

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Preface and Acknowledgements | xiii |
| Transcription | xv |
| Abbreviations | xviii |
| Sigla | xx |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Previous Scholarship | 1 |
| 1.2 The Uthmanic Text Type and the Quranic Consonantal Text | 8 |
| 1.3 Overview | 12 |
| 2 What Is the <i>Sarabiyyah</i>? | 15 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 15 |
| 2.2 The Linguistic Variation in the <i>Sarabiyyah</i> | 19 |
| 2.2.1 <i>The Third Person Pronominal Suffixes</i> | 20 |
| 2.2.2 <i>The Extra Vowels of Early Classical Arabic</i> | 23 |
| 2.2.2.1 i-umlaut | 24 |
| 2.2.2.2 III-y ?imālah | 25 |
| 2.2.2.3 II-w/y ?imālah | 28 |
| 2.2.2.4 The Fifth Long Vowel ō | 29 |
| 2.2.2.5 The Front Rounded Vowel in Hollow Passives | 30 |
| 2.2.3 <i>Najdi Vowel Harmony</i> | 31 |
| 2.2.4 <i>Najdi Syncope</i> | 32 |
| 2.2.4.1 Syncope in the Verbs | 33 |
| 2.2.4.2 Syncope in Nouns | 34 |
| 2.2.4.3 Pronouns | 34 |
| 2.2.4.4 Li- + Apocopate for Commands | 35 |
| 2.2.4.5 Conclusions on the Syncope | 35 |
| 2.2.5 <i>Barth-Ginsberg Alternation in the Prefix Vowel</i> | 36 |
| 2.2.6 <i>The Deictic Pronominal System</i> | 38 |
| 2.2.7 <i>Two Subsequent Hamzahs within a Single Word</i> | 39 |
| 2.3 Where Is Classical Arabic? | 39 |
| 2.4 Prescriptivism of the Grammarians | 44 |
| 2.5 Conclusion | 45 |

| | |
|--|--|
| 3 Classical Arabic and the Reading Traditions | 47 |
| 3.1 | Introduction 47 |
| 3.2 | Reading or Recitation? 52 |
| 3.3 | Lack of Regular Sound Change 55 |
| 3.3.1 | <i>Harmony of the Pronominal Suffixes</i> 57 |
| 3.3.2 | <i>Najdi Syncope</i> 59 |
| 3.3.2.1 | Syncope in fa-huwa, wa-hiya Etc. 59 |
| 3.3.2.2 | Fa/wa-li-yaffāl > fa/wa-l-yaffāl 59 |
| 3.3.2.3 | CuCuC > CuCC 60 |
| 3.3.2.4 | CuCuCāt Plurals of CuCCah Nouns 62 |
| 3.3.2.5 | Faṣī/ul(ah) Nouns 63 |
| 3.3.2.6 | CaCi/uCa Verbs 64 |
| 3.3.2.7 | Conclusion 65 |
| 3.3.3 | <i>Additional Phonemic Long Vowels</i> 66 |
| 3.3.3.1 | Hollow Root Passives 66 |
| 3.3.3.2 | Hollow Root ?imālah 67 |
| 3.3.3.3 | Phonemic Ī on III-y Nouns and Verbs 68 |
| 3.3.4 | <i>Lexically Determined i-umlaut</i> ?imālah 68 |
| 3.3.5 | <i>Dual Deictics</i> 70 |
| 3.3.6 | <i>Dialectal Difference in Short Vowels</i> 71 |
| 3.3.6.1 | Cu/iCiyy(ah) 71 |
| 3.3.6.2 | CiCwān Nouns 72 |
| 3.3.6.3 | Mit- and Dim- 72 |
| 3.3.7 | <i>Disagreement in Pluralization</i> 73 |
| 3.3.8 | <i>Cu/tyūC Plurals</i> 73 |
| 3.3.9 | <i>The Readings Do Not Reflect Natural Language</i> 74 |
| 3.4 | The Readings Are Not Dialects 76 |
| 3.5 | Readers Usually Agree on the Hijazi Form 79 |
| 3.6 | The Readings Are Intentionally Artificial 81 |
| 3.6.1 | <i>The Dropping of the Hamzah by Warš</i> 83 |
| 3.6.2 | <i>The ?imālah of Word-Final Āri Sequences</i> 83 |
| 3.6.3 | <i>Vowel Harmony of -hum in Ruways ḥan Yaṣqūb's Reading</i> 85 |
| 3.6.4 | <i>Hafs' Anthology of Unusual Features</i> 86 |
| 3.6.4.1 | Ṣilat al-hā? (Q25:69) 86 |
| 3.6.4.2 | III-y ?imālah (Q11:41) 86 |
| 3.6.4.3 | Softening of Second Hamzah of Two Subsequent Hamzahs (Q41:44) 87 |
| 3.6.4.4 | Muttum instead of Mittum (Q3:157, 158) 87 |
| 3.6.4.5 | Unharmonized -hu (Q18:63; Q48:10) 87 |

- 3.6.4.6 III-y/w Apocopates/Imperatives Followed by the 3sg.m. Pronoun 87
- 3.6.4.7 Conclusion 88
- 3.6.5 *Plural Pronouns of Warš* 88
- 3.6.6 *Features Dependent on the Structure of the Text* 90
 - 3.6.6.1 Ḥabū Ṣamr’s Phonemic Contrast of Ā and Ā 90
 - 3.6.6.2 The Verse-Penultimate Conditioning of Qutaybah and Nuṣayr Ṣan al-Kisāṭī 92
- 3.7 The Choices of the Canonical Readers 93
- 3.8 Conclusion 97

- 4 The Quranic Consonantal Text: Morphology 99
 - 4.1 Introduction 99
 - 4.2 The *?alla-* Base Relative Pronoun 101
 - 4.3 The Distal Demonstrative Expansion with -l(i)- in *dālika*, *tilka* and *hunālika* 102
 - 4.4 The Plural Demonstratives (hā-)?ulā?i/(hā-)?ulā; ?ulā?ika/?ulāka 103
 - 4.5 Proximal Deictics with Mandatory *hā-* Prefix 104
 - 4.6 Feminine Proximal Deictic *hādih* 105
 - 4.7 Loss of Barth-Ginsberg Alternation 106
 - 4.8 Uninflected *halumma* 107
 - 4.9 Imperatives and Apocopates of II=III Verbs Have the Shape vCCvC Rather Than (v)CvCC 107
 - 4.10 Mā hiḡāziyyah 108
 - 4.11 The Morphosyntax of *kāla* 110
 - 4.12 The Presentative *hā?um* 110
 - 4.13 The Use of *Zawġ* as ‘Wife’ 111
 - 4.14 Alternations between G- and C-stems 111
 - 4.15 Morphological Isoglosses Not Recognized by the Grammarians 112
 - 4.15.1 *Ta-prefix in Prefix Conjugation of tD- and tL-stems* 112
 - 4.15.2 *N-prefix in the Suffix Conjugation of N-stems* 113
 - 4.15.3 *The Ḥan yaffala Verbal Complement Construction* 113
 - 4.15.4 *Use of the Definite Article al-* 114
 - 4.16 Questionable Morphological Isoglosses 114
 - 4.16.1 *The III-w Passive Participle Is maCCuww Not maCCiy* 115
 - 4.16.2 *The Passive Participle of II-y Is maCīC Rather Than maCyūC* 115
 - 4.16.3 *Gt-stems of I-w Verbs Is ḥitazara instead of ittazara* 116

| | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| 4.16.4 | <i>The Hijazi Dual Is Uninflected, Using the Nominative Form</i> | 116 |
| 4.17 | The Quran Is Morphologically Hijazi | 117 |
| 5 | The Quranic Consonantal Text: Phonology | 119 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 119 |
| 5.2 | The Loss of the *? | 120 |
| 5.3 | Development of the Phoneme <i>ō</i> | 123 |
| 5.4 | Lack of <i>Cyī</i> > <i>Cī</i> | 123 |
| 5.5 | Passive of Hollow Verbs | 124 |
| 5.6 | Retention of <i>ṣirāt</i> | 124 |
| 5.7 | Lack of Syncopation of * <i>u</i> and * <i>i</i> | 125 |
| 5.7.1 | <i>vCCā Rhymes</i> | 127 |
| 5.7.2 | <i>vCā Rhymes</i> | 127 |
| 5.7.3 | <i>vCC Rhymes</i> | 127 |
| 5.7.4 | <i>vC Rhymes</i> | 127 |
| 5.7.5 | <i>Discussion</i> | 127 |
| 5.7.6 | <i>Alternation between CuCuC and CuCC Nouns</i> | 129 |
| 5.8 | Development of the Phoneme <i>Ē</i> | 133 |
| 5.9 | Hollow Root <i>?imālah</i> | 135 |
| 5.10 | Major Assimilation in Gt-stems. | 136 |
| 5.11 | * <i>ra?aya</i> , * <i>na?aya</i> > <i>rā?a</i> , <i>nā?a</i> | 138 |
| 5.12 | Lexical Isoglosses | 139 |
| 5.13 | Phonetic Isoglosses Not Recognized by the Grammarians | 142 |
| 5.13.1 | <i>Stative II=III Are</i> <i>żalla/żaltu</i> or <i>ziltu</i> | 142 |
| 5.13.2 | <i>Pausal Shortening of Final -i</i> | 142 |
| 5.13.3 | <i>Word-Final āy/w</i> > <i>ā?</i> | 143 |
| 5.13.4 | <i>Pharyngealization of the Emphatics</i> | 144 |
| 5.14 | The Quran Is Phonologically Hijazi | 145 |
| 5.15 | Conclusion | 146 |
| 6 | Classicized Hijazi: Imposition of the <i>Hamzah</i> | 150 |
| 6.1 | Introduction | 150 |
| 6.2 | Pseudocorrect <i>Hamzah</i> | 155 |
| 6.3 | <i>Hamzah</i> among the Quranic Readers | 156 |
| 6.4 | Pseudocorrect Presence of <i>Hamzah</i> | 157 |
| 6.4.1 | <i>Dīyā?</i> → <i>dī?ā?</i> | 158 |
| 6.4.2 | <i>Mūṣadah</i> → <i>mu?ṣadah</i> | 158 |
| 6.4.3 | <i>Dī?zā</i> | 159 |
| 6.4.4 | <i>Manōh</i> → <i>manā?ah</i> | 159 |

| | | |
|---------|--|-----|
| 6.4.5 | <i>Sādan l-ʔūlā</i> | 160 |
| 6.4.6 | <i>Durrīyy</i> → <i>du/irrī?</i> | 160 |
| 6.4.7 | <i>Maṣāyiš</i> | 160 |
| 6.4.8 | <i>Māgoğ</i> → <i>Ma?ğūğ (Sāsim)</i> | 164 |
| 6.4.9 | <i>Zakariyyā</i> → <i>Zakariyyā?</i> | 164 |
| 6.4.10 | <i>Sāq, sāqay-hā, sūq</i> → <i>saʔq, saʔqay-hā, suʔq/suʔūq</i> | 165 |
| 6.4.11 | <i>Kās</i> → <i>ka?s</i> | 167 |
| 6.4.12 | <i>Yuḍāhūna</i> → <i>yuḍāhiʔūna</i> | 167 |
| 6.4.13 | <i>Aṣ-ṣābūna</i> → <i>aṣ-ṣābiʔūna</i> | 167 |
| 6.4.14 | <i>Conclusion</i> | 168 |
| 6.5 | Failure to Insert <i>Hamzah</i> | 168 |
| 6.5.1 | <i>Long Vowels Followed by Hamzah</i> | 171 |
| 6.5.1.1 | <i>Nabiʔ, nabiʔīn, ?anbiʔā?, nubūʔah</i> | 171 |
| 6.5.1.2 | <i>Baʔīah/bariyyah</i> | 173 |
| 6.5.1.3 | <i>Nasī?</i> | 173 |
| 6.5.1.4 | <i>Xaṭīlah</i> pl. <i>xatāyā</i> 'sin' | 174 |
| 6.5.2 | <i>Post-consonantal Hamzah</i> | 175 |
| 6.5.3 | <i>Intervocalic Hamzah</i> | 177 |
| 6.5.3.1 | <i>Riʔā?a n-nās</i> → <i>riyā?a n-nās</i> | 177 |
| 6.5.3.2 | <i>Liʔallā</i> → <i>liyallā</i> | 177 |
| 6.5.3.3 | <i>Kufuʔan, huzuʔan</i> → <i>kufuwan, huzuwan</i> | 177 |
| 6.5.3.4 | <i>Bādiya r-raʔyi</i> → <i>bādiʔa r-raʔyi</i> | 177 |
| 6.5.4 | <i>Pre-consonantal Hamzah</i> | 178 |
| 6.5.5 | <i>Interchange between III-w/y and III-?</i> Verbs | 179 |
| 6.5.6 | <i>Sāla</i> for <i>saʔala</i> (<i>Q70:1</i>) | 180 |
| 6.5.7 | <i>Šurakā-ya</i> (<i>Q16:27</i>) for <i>al-Bazzī ſan Ibn Katīr</i> | 181 |
| 6.6 | Conclusion | 181 |
| 7 | Classicalized Hijazi: Final Short Vowels and <i>tanwīn</i> | 182 |
| 7.1 | Lack of Final Short Vowels in the Reading Traditions | 192 |
| 7.1.1 | <i>Saba?</i> | 192 |
| 7.1.2 | <i>As-sayyi?</i> | 193 |
| 7.1.3 | <i>Maḥyā-y</i> | 193 |
| 7.1.4 | <i>Yā-bunay</i> | 194 |
| 7.1.5 | <i>Yartaʕ/nartaʕ</i> | 194 |
| 7.1.6 | <i>Tatran, tatrā, tatrē</i> (<i>Q23:44</i>) | 195 |
| 7.1.7 | <i>Tuḍār</i> | 195 |
| 7.1.8 | <i>The 3sg.m. Suffix -h</i> | 196 |
| 7.1.9 | <i>The Mysterious Letters</i> | 200 |
| 7.2 | Was <i>?abū ſamr</i> 's Reading an <i>?iʃrāb</i> -less Reading? | 200 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 7.2.1 | <i>Al-ʔidgām al-kabīr</i> | 201 |
| 7.2.2 | <i>I-umlaut</i> | 203 |
| 7.2.3 | <i>Rawm and ʔišmām</i> | 204 |
| 7.2.4 | <i>Nunation Blocks Assimilation</i> | 206 |
| 7.2.5 | <i>A Non-literalist Reading of ʔabū Samr’s Traditions</i> | 206 |
| 7.2.6 | <i>Hamzah’s ʔidgām kabīr</i> | 209 |
| 7.3 | A Phonetic Rule That Requires Absence of Full ʔiṣrāb | 209 |
| 7.4 | Conclusion | 211 |
| 8 | From Hijazi Beginnings to Classical Arabic. | 215 |
| 8.1 | The Prophet’s Career | 216 |
| 8.2 | The Uthmanic Recension (ca. 30 AH/650 CE) | 217 |
| 8.3 | The Era of the Readers (ca. 40 AH–250 AH) | 221 |
| 8.4 | Crystallization of Classical Arabic (ca. 250–350 AH) | 227 |
| 8.5 | Conclusion | 230 |
| Appendix A: Notes on Orthography, Phonology and Morphology of the Quranic Consonantal Text 233 | | |
| A.1 | Introduction | 233 |
| A.2 | Orthography | 233 |
| A.2.1 | <i>The spelling of ā</i> | 234 |
| A.2.2 | <i>Questions of double yāʔ, wāw and ʔalif</i> | 235 |
| A.2.3 | <i>ʔalif al-Wiqāyah</i> | 239 |
| A.2.3.1 | <i>ʔalif al-wiqāyah for stem final *u?</i> | 243 |
| A.2.3.2 | Treatment of stem-final *ū? | 243 |
| A.2.3.3 | Treatment of word-final *ā?ū | 244 |
| A.2.3.4 | Word-final *a?ū | 244 |
| A.2.3.5 | Word-final *a?u(n) | 245 |
| A.2.3.6 | Word-final *ā?u | 245 |
| A.2.3.7 | ربا, الربوا | 247 |
| A.2.3.8 | Summary | 248 |
| A.2.4 | <i>Spelling of la- ‘indeed’ as ل</i> | 249 |
| A.2.5 | <i>The prepositions ʕalā, hattā and ladā are often spelled حَتَّاءَ عَلَاءَ لَدَاءَ</i> | 250 |
| A.2.6 | Words starting with /l/ preceded by the definite article. | 251 |
| A.2.7 | <i>Historical hamzah spelling with ا</i> | 251 |
| A.2.8 | <i>The spelling of dāwūd as دَاد and ruʔūs as رُوَاسٌ</i> | 254 |
| A.2.9 | <i>Plene spelling of short u</i> | 255 |
| A.2.10 | <i>Defective spelling of word-final long vowels before ʔalif al-waṣl</i> | 255 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| A.3 | Phonology | 256 |
| A.3.1 | <i>Consonants</i> | 256 |
| A.3.2 | <i>The Loss of the Hamzah</i> | 257 |
| A.3.3 | <i>Vowels</i> | 258 |
| A.3.4 | <i>Loss of final short vowels and tanwīn</i> | 260 |
| A.3.5 | <i>Assimilation across vowels</i> | 261 |
| A.3.6 | <i>Pausal shortening of -ī</i> | 267 |
| A.3.7 | *sayyi?āt as سَيِّات reflecting /sayyāt/ | 267 |
| A.3.8 | <i>A case of n-assimilation?</i> | 268 |
| A.3.9 | <i>The Genitilic Adjective Ending</i> | 268 |
| A.3.10 | ?alif al-waṣl | 269 |
| A.3.11 | <i>An isolated case of word-initial *wu > ?u</i> | 273 |
| A.4 | Morphology | 273 |
| A.4.1 | <i>Independent Pronouns</i> | 273 |
| A.4.2 | <i>Clitic Pronouns</i> | 274 |
| A.4.3 | <i>Verbal endings</i> | 276 |
| A.4.4 | <i>Demonstrative pronouns</i> | 277 |
| A.4.5 | <i>Relative Pronouns</i> | 280 |
| A.4.6 | <i>The relative possessive demonstrative</i> | 280 |
| A.4.7 | <i>Short compound interrogatives with mā</i> | 281 |
| A.4.8 | <i>Noun Inflection</i> | 282 |
| A.4.9 | <i>III-w and III-y nouns with preceding a vowel.</i> | 283 |
| A.4.10 | <i>III-w/y and III-? nouns</i> | 284 |
| A.4.11 | <i>Nouns in *-ā? in construct</i> | 286 |
| A.4.12 | <i>Confusion between subjunctive and apocopate</i> | 288 |
| A.4.13 | <i>Partial merger of III-? verbs and III-y/w verbs</i> | 288 |
| A.4.14 | <i>Pausal imperatives/apocopates of III-y/w verbs Iqtadīh (Q6:90), yatasannah</i> | 290 |
| A.4.15 | <i>Partial merger of the I-? and I-w verbs in derived stems</i> | 291 |
| A.4.16 | /yak/ besides /yakun/ | 292 |
| A.4.17 | *ra?aya 'to see' and *na?aya 'to be distant' as ل and لـ | 292 |
| Appendix B: Orthographic Comparison | | 294 |
| B.1 | samāwāt, nah(i)sāt, rawdāt | 298 |
| B.2 | yī with two yā?s | 298 |
| B.3 | ?alif al-wiqāyah on yaʃfū/yaʃfuwa | 299 |
| B.4 | Lack of ?alif al-wiqāyah on words ending in -waw | 300 |
| B.5 | Spelling of saʃaw and ſataw | 301 |
| B.6 | Luʔlu? | 301 |
| B.7 | ra?aw | 302 |

- B.8 al-malaʔu 303
B.9 nabaʔu(n) 305
B.10 balā? 305
B.11 ?anbā?, ?abnā?, duʃā? 306
B.12 Fuʃalā? plurals 306
B.13 Našā?u 308
B.14 Ğazā?u 308
B.15 Ribā 309
B.16 ?asā?ū 310
B.17 Dāwūd 311
B.18 Ruʔūs 312
B.19 Bi-smi 313
B.20 Ibn ?umma/I, ya-bana ?umma/i 314
B.21 La-ttaxadta 314
B.22 al-munša/i?āt 315
B.23 Genitive construct nouns in ending in -ā?i 315
B.24 ?awliyā? in construct 317
B.25 ?adsiyā?ihim 317
B.26 arjih, nabbi?nā, nabbi?, nabbi?hum, ?anbi?hum 318
B.27 Fa-ğtabā-hu, ʃuqbā-hā 319
B.28 maðā 319
B.29 hātayni 319
- Bibliography 320
Index of Tribes, Groups and Regions 332
Index of Subjects 333
Index of Modern Authors 335
Index of Medieval Muslim Figures and Authors 337
Index of Quranic verses 340