fiʿalāt, etc., as well. The Hijaz dialect had everywhere the three-syllable forms. Thus the Hijazis said mathalāt, šudugāt (Farrāʾ on Koran, xiii, 7/6) and niʿimāt (Liḥyāni in Lisān, xvi, 59). The two latter forms seem to have been peculiar to the Hijaz, other West-Arabian dialects saying niʿamat and šudagāt, like Hebrew kēbhāsōth from kibhāh and ḥorābhōth from ḥorāh (cf. on this § 8 d).

d The absence of elision was noticed by ʿAbū ʿUbaida (d. 210/825): 'The Hijazis give full weight to every sound (yuṣfakhhimūna l-kalāma kullahu), except for 'ashra “ten” which they shorten (yajzimūnahu). The Najdis do not give full weight to sounds (yatrūkūna t-tasfkhāma fi l-kalāmi) except in this one word, which they pronounce 'ashira' (quoted by Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 220). In syntax fakhkhama means 'to emphasize', to make the meaning quite clear (e.g., ʿAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 5). It is again applied in connection with the Hijazi dialect to the 'pure' a, unchanged by ʿimāla (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 takhṣīf (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 ʿAbū ʿUbaida's view that the case of 'ashra 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 ʿiḥdā 'ashrata, etc., the Tamim and the people of Najd in general ʿiḥdā 'ashirata (Sibawaih, ii, 176; Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 364). Some Tamim said ʿiḥdā 'asharata (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 175). The Hijazi is considered the better form ('Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 150). Hebrew ʿesrēh (in Babylonian pointing ʿastrēh) and Syriac ʿesrē prove that it was also the proto-Semitic form. The Tamimi 'ashira has therefore an anaptyctic vowel. The same is the case in Tamimi samura for Hijaz samra
'gum-acacia tree' (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiğaq, 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 § 8x). 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 ʿAsk dialect every noun of the pattern fuʾl became fuʿul, but the only examples given are ʿusur ‘difficulty’ and nusr ‘eagles’, which became ʿusur(un) and nusr(un). This may be merely another example of anaptyxis with r.²

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 Khālawih, Badiʾ, 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 riʿi for raʿi ‘familiar spirit’ (Liḥyāni in Lišān, xix, 10; Ibn Qutaiba, Ḍab, p. 401), biʿr for baʿr ‘camel’ (Ṭāj, iii, 52) and so generally with faʿil (Sibawaihi, ii, 274). In the ʿAsk dialect fa- and va- ‘and’ became fi- and wi- before ʿi (ʿAskfash in Ibn Khālawih, Badiʾ, p. 17). Examples with other vowels: ʿurūna for ʿurūna ‘origin’ (Mufaḍḍaliyyat, p. 254), ḥāṣād for ḥīṣād ‘harvest’ (Suyūṭi, 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 minhimī ‘from them’ (Sibawaihi, 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. (Sibawaihi, ii, 321). The Hijazi readers read in Koran, xxviii, 81, biḥū wabi-dāriḥū ‘upon him and his house’ (Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 57). The Kufan Ḥaṣṣ (pupil of ʿĀṣim) seems to have read in this manner fairly consistently (Suyūṭi, Jamāʾ, 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 (ʿAstārābādi, Kāfiya comm., ii, 12), except when the pronoun came immediately before a hamzat al-wasl. Thus he read in xx, 9/10 qāla li-ʿahlīhu mkuthū. Some readers read with the third pl. -humū, others -himū; only the Basrian ʿAbū 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). Kīsāʾī (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.

The influence of uvular, pharyngeal, 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 ð (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.

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 ‘agru d-dārī against Tamim ‘agrī ‘main part of the house’ (’Aṣma‘ī, A’dād, p. 5; Ibn Sikkīt, A’dād, p. 164), ‘Āliya yafraghū ‘he is at rest’ for yafraghū (Mufaḍḍalīyyāt, p. 281; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 16), luḥd ‘grave-niche’ and ruḍh ‘armpit’ against Tamim laḥd, raḡh (Rāfi‘ī, Tārikh, i, 147), shuḥd ‘unrefined honey’ against Tamim shahd (Miṣḥāḥ; Tāj, ii, 392), Hijaz juḥd ‘effort’ for jahd (Miṣḥāḥ, p. 176), zuḥw ‘dates turning yellow’ for zahw (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 490), Tamim yajnahū ‘he inclines’ against Qais yajnuḥu (Tāj, ii, 133), Bakr bakhil ‘avarse’ for bukhil (Ibn Khālawayhi, Bādí‘, p. 26). For ḍaf‘ ‘weakness’ they said ḍu‘f in the language of the prophet (Miṣḥāḥ, p. 176). This information is no doubt derived from a hadith in which Ibn ʿOmar relates that he pronounced in Koran, xxx, 53/54 ḍaf‘ before the Prophet, and the latter corrected him and told him to say ḍu‘f (Baidāwī, ii, 110). Only the two Kufans ʿĀṣim and Ḥamza read here ḍaf‘. 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 raḍ‘a ‘a bad dialect form’ (or should we perhaps read ‘ardiyāt)? The people of Tīhāma said ‘udud ‘upper arm’ for ‘adud and ‘ujuz ‘posterior’ for ‘ajuz (‘Abū Zaid in Lisān, iv, 283). The Eastern form of ‘adud was ‘add (Sībawayhi, ii, 277). There are, however, also examples of the contrary relation: Hijaz za‘m, inf. of za‘ama ‘to claim’ against Tamim zu‘m (Yūnus in Lisān, xv, 156; Tāj, viii, 324). Perhaps this is a case of a against i, cf. next §.

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 na‘im for na‘am ‘yes’, as did the Hudhail (§ 8 c)
and Kināna (§ 79). A man of Khath‘am noticed that the Prophet said na‘im, and the Caliph ‘Omar 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 ʻakhdh as inf. of ʻakhadha instead of ʻikhdh (Tāj, ii, 551). Conversely, the Hijaz dialect had lahya for lihya ‘beard’ (Zamakhshari, Kashshaf, 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 (Khızāna iii, 23; in Rāfi‘i, Ṭārīkh, i, 147, nihy is attributed to Tamim; in Lisān, xx, 219, it is merely said that ni/ahy means a rain-pool in Najd), hijj ‘pilgrimage’ for ḥajj (Bāḏawi, i, 167; Jamhara, i, 49, with šāhid by the Tamimi Jarīr), qirī ‘aunān ‘be at rest’ for qarrī, read by some in Koran, xix, 26 according to the dialect of Najd (Bāḏawi, i, 579). We may add to this that the Qais dialects had zi‘m where the Hijaz had za‘m, inf. of za‘ama—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 ʼimālā 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 ʼimālā, 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.

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 miišaf ‘codex’ against Tamim miišaf (Jamhara, ii, 369; but ibid. ii, 162 miišaf is said to be ʻĀliya dialect), qiḍwa ‘model’ against Tamimi qidwa (Yazīdī, quoted by Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176), Hijaz qinwān ‘cluster of dates’, Kalb qinyān, Qais qinwān, Tamim and Ḍabba qunyān (Farrā′ in Tāj, x, 304), Kināna qibilan against Tamim qubulan ‘face to face’ (ʻAbū ‘Ubaid, 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 Nāfi‘(l), Ḥamza, and Kīsāʾi for ṣikhiyyan (ʻAbū ‘Ubaid, Risāla, p. 156), rūḏwān for riḏwān ‘goodwill’ (Yūnus, quoted by Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176), Hijazi qinya ‘flocks’ against Tamimi gunwa (ibid.). Without the presence of uvulars or emphatics, but with gutturals: Hijazi ʻidwa ‘peer’, ʻishwa, ‘firebrand’, ʻıswa ‘model’ against Tamimi forms with u (ibid.). In the Tāj (x, 236), however, ʻudwa is attributed to the Quraish, ʻidwa to the Qais. With labial and r: Hijaz mirya ‘doubt’ against Tamim murya (ʻAbū ‘Ubaid, Ris., p. 154, Yūnus in Muzhir, ii, 176; in Koran, xi, 20/17 all canonical readers read mirya).

I 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 *sam*-. 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 Ẓafar colloquial in southern Yemen (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 94.) 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 *uimm* as against *um* in the Hudhall dialect (cf. § 8 s). Actually *sam* ‘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 mediae *w*, where the Eastern dialects kept the lip-rounding of *i*, 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 Sibawaihi without comment, but said to be Hijazi by Thābit, from al-ʿAḥmar (quoted Tāj, iii, 227).

The difference between the Eastern dialects and Hijazi obviously derives from a difference in rhythm. 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. 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.

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 Paen ultima’ (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 ḥisṭud, at another ḥṣidū and on one occasion ḥūṣma and on another ḥṣāma, or ḥāshaba and ḥkhāṣaba.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 Zafar 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'aggad), 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 Hauran is given by J. Cantineau: 'il s’agit d’un accent faible, un peu trénaîant, 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'. (Horan, p. 184; more detailed description ibid. p. 190). Yet the Hauran 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 (Taj, ix, 6). Mubarrad (Kamil, p. 364) explains this as 'a manner of speech in which the sounds are not clear'. In a line by the Hudhali 'Abd Manaf b. Raba' (Lisan, xv, 341) it is used to describe the mumbling of a Christian priest in prayer. No doubt it is connected with Mishnaic Hebrew gamgem, as in meghamem we-qore' (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 Kamil and the Lisan 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 ('Ushmuni, iv, 211) with the peculiarity that -i became -iy, 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 tadajju', applied to the dialect of Qais (Ibn Jinni, Khashi's, i, 411), which appears to mean something like 'sloth, laziness of utterance', i.e., again some form of drawl. The 'ajrafiiyat Da'ba (ibid.) perhaps belongs to a different kind of phonetic description. It is explained by Ibn Sida (Lisan, 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, 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 ḍ), *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 ā or ē (Sibawaihi, ii, 279, 282). The representatives of Hijazi tradition supported their usage by a 'hadith': 'the Koran was revealed with tafkhīm' (Suyūṭi, 'Itqān, p. 220). Actually, it was not one of the Hijazis, but the Kufan 'Āsim who was most consistent in reading pure ā, while the extreme tendency to ūmālā is ascribed to his fellow townsman Ḥamza, of the Western tribe of Taim (Ibn Yaḥyā, p. 1252). The Hijazi ā is described in the sources as 'the pure sounding of the ʿalīf' (Dānī, quoted Suyūṭi, 'Itqān, p. 216), or as tafkhīm or fakhāma (Lisān xx. 365). We have seen that tafkhīm means no more than clear, distinct, enunciation (cf. § 4 above). Dānī (loc. cit.) distinguishes the intermediate tafkhīm (t. mutawassīf) and the extreme form (t. shadīd).

Jazārī describes the latter as the kind of ā which is heard in Persia, particularly in Khurasān, i.e., phonetic ē (Jazārī, Nashr, ii, 29). According to him, it was not permissible in Koranic recitation. But there was one case when the tafkhīm shadīd, or as Makki (Nihāya, p. 31) calls it, ʿalīf at-tafkhīm, was not only permissible, but was indicated in old codices by writing ʿaw instead of ʿalīf. This was the suffix-less form of feminine nouns ending in ordinary Arabic spelling in ʿalīf + tā marbūta. Since Arabic words are spelled as if in absolute pause, where the t disappeared, the vowel indicated by ʿaw was final and stressed. The list of nouns thus spelled includes all nouns with ā before the feminine ending found in the Koran: šalāḥ 'prayer,' ḥayāh 'life,' sakāh 'alms,' najāh 'deliverance', ghadāh 'morning', mishkāh 'lamp-niche', manāh 'the goddess Manāt'. To these must be added ar-ribā (written ḍirā) 'usury'. All of these have ʿaw (صلوة etc.) in most old codices, and in works on the spelling of the Koran, but in some Kufic codices are written with ʿalīf (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 ʿō, not as ʿaw. Makki (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 ghazāḥ, rajāḥ, 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 ā represents a foreign sound in ẓalāḥ, zakāḥ, ḥayāḥ, and mishkāḥ (from Aramaic šēlōthā, zākhūthā, ḥayūthā, and Ethiopic maskōr̥ respectively), especially as in non-Koranic Arabic all these words are treated exactly alike. The Kufan Kisā‘i read mishkāḥ with ʿimāla (Baidāwī, ii, 23) and Zamakhshārī prescribes ʿimāla for ar-ribā (Mufaṣṣal p. 160). In the spelling of the Koran, ʿālif, not wāw is written when the words receive any suffixes: we may assume that the ā was then pronounced less like an ū.

It remains to be discussed in what relation this ā stood to the ā-phoneme. The native words of this type are from roots tertīa v. Bravmann Orientalia, ix, 51) maintains that they were of the pattern faʿwa, and that -wa became sometimes -ā, 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 fuʿāḥ and fiʿāḥ, since fuʿwa and fiʿwa are so frequent. Finally, if wa became ā, 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 faʿawa forms (Barth, loc. cit.; Brockelmann, GVG, i, 349). No faʿawa 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 ā-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 ē in this particularly prominent position, it must have been essentially a back-vowel, like in English father. Probably it inclined towards ū, 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 ʿimāla. ʿAlīf at-tafkhīm is the sound between ʿā and ū, which one sometimes hears in salāmūn ‘alaikum and qūna zaidun. This is why ẓalāḥ, zakāḥ, and ḥayāḥ 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 qaḍī at Tripolis in North Africa, have heard such pronunciations in colloquials similar to that of rural Malta (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 142)?
The ə-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 ə in the Canaanite of Tell el-Amarna, in Hebrew, and in Phoenician (cf. Bergsträsser, Hebr. Gramm., i, 143), the pronunciation of ā as ə in Western Syriac, and the change of tone-lengthened a into ə in the Hebrew reading-style of Northern Palestine between A.D. 100 and A.D. 350 (ibid., p. 59). The same shift occurred in Egyptian (cf. Sethe, ZDMG, lxvii, 167; Gardiner, Grammar, p. 427). For early North-Western Arabic the pronunciation of ā as ə is proved by the fact that in a number of Palestinian and Syrian names foreign ə is rendered by Arabic ā (to the list in Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. xvii, add Sulaimān = Syriac shēlēmōn). The foreign ə was identified by the local Arabic speakers with their own stressed ā = ə; other Arabs, knowing that the ə of that dialect corresponded to their own ā, then substituted the latter. Long ā is still pronounced as ə in some parts of northern Palestine (Bergsträsser, Sprachatlats, 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 ə for ā (especially before n) in other Western Aramaic dialects (Dalman, 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 ʾalif 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 slem = salām (Dussaud-Macler, No. 11) as proofs that the pronunciation of ā as ə was not strange to those idioms. To spell ə with a wāw was, of course, a usage due to Aramaean scribes: to the Arabic-speaking Nabataean this ə 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
when the employment of َالْيْف for expressing the long َاء in the middle of a word was still unknown, and َوْذ was kept on as a convenient means of distinguishing َالْد from the ordinary feminine ending. This is confirmed by the circumstance that, to my knowledge, no spellings such as ُءُأ have been found in codices.  ٢٥

The Aramaic loanwords ُدَأْلَح, ُسَلَح, and ُزَكَأْح are remarkable in another respect: that Aramaic ُدَعَأْح, ُدَعَأْح is represented by ُدَأْح, while its normal representation in Arabic is ُدِعَأْح, with ordinary ُذ 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 ُدَعَأْح* at all, but the archaic status absolutus in ُدِعَأْح (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 ُذَكَأْح, ُسَلَح, had for the ear of the Hijazi Arab great resemblance to native words like ُنَأْجَأْح=ُنَأْجَأْح. Another method of adapting these words to Arabic patterns, which probably also goes back to the absolute form, can be seen in ُدَلَأْحُوْد=ُدَلَأْحُوْد ‘kingdom’ (ُدَلَأْحُوْد) and ُدَأْدَأْحُوْد=ُدَأْدَأْحُوْد ‘tyranny’ (Syr. ُدَأْجَأْحُوْد ‘violence’).

A special problem is raised by ُذَرَبَأ ‘usury’. It corresponds neither to Jewish Aramaic ُذَرَبَأْح, Syriac ُذَرَبَأْح, nor to Syriac ُذَرَبَأْح, and differs from the other forms under discussion by not having the feminine ending. Qasṭalānī (iv, 26) says that some said ُذَرَبَأ for ُذَرَبَأ. Should there have been a confusion in Arabic between ُذَرَب from ُذَرَبَأْح ‘usury’ and ُذَرَب from ُذَرَبَأْح ‘swindle’? This would, perhaps, also account for the wide application of ُذَرَب in Arabic, where it denotes every kind of unlawful sale (Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī, iv, 217).

Our results permit us to account for the alleged Medinean ُذَرَبَأْح for ُذَبَأْح ‘ark, box’ (Qāsim b. Ma‘n in ُذَأْح, i, 33; Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 25; Ibn Khālawayhi, Bādī‘, 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 Ethiopian ُذَبَأْح. But that word, like the Arabic, comes from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic ُذَبَأْح, ُذَبَأْح, itself a derivative of Hebrew ُذَبَأْح. The passage of ُذ into Arabic َاء can hardly be explained other than on the assumption that the word passed first through the Hijaz dialect (cf. § َء, seq.). In Medina, ُذَبَأْح, ُذَبَأْح became, according to rule, ُذَبَأْح, written as always with a َوْذ. In Mecca, meanwhile, the same word had been taken over in the more ‘modern’ form ُذَبَأْح, which was, according to Ibn Mujāḥid (in Līsān, i, 227) used by everyone else (ُذَرَبَأْح at 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 šalāḥ. Ethiopic, then, must have received the word somehow via West-Arabian, through channels as yet unknown to us. That tēbūthā 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).

Lastly, the nouns we have discussed may give us a clue to the spelling irst for -ḍ‘u, found in old codices (GQ, iii, 47). Bergsträsser (ibid.) proposes that this stands for irst, the wāw being a glide for the hamzā (cf. § 11 bb), i.e., irst < ḍ‘u and the second ʿalīf an ʿalīf 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 -ḍ‘u would become irst (since the hamzā was elided in Hijaz), which could well be written with a wāw. We should thus read ʿūf = ʿūfāḥ(u) ‘weak ones’, ʿānwā as ʿanbā = ʿanbā(u) ‘news’, etc. (cf. Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 103). The ʿalīf after the wāw is either ʿalīf al-wiqāya or a reminiscence of etymological hamzā. On the assumption that the -ḍ‘u class had more or less coincided with the -ā (/-āh) types we can account for spellings before suffixes such as ʿuṣliyāḥum = ʿuṣliyāḥum ‘their associates’ (GQ, iii, 46). The spelling used in Kufic of irst (cf. ibid., p. 47, n. 1) may be an attempt to represent the Eastern context-form -ḍ‘u (‘ārbtn), but the spelling used throughout medieval Arabic, irst (where the hamzā 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 صلالة.

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:
\[ \varepsilon \quad \ddot{a} \]
\[ \dhy \quad \ddot{u} \]

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

\( y \) In the East the \( \ddot{a} \) of the third person perfect of hollow verbs was not affected by \( ^{3}\text{imālā} \). \( ^{3}\text{Imāla} \), even where it was demanded by the phonetic surroundings, was prevented whenever the \( \ddot{a} \) was in contact with an emphatic or uvular consonant (Sibawaihi, ii, 285). In the Hijaz, there was no \( ^{3}\text{imālā} \) in any case (ibid., p. 279, 284, and § 9). Yet just in the Hijaz some hollow verbs were pronounced with \( ^{3}\text{imālā} \), though several of them had as radicals emphatics or uvulars: \( \ddot{hēba} \), \( \ddot{khēfa} \ 'he feared', \( \ddot{tēba} \ 'he was good', \( \ddot{sēra} \ 'he arrived', \) and \( \ddot{mēta} \ 'he died' \). One \( '\text{Abū Işḥāq} \) (perhaps the Kufan Koran Reader \( '\text{Amr b. 'Abdallāh as-Sabī'} \), d. 132/750) heard the Hijazi poet Kuthayyir \( '\text{Azzata} \) (d. 105/723) pronounce \( \ddot{sāra} \) as \( \ddot{sēra} \). Only some Hijazis used these forms; perhaps the story of Kuthayyir allows us to infer that only older people spoke thus (Sibawaihi, ii, 281). The Kufan Ḥamza read full \( ^{3}\text{imāla} \) (= \( \ddot{e} \)) and the Medinean Nāfi\( ^{4}\text{imālat baina baina} \) (= \( \ddot{a} \)) in the following ten verbs: \( \ddot{khēfa}, \ddot{tēba}, \ddot{jē'a} \ 'he came', \( \ddot{shē'a} \ 'he wished', \ddot{xēda} \ 'he increased', \ddot{rēna} \ 'he overcame', \ddot{khēba} \ 'he failed', \ddot{ḥēqa} \ 'he encompassed', \ddot{dēga} \ 'it was narrow', \ddot{zēgha} \ 'he turned aside' (GQ, iii, 198). Of Sibawaih’s other verbs, \( \ddot{hāba} \) and \( \ddot{sēra} \) do not occur in the Koran in relevant forms; the omission of \( \ddot{mēta} \) from Ḥamza’s list is striking. Other Kufan and Damascene readers read only some of these verbs with \( ^{3}\text{imālā} \), while the remaining readers from the Hijaz pronounced all of them with pure \( \ddot{a} \) (cf. Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 322). Farrā’ is quoted by Ibn Ya‘īsh as saying (p. 1252): ‘The people of the Hijaz have \( fātha \) in verbs such as \( \ddot{shā'a}, \ddot{khāfa}, \ddot{jā'a}, \) and \( \ddot{kāda}, \) and in verbs mediae \( wāw \) or \( yā' \). He further says; and the majority of the
people of Najd, namely Tamim, 'Asad, and Qais, prefer (yasrūna 'ilā) kasra in the verbs mediae y and in those mentioned, but fatḥa in verbs mediae w, such as qāla and jāla'. This author, who is generally well informed on dialect matters, thus says the exact opposite of Sibawaihi. Since this statement contradicts also all we know about Eastern 'imāla from other sources, one suspects that some copyist, knowing of the connection of 'imāla with Tamim, simply transposed the dialect references. That the existence of two diametrically opposed kinds of 'imāla produced some malaise, we can read between the lines of the pronunciation of 'Anbārī ('Asrār al-‘arabiyya, p. 160, quoted by Fischer, ZDMG, lix, 667): 'The 'imāla is peculiar to the people of Hijaz and their neighbours of Tamim and others'. Koranic 'imāla' was a difficulty for Koran readers, accustomed as they were to Eastern assimilation ‘imāla. ’Abū Ḥātim as Sijistānī (d. 250/864; quoted Suyūṭī, 'Itqān, p. 215) informs us that 'the Kufans use as their guidance for 'imāla the yā's which they find in the codices in place of 'alifs. They thus follow the spelling and read 'imāla to fit in with those cases of yā'. This refers of course particularly to 'alif 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 ‘imāla’. Irregular spellings with yā to indicate the Hijazi ē did exist. Sijistānī found jā'a spelled with medial yā? in Meccan codices. ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī (d. 128/746) reports that tāba was spelled with ya? in ‘Othman’s model codex (GQ, iii, 40), and it can be seen spelled this way in the Kufic codex of Samarqand (Jeffery, JAOS, lxii, 186). Sibawaihi (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 ya? instead of ‘alif. Vollers (Volkssprache, p. 102) takes these as further instances of ē-verbs, while Sarauw (ZAss., xxi, 41) insists that Sibawaihi means that they were pronounced kāda, zēla, comparing them with Aramaic mith=Arabic māta (Hijazi mēta, Hebrew mēth) and Biblical Aramaic rīm ‘was high’. But the Babylonian Massora writes rēm, and in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic the fem. of mith is mēthath (Dalmann, Gramm., p. 315). These forms with ē are, therefore, purely Aramaic developments (cf. also Nöldreke, Neue Beitr., p. 209), and there is no reason to reject Vollers’ view of the Arabic forms. In Arabic grammatical terminology ya? was used with the meaning of ‘imāla, cf. e.g., Suyūṭī ('Itqān, p. 220): ‘the ‘alif and the ya? are considered equally admissible in Koran recitation, meaning by ‘alif and ya? respectively tafkhīm and ‘imāla’. Similarly Ḥamza and Ḳisā’ī read in lxxxiii, 14, for rāna ‘he overcome’ ʿrā, ‘with ‘imāla’; i.e., the ya? denotes an ē here (Baiḍāwī). The use of kasra for ‘imāla 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); syr 'he travelled', syd 'he hunted', myt 'he died' (cf. the discussion in Littmann, Safat. Inschr., p. xvi–xviii). 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 ya2 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 ē and ā. It may also be sought in another factor: the way in which Sibawaihi 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 ʾimāla. Even there, however, such a process is most improbable, since it would imply that i malized ā was felt to be a separate phoneme, somehow related to ī as ā was to ā—but the whole point about Eastern ʾimāla is that it was a combinatorial variant of the ā-phoneme. For the Hijaz any argument based on ʾimāla 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 : ī, 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 : yalimu, but we hear nothing of a general rule of this kind for the mediae 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 khēfa, shâ’a, and hāba. If ja2’a is connected with Hebrew gar2, ‘valley’ (cf. Nöldeke, ZAss., xii, 3), we may note with interest that that
word has the alternative forms ġe² and ġe³, 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 ‘alā 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 zēḏh ‘arrogant’. To zāgha, cf. Syriac zi‘ ‘trembling’. Some connect šāra with Hebrew hišṭayyārū (Josh., ix, 4) which is itself a doubtful form, and in any case useless for discovering the vocalization of the simple stem. To dāqa, compare Targumic Aramaic ʾq ls ‘I am in trouble’ (Ps., xxxi, 10); to tāba Syriac ṭebh, Biblical Aramaic ṭeʾebh. 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 medīa w or medīa y, so that there were four classes: (Ia) zāra : yazūru; (Ib) shāṭa : yashīṭu; (IIa) mēta : yamātu; (IIb) šēra : yashāru (?yasīru). In the forms with suffixes, there being no short ē, class Ib–IIb had i: šīṭtu, mittu, šīrtu. Gradually, however, the difference between medīa w and medīa 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, šym, which contain a consonant time not present in Arabic. The intransitive character of the verbs discussed here is not to be doubted. In the case of the medīa 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 ʿAbū ʿUbaid (Ris., p. 155) and as Tayyi dialect by Ibn Duraid (Jamhara, iii, 485), the imperfect āmātu as Tayyi dialect (Jamhara, ii, 29). The usage of Koran readers on this point is curiously inconsistent. Ḥafs ʿan ʿĀsim reads mittu in xix, 67/66 and xix, 23, but in the second passage Ibn Kathīr, ʿAbū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿĀmir, Ibn ʿĀmir, and ʿAbū Bakr., i.e., partly the very upholsters of Hijazi tradition, read muttu. In iii, 151–2/157–8 Ḥafs reads twice muttum, though Nāfī, Ḥamza, and Kisāʾi 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 syl, 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 ḫā, thus giving rise to a graphic confusion with ḥā bēr ‘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. Volland (Volkssprache, p. 20) saw another instance of ē in the statement of Suyūṭī (Muzhir, ii, 176) that qār ‘pitch’ was pronounced qēr in Hijaz. He proposed to read qēr. The word is, however, borrowed (Fraenkel, Fremdwörter, p. 150), and the probable sources, Syriac qērā and Hebrew qūr ‘wall’ show ē, not ē, and most likely derive from Sumerian gēr (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 Sibawaihi (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. Sibawaihi states that those who said dhē also said yadhribē for yadhribā ‘the two of them strike’ (cf. § cc below). In view of the occurrence of dhē in colloquials of a Yemenite stamp (Dathina, Ḫafār, ‘Omarān), 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 ya (in the following paragraphs written ā). 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 ‘alīf instead of this ya (GQ, iii, 39). 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 ya, but calls it ‘alīf maqṣūra, like the one written with ‘alīf (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, Ḥamāsā, p. 660 and a man of Sulaim, ‘Ağhānī, xvi, 137) ‘alīf maqṣūra of both types also rhymes with ‘alīf māndūda, thus presupposing a pronunciation quite different from Early Classical Arabic. A survey of
Farazdaq, Jarîr, and the six poets reveals that 'alif maqṣūra never occurs as šīla, only once (Jarîr, ed. Şāwi, i) as rāʾwī (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. 'Abî Rabî‘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-waqf and regularly after another yā, the only exceptions from this being the name Yahyā and suqyāhā ‘her watering’ (xci, 13) which rhymes with other words in -āhā. It is obvious that in Hijaz -ā was sounded differently from -ā. Brockelmann (GVD, i, 619) and Bergsträsser (GQ, iii, 37) assume that it was ē or ā. 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 (Sibawaihi, ii, 280), and on the other hand official tajwīd did not recognize 'imāla in either final -ā or final -ā (Grüner, Imāle, p. 529–32), although the Kufans Ḥamza and Kisā‘ī read -ā 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).

The solution to our problem is to be found in the express statement of Sibawaihi (ii, 349), that in Hijaz and in some Qais dialects -ā was sounded as -ā in such words as ĥublāi ‘pregnant’, āf‘āi ‘adder’, and the place names Sawarai, Qalahai, and Dafawai. In another place (ii, 314) Sibawaihi states, without referring to the Hijaz dialect, that -ā was pronounced -ā in pause. This led Sarauw (ZAss., xxi, 39) and Birkeland (Pausalformen p. 76) to consider the yā a pause spelling and to maintain that the context form could not have been anything but -ē. Birkeland goes so far as to suggest that ĥublā originally ended in -ē, but this became in pause -ā or on the analogy of fatai, the usual form of ĥutan < Ĥatayun. This view has to be corrected in the light of Sibawaihi’s information (ii, 349) that the Fazāra, a Central- Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Medina, said in pause ĥublāi but in context Ĥūlab. 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 Sibawaihi also suggests that the context form of the Fazāra dialect was not ĥublé but ĥublā. 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 Āntara. Both seem to have been pronounced with īmāla in certain dialects (cf. above). This
'imāla is marked by an inferior dot in Kufic manuscripts in 'annā ‘where’, našārā ‘Christians’, just like the combinatorial 'imāla in the first syllable of kāfīrīna (cf. Nöledeke, GQ, 1st ed., p. 328). That this 'imāla was not a grammarian’s fancy is proved by cases like the reading 'ēsē for 'āsā ‘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 yadrībē recorded by Sibawaihi (cf. § 6a) 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 ya̰ and -ā by monophthongization in closed syllables, since we may assume that the spellings with 'ālif before hamsat al-waṣl and nunation represent dialect usage and those with ya̰ 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-mora syllable (iltīgā as-sākinaini). In the Central dialects the development no doubt began in the same way, but -ā spread from the position before 'ālif 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. The Hijazi dialect is thus marked by conservativism in this respect. The data about the declension of 'asā in the Hudhail dialect (§ 8 t) and the forms qafāika=qafāka and 'ataika, if = 'atāka, in the Yemenite ditty (§ 5 t) 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 ḫimād. 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 Ḫūzā as Ṣūzai. In the Sinaïtic Nabataean inscriptions, however, which are earlier than the second century A.D., the same word appears in the name Ḫwālān uzzā as 'abd al-'uzzā without the diphthongal element, thus proving that in certain dialects the monophthongization had taken place quite early.

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

This is indicated by a tradition, quoted in Suyūṭi's 'Itqān (p. 215) that the Banū Saʿd, north of Medina, pronounced Yahyā with īmāla, i.e., like other words ending in -ā. The implication is that the Medinese said Yahyai. The name itself seems to be a borrowing from a Jewish hypocoristic form such as Yōhāi.

The consistent application of the reading -ai for -ā in the verb leads to some unexpected results. Imperfect forms like yarḍai are paralleled in Hebrew by survivals in proper names such as Yahdai, Yahmaï. 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 § 66, 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.

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 īlayya, īlaika, 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. 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 Kisāʾī read matā, balā, īnnā with īmāla, but had no īmāla in ūttā, īlā, ālā, and lādā (Grūnert, Imāla, p. 530; Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 320). Yūsuf b. Ḥusain al-ʿAstarābādī (quoted by ʿAbū Ḥayyān, Minhāj, p. 242) reports on the authority of one Ibn Miqsam that some inhabitants of Najd and most of the Yemenites pronounced ūttā 'until' with īmāla (cf. § 4 cc), which goes to confirm that in normal Classical Arabic it was not so pronounced.

On the negative side we may note the absence of ī (yāʾ bi-ʾishmām ad-ḍamma) from the Hijazi vowel-system, cf. § 12 t-ū. This vowel, which existed in Central Arabic, had in the Hijaz become ī.

Both in Koran and Hadith, one finds frequently forms in which a long final ī 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 ī is usually indicated in such cases, but the Kufans and ʿAbū ʿAmr (i.e., the Basrian, of Tamimi origin) read ʾakraman 'he honoured me' (lxxxix, 15) and ʾahānan 'he made me low' (ibid., 16), both in pause. Similar forms are frequently found in the poems of the Hijazi ʿOmar b. ʿAbī Rabīʿa (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, *Pausalfornen*, 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 ʾ in context to the Hudhail dialect (cf. § 8 a). No confirmation of a similar tendency is forthcoming from any other West-Arabian dialect. On the other hand Sibawaihi (i, 328) informs us that in the dialects of Qais and ʾAsad elision of final ʾ and ʾ was so common that many speakers elided the -ʾū of forms like qatal ʾū and the -ʾī of yaqūtī 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 Sibawaihi says (ii, 302) that some Arabs said in pause ʾirm, ʾughz, īkhsh for ʾirmi 'throw', ʾughzu 'raid', īkhsha 'fear'. These forms again point to the North-West, to the Hebrew jussives ʾihben, ʾēsht, etc. The situation is quite different in these Central Arabian dialects from that in the Hijaz, where -ʾū was not affected at all. It remains very questionable whether any connection existed. The elision and reduction of -ʾī seems too deeply ingrained 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 ʾrāb-vowels were shortened and elided nearly everywhere, including -ʾā in the East (cf. § 6 g).

The Central area and the Hijaz are connected by the fact that the Qais and Hijaz dialects used in context the forms ḥādhiḥī(i), ṭih(i) 'this' (fem.) while in the Eastern dialects the context forms were ḥādhī, etc., and the pausal ones ḥādhih, etc. The ʾh is, of course, ṭāʾ as-ṣaqṭ, a purely pausal phenomenon. It is possible that dī and ʾī 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 -ʾī, ʾḥādḥ, etc.—cf. also the Hudhail form alladh (§ 8 y). This favoured the spread of the pausal form into context. In fact, as ḥādhīhi 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 ḥādhīhi, since there was none other in the dialects from which it received this type of demonstrative pronoun to replace its own tāʾ. The Eastern form is preserved in a curious reading of Koran, ii, 33/5, which represents a Tamimi version of a whole phrase: lā tigrabā ḥādhi
sh-shijrata for lā taqrabā hādhihi sh-shajaratā 'do not approach this tree' (Baidāwī, i, 52).

II 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'ī 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs

ai     au

All these were continuations of similar Proto-Semitic sounds. Long ī may in some cases stand in place of a īl 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 hasād as the Hijazi form, hisād as that of the Tamim dialect, and quotes besides a number-of other cases in which the Hijazi dialect
has faʿāl while that of Tamim has fi/uʿāl, 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 raṣās ‘lead’, for which it gives riṣās as a vulgar form.

4 Barth (Pronominalbildung p. 40) denies that this is a case of vowel-harmony, but thinks the vowel of -li 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 faʿl by fuʿal. The form najud for najd ‘upland’ is by ‘Akhfas (Yāqūt, Muʿjam, iv, 745; Lisān, iv, 421) declared to be Hudhail dialect, by ‘Aṣmaʾ (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 qiryā for qaryā ‘village’ (‘Azhari 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, ʾ being shortened but not ū (cf. § 11).

9 The alternations of w and y, and u and i in qunwā and qunwān are apparently connected. The same seems to have been the case with kulwa ‘kidney’, in the Yemen dialect kulwā (Lisān, xx, 94), the latter being the common form in Saffrarian colloquials. The pronunciation kulwā, against which Ibn Sikkīt (d. 243/857) warns (Lisān ibid.), is continued by Palestinian and Ḥaurani ẓelwā (Cantaine, Ḥorān, p. 115). The original opposition may have been kulwā : 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 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, Sibawaih’s Lautlehre, p. 28.


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 ṭaʾ marbūṭa.

18 Zanakhshārī says in the Kashshāf (p. 179) that the spelling represents the pronunciation of those who pronounced ribā with tafkhīm. In the Mufassal (p. 160) he prescribes ‘imāla of the d.
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 'umar and 'aish. Actually hayawān 'animal(s)' is derived from the plural of the same Aramaic word (hayūtha or ḥēwāṭā) 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 mas'kîth (Ezek., viii, 12) in that sense. The Targum renders ḥadha'rey mas'kîthō 'the alcove of his bedchamber', the LXX 'his hidden bedchamber'. From this one could easily derive for mas'kîth 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 Manẓûr, 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 gâmeš into an o-like sound occurred in Palestinian Hebrew at the same time as in Western Syrian, 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 d > o 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 d > o in an Arabic dialect may be the name of the Midianite priest Yîthrâ, Moses' father-in-law, if it is really the same as Yithrā ܐܝܛܪܐ, 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 Western-Arabian about the same time as in Canaanite.

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

26 In Safatene 'wr 'was blind' and ḥwr 'went' = 'awira, ḥawira, the tw may have remained consonantal because of the neighbouring r. In Hebrew, tw is consonantal before r in ḥāwar, Arabic ḥawira 'to be white', and before gutturals in gāwā 'to die', sêwâh '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. Farrâ' tells us that the Kufans read in vi, 63 for 'anjīṭānā 'thou hast delivered us', and usually (= 'anjīntā or 'anjāntā), and insists that they wrote it accordingly, though some of their codices spelled the word with alīf (Beck, Orientalia, xvi, 355). Since long d was in Kufa subject to 'imāla, both spellings could be sounded 'anjēnā.

29 'Imāla of d in ḥubālā is prescribed by Sibawaihi (ii, 281). Kofer (WZKM, xlvii, 235) asserts that ramād was not pronounced with 'imāla, but I do not know whence he derives this information.
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.

Another of case this is probably the name of the Nabataean God אָבִי לֵז 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 < *rāgz and beheth < *bāth, GVG, i, 53, are hollow roots like rāml).

While 'aḥyā and nāḥyā are written with 'alif, yahyā as a verbal form is written with yā'. I would suggest that this is due to purely graphic confusion with the proper name.

No differentiation of this kind seems to have existed in Hebrew. The irregularities in the inflection of nouns like mar'I 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.

The Şāhîh (ii, 569) says that some Arabs shortened final -ī in nouns when these had the definite article, as in tiwālu l-'aḍī '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.

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 ā, and that the āqw and yā' were only 'an orthographic reminiscence'. There is hardly enough ground for such a construction of the facts.

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

HIZAJ: THE CONSONANTS

Our information about the consonants of the dialect is scanty. It is still doubtful how far we may take the rules of early *tajawid* as being representative of Hijazi pronunciation. It differs from Hijazi in its treatment of *hamza* (cf. §11 below) and may have differed in many other respects. Thus the .Hash of early *tajawid* 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 ‘arebī’ 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, ‘Ilkhī, p. 29). In a South-Arabian inscription at Wādī Rukhaila the words *gyrm qwsm* ‘lime and plaster’ appear (Stark, JRAS, 1939, plate 7; Ryckmans, Muséon, i, 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 ḥāf, articulated against the uvula and ‘thick’ (*taghlizu*). This Tamimi sound is represented by the letter ḥāf (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 ḥāf 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 (phonic q) like that of the modern Ḥaḍārī 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 Gēdhārē, Greek *Gadara*, and
Bāqīrā (with ʼimāla), 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 (Jawāliqi, Muʿarrab, 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 hamsa 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 § 14h) and were variously fixed in the different dialects. The voiceless g of Aramaic may have been a contributory factor in turning the Eastern qāf into a voiceless sound.

b Vollers (ZDMG, xl, 465) 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 hāf, a tendency which was not unknown to the ancient Eastern dialects (cf. the discussion of the ‘Kashkasha’ by Barth, WZKM, xxv, 281 seq.). The jīm of early tajwīd cannot have been the pure palatal j 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 zhīmH, not as djent X, so that any sound like j is excluded (Littmann, ZAss., xx, 52). Kampffmeyer (ZDPV, xv, 18) quotes an oral communication of Sozin’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 i, we can rule out ḍantū for ḍaṭā 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 ḍaṭā is frequent, but I know of only one case in which ḍantū was read for it, namely cviii, 1, where ḍUbayy’s codex was said to have had ḍantāināka, which was also read by the Yemenite, later Basrian, Ibn as-Samaifa and the older Basrian Hasan (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 ḍaṭā was the correct form.

d A very late source (ʿAinṭābī, Qāmus Turc., i, 284) states that the Saʿd b. Bakr, north of Medina, pronounced naʿam ‘yes’ as naḥam. Ibn Mālik
(Tashil, f. 86 b) gives the same without specifying the dialect. We have seen that the Hudhalī Ibn Mas‘ūd is said to have used that pronunciation (Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, ii, 25, cf. § 8 p). As in Mecca the word was pronounced na‘ima (cf. § 10 i), this nahām may have been a local form of Medina and district. The Shammar of the Jezira, a tribe that claims to be descended from the Ṭayyi’, say haṭa instead of ‘ata (Montagne, ‘Contes’, BEOIFD, p. 75, quoted by Cantineau, Parlors, p. 145). Cantineau connects this with hāt ‘givel’, but it may also be explained as the result of a double sound-change: ‘ata > haṭa and then h weakened to h (cf. § f below).

e ‘Azhari (in Tāj, x, 12) assigns to the Hijaz dialect the forms ‘adda ‘he helped’ and ista‘dā ‘he asked for help’, for ‘a‘dā, īsta‘dā. The shāhid is by the Ṭayyi’ poet Tīrımmaḥ (xlviii, 8), and there is better evidence for the de-pharyngalization of ‘ain in that dialect (cf. § 14 q). This does not exclude that it was current in Hijaz, as results from some hadith quotations of ‘Azhari. Maltzan (ZDMG, xxvii, 244) heard ‘ain pronounced like hamza in the neighbourhood of Ḥodeida, in the Yemenite Tīhāma; at Ṣan‘ā’, too, ‘ain is rather weak (Rossi, San’a, p. 4). The occurrence of de-pharyngalized ‘ain 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 ‘ain (references in § 8 q). The only instance which is at all well attested is ‘an for ‘an and ‘anna for ‘anna, and in this case it is difficult to say which form is earlier, since both the conjunction ‘an and the preposition ‘an are without cognates. It may be that ‘an is nothing but a de-pharyngalized, unstressed, version of ‘an. 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 h in Hijaz. Ibn Duraḍ (Jamhara, ii, 377) states it in a general way, giving as an example Hijazi madāha for madaha ‘to praise’ and a report that the Prophet said waiḥaka for waiḥaka ‘woe to thee’. Mubarrad (Kāmil, p. 517), however, says this change took place in the dialect of Sa‘d 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 Ḥira lived in close association. The ‘Sa‘d’ may originally have been the Sa‘d b. Bakr in the Northern Hijaz, and the other reading due to copyists. In Southern Yemen h is almost completely devoid of pharyngal friction (Landberg, Hadramout, p. 253; Arabica, v, 77, 281; Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 75).

ɡ In a line by Samaw‘al b. ‘Adiyā (ed. Cheikho, iii, 12, quoted by ʿAbū Zaid, Nawādir, p. 104; Lisān, ii, 332) a word khabīt occurs in rhyme.
'Ašmaʿi took this to be the same as khabīṭh ‘repulsive’ and concluded from it that the Jews of Khaibar pronounced ťh 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 ťh and t. The instance given, however, cannot be used to prove this. In the final position the t would have been pronounced ťh in Aramaic, too, and in any event khabīṭ 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). There is thus no difficulty in admitting that khabīṭ means ‘lowly’.

h Farrā (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 Taj, ix, 145, Qudāʾa 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 'Aššā (ed. Geyer, xix, 1) the verbal noun of khāwīṣa ‘to have deep-set eyes’ is khāṣ instead of khāṣ. It is not impossible that the verb had in the Hijaz dialect become khayīṣa 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 Ṭayyī dialect (§ 14 n). Abū l-ʿAswād (d. 69/188) heard Ibn ‘Umar use hauthu for haithu ‘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 (muʿaqaba). As instances he cites sayyām for sawwām ‘keen on fasting’ and sayyagh for sawwagh ‘goldsmith’. The latter word is given as a Hijazi form also by Jauhari (Ṣahāḥ, ii, 6). In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic all verbs medīa ṣ have yy instead of w in the intensive conjugation (Dalman, Gramm., p. 316): this is the consistent application of a process which turned already at a very early date qawwāḥ ‘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 medīa y, so does Brockelmann (GVG, i, 616) with the Aramaic ones. In Aramaic, however, the verbs medīa y—always rare—were disappearing altogether, and therefore unlikely to exert any attraction on roots medīa 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
According to Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 108) feminines of the form fūlā from roots tertīae w, when not used as elatives, turn the w into y, except for isolated cases such as hulwā ‘adorned’ in all dialects and quswā ‘extreme’ in all dialects except that of Tamim. The form quswā is specifically assigned to the Hijaz dialect by Farraṣ (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, ‘ūlyā, 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 khuswā: khusya ‘testicle’ and kulya: kulwa ‘kidney’, the fact that Syrian bedouin colloquials have khūswa, ēlwa (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 (Yūnūs in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 176: the lexica also give the forms qinwā 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 Ṭāʾī, Ṭammāḥī).

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 (taṣwīd). 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).

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. Eastern Arabic, as described by the philologists 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 $yarrā$ (Hebrew yir'eh) ‘he sees’ became $yarrā$, as elsewhere (Sibawaihi, 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, a lengthening that vowel where the hamza came directly before a consonant (Zamakhshari, 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 Sibawaihi 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) 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, Hudhaiil, Mecca, and Medina’. Immediately afterwards he adds some of the ‘Banū ‘Ajlān of Qais’, though the Qais are said to have preserved the hamza (Jārābādī, 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 Tayyī 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 (Sibawaihi, ii, 172); the Hijazis do not articulate the glottal stop (Ṣāḥibā, i, 402); hamza has no place in the dialect of Quraish (laīsa min lughati Q.) (Ibn 3Athīr in Taj, 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 (Ṣāhibī, p. 71) and by Jazārī (Nashr, i, 422). Within the sentence, of course, this glottal stop disappeared (cf. 'Astarābdī, quoted Howell, iv, 930 and Jārābādī, ibid., p. 940).

ο 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
like *hamzat al-qat* (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’ (Sibawaihi, ii, 175); the Hijazi *Nāfi* was the only reader who read *'anbiyāʾu* for *'anbiyyā’u* ‘prophets’ (Baidawi, 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 (*takhṣīf*), in which they distinguish various grades: elision (*ḥadhf*), replacement by *w* or *y* (*iḥdāl*), 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’i, ’Aḍdād, p. 5); *qu-rān* for *qur-’an* (Nisābūrī, Gharā’ib, i, 31). This is the same as what happened in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Nödeke, ZDMG, xxii, 466), Biblical and Modern Hebrew (cf. Rabin, Melilah, ii, 248), and in the colloquials (e.g., *mar< 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’amū, tas’amū; masammatun* (lvi, 9) for *mash’amatu*; *yanama* (vi, 26) for *yan’auna; tajarū* (xxiii, 67/65) for *taj’arū; and the frequent *afidatu* ‘hearts’ for *’afidatun, 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 *’ashābu laikati* *‘alif* for *’ashābu l-’aikati* ‘people of the forest’ (xxxviii, 12/13). However, *nash’atun* is twice (xxix, 19/20; lvi, 62) spelled with an *‘alif*, *nashāta*. 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*. Zamakhshari
(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. 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’ha 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 ʾiṭrāb-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 (‘Astarābdī, quoted Howell, iv, 801). The Tamim dialect preserved the hamza in pause through either transposing the case-vowel before it: ar-ridu’, gen. ar-ridda, acc. ar-ridda, or in some dialects, inserting a neutral vowel before the hamza which took the colour of the stress vowel: ar-riding in all cases (Sibawaihi, ii, 312; cf. Birklend, Pausalformen, p. 61). With final hamza Arabic orthography preserved Koranic usage, although in the body of the word it introduced the letter ʾalif to indicate the place of the hamza before a: ʾalif for Koranic ʾalif 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: ʾawwaanta for ʾau ʾanta ‘or thou’, raʾaitu ghulāmāyyabīka for ghulamai ʾabīka ‘I saw the two servants of thy father’ (Sibawaihi, ii, 175–6). The latter phrase was heard by ʾAbū Zaid among the Banū ʾAjān of Qais (Lisān, i, 14, cf. § m above). Another example may be ḥudayyā for ḥudaiʿa, the diminutive of ḥidʾa ‘kite’ (ʾAbū Ḥātim in Lisān, i, 47, cf. also § ee below). The same process took place in the colloquial of Ṣafār, where hamza is still largely preserved, e.g., nawwe=nauʿa ‘cloud’, hayye=hāʔa ‘shape’ (Rhodokanakis, Dhofar, ii, 74). Cantineau (BEO, i, 92) suggests that the same change would account for the Aramaic emphatic state of the plur. -ayyā, from *-ayyā (as in the singular malkā from *malka-ːd). 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 hamsa to other consonants preceding it. In viii, 24, some read al-marri for al-mar’i ‘of the man’; in xv, 44, the Medinean Zuhri read juuzzun for just’un ‘a share’. Both are not pausal. Zamakhshari (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, *juxu to more normal patterns (cf. ʿabb, ʿakkhāh, § 7 m and marāh, nashāh, § q above). However, none of these explanations can apply in the case of tariyya (besides tariyya) for tarʿiyya ‘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 rēʿiyyāh ‘a single flow of blood, an attack of gonorrhea’. It is doubtful whether any of these instances have anything to do with the Hijaz dialect.

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 morae was thus preserved (Arabic rhythm belongs to the ‘mora-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 ʿalif 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 juʿna ‘leather bag’ (Yūnus in Suyūṭī, Muzhīr, ii, 176; Ibn Qarqūl in Tāj, ix, 159), but Jauharī (Ṣaḥāḥ, ii, 364) knows nothing of juʿna, 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 ʿarāʾ became ā and subsequently ŏ at a very early date (rushumū in Tell el-Amarna), and yet the ʿaleph is written in rōsh, ŝōn, etc. There is no need to assume that the ʿaleph 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.

For assimilation of hamza to a semivowel following it, there is only the one instance of ruyā for ruʾyā ‘dream’ (Zamakhshari, Kashshāf, p. 641; Kisāʾi in Lisān, xix, 9). Zamakhsharī considers this form vulgar (ʿāmmiyāya) and Farrāʾ (in Lisān, loc. cit.) admits it only in conversation (fi l-kalām), not in Koran reading. It is, however, the pronunciation on which the Koranic spelling ʿa is based. There was also a form riyyā (ʿAkhfash in Lisān, loc. cit.), not said to belong to any dialect. In view of the fact that the oldest form appears to have been rūyyā (so in Lisān), and the Hijaz dialect changed ū 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 Meshāʿ stele (line 12), which we therefore ought to read riyyat.17 In the case of riyyu for rīyū
‘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 ri-yyu, with the ordinary lengthening of the vowel, or riyy-yyu, 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 ‘Āšim read in ii, 283 alladhī-ttumina for alladhī-ṭtumina ‘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 izār’ 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). Such forms are very rare in the colloquials, e.g., mummin = mu‘min ‘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 šhtumā ‘ye two wanted’ (ii, 33/35) (Jeffery and Mendelson, JAOS, lxii, 183). This may stand for shittumā. Perhaps the very frequent occasions on which alif is omitted in akhtā’na, ta’va’il, etc. (GQ, iii, 33), may hide further cases. Early Christian Arabic also writes ittamara ‘planned’, ittamanā ‘was entrusted’ (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 18).

Where hamza was preceded and followed by the same short vowel, these were contracted into the corresponding length, as in sāla for sa’ala ‘he asked’ (for Hijaz, Baidāwī, 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 wa’il (wa’ilā) ‘ummahi > wa’il ummahi ‘wore to his mother’. All cases quoted by Schwarz (Umar, iv, 107) concern initial syllables, however, where the example of alif al-waṣl may have led to simple elision of the initial vowel. The Koranic orthography writes sa’altum with an alif. In a hadith (Bukhārī, Diyāt, 21; Qastallānî, x, 65) we find ‘antum for a’antum ‘did ye’. The Hijazis, according to the Lisān (xix, 5) even said ara’aita for the common araita ‘tell me’. On its spelling in the Koran there are conflicting traditions (GQ, iii, 44). Though the form may be derived from the particle *arai ‘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 ra’ā and treated accordingly. These, however, were not ordinary long vowels. Abū Zaid (in Lisān, xix, 7) says that in ra’aitu ‘if one wishes to elide the hamza, one pronounces the alif without giving it full weight (bi-ghairi ishāl ʿa’in), 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. Zamakhsharî (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 Jarîr (I, ix, 4), but the Līsān (xvii, 255) quotes a line with *kāyin* and the Western *mil- for mina l-* (§ 7 o), and the Meccan Ibn Kathîr read *kān* or *kāyin* in iii, 140/6. Other examples come from Labîd (ix, 2), a Ḥanafi, i.e., an Easterner (Ḥamâsa of Buṭūrî, p. 18, line 1). It is in any event not proved that *kāyin* is a Western form. The Meccan Ibn Muḥaṣṣin read *ka'âi* (Suyûtî, 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 *jibrîl* for *jibrîl* (Tâj, iii, 84), *rûs* for *ru'ûs* 'heads' in a line of Qais b. Ḥaṭîm (Ibn Duraid, Ishtiqāq, p. 68). In the vocalization of the Koran two vowels are written, but we should read only one, e.g., *khāṭînâ* for the frequent *khāṭînâ* ‘sinners’, in lv, 24 munshât for munsha'ât ‘lofty ones’ (cf. GQ, iii, 44, 45), and of course *rûs* for *ru'ûs*. 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 *sá'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 (Līsān, i, 196). What separated them was a hiatus, the intention of a sound (*fi n-niyya*: Ibn Ya'îsh, 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 *'alîf* 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-Kâtib, 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 \textit{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. § 6 above).

\textbf{aa} There are no examples of \textit{hamza} with the same long vowel before and after it in Hijazi texts. Schwarz (Umar, iv, 109) adduces \textit{yatarā'yānā} 'they pretend before each other',\textsuperscript{21} but this is not a phonetic transformation of \textit{yatarā'ānā}, but derived from the Hijazi third conjugation \textit{rāyā} (Lisān, xix, 8), which is re-formed from the imperfect \textit{yurāʾī>yurāyī} (cf. § 4 p.). The Christian Arabic \textit{qirāyāt} for \textit{qirāʾ āt} (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 19) arose in the same way.

\textbf{bb} If the vowels flanking the \textit{hamza} were different, various treatments of the resulting complexes existed side by side. The most common ones were to keep them separate with \textit{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 Goitiein (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 \textit{a} and \textit{u} it is \textit{w}, between \textit{a} and \textit{i} it is \textit{y}. Zamakhshari (Mufaṣṣal, p. 166) declares that the glide develops only in \textit{u-a}, \textit{i-a}, but not in \textit{a-u}, \textit{a-i}. This is a very fine phonetic observation, fully borne out by kymograms of Modern Hebrew. Yet the notations of Hijazi pronunciations write \textit{y} and \textit{w} in the latter case, too, as there were no other signs available, e.g., \textit{ḥīnayīdīhin} for \textit{ḥīnā'īdīhin} 'at that time' (Ibn Khālawaih, Badi', p. 151) and Ibn 'Abbās's reading in iv, 141/142, \textit{yurāwīna} for \textit{yurā'ūna} 'they pretend' (Jeffery, p. 197). The word boundary was of course not respected in actual pronunciation, as in 'agriyabāka for 'aqri? 'abāka 'teach thy father the Koran' (Ṣibawaihi, 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 \textit{yabnawumma} بَنُوم for \textit{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 \textit{hamza} over the glide-sound. Examples of pronunciations with glide are collected by Jārabardi (in Howell, iv, 940) and by Schwarz (Umar, iv, 106). It is not clear what glide developed between \textit{i} and \textit{u}. The form \textit{sīla} (Koran, ii, 102/8) is not a phonetic development of \textit{suyīla}<\textit{su'īla}, but is the normal Hijazi passive of the Hijazi verb \textit{sīla}=\textit{sa'ala}. The spelling \textit{مُستَهْزِون} 'scoffers' for mustahzīwīna (Koran, ii, 13/4) may either represent mustahzīwīna or mustahzīuna. \'Akhfash read \textit{yastahziyūna} (passim; Zamakhshari, Mufaṣṣal, p. 166).
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 rā’dun 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 mediae hamzatae and mediae 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), taji for taji‘u ‘she will come’, satunbīnī for satunbi‘uni ‘she will tell me’, shānīkī for shānī‘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 *satunbiyuni and *shāniyuki, which were wrongly analysed into satunbi-unī (iy=i) and shānī-uki, so that in fact here too the longer vowel absorbed the short one. This would offer a possibility to account for bali = baliya (but see § 12 w), namely baliya being analysed as bali-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 ياستهژری = 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-qādiyyu to al-qādi and perhaps *yarmiyu to yarmī, while leaving the open vowel in al-qādiya, yarmiya intact. Schwarz (Umar, iv, 99) claims that the contraction of -iya into -i is common in Arabic poems—a matter I have not been able to check. It may be remarked than an accentuation like tunbiyuni, shāniyuki, yastahzīyu—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 źadfūhu for źadfi‘ūhu ‘warm him’ (§ mm below). Ibn Ḥadhīr (in Tāj, x, 128) calls these contractions irregular (shādhāh) 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.

Final -ā‘ī was contracted into a diphthong spelled ‘alif-yā‘. Thus Ibn Kathlr read in Koran, xix, 5 svarāy for swardā‘ī;32 the Hijazis read in several
places shurakāy for shurakāʾi ‘my rivals’ (Ibn Khālawih, Badiʿ, p. 72); the Basrian ʿAbū ʿAmr read allāy for allāʾi, 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 yāʾ 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: ʾasmāy = ʾasmāʾi ‘my names’, ʾerāybak = qarāʾibaḥa ‘thy relatives’, nāymin = nāʾimīn ‘sleepers’ (ZDMG, xxii, 170), and also exist in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g., nōy for nōʾi ‘beauty’ (from nāʾeh, formed on the pattern of ḥālī). From words like shurakāʾ, this type of pronominal suffix spread to words ending in ʾalif maqsūra written with ʾalif. Nafʿ read vi, 163/162 mahāyā for mahāyāya ‘my life’ (Baiḍawī; ʾAstarābādī, Kāfīya 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 ʿAbbās in lxx, 1, sailun for sāʾилun ‘one who asks’ (Zamakhshāri, Kashshāf, p. 1525). This way of dealing with the complex ʾāʿl or ʾāʾe recurs in other Semitic languages, e.g., Christian Palestinian Aramaic šāʾylin ‘they ask’ for šāʾʾelīn (Nödeke, ZDMG, xxii, 467), Ethiopic ʾaidug for ʾaʾ(ʾ)dug ‘ass’ (Mittwoch, Tradit. Aussprache, p. 13) and the pronunciation of Hebrew in Eastern Europe: maisē for maʾdse niswēn ‘story’. Since here ai is clearly the reduction of ʾay 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. This surmise is further supported by the frequent spelling ʾalif-yāʾ for shaiʾ ‘thing’ (GQ, iii, 49). This may have owed its popularity to the desire to obviate the pronunciation shi, but must have had some roots in accepted spelling standards. In xxv, 35/4, ʾafaʾin ‘if then’ is spelled ʾanāʾin, where again the ʾalif can only indicate ai. For some reason the spelling ʾalif-yāʾ was also used to express ʾa, ʾa, and other combinations (GQ, loc. cit.) so that in the end it was dropped altogether. It seems that -āʾu was similarly reduced to au, as in Hijazi ḥiḍau for ḥiḍāʾu ‘kites’ (Lisān, i, 47) and ḥidhau for ḥidhāʾu ‘sandal’ (Zamakhshārī, Fāʾiq, i, 114). Contrary to -ai for -āʾi, 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 ḫaḍaʿu (cf. § 10 w). Similar contractions appear in Iraqi hula, Spanish hualín for hāʿulaʾi ‘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 ʾalif mamdūda is in some cases written with a yāʾ (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. -ū₂u (§ 10 w, 11 dd) these are not forthcoming. It is more probable that the -āi with which these forms ended was taken to be the ʾalif maqṣūra (ā). The paradigms of nouns in ā and in ʾalif mamdūda in the dialect ran thus:

*afʿāl ‘snake’:  al-afʿāl  al-afʿāl  al-afʿāl
*indāʿun ‘vessel’:  al-ināu  al-ināi  al-ināh

This partial coincidence made it easy for nouns to pass from one class into the other. Where the Nejd dialects had shirā ‘bargain’, the Hijaz had shirāʾu (or rather shirāw), for milṭāʾu ‘pericranium’, on the other hand, it said milṭāʾi (Waqidi in Lisān, xx, 114),²⁶ for Tamim xināʾu ‘adultery’ xināi (Liḥyānī in Lisān, xix, 79; Sahāḥ, 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-Jaʿdī quoted in the Lisān. On ʾulāʾi, ʾulai, cf. § 12 i. The confusion became most complete in Ṭayyiy (cf. § 14 ee). Strangely enough, the same changes and confusions do not apply to nouns ending in -āʾ(‘un). Zamakhshārī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 161) states that the Hijazis pronounce kalaʿu ‘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-malaʿu (vii. 58/60) ‘the nobles’, malaʿun (xi, 40/38), al-malaʿi (ii, 247/246), and al-malaʿa (xxviii, 19/20) are all spelled (al-)malā ʿalā; the same applies to the different forms of nabaʿun ‘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 malaʿun 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 < yuʾakkidu, yūṣidu < yuʾsidu, yūkifu < yuʾkifu the w spread into the other parts of the paradigm, so that the Hijazis also said wakkada for ṣakkadu ‘he fastened’ (Suyūṭī, Muzhir, ii, 177), ʿawṣada for ʿasada ‘he bolted’, and awkafa for ʿakafa ‘he saddled’, cf. Hebrew ʿukkōph ‘saddle’ (Liḥyānī in Lisān, x, 351). Similar w-forms from prīmāʾaleph existed in the dialects of Yemen (§ 4 n) and Ṭayyī (§ 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 ḫamza.

gg Instead of saʿaltu, the Hijaz dialect formed siltu, etc., after the third person sāla < saʿala. In the imperfect, yasalu derives directly from yasʿalu. This seems to have been taken as analogous to yadharu, etc. (Wright, i, 79C), since the imperative was sal, not *isal < isʿal. These forms occur in
poetry from all tribes, though they never became as fully established as the hamza-less yarā from raʿā (Sibawaihi, 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). This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Christian Palestinian Aramaic completely turned this verb into a mediae v: imperf. yēshōl, imperative shōl (Nöldeke, ZDMG, xxii, 466; Schuilthess, Gramm., p. 66). In the Koran the imperative and imperfect of this verb never have ʿalif, but the perfect forms with consonant affixes (saʿaltum, saʿaltuka, saʿaltahum, etc.) are invariably spelled with an ʿalif, indicating presumably hamzat baina baina (§ y above). One suspects that the spelling with ʿalif is applied so consistently to guard against the vulgar dialect forms siltum, etc. In the colloquials saʿala is still largely conjugated as if the hamza were there (Driver, Grammar, p. 83). We can say nothing about the treatment of other verbs mediae hamzatae. No perfect of any med. hamz. of the pattern faʿala appears in the Koran. The forms of yaʿisa ‘to despair’, where spelled in that way, are not genuine Hijazi. In that dialect the root appeared as ʿayisa, imperf. yāyasu, 10th conjugation istāyasu (Ibn Khālawaih, Bādiʿ, 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 tertiae hamzatae with verbs tertiae infirmae to the disappearance of hamza alone. Forms after the pattern of tertiae yaʿ 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. ʿOmar b. ʿAbī Rabīʿa only substitutes y-forms for hamza-forms in the imperfect (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 107). Forms like garātu for garāʿtu ‘I read’ (Zamakhshari, Muṣafṣal, 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 raʿā ‘to see’ and naʿā ‘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 mediae y and pronounced rāʿa, nāʿa, with hamzat baina baina. The Hijazi character of these forms is proved by their appearance in lines by the Khuzaʿi Kuthayyir and the Medinean Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, and by the statement of Laith that the only form of raʿā with
alleviation of the hamza actually used is rāʾa (Lisān, xix, 17), cf. also Nöldke, Zur Gramm., p. 6. Perhaps we should read the Koranic l ḫ (GQ, iii, 39) rāʾa and nāʾa. The Damascene Ibn ʿĀmir, often a representative of Hijazi usage, read nāʾa in vii, 83. The perfect of this rāʾa we would expect to be *rītu, like jītu < jiʾtu. 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 rūʾitu, and by Thaʿalībi with ʿurītu ‘I was shown’, but most probably is nothing but raʾaitu ‘I think’. In old codices spellings like ǧ for raʾaitum occur (GQ, iii, 44), while normalized Koranic orthography, as exhibited in the ‘Royal Koran’, invariably spells forms with consonantal affixes with medial ṣalīf, whether they are of the verb raʾā (e.g., xii, 31, xx, 942, xxxiii, 19, lix, 21) or of ʿaraʾaita, etc., ‘just consider’, where only the Hijazis are said to have sounded ṣalīf (cf. § 69 above). The Lisān gives some lines of poetry with raitu for raʾaitu, one of them by the Basrian grammarian ʿAbū l-ʿAswad ad-Duʿalī, who hardly intended to write Hijazi dialect. I would suggest reading ʿayrāʾ as raʾitu, the ṣalīf being inserted here to guard against the pronunciation rītu, just as it was inserted in saʾa(lt)u to prevent the reading siltu (§ 69) and in shāʾ to prevent the pronunciation ṣhīʾ (§ 67). 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 raʾ, fem. rai, dual rayāʾ, plur. rau, fem. raina, while the Šamīn said ʿrāʾa, etc. (Lisān, xix, 5). The imperative naʾ, etc., is given as common Arabic, though some said inaʾ (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 yāʾ or wāʾ was turned into hamza. We are told that the Hijazis said ʿabāʾa for ʿabāya ‘cloak’, ʿalāʾa for ʿalāya ‘forehead’, sīḥāʾa for sīḥāya ‘capsule’, ʿaxīrāʾa for ʿaxīrāya ‘a kind of lizard’ (Ibn Sīkkīt, Qalb, p. 56), and dhāʾāʾa for dhawāʾ ‘to wither’ (Qālī, in Suyūṭī, Muzhir, i, 30, 274). Further forms of this type are ghazāʾa ‘tracing of genealogy’, sizāʾa ‘giving of water’, istīqāʾa ‘request for water’, istimāʾa ‘gazelle-hunt’ (?Astarābādī, Kāfīya 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 sizāʾa ‘giving of water, drinking-vessel’ occurs twice in the Koran and is both times spelled with yāʾ, but in ix, 19, some read ʿāw, which, though Baidāwī takes it as suqāḥ ‘givers of water’, may in fact be based on an old spelling sizāʾa. The attribution to the Hijaz rests thus entirely on the testimony of Ibn Sīkkīt. Völlers 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 ʿabhēh ‘thick’, Ethiopic ʿabhīy ‘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 ḋaleph, as in hōrāḏāh for hōrāyāh 'instruction', rammāḏuth for rammāyāth 'trickery', ḥāḏū for ḥāyū '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 ḥēyā, hayā, is pronounced haḏā (Prætorius, Amhar. Sprache, p. 54). The ḋaleph 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 ḥōḏhāḏāh: ðî. The scribe at first felt this to be ḥōḏhāḥ, but in pointing became doubtful and provided two a-signs. In fact he writes the same word immediately afterwards with an ḋaleph. 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 badiṯa 'to approach', and from this formed a new verbal noun, bidāya (Tāj, i, 42). The verbal noun of badiṯa was, however, bidā, Hijazi bidā or bidda; 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 tarai'ina for tarayinna < *tarai-inna 'thou wilt see' (xix, 26). The colloquials have mostly the Eastern forms with y, but the Syrian bedouins say 'abāḥ, with suffixes 'abāti, etc. (Wetzstein, ZDMG, xxii, 173), which is the logical development of 'abāṯa.

II 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 nabi’u llāhi, with the words 'do not screech' (lā tanbir) in
pronouncing my name’ (Suyūṭī, Ḥīqān, p. 231; cf. Ibn Jinnī, Khāṣṣīṣ, i, 388). Another statement (ibid.) informs us that ‘neither the Prophet, nor ḤĀbū Bekr, nor Ḥāmān, nor the Caliphs ever sounded the ḥamza’. As late as the time of al-Mahdī (158–68/775–85) the Kufan grammatarian Kīsā’Ī is said to have drawn upon himself the wrath of the Medinean populace by reciting the Koran with ḥamza in public service (Ṭǎj, iii, 553). There is, however, another version of the story (Yāqūt, Irshād, v, 186), that the reason was that he pronounced dī‘āfān (Koran, iv, 10) with īmālā. It is possible that the term nabra ‘screeching’, which denotes the full sounding of the ḥamza, 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 Quraisḥ, who do not sound the ḥamza. Had not Gabriel revealed the ḥamza to the Prophet, we would not sound it’ (Rāfī‘, Ṭārīkh, i, 104). More realistic is a statement attributed to Nakhī (d. 169/785), the champion of Hijazi reading and law tradition. When asked about the correct pronunciation of words like bpr, dhiḥ (cf. § u above), he replied: ‘If the ‘arabiyya (i.e., the rules of Classical Arabic) demands a ḥamza in them, pronounce them with ḥamza’ (Dhahabī, quoted GQ, iii, 139). Sounding the ḥamza seems to have become a matter of fashion, and considered a feature specific to Koran recitation. The well-known reader, Ḥāmza of Kufa (d. 158/775), himself of the Western tribe of Taim, found it necessary to warn against overdoing ḥamza and madd (over-lengthening of long vowels) in recitation (Tashkùpruzade, 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 ḤĀbū Bekr tells of a prisoner who was brought before the Prophet, trembling with cold. The Prophet said aḍfī‘āhu ‘warm him’, but pronounced it aḍfūhu (§ cc above). The soldiers understood this as ‘kill him’, and did so (Jamhara, i, 74). In another tradition the original linguistic point is spoilt in the version in which we have it (Bukhmī, aţ‘ima l; Qaṣṭallānī, viii, 210). ḤĀbū Huraira meets Ḥāmān in the street ‘and I asked him to teach me the reading of a verse (istāqra‘tuḥu ḥāyata)’. Ḥāmān 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 ḤĀbū Nu‘aim, ḤĀbū Huraira says aqrī‘nī ‘teach me some Koran.’ No doubt the original point here was that A.H. said aqrīnī ‘give me some food’ and Ḥāmān understands aqrīnī = aqrīnī ‘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
veralized the l in the neighbourhood of emphatic consonants. This is called tafkhīm al-lām. 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 Thāʾalibī (quoted by Bravmann) only the Egyptians and Maghribis pronounced the l with taghliţ 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 raʾaita (Sibawaihi, 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 Ὶ Omar b. Ὶ Abi Rabiʿa (xliiv, 1). In the Ὶ Asad dialect, on the other hand, this becomes idhdhakara (Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, xxvii, 56; Farrāʾ on Koran, liv, 15). In the printed Ṭabarî we find Ibn Masʿūd quoted as saying that the Prophet pronounced idhdhakara; this is a printer’s error and is given correctly as iddakara in the Lisan (v, 376). The form dîkr ‘remembrance’ for dhikr is ascribed to the Rabiʿa tribes, the north-eastern neighbours of Ὶ Asad. 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 Nisābūrī (Gharāʾib, i, 31) decree that in several cases nūn before another consonant must not be written. The cases are: linānsūra ‘that we may see’ (x, 15/14), fanunjiya ‘that we may deliver’ (xii, 110), nunji ‘we shall deliver’ (xxi, 88), lanānsūru ‘we shall assist’ (xl, 54/51). Only fanunjiya and nunji 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 fanunjiya, with tashdīd, the second nunji, 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: linānsūra, etc. Schwarz (ZAss., xxx, 48) compares this with a phenomenon described by Zamakhshari (Mufassal, p. 189) as the hidden or alleviated nūn. This is mentioned among other products of partial assimilation, such as zh for sh and z for s, and is described as ‘a humming in the nasal cavity’ (ghunna fi ḫ-ḥaštūm). The only example given is ‘anca ‘from thee’. There is little doubt that Zamakhshari 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 (Ẳ) 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 ǧā, which in a poem by 'Omar appears for the female name Hind, as hid (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 nūjī may really express nasalisation. 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 Qâmūs (ii, 240) quotes from the Raud al-ṯunuf of 'Abdarrāḥmān 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-yafqidīnī for sa-yafqidūnanī 'they will miss me' (Bukhārī, Shahāđāt, 15), la-tuṣaddiqunī for la-tuṣaddiqunnni 'ye shall believe me' (ibid.), an energetic 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‘dikarib (Mufaḍḍalīyyāt, p. 78). Tabrīzī (Hamāsa, p. 110) and Mufaḍḍal (loc. cit.) say expressly that this was Hijazi usage. This haplology is frequent in the readings of the Medinean Nāfī‘ (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 taqṭattalu for tataqṭattalu, while the Kufan readers in this case read taqṭattalu 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
Tabarî we should assign to the Eastern dialects. A further problem is offered by the forms used by the Kufans. Were these forms with hapology normal in Classical Arabic or the Eastern dialects, or do they merely constitute attempts at reading the Koranic spellings without the offensive assimilation?\(^3\) There is also the problem of al-muddaththir ‘he who wraps himself’ (lxxiv, 1), for al-mutadadhthir. 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-mutadadhthir (Jeffery, Materials, p. 174).

It seems like partial haplogy seems to exist in the form istāʿa for istaṭāʿa ‘to be able’, said to be Hijazi (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣāʾīs, 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 istāʿū, with ʿ (xviii, 96/97). According to Baidawi, some pronounced this istāʿū. This gives us a key to the problem of istāʿa: since s and ṭ could not stand next to each other without some assimilation, the speaker had to choose between istāʿa, which obscured the formation, and istāʿa, which obscured the root. In the discussion of these forms in the Lisan (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-Zayyat, istītaʿa, as a grammarians’ invention.

NOTES

1 i.e. emphatic; c.f. § nn.

2 Cf. also the Hebrew ḥadhittim ‘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 haul for haul ‘power’ (Lisān, xiii, 143, 208).

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

5 Farrāʾ (in Lisān, xv, 406) also recognizes sayyāgh as Hijazi dialect, but analyses it as a fa‘āl form (saʾatādgh > sayyāgh) and asserts that the Hijazis use this form ‘more than any other’ (‘ahlu l-Hijāz ‘aktheru shai’in qaulan lil-faiʿālī min dhowātī th-thalātha). It is not clear to me what this means. The context might imply that fa‘āl was used in Hijaz more than fa‘āl, but the example of sawwāgh excludes this.

6 With all reserve I would like to suggest that this may also explain why South-Arabian qwil ‘prince’ is in Arabic qail. Perhaps qwil is qawwāl ‘speaker’ (cf. Hebrew nāgḥādīh ‘prince from higgidh ‘to speak’). In West-Arabian this would have become qawwāl. It would still remain to be explained how qawwāl became qail, pl. ’aqyl.
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.


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) ‘Ailân?

12 According to Ibn Ya’ışh (p. 1307) Farrâ’ and Kisâ’l permitted this substitution in Classical Arabic, so that we may perhaps be entitled to ascribe it to some Eastern dialect. Sibawaihi (ii, 175), though with some doubt, implies however that yasâ’lu for yas’ala was used in the same dialects as sîltu (§ gg).

13 The same may be true of the Haurân colloquial. The only instances Cantineau (Hörân, p. 140) gives for assimilation of post-consonantal hamza, are dâwâ=dâ‘u ‘light’ and fâyâ, fâyye=fât, fêtâ ‘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 primae 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, xxvi, 245) has however noticed a similar addition of ta- in Yemenite colloquial: terâs for râz, 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-râz > terâs (cf. English a napron > an apron). Cf. also Palestinian colloquial talhâmî as gentilic of Bêt (il-)lahm (Stephen, JPOS, xiii, 235).

16 For intrusive hamza after long vowel (especially with û) cf. § 14 r.

17 According to Prof. Ryckmans, this word comes from rây and ‘means ‘offering’.

18 In Koran, xviii, 76/77, the Meccans Mujähid, Ibn ‘Abbâs, and the Basrian ‘Abû ‘Amr b. al-‘Alâ’ read la-takhidhta for la-ttakhadhta. The regular form is rejected by Thâ’alibi as contrary to the intention of the text. ‘Abû Zaid read la-takhadhta, apparently a compromise (Lisân, v, 6). According to Baidâwî it was Ibn Kathîr and the ‘two Basrians’ who read la-takhidhta. In xviii, 61/60 the ‘âlîf is written in fa-ttakhadha, and apparently no one read fa-takhidha.

19 Such assimilations occur sporadically in cognate languages e.g., Hebrew makâlekth < ma’kôleth ‘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 rûs.

21 So in iv, 109. The text of the Diwan has bitârabândâ.

22 His qirâ’a is given by Zamakhsharî as warâ’ya, by Ibn Khâlalawih (Badi‘, p. 83) as waradî. Both say he read bil-qâyr.

23 It is mahyâ, not mahyâ, because of the y (§ 10 bb). The possibility of the confusion of ‘âlîf mamûdîa and â is an additional proof that the latter was in Hijaz not pronounced -ê.

24 Perhaps tair ‘a bird’ in Koran iii, 43/9, where Hamza reads ta’tîr, is a similar contraction for the latter. In Sanskrit, â and i are in Sandhi contracted to े (=ai), not ði.
The 'aish 'what' so common in hadith and colloquials is a perfectly regular form—for the Hijazi dialect. It is 'ai-shi with the i elided in accordance with § 10 gg.

The word is first spelled miltā in the Lisān, and immediately after in a quotation, miltā.

See note on § q.

Such an example might be nāsha, yanīshu '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, tanawushu 'fetching' because they derived it from nāsha, not from na'asha. In any case tanawushu was also read by the Basrian 'Abū 'Amr and the Kufans.

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

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

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

For other versions see Kofler, WZKM, xlvi, 103.

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

Cf. also the discussion in Kofler, WZKM, xlvi, 86.

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., falaini <*falaini < falaini. 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 iiddigām' (cf. Pretzl, Islamica, vi, 295).
Chapter 12

HIJAZ: MORPHOLOGY

a The independent pronoun of the first singular had in Hijaz the form 'ana in context and 'anā 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 'anā was used in context as well (Ibn Mālik, Tashil, f. 8 b, etc.). Actually, 'anā is found in context in the poetry of Westerners, such as 'Antara, 'Aʿshā, Kaʿb, 'Omar (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 'āna in the Qudaʿa dialect (Ibn Mālik, loc. cit.; Ibn Yaʿish, p. 414), in Syrian bedouin dialects (Cantineau, Parlers, p. 70), in Tlemsen, in Malta, in Tigrigna, and in modern Eastern Aramaic. The Mishnaic Hebrew 'ānū 'we' (invariably with qāmēs 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, -hū, -hum, -hunna, and -humā, did not become -hī, etc., after i and y (cf. § 10 f).

c In the 'Āliya 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', alaik 'upon thee', fī dārik 'in thy house', the people of the 'Āliya said lakah, alaikah, fī dārikah ('Abū Zaid, Nawādir, p. 171). Since the hā as-saqāt 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 'aʿtaitukāhū 'I gave him to thee' (Sibawaihi, quoted by 'Astarābādī, 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: -i after short, -ya after long vowel or diphthong, was not observed in Hijaz. In Koran, xiv, 27/22 the Kufans 'Aʿmash and Yahyā or Ḥamza read mā 'antum bi-muṣrikhiyyi 'you cannot assist me' for muṣrikhiyya (Farrāʾ, quoted Beck, Orientalia, xv, 190; also Zamakhšarī, Kashshāf, p. 704, 849). Bannāʾ (quoted by Farrāʾ) calls this a dialect form. Farrāʾ then cites a line (which Zamakhšarī calls shīr majhūl 'an untrustworthy poem'): qāla lhāhā hal laki yā tā fiyyi/qālat lahu mā 'anta bilmarḍiyyi 'he said to her, you there, do you like me? She answered, you are not the one who pleases me.' 'Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 295) says this is in the dialect of the
Yarbū⁴, a branch of the Ḩanẓala, 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, Jamʿ, ii, 53). The two Basrians Ḥasan (Kashshāf, p. 849) and Abū ‘Amr (‘Ushmūnī, ii, 211) read in Koran, xx, 19/18, ‘āṣāyi for ‘āṣāya ‘my staff’, where the true West-Arabian reading is ‘āṣayya (§ 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’, kūsīyi ‘my chair’ (cf. Driver, Grammar, p. 30). Possibly the whole feature is early colloquial rather than dialect.

e In Hijazi poetry a particle dhī (ḍhē, 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 ʿAzharī (in Taj, x, 436) ‘otiose dhī 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 occurrences with proper names in Žafār 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 ḥādhā occurs very frequently in hadith, that Hijazi poets often insert other words between ḥā and dhā (Schwarz, Umar, iv, 120), and that the Hijazis used huwa dhā ‘there he is’ instead of ḥā huwa dhā (‘Anbārī in Lisān, xx, 341)⁵. In the account of the negotiations at Ḫudaibiyya (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. Masʿūd talks to the Prophet, and is interrupted by ʿAbū Bakr. He asks man dhā ‘who is this?’. Then Mughīra hits him, and he asks again man ḥādhā ‘and who is that now?’. If this can be taken as typical, we obtain a distinction between dhā and ḥādhā much like that of ḥādhā and dhāka in Classical Arabic.

f The feminine form of the demonstrative, which was in strict Classical Arabic ḥādhī in context, ḥādhīh in pause, seems to have been borrowed into the Hijazi dialect only in the pauseal form ḥādhīh, which was here also used in context (Ṣibawaihi, 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 ti, which appears in the phrase haifa tikum ‘how are you there?’ used by the Prophet in addressing ‘Ā’isha (Bukhārī, Shahādāt, 15). The inscription of an-Namāra has ty=ti or tā. However, tā appears also in poems, not only of the Westerner Nābigha, but
also of the Taghlibi Quṭāmi (tālika for tilka; in Diwan, xiii, 28, ḥādhīhi) and of Kaʿb al-Ghanawi (ḥāṭā for ḥādhīhi), all in Lisān, xx, 341.6

The plural of the demonstrative pronoun is said to have been ʿūlā in the Tamim dialect, but ʿūlāʾi in Hijaz (Ibn ʿAqīl, p. 36 and later commns. on the Ḍalfiyya). The statement of the Ḍalfiyya runs: ʿuse ʿulā as a demonstrative pronoun for the plural, but ʿulāʾ is better (walmaddu ʿaulā). It seems that Ibn ʿAqīl's attribution of ʿūlāʾi to the Hijaz is mainly based on its occurrence in the Koran. There the form is spelled ʿulā, indicating a pausal form ʿulā. However, ʿulāʾi in context would have been pronounced in the Hijaz ʿulay (cf. § 11 dd), and one wonders why the -y disappeared in pause. The spelling ʿulā in the Tamim dialect could not be read other than ʿūlā (§ 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 ʾellīh, etc., all point to a proto-Semitic ʾūlai (cf. Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 119).7 Classical ʿūlāʾi 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) ishtaraʾ ʿū d-ḍalālata for ishtarau ʿū d-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 Qaisi9 dialect (Ibn Jinni, Muḥtasab, p. 20), and it is quite likely that ʿūlāʾi 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 -ẹ in context, a process which started most probably before hamzat al-waṣl (§ 10 cc). Since ʿulai 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 ʿulai became ʿulāʾi, not ʿūlē, may be due to its having arisen in a part of the Qais area other than Fazāra, and that there -ai was treated differentially; or contraction and two-peak-stress may have been possible throughout those dialects.10 Some of the Qaisi dialects may have had the form ʿūlē, corresponding to the ʿūlā ascribed by Ibn ʿAqīl to the Tamim dialect. It is quite possible that ʿūlā was used in some Eastern dialects, as Ibn ʿAqīl says. It does not seem to be particularly frequent in poetry from that part of Arabia. In the Hijaz ʾulai would become ʿūlā (written with ʾalif) 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 hāʾantum ʿūlāʾi tuḥibbūnahum 'those men, ye love them' (iii, 115/119) and in ʿulāʾi ʾulāʾ atharī (xx, 86/84). It was an easy matter for the Moslem massoretes to turn this ʿūlā into the Classical form by adding a hamza sign. A further indication for reading the Koranic spelling ʿūlā and not ʿulāʾi seems to me to lie in the fact that it is throughout the Koran spelled with long ū (ʾishbāʾ). The length of the first syllable is
said by 'Astarābādī (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 'Omar (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 'ūlai were, of course, stressed on the first syllable, but in 'ulā'-i the stress was drawn on to the long a and the first syllable shortened, as in qitāl for qitāl, (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, i, 76). The û in the spelling 'ūlā'-i (Wright, i, 265B) is thus merely a Koranic reminiscence, but in the Koran it must have represented actual pronunciation, i.e., 'ūlā < 'ūlai. 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 'ulā'-i that 'ulā'-ka 'those' is in good Korans (e.g., the 'Royal Koran') invariably spelled without 'alif, with a consistency that strongly suggests that it was pronounced 'ulaika. In early Christian MSS., where the 'alif is normally used to indicate long ā, this word is mostly written without 'alif (cf. Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 16).

h 'Ushmūnī (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. Verhälttn., p. 414–6) come from Westerners; it also occurs in a line supposed to be in Ṭayyi' dialect (cf. § 4 t, second quotation). The same 'Ushmūnī (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 ḍhī, 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 .{\text{ā}} (QG, iii, 32) and pointed allā'-i. This corresponds to a Hijazi allāy or allai (§ 11 dd); such was the reading of the Basrian 'Abū 'Amr, and of al-Bazzā, rāwī of the Meccan Ibn Kathīr. 'Abū 'Amr (d. 154/771) confirms that this was the way the Quraish pronounced the word. Warsh, rāwī of the Medinean Nāfi', read in lxv, 4, allāyi, apparently a cross between the Hijazi form and the spelling-pronunciation (all from 'Astarābādī, 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 'Akhfash (d. 291/904), rāwī of the Damascene Ibn 'Āmir, read in ii, 226 wallā'-i yu'lūna 'and those who foreswear' for lilladhīna yu'lūna. This allāy, allai, however, seems to be none other than the demonstrative 'ullai used as a relative. The form alla'-ūna, ascribed—probably
rightly—to the Hudhail dialect (cf. § 8 x), 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-ullā, al-ulūdi 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 (Pronominalbildung, 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 ʾellažih, 'these'. The latter is clearly ʾella = *ullai plus *dhik. The singular and plural forms of the demonstrative are here combined, as in colloquial Arabic ḥādhāl = ḥādh-ullā. It appears that at some point in the history of Arabic ʾullai came to be used also as a singular relative pronoun. The common colloquial illi, elli, etc., is probably derived directly from it. According to the grammarians allāʾu (ʾallau, cf. § 11 ee) could be used in Classical Arabic for the singular. Subsequently this ʾullai was replaced by the synonym alladhī. Perhaps the reason is that (?by contamination with the article) ʾullai 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 ʾullai (cf. Brockelmann, GVG, ii, 565): the use of alladhī for both numbers in Yemen (§ 4 aα) 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 ʾullai 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 faʿāli were treated as indeclinable in Hijaz, while they were diptote in the East (Sibawaihi, ii, 37; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 269). Except for a small part of the Tamim area, however (Ibn Mālik, Tashil, f. 79 b), those nouns which ended in r were treated as indeclinable in the East, too. ʾAstarābādī (Kāsiya comm., i, 46) explains that in -ārī the ā had become strongly imalized, 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). Volland (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‘āl (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 fa‘il participle. If we combine this with the appearance of fu‘āl for fa‘il in Yemenite Arabic (§ 4 o) and with the fact that fa‘āli 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.

I Sibawaihi (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 (Saḥāb, i, 440) is no doubt right in saying that all Arabs declined the word when used with full nominal force. Even the Tamīm 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-l). Some Arabs used ‘amsa for ‘amsi (Ibn Hishām in Taḥ, 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.

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-sāhirāni ‘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 hādhānī (acc.) la-sāhirānī (acc.) Mere substitution of literary for dialect forms would have produced: ‘inna hādhānī la-sāhirānī, equally incorrect. A Hijazi speaker wishing to speak correctly had to remind himself not to make the adjustment of -ānī 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 rīlayya lā ṭaḥmilānī 'my two feet do not carry me', but 'Abū l-Waqt—usually a stickler for grammatical correctness—and Ibn 'Asākir read 'inna rīlayya (Qaṣṭallānī, ii, 126). Another tradition is quoted by 'Astarābādī in the form 'every new-born child is born with the natural religion' ('alā l-fitrātī ḥattā yakūnu 'abāwūhu lladhānī yuḥawwudānīhi 'au yunāṣṣirānīhi '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 fi 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 Lihyānī (quoted by Rāfi', Tārīkh, i, 144) other dialects used the same form. It is probable that the common Arabic lī 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'i in Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣṣā'is, i, 395, 411). A ba- before suffixes lies at the back of certain developments in Syrian bedouin and Ḥaḍārī dialects (Cantienne, 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'i'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 (Iṣḥiqāq, 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 ḥaddirah, yahḍurū '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). Samānī (? 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 yafṣīlu or yafṣ′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 Magharebine 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 Sam‘āni. 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 Sibawaihi (ii, 275), Ibn Hishām (Bānū Su‘ād, p. 97), and ŠAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 229) Hijaz was the only region where these prefixes had not the vowel i; however, the statement of ŠAbū 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 tiqraḥā hādhi 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 prime w the w joins in the Hijazi dialect with the a-prefix into aw: yaujalu ‘he fears’, yauja‘u ‘he feels pain’. The Tamim dialect with its i-prefixes assimilated the w: yījalu, yīja‘u. Some Qais dialects (i.e., the Western ones, who had no ‘taltala’) used a form with lengthening of the a, as if from prime hamza: yājalu, yāja‘u (Sibawaihi, ii, 276; ŠAnbārī in Mufadḍaliyyāt, p. 540; Jamhara, ii, 105). The form of the Qais dialect appears as yālghānī ‘they lap’ in the Hijazi poet Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt (lxii, 29) and as lā tājal in a variant of Koran, xv, 53 for lā tajal ‘fear not’. In a line by a Tamimi poet (Naqā‘ī, i, 168, line 7) we find fayaija‘a ‘that he feel pain’: this is perhaps a mixed form. Another reading of the same Koran passage has lā tūjal, and some read yūlghānī in the line by Ibn Qais. These are the forms commonly used in the colloquials both with i and with a-imperfects. The u of those forms is hardly a contraction of au, but arose in some Eastern dialect other than Tamim, where ā in *yaujalu became ā 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 prime 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: *itazara, yātaziru, mūtazir (Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 100), yātaziru ‘he is equal’, yāta‘idina ‘they threaten each other’ (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣṣā‘īs, i, 414). Forms of the eighth conjugation of this class are very few in the Koran. Those that
occur exhibit gemination of the t: *ittasqa* ‘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 *primā* hamzata and *primā* *w* (cf. § 11 ff).

s For a discussion of the intransitive perfect of *medīa* *w*/*y* cf. § 10 *y* seq. The Hijazi dialect also had *mitnā* for *mutnā* ‘we died’ (*'Abū* ‘Ubaid, Risāla, p. 155). Most readers follow Hijazi usage. Ḥāfs ‘an ‘Āsim (the Egyptian Royal Koran) has *muttu*, etc., almost everywhere. In xix, 23 the Meccan Ibn Kathir, the Damascene Ibn ‘Amir, and ‘Abū Bakr—just those who normally represent Hijazi tradition—read *muttu*. Bāidāwī cites no variants to *i*-forms in xxi, 35/34, xxiii, 84/82, xxiii, 37/35. The only examples of *u* in the *qirā'a* of Ḥāfs are two occurrences 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 Nāfi‘ and the Kufans Ḥamza and Kīsā‘ī.

t The forms of the passive perfect *medīa* *w* with vocalic affixes had in pre-classical Arabic three forms: *sīta* ‘(fluids) were whipped together’ in Hijaz, *sīta* (*kasra bi-*'ishmām ad-đamma*) in the Qais dialects and part of *'Asad*, and *sāta* in the dialects of Tamim and of Faq‘as and Dabr, reckoned among the *fuṣahā‘u bani* *'Asad* (Ibn Hishām, Bānat Su‘ ād, p. 69).16 Farrā’ (in Lisān, xiv, 92) only says that the *'Asad* said either *qīla* or *qāla* for the passive of ‘to say’. In the Koran all cases of passive *medīa* *w* are spelled with *ī* (*qīla*, *ghīda* in xi, 46/44, *si‘a* in xi, 79/77, etc.). Bāidāwī records no variants. The Kufan Kīsā‘ī, however, read in each case *ū* (GQ, iii, 198). Apparently the Classical language adopted the forms with *ū*, but with the Hijazi spelling; in the mouth of Easterners and Westerners, who had no *ū* 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 *šīm* ‘was placed’ (Ezra, iv, 19, etc.) and with the doubtful *ziirti* ‘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 *mul* ‘circumcised’, etc., 17 and by the odd Biblical Aramaic *sūmath* (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 *ū* of the central area. We must, therefore, for the present keep to the old view that *sūta* was developed from *suyīta*, and *ū* 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).
The passive participle of the first conjugation of mediae y takes in the Hijaz dialect the form madīn, in the dialect of Tamim the form madīn

(Ibn Jinnī, Muḥtasab, p. 28; id., Mughtasab, p. 3, 23; Ibn Mālik, Tashil, f. 109 a; Ibn Yaqīn, 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 mahil ‘heaped up’ (lixiii, 14), where Baidāwi registers no variants. The Hijazi form no doubt goes back to *madīn < *madīn < *madīn with the same sound-change as in the preceding paragraph. The Central-Arabian dialects may have preserved this madīn, though we hear nothing about it. The frequent occurrence of madīn and similar forms in Classical Arabic texts suggests that this was so. The Tamim form need not necessarily be the old Ur-arabisch one, but may be an analogical new-formation for *madīn. This view is supported by the existence of parallel new-formations from mediae w, such as maqūd ‘led’ for maqūd, which are not specifically ascribed to any dialect, but may be Eastern (Ibn Jinnī, Mughtasab, p. 3).

The third singular masculine perfect of transitive verbs tertiae y is spelled like the nouns with *aif maqṣūra (ā), 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 tertiae 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: banūtu, therefore banē, but ghazautu, therefore ghazē. Such ‘colouring’ is a phonological impossibility, and would moreover force us to assume that final -ai sometimes stood for -ā. In view of the rhymes we must take it that the form 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 ʾi), where the connection with the tertiae 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. 18 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 tertiae 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 tertiae 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. Qaṣṭallānī, iv, 202) where he reads raqā for raqiya 'he went up'. Such forms may have been used in part of Hijaz. In Hijazī 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 II). Such a form may also be 'ukhﬁ 'is hidden', read by IJamza and Ya'qūb in xxxii, 17 for 'ukhﬁya; while elsewhere an -a was added to conform with Classical Arabic grammar, the Hijazī 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 -ī? A case of such elision occurs in a hadith (Bukhārī, Buyū', 98, Qaṣṭallānī, iv, 100) where all except the purist ʾAbū Dharr read ishtaraitu baqaran wa-rāʾiha 'I bought some cattle and its shepherd', instead of the expected rāʾiyahā. 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 rāḏātun (§ 14 i) appears in the Koran in its Classical Arabic form: rādiyatun, etc. (lxxviii, 9–12), rhyming with other words of the pattern fāʾilatun. Yet we must consider the possibility that baqā in the Hijaz was not derived from baqiya, but formed on the analogy of baqitu 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 baqitu ghazautu
Third sing. perf.: banai baqi ghazā (ghazā, § 10 r)
Imperf.: yabn(ī) (§ 10 ii) yabqai (§ 10 dd) yaghziū

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 mardiyyun one said in Hijaz marduwoun, though no one read so in the Koran.

y The imperative and apocopate of verbs mediae geminatae were in the Hijaz dialect formed on the pattern of the strong verb, e.g., imlal 'be weary', urdūd 'repel' (Sibawaihi, ii, 162; Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 192). This was so not only in the first conjugation, but also in the third (Ibn Ya'ish, p. 1324) and in the ninth (Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣṣāʾiš, i, 269), and presumably in all others. These forms were probably general West-Arabian. In a line by the Hudhali ʾAbū
Kabīr, *lam yuḥlalī* 'was not untied' occurs in rhyme, in conformity with the usage of Hijaz (Ḥamāsa, p. 38). Tabrizī remarks on this 'this is Tamīm dialect'. But the Tamīm dialect was quite different, as we shall see immediately. This seems to be another case of the confusion between Hudhail and Ḫanḍala; Tabrizī 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 Tamīm it was heard as a when followed by *hamzat al-wasṭ*, as i otherwise (Ṣibawaihi, ii, 162). The Qaṣ dialects of Ghānī, Kaʾb, and ʿUqail had invariably -i: *firri, mali, ruddī* (Ṣibawaihi, loc. cit.; Zamakhshārī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 168). Some Tamīmis harmonized the neutral vowel with the stem-vowel: *firri, malla, rudd* (Ṣibawaihi). 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 *fir(a)*, 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 *yartadīd* (ii, 214/217) but also *yartadda* (v, 59/54) 'he revolts'; *yushāqiqi llāha* (viii, 13), but also *yushāqqi lāḥa* (lix, 4) 'sets himself against God'. To none of these have I found any variants. In ii, 282, Ḥafṣ reads *lā yuḍāra* 'let him not be harmed', but a formidable array of early Hijāzi readers: 'Umār, Fāṭḥ, Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn Masʿūd, ʾAbān b. ʾUthmān, ʾIkrima, Dāḥkā, ʾUbayy, but also the Basrian Ḥasan, are quoted in support of the reading *lā yuḍāra* (Zamakhshārī, Kashshāf, p. 184; Jeffery, Materials, p. 30, 121). We shall hardly follow the opinion of Ibn Mālik (quoted Suyūṭī, ʾIṣqān, 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 Tamīm. The same mixture of forms is found in the poems of ʾOmar b. ʾAbī Rabīʾa (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 (Khaṣāʾīs, 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 Bāidāwī.

aa In the dialect of Sulaim, on the confines of Hijaz, the endings of the perfect of mediae geminatae verbs were affixed to a bilateral base. (Ibn Mālik, Tashil, f. 90 b). Examples of this are given by other sources, as ziltu for zaliltu 'I did all day' (Miṣbāḥ, p. 1062) and 'ahabtu for 'ahhabtu (Liḥyānī in Lisān, i, 281). Ibn Mālik appears to imply that the dialect of Hijaz proper used triliteral forms, but the Miṣbāḥ attributes ziltu to Hijaz and zaltil 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 bilateral forms of zalla. The canonical readers read these with a: zalta (xx, 97) and zaliltum (i, 65). Ibn Mas'ūd, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, and Qatāda read zi[t; 'Abū Ḥaiwa and perhaps Ibn Mas'ūd ziltum. Only 'Ubayy read zaliltu, only Jaḥdārī zaliltum (Jeffery, Materials, pp. 61, 97, 147). Of other geminate verbs of the pattern fa'īla, such as hassa 'to feel', massa 'to touch', there are no relevant forms in the Koran. Of fa'ala verbs there are only triliteral forms, e.g., shaqānā 'we split' (lxxx, 26), madadnā 'we stretched' (xv, 19), apparently without bilateral 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 Kīlāb, are said to have used ziltu in poetry, though it was not of their dialect ('Abū Zaid, quoted by Ibn Jinnī, Khaṣāʾīs, i, 387). In the east, the Bakr dialect had a different type of bilateral form, with a vowel intervening between stem and ending, raddatu 'I gave back', marrānā 'we passed' (Sībawaihi, ii, 164). The a possibly denotes here no more than a neutral glide-vowel: marrānā. Once this vowel existed it gave rise to a tendency towards fitting the verbs into a vowel-ending scheme. Some Arabs said raddātū (Astarābādī, Kāfiya comm., ii, 73). This and the form raddaitu, which is fully assimilated to the tertīae infirmae, are the patterns used in the colloquials (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 634). Cf. also map No. 16.
In older Syriac we find qātelā < qātel ēnā ‘I kill’, but qālēn < qālē ēnā ‘I roast’, with the two forms distributed according to a purely rhythmical principle.

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

Cf., however, § x.

As recorded in ‘Aghānī viii. 141; the Diwan reads bilmamrākhī.

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.

In a story describing pre-Islamic customs at Medina, however, ḏhill is used for the feminine (Bukhārī, Ḥarīth, 12).

Barth writes ullā, as he believed ‘alīf maqṣūra to have been pronounced ə.

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., qāʾūl ‘garrulous’ (root qwl), qāʾim ‘standing’, etc. Cf. § 11 kk.

More precisely, Ghanī. That dialect is said to have replaced most verbs tertīz w/y by tertīz 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 ta-tawāḥhum, ‘hamza through false analogy’.

The ‘Uqail dialect is said to have used ḥā’ulā’īn (Lane, p. 947 b). This may be another attempt to have a form that could stand both before single consonant and hamzat al-waqīl.

Barth thought illī 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).

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).

Also ascribed to the Tāʾī poet ‘Abū Zubaid (cf. Köfler, WZKM, xlvi, 128).

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

Cases of au becoming ā are rare outside the Maghrib (Brockelmann, GVG, i, 191). Ibn Mālik (Tashil, f. 108 b) attributes the change of initial ‘au > ā, as in ’ulād < ’aulād ‘children’, to the Tamīm dialect. This would not affect our case, as the Tamīm said in any case ’ijalū < ’iṣwājalu.

Köfler (WZKM, xlvi, 73, without indication of source) claims that ā was used in the dialects of Dubair, Faq’as, Hudhai, Ẓabba, and some Tamīm, ā by some Qais and most ’Asad. The form bāʾa ‘was sold’ occurs in a line by the Tamimi Ru’ba (Appendix, xiv, 3), as reported by Kisāʾi (in Suyūṭī, Sh. sh. al-Mughnī, p. 277) and Ibn ’Arābī (Ibn Yaʾish, p. 970). The Diwan has bīʾa.

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

Littmann thinks that verbs tertīā to became tertīā 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.

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

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'urrūka for ya'urrūka 'it affects thee'. This form may be due to the phonetic peculiarities of r.

Sic, not marrānā (as Brockelmann writes GVG, i, 633). Similar forms appear in early Christian Arabic: أحببنا, ودنت (Graf, Sprachgebrauch, p. 17). In view of the Bakri forms we should read waddat(u), 'ahhabbanā, and not waddēt, 'ahabbēnā, which would in all probability have been spelled with y.

According to Tāj, vii, 411, the Tamim said dīlīltu for ḍalīltu, 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’, būrr ‘wheat’, sha‘r ‘barley’, būsr ‘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-Mutanakkhihil (ii, 1), būrr appears with a masculine adjective secured by the rhyme. According to ʾAkhfash (in Lisān, xii, 9) the words tāriq ‘way’, sirāt ‘road’, sabīl ‘path’, sūq ‘bazaar’, zuqāq ‘lane’, kallā ‘sheltered bay’ (name of the sūq of Basra) were feminine in the Hijaz and masculine in Tamim. In the Koran tāriq has a masculine adjective in xlvii, 29/30, sirāt in numerous passages, sabīl in xv, 76. According to Farrā’, the name of the measure šā‘ was feminine in the Hijaz dialect, masculine in ʾAsad and Najd, but some ʾAsadīs used the feminine (Miṣbāḥ, s.v.). The related ṣuwā‘ ‘cup’ in Koran, xii, 72 is masculine. In a note on the margin of Mubarrad’s Kāmil (p. 666, Leyden MS.) Ibn Sīkkīt is quoted as saying that ‘unuq ‘neck’ is feminine in Hijaz and masculine in the ʾAsad dialect. The Miṣbāḥ (p. 1087) quotes Sajistānī 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 (Tashil, 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 tămār ‘date’ is feminine in Mishnaic usage (cf. Mishnah, Tebul Yom, iii, 6), though Hebrew bōser, Syriac besrē ‘sour grapes’ are masculine; Hebrew šērōrāh ‘barley’, like Syriac tamrēthā, may be nomina unitatis. Hebrew derekh ‘way’ is masculine and feminine, šēbhīl ‘path’ and šūq ‘market’ are masculine in Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic. For ʿunuq we may compare Jewish Palestinian Aramaic ‘ungēthā ‘neck’, and perhaps the feminine Syriac ʿēnāqā ‘sucker, branch’. Hebrew nahal, Syriac naḥlā ‘valley, gorge’ are masculine. Some of the Hijazi words may have become feminine because partly synonymous with

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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 Sibawaihi (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‘akalluni l-baraghith*, Wright, ii, 294C). He admits, however, that ‘some Arabs’ spoke thus. \(^3\)Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 88) regards it as a dialect feature, but does not specify which dialect. However, Šaffār (quoted by Ibn ‘Aqīl, p. 121) ascribes it to the Hudhail dialect, and Khaṭfājī (comm., on the *Durrat*, p. 152) to the dialect of Tayyi\(^4\) (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 (lix, 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 ma‘jūran* ‘may your action be accepted and rewarded’ while the Tamim dialect used the nominative (Lisān, v, 117). The Tamim also said *bu‘dun lahu wa-suḥqun* ‘may he be far removed and destroyed’ instead of the common *bu‘dan 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., ‘*ataunī thalāthatahum* ‘they came to me, the three of them’, in Tamīm *thalāthatuhum* (Sibawaihi, 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 \(hāl\) (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 ‘*inna, anna,* etc. could appear in the ‘alleviated’ (*mukhaffafa*) forms ‘*in, an.* 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 (Sibawaihi, i, 244, on the authority of 'one whom we trust'; Ibn Jinnā in Lisān, xvi, 175; Zamakhshārī, 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 kullu[na] (kullu nafṣin) 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. 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' (Zamakhshārī, Mufaṣṣal, p. 138); one containing twice 'anka 'that thou' by the Hudhaliyya 'Amra bint 'Ajlān (Dīwān Hudhail, cxii, 174); one with 'inkah = 'innaka 'behold thou' by the ʿAsadi al-ʿUqaishir (Ibn Qutaiba, Shiʾr, p. 354, line 3). The 'in is here associated with the long a in -kā which forms a feature of the 'Aliya 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, Hība, 6, the version of Yūnīnī reads 'in nisaʾaaka yanshudnaka llāha 'behold, thy wives adjure thee by God'. The spelling نسأ لا can only be read as accusative. Qaṣṭallānī (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 fihā 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. Zamakhshārī (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 'Asadî 'Abîd (i, 4): 'in buddilat 'ahlulhā wuḥūshan5 verily/if its inhabitants have been changed for wild beasts', or that of 'Ātika bint Zaid of 'Adî: 'in qatala la-Musliman/wajabat 'alaika ugūbatu l-muta'ammidí verily/if thou hast killed Muslim, thou must pay the fine of the intentional killer'. It is not without good reason that Ibn Mâlik ('Alfiyya 191; cf. 'Ushmûnî, i, 229) insists that where there is no la-, 'in must have a qarîna, 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 damir ash-sha'n (so already Ibn Mâlik, 'Alfiyya, 193) before k and other velars, before n, and before negations (or before l). The following instances could probably be much augmented.

\[ g \quad \text{Before k: 'in kidta = 'innaha kidta 'thou nearly didst} \] (Koran, xxxviii, 54/56); 'an kullu = 'anna kull (Khansa', p. 77, line 8); bi-'an kullu = bi-'anna kull (Hassan b. Thabit, p. 99, line 12); 'an kilânâ = 'anna kilânâ ('Amr b. Jâbir al-Hanafi, Hamasa of Buhturi, photogr. ed., p. 32, line 5); ka-'an kashhun = ka-'anna kashhan (Nâbigha al-Ja'di, Jamharat 'ash'ar al-arab, p. 146, line 3 from end); 'an kullu = 'anna kullu ('Abû 'Talib in Ibn Hîsham, Sira, p. 249, line 15); 'in kâna = 'innahu kâna (Ibn Sa'd IIB, p. 13, line 12, p. 41, line 7; IVA, 45, line 25); the Caliph 'Omar in 'Aghâni, ix, 146, line 3 from end; 'A'isha in Bukhâri Saum, 24; 'Uthmân in Bukhâri, Fadâ'il 13); 'in kunnâ = 'innanâ kunnâ (Ka'b b. Zuhair in 'Aghâni, ix, 146); 'in kâdat = 'innahâ kâdat (Mu'awiyâ b. Mihsan al-Kindî in Tabari, Annales, 1, 1019, line 5); 'in kuntu = 'inni 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 'Asadî 'Abîd, ix, 3); 'an jurhun = 'anna jurhan (the 'Absî Dubai'a in 'Amir, ed. Lyall, xxxvii, 5); bi-'an qaumumub = bi-'anna qaumumub (Mufaddaliyyat, ix, 30); ka-'an ghabban = ka-'anna gharban (the Tamimi 'Alqama, Ahlard, Six Poets, xiii, 8); ka-'an qabasun = ka-'anna qabasan (the Tamimi Mujamma' b. Hilal, Hamasa, 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 ghaqaba, Nâfî and the Basrian Ya'qub read 'an la'natu, and Nâfî 'an ghaqibâ ilâhu = 'annahu ghaqibâ.

We may add here that, though the Kufans did not allow accusative after the alleviated forms, 'Akhašsh and the Kufans permitted against the opinion of the Basrian 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' (Ushmûnî, 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 (Hība, 6), and 'in nazunnaka='innanā nazunnaka (Koran, xxvi, 186). Before l: the Koranic reading 'an la'natu, cf. preceding paragraph (xxiv, 7); wa-'an lawi staqāmu la'asqaināhum=wa-'annanā (Koran, lxxii, 16); 'an lau nashā'ū= 'annanā (Koran, vii, 98/100). Ibn Mālik (ʿAlfiyya, 195) says wa-qalītun dhikru lau, which I take to mean that 'alleviated 'an but rarely occurs before lau. ʿUshmūnī (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 lä (Ḥārith b. Waʿīla of Dhuhl, Ḥamāsa, p. 97; Ḥuraib b. Jābir of Tamīm, Ḥamāsa, p. 182; ʿAraba of Bakr, ed. Ahlwardt, xiii, 16); 'an with adverbial lä ('Abū Mihjān of Thaqīf, ed. Landberg, p. 72). Mention must also be made of the extremely common 'allā, which stands as often for 'anna lä and 'annahu lä as for 'an lä. For mā I have found only one instance: 'an mā lanā dhanbun 'that we have no guilt' (ʿOmar b. ʿAbī Rabiʿa, 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 'akhiru daʿwāhum '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 Bāḥilli ʿAṣhā, Sībawayhi, i, 243); 'an 'udhnā='anna 'udhnai (the Tamīmī Faradāq, Nāqāʾiḍ, li, 658; 'an 'amintu and 'an tarihīna, (both by the Hijazi Qāsim b. Maʿn, ʿAinī, Maqṣīd, ii, 297); 'ini llāhu (Yahyā b. Naufal al-Ŷamānī in Ibn Qutaiba, Shiʿr, p. 465, line 16); 'ini l-haqqu (anon., ʿUshmūnī, i, 229), 'in Mālikun (anon., ibid.); 'an yuʾammalūna (anon., ʿAinī, ii, 294); 'in yakādu (Koran, lxviii, 51) and the proverb 'in tasīnuka la-nafsuka wa-'in tashīnuka la-ḥiyah 'it is thine own soul that makes thee beautiful and it that makes thee ugly' (Zamakhshari, 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 ֳ for king before
velars, assimilated before $l$, and perhaps before $m$; possibly it had also become palatal $p$ (as in *oignon*) before $j$ and $y$. 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 prime $n$. 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) and, less consistently, in roots with $g$, $q$, $s$, and $z$ (but not $s$, $t$) as second radical. The reason there is probably in the case of $g$ and $q$ that $n$ had already become $y$. For $s$ 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, 2011); *za‘ama l-Farazdaq ‘an sa-yaqtulu* ‘Farazdaq asserts he is going to kill’ (Jarir, ed. Şawî, p. 348, line 3); *‘an saufa ya‘ti kullu ma 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 $s$ 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.

I 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. Shibawaihi quotes an anonymous line: *ka-‘an thadyāḥu ḥuqqāni* ‘as if its two breasts were two wooden bowls’, adding that Khalil insisted that *thadyāhu* was nominative (i, 242). Khalil takes the same attitude with regard to a line quoted immediately before this: *ka-‘an zabyutan ta‘ṭū ḫilā wāриqī s-salam* ‘as if a gazelle stretched itself towards the yellow mimosa’ (by some Yashkuri, i.e., a Yemenite, cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 220, a, 26), but Zamakhshari heard it recited with *zabyatan*, *zabyatin*, or *zabyatan*—which makes one feel that Khalil was simply laying down the law. Suyūṭī (Jam‘, ii, 18) knows only *zabyatin*, 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 waridaihi rishā'u khulub 'as if its jugular veins were palm-ropes'. There is no suggestion here of Hijazi dialect.

m Ibn Hishām (Mughni, 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'inā kharīfan 'verily the bottom of hell is seventy years' journey deep' (=Muslim, Janna 31, etc., but all printed texts have the nominative sab'īna), and a line by 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (not found in his Diwan); ending: 'inna hurrāsana 'usudā 'verily our guardians are lions'. Ushmûnî (i, 214) quotes further a line by 'Ajjāj (Appendix, xxxiii, 1) yā laita 'ayyâma s-sibā rawāji'a 'would that the days of youth came back' and one by Muḥammad b. Dhu'alib al-'Umânî (or by 'Abū Nukhaila, cf. Khizâna, 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 hādhānī la-sāhirâni (Koran, xx, 66/63). Ushmûnî quotes Ibn Sida 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.; Beckendorf, 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-mutashabbihā bil-fi'il 'verb-like particles'.

n As against this, Khalîl (quoted by Sibawaihi, i, 242) states that some Arabs put the ism of 'inna in the nominative. He gives an example, 'inna biха Zaidun ma'khudhun, 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 hādhānī la-sāhirâni (Koran, xx, 66/63; cf. last section).

o The predicate of kānā is sometimes found to be in the nominative instead of the accusative (cf. Nöldeke, Zur Gramm., p. 38; Schwarz, Umar, iv, 137; Beckendorf, Syntax, p. 97). The majority of the instances quoted is of Hijazi origin. An instance from hadith, where the nominative is secured by
the spelling, is Bukhārī, Maṣālīm, 25: kāna dhālika sh-shahru tis‘un wa-
‘ishrūna ‘that month was twenty-nine days’. Qaṣṭallānī (iv, 274) remarks
that cases of this kind are frequent in hadith. Another case, secured by
rhyme, is the line ascribed to ‘Umm ‘Aqīl, the wife of ‘Abū Ṭālib, of course
a Hijazi: 'anta takūnu mājidūn nabīlun ‘idhā tuhubbu sham’alun bāllīn ‘thou
wilt be generous and noble when a damp north wind blows’ (Ibn ‘Aqīl, p.
77, Shinqīṭi, i, 89). The takūnu is here taken by the Arab grammarians as
zā’ida, 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. Brockel-
mann, 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 accusa-
tive, e.g., 'illā 'an takūna tijāratan 'but let there be some trade' (Koran, iv,
33/29,13 in kānāt 'illā šaihan tawhidatan 'there was only one cry' (xxxxvi,
28/29); 'idhā kāna hīna l-‘āṣri 'when it was the time of the evening-prayer'
(Bukhārī, 'Ijāra, 11, cf. Qaṣṭallānī, 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 ‘in) in nominal clauses with the force
and rection of laiṣa. This mā Hiǧāziyya was discussed in detail by Sibawaihi
(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 Hīshām (Mughnī, ii, 6) it was also
employed in Tihāma and Najd, while Jauhari (Ṣahāh, 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 ‘Omar b.
‘Abī Rabī‘a (ccxii, 2, where however the edition has the nominative), and
three in the Koran. Two of these are quoted by Sibawaihi (i, 22): mā hādhā
basharān ‘this one is not a mortal’ (xii, 31) and mā hunna ʿumnahāthīm ‘they
are not their mothers’ (lviii, 2). Sibawaihi 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 Hudhali
Ibn Mas‘ūd is said to have read nominative in the first verse (Jeffery,
Materials, p. 49). In the second verse ‘Āsim, one of the canonical readers,
read nominative (but his rāwi Ḥafs has the accusative), and Ibn Mas‘ūd,
Rabl‘ b. Khuthaim, and ‘Abū Mijlaz read bi-ʿumnahāthīm (Jeffery, p. 99,
307). The third case: mā minhum min ʿahadin ‘anhu ḥājīṣīna ‘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- (§ 9 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 Tamimiyya. This is unanimously declared to be more in agreement with grammatical theory ('aqyːas), but Ibn Ya'ish remarks (p. 132) that the mā Ḥijāziyya is more elegant ('afṣaːh). ṬAṣma'ī (quoted by Ibn Ya'ish, 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 ṭalqā bi-dhālíka 'ālimun 'not everyone you meet is aware of this' (the Tamimi 'Affif b. Mundhir in ṬAghānī, xiv, 46); wa-mā kullu mā fī n-nafisi lī minka muṣḥarun 'not all I feel with regard to thee is evident' (an anonymous ṬAsadī in Ḥamāṣa, p. 618; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iii, 805); mā kullu mā yahwā mu'rū' un huwa nātulhu '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. 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 'ala'ihi 'not one of Qais 'Ailān is nobler than he', but fākhirun; and in the sentence mā 'anā mu'ākhidh' lā bi-shā'īn taqūluhu 'I shall not punish thee for anything thou sayest' spoken by the Hijazi Sa'd (Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 2316) mu'ākhidhaka (Ibn Hisḥām, in the parallel passage, reads bi-). The line of the Ḥawāzīn poet Ṣimma al-Qushairī ('Aghānī, v, 127): fa-mā ḥasunun 'an ta'tiya l-'amra ...' it is not right that thou shouldst approach the matter ..., should perhaps be read with the accusative ḥasanān, in view of the West-Arabian character of the Ḥawāzīn dialect. We hardly know which to read in Imrulqāṣ (ed. Ahlwardt, Appendix xviii, 43) wa-mā hādhā shaṭāratu lā'ībin 'this is not the skilful game of a chess-player' and (ibid., 24=xix, 19) mā 'antum qa'bīlun wa-mā kha'wāl '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 rectio. Most of these seem to be based on the theory which required mā to have less full rectio than laiṣa, the principal member of the class. 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 yantaqiḍū n-nafṣu). The most interesting case of violation of the first rule is a line by Farazdaq (ix, 34): fa-ʾaṣbahū qad ʿaʾāda llāhu niʿmatahum/ʿidh hum quraishun wa-ʾidh mā mithlahum basharūn 'thus God made their prosperity permanent, since they are Quraish and since no mortal is like them'. Some read here the accusative in mithlahum (Sibawaihi, i, 2216); as lectio difficillior 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 Ḥiǧāzīyya as a form of Classical Arabic—without, of course, being aware of grammarians' strictures made after his time.17

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 § 2 below). With regard to the exceptive sentence in which the major term is expressed (istithnā muttaṣil), Sibawaihi (i, 317) says that both in Hijazi and Tamimi usage the minor term is in the nominative, as in mā ʿanta bi-shaiʿin ʿillā shaiʿun lā yuʿbaʿu bihi 'you are nothing but a thing no one takes any notice of'. With laīsa the minor term is in the accusative in the Hijaz dialect, cf. also § 2 below. In sentences where the major term is not expressed, i.e., where the excepted word is grammatically directly dependent on mā (istithnā muṭarragh), 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; ʿTarāfa, supplement, v, 8; Šanfarā, Lāmiyya 9; Jarīr, ed. Šāwī, p. 41, line 4 in rhyme), but also on numerous occasions in the Koran, where mā with accusative object is so rare (cf. Bergsträsser, Verneinungsartikeln, p. 35). The grammars cite two instances where the predicate is in the accusative and secured by rhyme. One is: mā d-dahru ʿillā manjanūnan bi-ʾahlihi/wa-mā šāhību l-ḥājātī ʿillā muʿadḥāhab ‘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 ʾAsadi or Saʿdi, in the latter case a Hijazi (cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 33, b, 8). The first hemistich is quoted in this form by ʾAstarābādī (Kāfiya comm., i, 267), without the mā by Ibn Hīshām (Mughnī, i, 69). The second instance is cited on Farrā' authority (in ʾAstarābādī, Kāfiya comm., i, 237) in support
of his theory that 'illâ can govern the accusative in any context: yuṭālibunī 'ammī thamânīna nāgatan/wa-mā lī yā 'afraḍi 'illâ thamâniyā 'my uncle demands from me eighty camels, but I, o 'Afra, have only eight'. Possibly thamâniyā should here be taken as subject and lī as predicate. Baghdâdī (Khīzānā, ii, 31) ascribes the poem to the 'Udhri 'Urwa b. Ḥizām, i.e., a Westerner, but says it is wrongly quoted and should end ghairâ thamâni(n).

The Arab grammarians' opinion was that mā governed the accusative in Hijaz dialect because its function in the nominal clause resembled that of laïsa. Reckendorf (Syntakt. Verhältln., p. 331) saw the reason in its general character as copula and consequent similarity to laïsa. Actually the accusative after laïsa (which is of nominal origin 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. 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. Siwâwâhi (i, 317) and Ibn Mālik denied that it had any connection with the construction of mā with the accusative, while ʿAbû ʿAli al-Fārisī and Zamakhshârī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 36) held that only those who use mā with the accusative could also use it with bi- (ʿUshmūnī, i, 203). The latter view was held by Baidâwī (ii, 317). The discussion was on a purely theoretical level. ʿUshmūnī 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 ʿAntara and Zuhair and the Tamimi ʿAlqama. 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 ʿIrulqais (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. § 9 at end), but it is doubtful whether that piece is genuine. Farrāʾ (quoted Khīzānā, 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 Najdis: did they, as Ibn Hishām taught (cf. § 9 above) employ the accusative, or should we take it, by combining the statements of Farrāʾ and of Jauhari (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.
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). Sibawaihi and Farrâ' declare that in nominal clauses the predicate after *in* is in the nominative, Mubarrad and Kisâ'i that it is in the accusative (Zamakhshâri, Mufasâsil, p. 143; fuller Ibn Hishâm, Mughnî, i, 22). No dialect is mentioned, but Ibn Hishâm says that the accusative is heard among the people of the 'Âliya, as in: *in* 'ahadun khairan min 'ahadin *illâ bil-ďâfiya* 'no one person is better than another except by the grace of God' or *in* dhâlika nâši'aka wa-lâ qârraka 'this is neither good nor bad for you'. The accusative occurs in two anonymous verses: *in huwa mustuuliyan 'alâ 'ahadin* 'he has no power over anyone', where the accusative is secured by the metre ('Astarâbâdi, Kâfiya comm., i, 270 = Khizâna, ii, 143) and *ini l-mar'u maitan bi-nqiddi ņhayâtihi* 'a man does not die with the expiry of his life' ('Aini, Maqâsid, ii, 145). In the Koran negative *in* occurs only in association with *illâ* (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 Baiḍâwî and Ibn Hishâm (Mughnî, i, 22) in a variant reading of the Kufan Sa'îd b. Jubair (d. 94/713) in vii, 193/194: *ini lladhdîna tadâuna min dûna llâhi* 'ibâdan *amthâlku* '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 'Abû Ḥayyân (quoted Khizâna, ii, 146) who declares it to be a case of the contamination of two readings (tanâquâl al-qirâ'atâni). Slightly improving upon 'Abû Ḥayyân, we may reconstruct those two readings as follows: (a) *innâ lladhdîna ... 'ibâdan *amthâlku* '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 lladhdîna ... 'ibâdun *amthâlku*um, where *in* is probably 'alleviated' *in* with the meaning of *innâ* (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 mâ *in* cannot govern the accusative. However, there is a shâhid for accusative after mâ *in* which makes the impression of being genuine: *bânî ghudânata mâ *in* 'antumu dhâahaban / wa-lâ šaraifan walâkin 'antumu l-khazafu* 'o Banû Ghudâna, ye are neither gold nor silver, but ye are clay' ('Astarâbâdi, Kâfiya comm., i, 267 = Khizâna, ii, 124, from Ibn Sikkît). The Banû Ghudâna were a clan of Tamim, but the word šaraif (so Khizâna) '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 mâ *in* with *bi*- in a line by the Hudhalî Mutanakkhhil (ed. Hell, iv,1).
v Zamakhshari (Mufasal, p. 36, cf. ibid., p. 16) informs us that in the Hijaz dialect also là was construed like laisse. 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 Zamakhshari. Sibawaihi (i, 22) gives this rather disapprovingly as the opinion of some. 'Astarābādī twice (Kāfiya comm., i, 112, 266) denies the possibility of this construction, against the author of the Kāfiya itself, who admitted it as shādhīh. Ibn 'Aqīl (p. 82) claims that the Tamīm used là in nominal clauses with nominative of the predicate. The construction with the accusative does not occur in the Koran. There là 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 là is in these cases equivalent to laisse, 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 'Omar b. 'Abī Rabī'a (ccxii, 4) là ḏārū jāmā'at wa-lau jama'at... 'the house shall not contain us together, and if it did...'. However, in the line of his fellow Westerner, Ḥātim Ṭā': fa-lā ṣahwun wa-lā ḍhaimu jā'īdu 'there is neither clear sky nor does the cloud rain generously' (xxxix, 2), the nominative is secured by the rhyme. The là is in both cases due to co-ordination, as it is in the two shawāhid 'Ushmūnī (i, 204) quotes for the use of the accusative: ta'azzī fa-lā shā'ūn 'alā l-ʿarḍī bāqiyya/la-wa lā wa zarun mimmā qaḍī llāhu waqīyya 'take courage, for nothing is permanent on earth and no fortress will guard from the decree of God' (anon.) and: wa-hallat sawāda l-ġalbi là ʿanā bāghiyya/stitḥā wa-lā 'an ḫubbihā mutarakkhiyya 'she has settled in the core of the heart; I neither desire another nor let off loving her' (ascribed to the Easterner Nābigha al-Ja'dī). Both this verse and the one by 'Omar are against the rule of Zamakhshari 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 negated 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 là in nominal clauses is of different origin and has a different function from the use of mā and ʾin.²²
must exclude from the discussion of this feature instances where the là is only apparently a copula, but in fact generic là, as in the line of Sa’d b. Mālik of Bakr (Ḥamāsa, p. 250, line 4) which ends fa-‘anā bnu Qaisin là barāḥu—a passage much discussed by Arab philologists. We best translate, with Sibawaihi (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 mc’ fa-lā wakulun wa-lā ratthhu s-silāḥī. 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 là is found, as occasionally in poetry (cf. Reckendorf, Syntax, p. 119). The same is probably true for: nasartuka 'iddh là sāḥibun ghairā khāḍhilin ‘I assisted thee when there was no friend other than a faithless one’ (anon., Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 195), where ghairā is preposition. It is also doubtful whether we should include among the cases of là in nominal clauses those in which the subject is a dependent clause, as là ‘alaihun ‘an là taf’alā ‘it will be no sin for you not to do it’ (Bukhārī, Qadar, 4; cf. Qaṣṭallānī, ix, 351). In Biblical Hebrew lō was similarly employed for ’eyn when the subject was an infinitive, e.g., lō ṭōbh heyōth hā-‘ādhām lēbhaddō ‘it is not good for man to be alone’ (Gen., ii, 18), or lō nākhōn laʾāšāth kēn ‘it is not proper to do so’ (Ex., viii, 22).

w According to Zamakhshārī (Mufaṣṣal, p. 15) the Hijaz dialect could introduce a predicate into a clause with generic là, as in là rajula fi l-baitī ‘there is no man in the house’, while the Tamim dialect could not have a predicate, i.e., they could only say là rajula ‘there is no man’. ṬAstarābdī (Kāfiya comm., i, 112) confirms that Zamakhshārī was the originator of this observation. Apparently it is based on the fact that in the Koran generic là very rarely appears without predicate, except in a few set phrases (cf. Bergsträsser, Vereinigungspartikeln, 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 ṬAndalusi, 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’ (ṬAstarābdī, loc. cit.). The purely theoretical character of the whole discussion is illustrated by Zamakhshārī’s remark on a line in the diwan of Ḥātim Ṭā’ī (No. 50, line 6): wa-lā karīma mina l-wildānī 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. Predicate after là occurs in Farazdaq, ṬAkhtāl, 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, Syntax. 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 *la*sa 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’ (*istiḥnā* *munqaṭi*), 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 (Sibawaihi, i, 319). The Hijazi construction occurs in Koran, iv, 156/157: *mā*lahum bihi min *‘ilm* min *‘illi* tībā’a *z-*zanni ‘they have no knowledge concerning Him, only following their conjectures’ and xcii, 19–20: *wa-mā* li-*‘aḥadin* *indahu* min *ni*‘matin tujzā *‘illi* btighā’a *wajhi* rabbihi ‘no one has done any good to him which requires recompense, but seeking the face of his Lord’. It also occurs in a line ascribed to the Sulami ‘Abbās b. Mīrdās (Ibn Hishām, Sīra, p. 865, line 8): *wa-lam* yakun/binā l-khaufu *‘illi* raghbaten *wa-tahazzuman* ‘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 *ʿAsadi* (Ṭabarī, Ann. i, 1952, line 6, dto.); the Taghibī *ʿAkhtal* (ed. Salḥānī, i, 2); the Numairī Jirān al-ʿAud (ed. Cairo 1350, p. 52); the Tamimi Farazdaq (ed. Boucher, lxiii, 33). Sibawaihi (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 *istiḥnā* *munqaṭi* and *muttaṣil* was really the decisive factor in this connection. According to Sibawaihi (i, 318) the minor term in any negative exceptive clause with *‘illi* might in one dialect ‘whose Arabic is trustworthy’ stand in the accusative, as in *mā* marartu bi-*‘aḥadin* *‘illi* 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 ʿAbū ‘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. Baidāwī calls the majority reading in xi, 83/81 less elegant (*ghair al-*‘aṣḥah); Zamakhshari (Mufaṣṣal, p. 31) gets out of the dilemma by attaching *‘illi* 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 *istiḥnā* *muttaṣil* and *munqaṭi*, but between these two together and *istiḥnā* *mufrarragh*, and that even this distinction was sometimes neglected, the tendency being to have always accusative after *‘illi*. ʿAstarābdī
(Kāfiya comm., i, 228) replaces Sibawaihi’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 ‘āsima l-yauma min ‘anrī llāhi ‘illā man rahima ‘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 minor term in an exceptive clause negated by laisa or negative kāna was put in the accusative in the Hijaz dialect (ʿAbū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, quoted by Ibn Hishām, Mughnī, i, 227). These thus differ from the Hijazi mā (cf. § 8 above). Cases of this occur in Koran (viii, 35; x, 20/1926) and Sīra (Ibn Hishām, p. 383, line 20; Ṭabāri, Annales, i, 1035, line 3). ʿAbū ʿAmr adds that the Tamim used in such cases the nominative, saying e.g., laisa t-ṭibu ʿillā l-misku ‘perfume is none but musk’. His contemporary, ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, was so amazed at this assertion that he confirmed it by direct inquiry from a Tamimi (cf. § 2 s). However, the Tamimi poet ʿAus b. Ḥājar (v, 1) is quoted by Sibawaihi (i, 317) as shāhīd for the accusative after laisa . . . ʿillā. 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 . . . ʿillā? The answer lies perhaps in the purely accidental point that the instances with mā are almost always istīthnā’ 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: ʿUsāmatu ʿaḥabbun-nāsīʿilayya 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 Ḥishām, 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 (ʿAlfiyya, 331) that ḥāshā must not be accompanied by mā. His commentator ʿUshmūnī (ii, 127) prohibits a phrase like qāma l-gaumu mā ḥāshā Zaidan ‘the people rose except Zaid’: but that is just the phrase which Ibn Mālik addsuces in the Mughnī quotation to prove his point, adding that it is sometimes used (qad yuqālu). Ibn Ḥishām and ʿUshmūnī cite as further evidence a line by the Taghibi ʿAkhṭal (p. 164, line 10): raʾaitu n-nāsa mā ḥāshā Quraishan/fa-ʾinnā nahnu ʿafdaluhum faʿālan ‘I have seen the people, except for Quraish, and we are the most excellent among them in
deeds’. It seems to me that 'Akhtal 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 'adā, 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 Sibawaihi, and given rather hesitantly by Zamakhshari (Mufaṣṣal, p. 31) on the authority of Mubarrad. ḤUshmūnī (cf. last par.) cites an imposing array of scholars who admit the accusative after ḥāshā. The available shawāhid point to the East: Ḥakhtal (cf. above) and the ḤAsadi Jumaiḥ (Mufaḍḍalīyyāt, cix, 4).

**cc** Besides the ordinary compound sentence (jumla dhāt wajhaim), 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. Zamakhshari (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 na'būdu ‘Thee we worship’ (Koran, i, 5). The minor clause may be introduced by fa-, as Allāha fa-'bud ‘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-yatatima fa-lā taqhar ‘do not wrong the orphan’, etc. (xciii, 9-10); and xli, 16/17 where Ibn 'Abbāṣ, 'A'mash, and Ibn 'Abī 'Iṣḥāq read 'ammā Thamūdan fa-hadaināhum ‘Thamūd we guided aright’. This is especially common in commands and imprecations (Sibawaihi, 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. Sibawaihi (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 'ilmān fa-'ālimun 'as to knowledge, he is knowledgeable’ or 'ammā 'ilmān fa-lā 'ilmun 'indahu ‘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 (Hamasa, p. 25, line 21): 'ammā qatlan fa-lastu qātilan 'as for killing, I am not a killer'.

ee In the case of 'ammā l-'ilmu fa-żālimun '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 Makhzumi, i.e., Hijazi (cf. Schawahid-Indices, p. 24, a, 1): 'ammā l-qitāla fa-lā qitāla ladaikum 'as for fighting, you have no fight in you'.

ff When the extraposed noun was concrete, as in 'ammā 'abidun fa-dhū 'abīdin, or 'ammā l-'abīdu fa-dhū 'abīdin, both meaning 'as for slaves, he is a possessor of slaves', all dialects had the nominative. Sibawaihi claims to have heard from 'the Arabs' the phrase: 'ammā bnu Muzaniyyatīn fa-żanā 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-Khatīm, p. xiv, n. 1) we may take this as a sentence spoken by a Hijazi. Yūnus (quoted Sib., p. 164) knew of some Arabs who employed the accusative in this construction.

gg The next class is described by Sibawaihi asṣifāt 'adjectives', but the term seems to be taken in a rather wide sense. The model is 'ammā 'aliman fa-żālimun 'as for being knowledgeable, he is knowledgeable'. Here all dialects have accusative. Sibawaihi cites one example with a substantive: 'ammā ṣadiqan muṣafīyan fa-laisa bi ṣadiqin muṣafīn 'as for being a sincere friend, he is not a sincere friend'. The same applies—in spite of the participial pattern of jābin—to: 'ammā jābiyan fa-lā 'as for being a tax-gettherer, no' (Baladhuri, Futuḥ, p. 303). The adjectival character is stronger in: 'ammā ṣādiran fa-wasīquhu jamīlun 'as for one who returns from battle, his booty is fine' (the Taghlibi Qūṭāmi, vii, 5). One could, however, take the accusative as circumstantial: 'as for when he returns ...'.

hh Sibawaihi analyses the accusatives variously as ḥal 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 'ammā 'ilman fa-żālimun is huwa 'aliman 'ilman. Sibawaihi uses this criterion himself when he rejects 'ammā 'abidan fa-dhū 'abīdin on the ground that one cannot say huwa r-rajulu 'abīdan. Later philologists abandoned the elaborate classification of Sibawaihi. Zamakhshari in the Mufaṣṣal does not touch upon the matter. Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 43a) only says that the accusative in 'ammā 'ilman fa-żālimun is Hijaz dialect, but the Hijazis also employed the nominative. 'Ushmūnī (iv, 34) does not mention dialect differences and treats 'ammā l-'abida fa-dhū 'abidin (the construction which Sibawaihi bans) and 'ammā Quraishan fa-żanā 'afdaluhum 'as for Quraish, I am their most excellent one' as cases of samā' (usage not covered by grammatical theory).
In his comment he practically rejects Sibawaihi’s explanation of these constructions.

ii The word ‘asū ‘perhaps’ has in Classical Arabic two constructions, one without inflection (‘alā t-tajrid): ar-rajabānī ‘asū ‘an yaf’alā, and one in which it agrees in gender and number with the subject: ar-rajabānī ‘asayā ‘an yaf’alā. Sibawaihi (i, 426) assigns them to different dialects, which he does not specify. Baidāwī (ii, 263) says the inflected form is Hijaz dialect, the uninflected one Tāmīm dialect; Suyūṭī (Bahja, p. 33) maintains the opposite. In the Koran uninflected ‘asū occurs with plural or dual subject in ii, 213/216 and xlīx, 11; in the latter passage the Hudhali Ibn Masʿūd and the Medinean ‘Ubayy read ‘asau, ‘asaina (Jeffery, Materials, p. 93, 304). In both passages ‘asū occurs twice, in disjunctive co-ordination. This may have contributed to the choice of the uninflected form. Inflected ‘asū also occurs twice: hal ‘asaitum . . . ‘an tufsidū ‘will ye perchance . . . cause mischief’ (xlīvi, 24/22) and hal ‘asaitum . . . ‘allā tuqāṭilū ‘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. Naḥī reads in xlīvi, 24/22 ‘asītum for ‘asaitum. This is identical in sound with ‘asiya, a dialect form of ‘asā, yaʿsū ‘to be or become big, strong’ (Līsān, xix, 283). The connecting link is ‘to be able’ (for the transition of meaning cf. Eth. kehla, Bibl. Aram. khl ‘be able’, Arabic kahala ‘bemature’).30

Astarābādī (Kāfiya comm., ii, 303) quotes two cases where ‘asū is followed not by ‘an but by a noun: ‘asaitu šāʾimān, literally ‘I have strength to fast’ and the proverb ‘asū l-ghuwairu ‘abʿusan ‘a small cave may bring great evils’ (cf. Līsān, vi, 344).31 The uninflected ‘asū is an exact parallel to the Mishnaic Hebrew yākhōl ‘perhaps’ = yākhōl ‘he is able’, e.g., yākhōl tāqēphāh ūlāw 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 supersed the older personal construction. Whether this centre of radiation was Hijaz, we cannot say.

kk Līḥyānī (Tāj, i, 626), quoting Kīsāʾi and Ašmaʿi, 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 Ṭibrī (quoted ibid.) adds that it is frequent in the works of Shāfiʿi. 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 Masʿud possibly read apocopate, cf. Jeffery Materials, p. 27), hadīth, sīra, a prose utterance of a Hudhail poet (Ḥamāsa, p. 40, line 22). Instances from poetry come also from the East: Aʿshā of Bāhila (iv, 30-1);
the Bakri Ṭarafa (iv, 54). Sibawaihi (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.

Il According to Sibawaihi (i, 401) one could also use the apocopate in
asyndetic object clauses after verbs of command. He quotes as proof: qul ...  
yuqīmā ṣ-ṣalāta ‘tell ... that they should hold prayers’ (Koran, xiv, 36/ 
31). We may add qul ... yaghfirū ‘tell ... they should forgive’ (xlv, 13/ 
14); kalūmī rasūla lāḥī yuqallīm ... ‘speak to the Prophet he should speak 
...’ (Bukhārī, Hiba, 8); wa-d’u ‘ibāda lāḥī ya’tū madadan ‘call on the ser-
vants of God they should come to help’ (a Khuzā’ī in Ibn Hishām, Sira, 
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. Verhālt., p. 62)
oberves ‘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 ‘amrin, cf. Reckendorf,
Syntax, p. 492), without assuming any elision (as does Wright, ii, 38A).
They are parallel to phrases like ʿamarahu fa-ja’ala ‘he told him to do it’,
lit. ‘he told him and he did it’; ʿamara requires an object as much as qāla.
There is nothing specifically Hijazi in these constructions, though all the
eamples 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.
Farrā’ (cf. Orientalia, xv, 182) adduces as examples of this: ʿinnā zayannā 
s-samāʿa ... lā yakassamaʿūna ‘we adorned the sky ... so that they should not
listen’ (Koran, xxxvii, 6–8), and kadhālika salaknāhu ... lā yuʿminūna 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 ʿan lā, and that the
Hijazis only used in such cases the indicative while others used the apocopate.

nn Zamakhshari (Mufaṣṣal, p. 147) says that some Arabs used the indica-
tive even after ʿan. The Meccans Mujāhid or Ibn Muḥaisin read so in ii,
233: ʿarāda ʿan yutimmu r-ḥaḍāʾata ʿhe wants the suckling to be completed’,
where the others read yutimma. Another example is a line by the Thaqafi
ʿAbū Miḥjan: ʿakhāfu ... ʿan lā ʿadhūqha (in rhyme) ‘I fear ... I shall not
taste it’ (Ṭabarī, Annales, i, 2316). Perhaps we ought not to take indicative
after ʿan 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 tanāqād al-qirā'atāin, conflation of two
readings: 'arāda yutimmu and 'arāda 'an yutimma. In an anonymous line
(Khizānā, iii, 559): 'an tagra'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 Suyūtī, Jam', ii, 3) states that 'the fuṣahā' among the Arabs use
the subjunctive after 'an, below (dūna) them are some who use the indica-
tive, 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 Ṭabba. It seems to have been more widespread in East-Central
Arabia. One case of it is in a line by Imrulqais (iv, 40), another in a line by
the 'Udhri Jamīl (Shinqīṭi, ii, 3). Liḥyānī (in Suyūtī, 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 Shinqīṭi (ii, 4) Liḥyānī is quoted as
saying that some Arabs yuẓīmūna n-nawāsiba wa-yuṇṣībūna l-jawāzīm 'use
the subjunctive where others use the apocopate and vice versa'. It must be
pointed out that in the two shawāhīd the apocopate is not dependent on
verbs of command, so that the construction there is not to be identified with
that discussed in § 11 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'. The examples collected in various
grammars are exclusively Western: Koran (xix, 26 & fr.), 'Aswād b. Ya'fur
of Naḥshal (Mufadḍalīyyāt, p. 451); the Ṭa'ī Jābir b. Rālān (Ḥamāsā, p. 300,
line 1); Ḥassān b. Thābit (xiii, 14); the Western Qaisīs 'Antara (ii, 22) and
Labīd (xlvi, 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. 172a). 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-wāsıl 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 Tamīm used the nominative after mudh (Liḥyānī adds
Case after mundhu, etc. (13 qq)

Map No. 17
Dabba, Ribāb, 'Abīd, and Sulaim) while the Muzaina, Ghaṭafān, 'Amir' 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'a'itu hu mundhu (=min-dhū) yaumānī 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'ātī 'since Friday' the original function is obscured and the way prepared towards equating mundhu with min and construing it with the genitive. 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 dhi (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 gg) mundh(u) became mudhūdh(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'a'itu Zaidan 'I saw Zaid', a Hijazi might inquire man Zaidan 'Zaid who?', while other Arabs would presumably have said man Zaidun (Sibawaihi, i, 356). This is an interesting observation of colloquial usage which it will hardly be possible to check from our literary sources. Sibawaihi asserts that only proper names could be so treated, but 'Astarābadī (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 'akḥā Zaidin 'Zaid's brother who?'

ss Rāfiʿī (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.
15 As quoted by Ḥarābī (Kāfiya comm., i, 267) and Khūţān (ii, 130; in some editions the words wa-ba’du n-nasī yanṣībûna mithlakhum, or the like, have fallen out.
16 Baghaddā (Khūţān, ii, 130) denies that Farazdaq could have committed a solecism because ‘a bedouin cannot make his tongue pronounce a wrong form’.
17 Only the Ḍabba dialect made laisâ into a normal verb by conjugating lustu or listu (Ṭāj, iv, 244).
18 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’ lml, 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. Garain, 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).
19 In ‘Ain (Maqṣāṣid, ii, 145) this has become a controversy between Basrians and Kufans.
20 In the Manhaj, p. 65–6, the verse is mentioned, but the explanation quoted is not given.
21 There are instances of lâ . . . bī– (though there are none of ‘in . . . bī–): twice in co-ordination in a line by Isma’il b. Yasa‘ar an-Nasirī, a contemporary of ‘Abdalmalik (‘Aghānī, iv, 118, line 6), and without co-ordination in a line by Ḥūţai’ā (lxviii, 5 = ZDMG, xlvii, 77).
22 In the notes appended to the Diwān the line is not given as Ḥātim’s, but as made by a man of the Banû Nabīt of Medina—which makes the remark even more pointless.
23 It has thus the same function as Mishnaic Hebrew and Syriac ‘ellā ‘but’, German sondern.
24 The verse lâ ya’lamu man fī s-samāwātī wal-‘arḍī l-ghaiba ‘illā llâhu ‘no one in heaven and earth knows the Hidden except God’ (xxvii, 66/65) is taken by Ibn Mālik (quoted Khūţān, ii, 134) as an example of the Tamimi usage in the mouth of a Hijazi. But surely the reasons for taking it as īstithnā ‘munqaṭi‘ are purely theological.
26 The only case with īstithnā ‘mufrarragh 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.
27 I will be forgiven for using the term extrapolation (originated by Jespersen) rather than casus pendens, nominative absolute, etc., which suggest quite wrong conceptions.
28 There was no doubt some subtle difference of meaning which we cannot appreciate.
29 We may compare Hebrew hā‘il, 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.
30 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 ‘asā is not connected with Hebrew ‘asāh (which perhaps at first also meant ‘to have strength to’).
31 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), Sibawaihi, and Tabrizī (Ḥamāsa, p. 438). Cf. De Goeje’s note on Wright.
32 Baiḍāwī gives a rather artificial explanation in order to avoid admitting the construction.
33 Quoted with ya’tinā by the grammars (cf. Shinqiti, ii, 3) and Yaqūt (i, 160); in the Diwan corrected into ya’tiyya.
34 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 min- and imm-. Perhaps immā and (h)in were originally disparate, and only contaminated in course of time.

35 The next stage would be to replace mundhu by min. This happened in a line by the Westerner Zuhaïr (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).

36 In Ugaritic the word for who is written my. As y must be a consonant, this points to its having been inflected: miyū, miyē, miyd. Gordon’s reconstruction miyd (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-'audiyatū ‘the Wadis’, then it shows a sound change typical for the Tayyi dialect (cf. § 1 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. 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 Tayyi'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; in the latter country, near Şa'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 Alfarābī,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 Ṭāʾī 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 Ṭāʾiyya (§ 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 qutʿa. This is said in Lisān (x, 159) to denote a propensity for violent shortenings of words in the vocative, such as yāʾabā l-ḥaka for yāʾabā l-ḥakāmī. 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-manāṣīlu in a line of al-Akhtāl’s and al-ḥamā for al-ḥamāmu in one by al-ʿAjjāj. Moreover, the statement in the Lisān adds that al-qutʿa is something like the ‘anʿana of the Tamīm dialect. The latter term is mostly applied by the grammarians to a tendency of making ḥālif sound like ‘ain, 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 § 2 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. One difficulty is to understand how the quʿtas tallies with the preservation of the feminine -t (§ 9 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 Ḍasad, 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 well with the generally West-Arabian character of the Tayyi dialect.

h The lesser phonetic unity of the word in the Tayyi dialect is also proved by the statement of a Ṭāʾi, said to have been Ḥātim (Ḥātim, No. iii): lā bʿarsū wa-lā bʿatamadadu. This is explained in the commentary as 'I do not say saqar for saqar and xirāt for xirāt, and I do not pretend to be of Maʿadd'. 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 (Zamakhshari, 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 xaqf, xaqīfe ‘lintel’ is xaqīfe, and even the šād of the bedouin loanword gamas (g=q) becomes z in gamaz ‘to gallop’. In contact with q, on the other hand, z becomes s, as in sqōq < xuqdāq ‘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 eš-Šalt, where in the neighbourhood of emphatics the difference between s, z, and š is suspended: xirāt, sirāt, or sirāt ‘way’; zaqar, saqar, or šaqqar ‘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 consonants covering all places of articulation). In the dialect of the Banū l-ʿAnbar b. Tamīm this had given rise to forms such as šūq for šūq ‘market’, šawīq for sawīq ‘gruel’ (Ibn Sikkīt, Qalb, p. 42; Jamhara, iii, 44). The last form is also recorded for the Banū ʿAmr 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 sirāt for sirāt < Latin strata. Khalīl (quoted by Qaṣṭallānī, iv, 3) states that in correct Arabic every šād preceding a qāf in the same word could alternate with šīn. In the Kalb dialect another factor came into play: that šād was a voiced sound. The existence of voiced šād in some dialects is attested by Ibn Khālawī (quoted Rāfīʾ, Tārīkh, i, 109). An s which became emphatic in this dialect would thus at the same time have had to become voiced. There o
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 gaf more than with other emphatics? Finally, if the sad 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 s? 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 > a, no doubt mainly for the reason that Tayyi poets used such forms, and that they could not be tacitly corrected because of the metre. Sibawaihi (ii, 317) mentions rud rudiya ‘was well received’ and nuna for nushiya ‘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., rud in a line by Zaid al-Khail, secured by the rhyme (Jamhara, ii, 143); wal for waliya ‘was near’ (Mufaddaliyyat, p. 767); baqa for baqiya ‘remained’ in a line by Zaid al-Khail (JRAS, 1907, p. 859); ra' for rada ‘was pleased’ (Hamasa comm., p. 77).10 The a was shortened in the feminine, as in bunat ‘was built’ in a line by an anonymous Ta'i (Hamasa, p. 77); baqat ‘remained’ (Sahih, ii, 448). The same change took place in the feminine of participles, and participial forms, e.g., khazatun for khaziyatun fem. of khazin ‘compact’ (Lisan, xviii, 254); nasatun for nasiyatun ‘forelock’, cf. Mishnaic Hebrew nosa‘ah ‘hair, down’11 (‘Abu ‘Ubaid, Gharib al-mu‘annaf, quoted Suyuti, Muzhir, i, 141; Ibn Sida in Lisan, xx, 200 with shahid by Hurailth b. ‘Annab); badatun ‘desert-dwellers’ and garatun ‘village-dwellers’ (Lisan, xx, 38, 200); jaratun for jarayatun ‘girl’ (Farras in Lisan, xx, 268). Of non-participial nominal forms I know only of the one, tausatun for tausiyyatun ‘testament’, verbal noun of the second conjugation (Farras, ibid.). To this we may add the audatu 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 Sallam (Tabaqat, p. 12): baga and fana… 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 ukhla ‘was reserved’ (ed. Schwarz, vii, 1),12 and Zuhair uses fana ‘passed away’ (Ibn Sallam, Tabaqat, 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’ (Sibawaihi, ii, 317, not in his Diwan), and fanā ‘passed away’ (JRAS, 1907, p. 859). The Kindi 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. 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). The sound change was common to northern West-Arabian and Canaanite, where we find in Hebrew bōnāh < *bāniyat 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, lagiti (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 > ŏ 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). 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 ŏ (cf. § 10 s), i.e., certainly after West-Arabian and Canaanite
Map No. 18
-a for -iya (§14k)
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.

1 The change *iya* → *ā* seems not to have been the only one affecting *y* between vowels. According to Ibn Mālik (Tashīl, f. 77a) the *yā* of the imperfect suffix, if preceded by *a*, was dropped before the *nūn* energeticum. This means apparently that *tardayinna*, the energeticus of *tardaina* ‘thou (f.) desirest’, became *tardanāna*. In fact the only instance of such a change that I know is *la-tughinna* for *la-tughniyanna* ‘thou art sufficient’ in a line by Ḥuraith b. ʿAnnāb (Shinqūti, ii, 45). There we would have a case of *iya* → *i* with shortening in closed syllable. However, if the suggestion put forward in § dd below, according to which *i* in the imperfect of tertīae *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 Farrāʾ (in Tāj, ii, 2) the dialects of Tayyiʾ and part of ʿAsad turn *y* into *j* in the neighbourhood of ʿain. Others (also Lisān, iii, 144) ascribe this sound-change only to the Qudaʾa. The stock example is *ḥadhā rāʾiṣa kharaja maʾi* for *ḥadhā rāʾiyya kharaja maʾi* ‘this herdsman of mine went out with me’. It will be noticed that in *rāʾiṣa* it is a geminated intervocalic consonantal *y* which becomes *jj*, in *maʾi* there is no *y* at all (except in Arabic writing), but a long *i* becomes somehow *ij* under the influence of ʿain. This feature is nearly everywhere confused with a well-attested sound-change of the Tamīm dialect: *iyy-* → *ijj-* , as in *iṣṣal* for *iṣṣal* ‘mountain goat’, Fuqaimijjun for Fuqaimiyyun ‘member of the Fuqaim clan of Ḥanzala’ (Sibawaihi, ii, 314, 342; Şahāh, i, 141, etc. and § 8 e). This hardening of *yy* 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 Qudaʾa 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 Tamīm speech made upon critical neighbours, and the philologists guessed that it meant the change of ʿan to ʿan, so ʿajʿaja must have been a general term. Since ʿajja means ‘to shout’, it most likely denotes some peculiarity of Qudaʾa intonation. Farrāʾ is the only one to apply the term to Tayyiʾ. 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 Farrāʾs statement as evidence that the change of *iyy-* to *ijj-* occurred in Tayyiʾ.17
Possible extension of the change ʾyy- > ʾjj- (§14m)

Map No. 19
n The Tayyi' said hauthu instead of haithu 'where' (Liḥyānī in Lisān, ii, 444; Ibn Hīšām, Mughnī, i, 116; in some sources the form is declared to be Tamimī) and 'aunq for 'ainq 'she-camels' (Ṣafādī, 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 yāʾ had coincided in this dialect as they did in Hebrew, nor that ai and au were confused. The form hauthu, as well as other irregularities with w and y, occur in the Hijaz dialect (cf. § 11 i). On ḥublāu for ḥublā 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 majāha for bajuha 'to rejoice' (Bräu in Enc. Islam, iv, 62448). 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 -lqwna. 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 Ṣanʿa (Rossi, Sanʿa, p. 8).

p The Arab philologists say that the Tayyi' turned ss and šš into st, št, because the Tayyi' said ṭast for ṭass 'cup' (Farrāʾ in Ṣaḥāḥ, i, 124) and last for lassṭ '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 ʿaʾin becoming ʿalif. Farrāʾ (quoted by Ibn Sīkkit, Qalb, p. 24) gives this as a general rule for the dialect and quotes as instances daʾni 'permit me' and taʾalahu 'He is exalted'. Azharī (in Tāj, x, 12) knows nothing of the existence of this change in the Tayyi' dialect, and ascribes ʿaʾda 'he assisted' and similar forms to the Hijaz dialect. However, the shāhid he quotes, containing the form yuʾdīhim 'he helps them' is by the Tāʾī poet Tīrimmāḥ (xlviii, 8). We have found de-pharyngalization of ʿaʾin 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 ʿaʾin was pronounced as a glottal stop or simply disappeared depends of course on the fate of original hamza in this
dialect. On this 'Azharî (Taşrhî, 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 wākhā for ʾākhā ‘to fraternize’ (Nashwān, Extracts, p. 114) which presupposes the elision of intervocalic hamza (cf. § 11 ff). On the other there is in suʾdād for sūdād ‘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 Qudaʾa dialect of Kalb, where one said daʾabbā for dābbā ‘beast of burden’ and shaʾabbā for shābbā ‘young woman’ (ʿAbū Zaid in Lisān, i, 14; Ibn Yaʾish, 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 ʾalīf does not apply in sūdād. We may compare this to a phenomenon found by Rhodokanakis in the Zafār colloquial (Dhofar, ii, 89). There a word like shājdā may facultatively be pronounced shaʾagāḏ. 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 Tayyi’ suʾdād it would make it necessary to assume that the word was stressed sūʾdādū, not as in Classical Arabic, sūdādu. There is, however, quite a number of data suggesting the insertion of unorganic hamsa 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). 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 ʿaḥabbū l-muʾqidānī (cf. § 7 f) ‘ilaiha muʾṣā ‘the one of the two kindlers of fire (mūqidānī) dearer to Thee is Mūsā’. In Koran, liii, 51/50 Nāfī and ʿAbū ʿAmr are said to have read ʿādānī luʾlā instead of ʿādānī Pʾūlā ‘the first Āḍ’ (Baiḍāwī). Baiḍāwī (ii, 187) dealing with suʾq for sāq ‘legs’ says that the hamza is ‘because of the damam that precedes it’, i.e., that the tendency for replacing long vowels by short vowel plus glottal stop was more pronounced with ā. 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 Rāfīʿī, Tārīkh, i, 138) claims that hamza sometimes became h in the Tayyi’ dialect. As instances he quotes hin for ʾin ‘if’ and laḥinnaka for laʾinnaka ‘verily thou art’. The former is also given by other authorities, but not attributed to the Tayyi’ dialect (Quṭrub in Lisān,
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xvi, 178; Zamakhshari, Mufassal, p. 175), the second is mentioned by Sibawaihi (quoted Lisan, 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 ḫ 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 ṣalif and ḫ are distributed over the various languages. It is however interesting to see the Tayyi’ dialect agree with North-Semitic in this respect.

The suffix pronoun of the third feminine singular is in pause -ah, in context -ḥā (Jamhara, i, 234). The shāhid is by ʾĀmir b. Juwain: fa-lam ʿara mithlahā khubāthata wājīdin\(^{21}\)/wsa-naḥnahtu nafṣī baʿda mā ḵidtu ʿafʿālah ‘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 (tawīl). 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 -ḥā, the Shammar and other camel-bedouins have -ah, while one section of the Khawālid, that living in Transjordan, has -ah after consonant, -ḥā after vowel (Cantienne, 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, ʾlrb klh ‘all Arabs’ apparently also represents al-ʿaraba kullah.

The feminine of the demonstrative was in the Tayyi’ dialect tā, not the Eastern Arabic ḥādhīhi (cf. § 12 f). Although tā was also used in other parts of Arabia, it is expressly stated to be the Tayyi’ dialect form by ʿAbū ʿUbaid (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.

The relative pronoun of the dialect was dhū. The earliest mention of it is by Farrā’ (in Lisan, xx, 348) and by the slightly younger Sijistānī (quoted Rāfīʿī, Tārikh, i, 140). While Sijistānī, Ibn Mālik (Tashil, f. 11 b), and most others (cf. ʿAstarābdī, Kāfya 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 Ruʿba, App. lx, 1) with dhawātu for the feminine plural (Lisan, xx, 348). He suggests that various parts of Tayyi’ 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
The archaic form of the relative pronoun (§14w)
was confused with seh 'this' (cf. Barth, Pronominalbildung, p. 153). In the inscription of an-Namâra, dhû is employed as relative: dw 'sr 'ltg =dhû 'asara 'al-tâja 'who tied on the crown'. In the Hejr inscription of A.D. 267 d̄ appears to be used as relative pronoun in the phrase: mn y'yr d̄ 'ly mn̄ = man yughayyir dhû (?) 'aliya minhu 'whoever destroys that of it which is above ground (or: written above it, cf. Lidzbarski, ZAss., xxii, 195). This d̄ is written just like the demonstrative d̄ in line 8; if we are right in our rendering, then the same confusion has happened here as in Hebrew.

w The use of dhû 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 xû 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 d̄hî, which is probably of a secondary character (cf. § 4 aa), especially as there is some evidence of the former existence of dhû in Oman. In Central and Eastern Arabic we have alladhî, which presupposes the existence of simple d̄hî at some point (cf. also § 12 f). In this way Eastern Arabic links up with Aramaic, where xû < d̄hî 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 (Nashwân, Extracts, p. 39; Zamakhshari, Mufassal, p. 169, 174, etc.). A verse by Bujair b. 'Atama (or 'Athma) of Baulân, which is quoted in Lisân, xx, 347 as shâhid for dhû, contains the forms am-sahmu and am-salama. For full discussion cf. § 4 x.

y According to Şaghânî (in Tâj, vi, 65) the t of the feminine ending was in this dialect preserved in pause. The parallel passages in Şâhî (ii, 15) and Lisân (x, 383) mention the preservation of t as a lugha, but do not connect it with Tayyi'. The shâhid, 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 ʿAbû n-Najm al-'Ijî (Lisân, xx, 361)—at any rate not a Ṭâʾ—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, Sabatha, Maiphath, Odenathus (Vollers, Volkssprache, p. 158), Borechatth = Buraika (Waddington, No. 2396) and in Nabataean spellings (cf. Cantineau, Nabâtéen, 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 outing of Tayyi\(^2\) in this region by the Quda\(\text{‘}a\), 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 (Qutrub in Zamakhshari, Mufa\(\text{š}\)sal, 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, Farlers, p. 20). The purely phonetic character of the change is revealed by the position in the colloquial of the N\(\text{‘}em\) in eastern Syria, where the \(t\) is weak, but audible, and with the Shammar, the alleged descendants of the Tayyi\(^2\), where the \(ā\) is followed by a weak \(y\), e.g., \(\text{‘}gharā\(\text{‘}\) \(\text{‘}baqarāt\), just as in the feminine singular perfect \(k[t]bā\(\text{‘}\) \(\text{‘}katabat\) (Cantineau, p. 133). It is in those colloquials part of the general weakening of certain final consonants, which we have (§ 7 above) also suspected to have been observed in the ancient Tayyi\(^2\) 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\(^2\) 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\(^2\) 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 Marzūqi (quoted Tāj, vii, 313) that the form ‘\(\text{‘}ikhālu\) ‘methinks’ originated in the dialect of Tayyi\(^2\). This form, which was used all over Arabia, probably has nothing to do with the \(i\)-prefixes or \(tə\(l\)tala\) (cf. further § 8 \(bb\)).

\(bb\) The conjugation of intransitive verbs \(mēdē\(x\) \(w\) is of an archaic pattern, as in Hijaz (cf. 12 \(s\)). The Tayyi\(^2\) said \(mitti\) for \(muttu\) ‘I died’ (Jamhara, ii, 29) and \(mā\ \(d\)imtu for \(mā\ \(d\)untu ‘as long as I last’ (ibid., iii, 485). The form \(mitti\) occurs in the Tā\(\text{‘}\)i poet Tirimāmāh (i, 16). While the Hijaz dialect, as far as we know, had to these the imperfets \(yamūtu\), \(yadūmu\), the Tayyi\(^2\) also had the corresponding imperfects \(yamūtu\), \(yadūmu\) (cf. Jamhara, iii, 485). In the case of \(yamūtu\), Brockelmann (GVG, i, 608) believes that the \(ā\) was restored by analogy, as the verb has \(ā\) in all other Semitic dialects, but it may just as well be that the more archaic dialects of West-Arabian had preserved the form \(yamūtu\). It is used in several modern colloquials (e.g., Syria, cf. Driver, Grammar, p. 91). Ibn Ya\(\text{‘}\)ish (p. 1257) states that the \(a\)-imperfect of \(mēdē\(x\) \(w\ was pronounced with ‘\(i\)māla. Though he mentions no dialect in this connection, this could hardly be the ordinary combinatorial ‘\(i\)māla 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 *sīdītu : yasīdu* should have produced *mittu : *yamītu*. The *yamētu* described by Ibn Ya‘ish 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 § 1 above transformed the paradigm of the perfect of intransitive verbs tertiae infirmæ, which ran in this dialect *bāqītu, 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 *laqiyyat*. This occurs in a line of an unnamed Ṭā’i (Lisān, iv, 184): *lam talqā khailun qablaha ma laqayat/min ghbbie 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 *laqiyyat*, this is Tayyi’ dialect’. The verb-form must have been preserved here by tradition, as nothing would prevent reading *laqiyyat*. It is curiously similar to the Hebrew hapax legomenon *ḥāsāyāh* (Ps. Ivii, 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, qalā* ‘to dislike’ had in the Tayyi’ dialect the imperfect *yaqlā, yaqālā* (Lisān, xx, 59; Suyūṭī, Sh. Shaw. Mughnī, p. 83). The *shāhid* for *yaqlā* in the Lisān is anonymous; the verse with *yaqlī* is by *‘Abū Muḥammad al-Faq‘āsi*, 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 *kasrā* in the imperfect of verbs tertiae *yā* in which the second radical was not a guttural’. I cannot see any other meaning to this than that, where others said *banā : yabnī*, the Tayyi’ said *banā : yabnā*, or rather in accordance with Western usage (§ 10 ff) *banāi : yabnāi*. 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, —*yibneath, yirshēh*, may go back to *yibnāi, yirḍāi* as much as to *yibnī, yirdi* (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‘ēthāyū* ‘they will come’, *ye‘ēthāyēnī* ‘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 *i* occurs in compounds (as *Ya*ʾāšʾīʾel, *Yaḥṣāʾel, Yirʾiyyāh*), but *ā* or *ai* in names not followed by a theophoric element: *Yaḥdai, Yaʿānai, Yīmmāh, Yīshwāh, Yeʿdai*, etc. The only exception to this is *Yishwāi*, which however appears in the Septuagint as *Iēssai*. The Arabic cognates of the roots contained in these names have mostly *i*-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 tertīa *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 Tayyiʿ equivalent of words of the type ḥublī: some said ḥublai, others ḥublau, both without making a difference between pausal and context form (Sibawaihi, ii, 314); those of Tayyiʿ who sounded the hamza pronounced ḥubla  in pause (ʿAzhari, 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 ʾinā, 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 Tayyiʿ area may have retained the nominative as sole form, others the genitive, or Sibawaihi’s informant, having heard such words sometimes in the one case and sometimes in the other, came to the conclusion that different Ṭāʾi 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 Tayyiʿ dialect formed the maṣdar mīmī of verbs primāw 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 (Tashil, 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 Tayyiʿ. According to Ibn Mālik, then, the Tayyiʿ said mauḏaʿ for mauḏiʿ ‘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 Tayyiʿ and Kalb said mini before ʾalif al-wāṣl instead of mina (Liḥyānī in Līsān, 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 (Khafāji, 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 Ṣuhārī garments were made. It may be the šhr mentioned in the South-Arabian inscription CIH. 407, line 19, of the time of Shammar Yuḥar’ish.

3 In Al-ʿalafz wak-ḥuruf, quoted Suyūṭi, 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: Tā‘i Suddas as against Yemenite Sāduz (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 (Horan, p. 86) makes a distinction between these mufakhkham sounds and true emphatics.

7 The sound of ḫ was, of course, in ancient Arabic that of an emphatic dh, as is still demanded in tajwid, not the ḥ 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—dh—t; s—s—ṣ; th—dh—b; and (probably) sh—l—w (cf. § 4 m). It was therefore of no phonological significance whether the emphatic sound was produced with or without voice. This is why ḫ can be a voiced sound in modern Yemenite colloquial and ẖ 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 ziqqim, xanqa. If sinqu is cognate to Arabic ḫank ‘strangeness’ and Hebrew sinog ‘pillory, prison’, we would have all three alternatives as in Arabic; but perhaps the cognate is Arabic shanaqa ‘to stringle’. It is possible that the prothetic ‘a of ḫziqqim (Jer., xl, 1, 4) points to an effort to reproduce an unfamiliar sound, viz., ḫ.

9 The vowel resulting from this contraction is in our sources spelled sometimes -ā and at others -ā. Since ā was in this dialect probably pronounced ai, as well as for other reasons, it is practically certain that -ā is the correct form and -ā written through analogy with banā 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 saqā appears instead.

11 Cf. Mishnah Hullin, iii, 4 and Bab. Talmud Shabbath, f. 28 b. In Biblical Hebrew the word means ‘pinion-feather’. The root ντθ is of course connected with Hebrew מת, Targumic Aramaic ντθ ‘to sprout’.
12 So Brockelmann (GVG, i, 619) - who writes 'uhlā - against the edition and Līsān (xviii, 261), who have 'akhlā.

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 Hijahi origin. This does not imply that such forms were not used in the dialect.

15 On Hebrew ḥāṣayāh, cf. § 4c below.

16 It is hardly necessary to point out that ⟨⟩ and ⟨⟩ are very close in articulation. Cf. Spanish jo=yo 'I', North-German tyja=ja 'yes', and in the Semitic field rejım for reyım '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 ⟨⟩ into ⟨⟩. Ibn Ya‘ish (p. 1390) quotes from 'Abū Zaid an anonymous line: ḥattā 'idhā 'amsajat wa-'amsajā 'until she and the two of them reached the evening', for 'amsat, 'amsayāt. The consonantal ⟨⟩, which *'amsayat must have had at one time, is not the same as that in Tayyi' laqyat (§ 4c below), but reminds one of South-Arabian.

17 On the sound of jim in Tayyi', cf. the note on § 4 i.

18 The Līsān (iii. 425) gives majjāh ‘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‘uqi), and in xlivii, 29 'alā su‘qihi ‘on its stems’, but apparently nowhere sa‘q for sāq. Baidawi thinks the hamsa in su‘q is because of the ⟨⟩, and was thence transferred to sa‘qaiha. Hebrew shōq shows no 'aleph.

20 Līsān, xv, 315 we are told that the Ḍabbi ‘Ajjaţ said ‘al‘amun for ‘al‘amun ‘world and khātamun 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’. Suyūṭi (Sh. sh. al-Mughni) has ḥubāṣata ‘injustice’. Most texts, including Sibawayhi (i. 129), read khubāṣaṭa waḥīdīn, which leaves the second hemistich in the air.

22 We find ṭā‘īs using dhū for the genitive in verse in Ḥamāṣa, 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 Ḥamāṣa, p. 148, line 20, wa-dhū baiṭuhu bi-samād ‘whose dwelling is in heaven’. We should expect bim-samā or bis-samā. Is this perhaps some kind of Aramaic formula (dē-biṭehē bi-shmāyād). It is certainly odd that such a form should have survived the vicissitudes of copying.

24 According to ‘Ushmūnī (iv, 160) the Tayyi’ also said haḥā for haḥāt ‘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: Ḫammūda, ‘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, §c: In 1946 Šalāhaddīn Munajjed published a ‘Kitāb al-lughāt fil-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 *yanāqāti “suckling ones” (cf. Gen. xxxii, 16) = Arabic *ainuq, cf. Zimmerm., Akkad. Fremdwörter, etc. (1915), p. 50.

p. 87, § z: Naḥḥās (d. 338) ascribes this to “many of Hawāzin and Hudhail” (Abū Ḥayyān, quoted Ḫammūda, p. 28).


p. 125: A story of the time of Ma‘mūn (ca. 200/815), told by Ṭabarī, Ṭārīkh, 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 ‘antā is inherited from the ‘Arab al-‘Āriba, the prehistoric inhabitants of Hijāz (‘Abū Ḥayyān, quoted Ḫammūda, p. 123). Does this perhaps mean the original West-Arabsians?

p. 142, § gg: The form nd‘a is in fact ascribed to the dialects of Hawāzin, Kināna, Hudhail, and many Medineans (‘Abū Shāma, Ḳibrāz al-ma‘ānī, p. 379, quoted by Ḫammūda, p. 28).

p. 158, § r: Perhaps this formation started from the perfect, where *iuταxara > iταxara in accordance with § t, and then the long vowel was extended to the other tenses by analogy.

p. 165, No. 2: The spelling -kāḥ is the rule in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which also contain such interesting archaisms as hū‘āḥ, hī‘āḥ, “he, she”, cf. Ugaritic, South-Arabian, and Spanish Arabic hūwāt, hiyat.

p. 194, § e: The Ṭā‘ī Ḥuraith b. ‘Annāb (Ḥamās, p. 650) accuses the Ṭā‘ī clan Banū Thu‘al of speaking a language unintelligible to other people.

p. 202, line 9: According to Ḫammūda, 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 Ghānī (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 Ḫammūda, p. 125). This is exactly the same change as in Tayyi’ su‘dād.
Index I

DIALECT WORDS AND FORMS

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difference between ā and ā, are ignored. Sh, ś, etc., are separate from the
simple letters.

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