

the descriptive imperative is the character of the narrative situations as a social act involving a close contact between the narrator and the listeners. The hearers are drawn into the midst of the events which are actualized and visualized for them by using e.g. direct addressings, exclamations, imitative words, and animated speech. The listeners are thus called to be eye-witnesses to the events and are led to identify themselves with the subject persons. This being the case, it is most likely that the descriptive imperative was first used asyndetically in an exclamatory manner. When the form was used in several sentences following one another, the idea of suddenness or unexpectedness was weakened, and this development finally resulted in a new, secondary function of the descriptive imperative, which in some dialects was used syndetically in every position. The form became a special kind of narrative consecutive form expressing quick succession, a development hardly possible without a weakening of the original expressive power as a result of frequent use.

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THE VERBS WITH HAMZA AS FIRST OR THIRD RADICAL IN MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS

1.0. The purpose of the present paper is an attempt to present and to clarify the changes which affected the verbs with hamza₁ and hamza₃ in modern Arabic dialects in connection with the disappearance of hamza from their phonetic systems, as well as to show which of these changes reach as far back with their origins as the Middle Ages and earlier and which belong to the later period. The reasons why, in our opinion, these verbs deserve attention are that:

- a) they illustrate more distinctly than other types of verbs the fact that changes in the language start in most of the cases on the phonetic plane;
- b) the main cause of the changes which occurred in them, viz. the disappearance of hamza has led not only to these changes but also to the general reduction of number of the *verba hamzata* in modern Arabic dialects, and finally last but not least;
- c) up till now, they have been somehow left apart by the Arabists in their studies.

The choice of the verbs with hamza as their first or third radical out of the type of *verba hamzata* as the subject of our study has been dictated by the fact that the changes which affected them, though different, gave in certain dialects similar results and caused the concurrence of both kinds of these verbs in one morphological type.

1.1. The inventory of the verbs which we intend to deal with has been collected from the following dialects:

A. Western Ḥassāniyya (H)¹ — in use in Gəbla and S. W. Mau-

¹ The capital letters in brackets beside the names of the dialects are the symbols with which we shall refer to them later on in this paper.

retania, the dialect from Morocco, chiefly based on the dialects of Rabāt and Sale (M), the dialect of Ulād Brāhīm from the territory between Saida and Frenda in Algeria (AS), the dialect from Tlemcen in Algeria (AT), the dialect of Tunis (T), the Tripolitanian dialect from Libya (LT), the dialect of Benghazi in Libya (LB), the dialect of Waday (W) — it bears marks of both Western and Eastern dialects with the predominance of the latter.

B. Eastern: Sudanese (S) — chiefly based on the dialect of Omdurman, Egyptian (E) — chiefly based on the dialect of Cairo, the dialect of Cyprus (C) from Kermakiti, the dialect from Kfar'abida, Lebanon (KA), the dialect of Palmyra (P) in Syria, the urban dialect from Palestine, chiefly Jerusalem (PM), the rural dialect from the region to the North, South and East from Jerusalem (PF), Balgāwī (JB) — rural dialect from the neighbourhood of al-Balkā', Mādabā and 'Ammān in Jordan, the dialects of the nomadic, seminomadic and settled population from the Syro-Arabian Desert (SN₁, SN₂), Baghdadian (IB), the dialects of Mōṣul and Mārdīn (IM), Bukharan (B) — Uzbekistan, Kuwaytī-Dōsirī (KD) — a bedouin dialect of the Dōsirī tribe from the territory of Kuwayt, Kuwaytī (K), Baḥraynī (Baḥ.) — the dialect from the town and region of Manāma, Kaṭarī (K) — the dialect of Dohā, Duba'ī (D), Abū Zabī (AZ), Buramī (Br) — the last three come from the sheikhāt which once formed the British Trucial Oman, the dialect of Oman and Zanzibar (O—Z), Ḥaḍramī (Ḥḍ), the dialect of Aden (A) and the dialect of Ṣan'ā', Yemēn (YS).

2.0. The inventory of the verbs in question presents itself as follows:

2.1.

I. V. P. H.

A. I-st cl.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. a) āmar — H | } : Cl. Ar.: 'amara |
| b) āmar — LB | |
| c) 'amer — W, Baḥ. | |
| d) 'amar — P, K, A | |
| e) 'umer — IB | |
| f) 'emer — O—Z | |

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 2. a) kāl — H | } — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'akala |
| b) kla — M | |
| c) klā — T | |
| d) klā — LB | |
| e) 'akel — W | |
| f) 'ākāl — P | |
| g _α) 'ekel — (with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) | } — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'akala |
| g _β) kel — (with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut) | |
| h) k ^h ale — SN ₁ | } — O—Z : Cl. Ar.: 'akala |
| i) kala — SN ₂ | |
| j) 'akal — K, Baḥ., A | |
| k) kalā — K, D, AZ, Br | |
| l _α) kil- (with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) | |
| l _β) klē- (with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut) | |
| 3. a) 'ezen — Ka : Cl. Ar.: 'adina | |
| 4. a) ḥda — M, T | } : Cl. Ar.: 'ahada |
| b) ḥadā ḥdā — LB | |
| c) 'ahad — S | |
| d _α) 'ehed — (with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) | |
| d _β) het — (with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut) | |
| e) ḥadā ḥad — (the second variant used alternatively with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) — B | |
| f) ḥad ḥadā — (the first variant used alternatively with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) — KD, K, K, D, AZ, Br | |
| g) 'ahad — IB | |
| h) 'ahad — K, Baḥ., A (in K, it is a va- | |

riant which al-
ternates with
IA4f)

i) aḥad — PM, PF

B. II-nd cl.

1. a) addeb || wuddeb — AT } : Cl. Ar.: 'addaba
- b) 'addib — E }
2. a) wakkal — LB : Cl. Ar.: 'akkala
3. a) aḥḥar || wuḥḥer — AT } : Cl. Ar.: 'aḥḥara
- b) waḥḥar — K, Baḥ. }
- c) 'aḥḥer — O—Z : Cl. Ar.: 'aḥḥara
4. a) waddan — P : Cl. Ar.: 'addana
5. a) ammen || wummen — AT } : Cl. Ar.: 'ammana
- b) ämmen — T, LT }
6. a) wannas — KD, D : Cl. Ar.: 'annasa
7. a) 'allef — Ka : Cl. Ar.: 'allafa
8. a) 'akkad — PM, PF : Cl. Ar.: 'akkada
9. a) 'essar — IB : Cl. Ar.: 'assara

C. III-rd cl.

1. a) yāmar — B : Cl. Ar.: 'āmara
2. a) wānas — KD, K, Baḥ., K, D, AZ, Br : Cl. Ar.: 'ānasa

D. V-th cl.

1. a) it'ammār — E : Cl. Ar.: ta'ammara
2. a) it'aḥḥar — PM, PF } Cl. Ar.: ta'aḥḥara
- b) at'aḥḥar — A }
3. a) twennes — IB } : Cl. Ar.: ta'annasa
- b) tawannas — KD }
4. a) twellef — O—Z : Cl. Ar.: ta'allafa
5. a) it'akkid — E : Cl. Ar.: ta'akkada
6. a) it'assaf — S : Cl. Ar.: ta'assafa
7. a) te'emmel — IB : Cl. Ar.: ta'ammala

E. VI-th cl.

1. a) tawānas — KD : Cl. Ar.: ta'ānasa

F. VII-th cl.

1. a) inwukel || n'ikel — IB : Cl. Ar.: 'ukila

G. VIII-th cl.

1. a) ṭṭkal — AT : Cl. Ar.: 'itakala
2. a) ittāḥad — PM, PF } : Cl. Ar.: 'ittahada
- b) ttāḥud — O—Z }

H. X-th cl.

1. a_α) sskel — (with suffixes: O or
with a vowel in anlaut) } — AT : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'-
a_β) sskeli — (with suffixes with a con-
sonant in anlaut) } kala
- b) sta'kal — YS
2. a) stāḥer — H } : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'ḥara
- b) sta'ḥer — O—Z }
3. a) stāhel — AS } : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'hala
- b) istāhil — E }
- c) istahal — PM, PF, KD }
4. a) ssāḥer — AT } : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'ḡara
- b) ista'gar — E }
- c) sta'ḡer — KA }
- d) ista'ḡar — KD, A }
5. a) stāden — T } : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'dana
- b) ista'zin — E }
- c) ista'zan — PM, PF }
6. a) sta'mān — YS : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'mana
7. a) stawnes — KA } : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'nasa
- b) ista'nas — KD }
8. a) stawlef — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'lafa

I. sv- cl.

1. a) sādēb — to train (animals) — H : Cl.: —

J. tv- cl.

1. a) tākel — T } : Cl. Ar.: 'ukila
- b) itākil — E }

K. V-th + VII-th cl.

1. a) ěnthalla — to have regard for — AS : Cl. Ar.: — (the form has been derived from 'ahala but has no counterpart in Cl. Ar.)

II. V. P. H. and M. G.

A. II-nd cl.

1. a₂) asses — (with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) }
 a₃) ass — (with suffixes with a vowel in anlaut) } — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'as-sasa

III. V. P. H. and M. y

A. II-nd cl.

1. a) ayyel — AT : Cl. Ar.: 'ayyala
 2. a) 'ayyed — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'ayyada

IV. V. P. H. and U. y

A. I-st cl.

1. a) wöta — SN₂ } : Cl. Ar.: 'atā
 b) wata — O—Z }
 2. a) 'isa — JB } : Cl. Ar.: 'asā
 b) 'ese — O—Z }
 3. a) 'aba — S : Cl. Ar.: 'abā

B. II-nd cl.

1. a) ddā — AS
 b) (e)dda || wudda — AT
 c) wadda — S, E, KD, K, Bah. } : Cl. Ar.: 'addā
 d) waddā — B
 e) 'addā — KA
 f) 'adda' — YS
 2. a) wāttā — LB : Cl. Ar.: 'attā

C. III-rd cl.

1. a) hāwa — KD : Cl. Ar.: 'ahā
 2. a) wāsa — AT, PF : Cl. Ar.: 'āsā

D. V-th cl.

1. a) it'anna — E
 b) te'enne — O—Z } : Cl. Ar.: ta'annā
 2. a) twattā — LB : Cl. Ar.: ta'attā
 3. a) t'edde — IB : Cl. Ar.: ta'addā

E. VI-th cl.

1. a) thāwa — M : Cl. Ar.: ta'āhā

F. X-th cl.

1. a) ste'se — O—Z : Cl. Ar.: 'ista'sā

G. II-nd + X-th cl.

1. a) stanne — to wait — M
 b) stenna || ttena — AS
 c) ssenna — AT
 d) stanna — LT, KA
 e) ista'anna — E
 f) ōstanne — P
 g) stenna — IB } : Cl. Ar.: —

V. V. U. H.

A. I-st cl.

1. a) gra — H
 b) kara — E
 c) gara — IM
 d) gara || garā — KD, K, Bah., K } : Cl. Ar.: kara'a
 2. a) bta — H } : Cl. Ar.: baṭu'a
 b) bta — AS }
 3. a) tfa — AS : Cl. Ar.: tafi'a
 4. a) beda — W : Cl. Ar.: bada'a

5. a) mala — S } : Cl. Ar.: mala'a
 b) mälā — Hq }
 6. a) hiri — IM : Cl. Ar.: hari'a
 7. a) /ě/lbā — AS : Cl. Ar.: laba'a

B. II-nd cl.

1. a) malla — C } : Cl. Ar.: malla'a
 b) mällā — Hq }
 2. a) habba — KA : Cl. Ar.: habba'a
 3. a) kaffa — IM, A : Cl. Ar.: kaffa'a

C. III-rd cl.

1. a) kāfa — KA : Cl. Ar.: kāfa'a

D. V-th cl.

1. a) thebba' — M } : Cl. Ar.: tahabba'a
 b) thabba — PM, PF }
 2. a) thännā — H } : Cl. Ar.: tahanna'a
 b) thannā — LB }
 3. a) tnabba — KA : Cl. Ar.: tanabba'a

E. VII-th cl.

1. a) nṭfa — H. : Cl. Ar.: 'inṭafa'a
 2. a) inkefa || inkefā — K, D, AZ, Br : Cl. Ar.: 'inkafa'a

F. VIII-th cl.

1. a) ntlā — LT : Cl. Ar.: 'imtala'a

G. X-th cl.

1. a) stebṭā — AS : Cl. Ar.: 'istabṭa'a
 2. a) šsečra — P : Cl. Ar.: 'istağra'a
 3. a) staḥza — KA : Cl. Ar.: 'istahza'a

H. II-nd + X-th cl.

1. a) stbārā — to get rid of responsibility — AS : Cl. Ar.: —
 2. a) stḥaṭṭa — to transgress — AS : Cl. Ar.: —

N. B. The first of the above-given examples has been derived from bara'a, the second from ḥaṭi'a. Both have no counterparts in Cl. Ar.

VI. V. P. w and U. H.

A. I-st cl.

1. a) wəme — KA : Cl. Ar.: wama'a

B. V-th cl.

1. a) twāḍḍa — H } : Cl. Ar.: tawaḍḍa'a
 b) ötwāḍḍā — P }
 c) twāḍḍa — KA }
 2. a) twāṭṭā — LB : Cl. Ar.: tawaṭṭa'a

VII. V. M. w and U. H.

A. II-nd cl.

1. a) bawwā — LB : Cl. Ar.: bawwa'a

VIII V. M. y and U. H.

A. I-st cl.

1. a) žā — H, T, LT
 b) žā — AS, AT, LB
 c) ġa — W
 d) gva — S
 e) gi — E
 f) žā' — C
 g_a) 'eče — (with suffix: O)
 g_β) č — (with suffixes with a vowel in anlaut) — P
 g_γ) č — (with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut)
 h) ža || 'eže (the second variant used alternatively with suffixes: O or with a consonant in anlaut) — KA
 i) ġe' || ġe (the first variant used alternatively with suffix: O) — SN₁, SN₂
- : Cl. Ar.: ġā'a

j _α) 'aga 'iga	— PM, PF	
j _β) ġī — (the variant used alternatively with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut)		
k _α) 'aġa — (with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut)	— JB	
k _β) ġī — (with suffixes with a consonant in anlaut)		
l) ġā iġe — IB		
m) ġā iġa — IM		
n _α) ġā ġa		
n _β) ġā' — (used alternatively with suffixes with a vowel in anlaut)		
o) ġa ġā ya yā — K		
p) ġa yā — K, D, AZ, Br, Baḥ.		
q) ge — O—Z		
r _α) ġa		
r _β) aġa — (used alternatively with suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut)		
r _γ) ġā' žā' — (used alternatively with suffixes with a vowel in anlaut)		
s) 'aġa — A		

3.0. The above-presented material compared with its counterpart in Cl. Ar. shows changes which let themselves arrange in the following types.

3.1. a) the disappearance of hamza₁ with no substitutes — IA2a, g_β, l_α, IA4d_β, e (second variant), f (first variant), IHla_α, IVBla, IVGla—d, f, g;

b) the disappearance of hamza₃ with no substitutes — VIIA1a—e, g_{β, γ}, h (first variant), i (second variant), j_β, k_β, l (first variant), m (first variant), n_α, o—q, r_α;

c) the substitution of hamza₁ by 'y₃' — IA2b—d, h, i, k, l_β, IA4a, b, e, (first variant), f (second variant), IHla, IKla, IVCl_a, IVEla;

d) the substitution of hamza₃ by 'y₃' — VA1a—d, VA2a, b,

VA3a, VA4a, VA5a, b, VA6a, VA7a, VB1a, VB2a, VB3a, VC1a, VD1b, VD2a, b, VD3a, VE1a, E2a, VF1a, VG1a, VG2a, VG3a, VH1a, VH2a, VIA1a, VIB1a—c, VIB2a, VIIA1a;

e) the substitution of hamza₁ by 'w₁' — IB1a (second variant), IB2a, IB3a, (second variant), b, IB4a, IB5a (second variant), IB6a, IC2a, ID3a, b, ID4a, IE1a, IF1a (first variant), IH7a, IH8a, IVA1a, b, IVB1b (second variant), c, d, IVB2a, IVC2a, IVD2a;

f) the substitution of hamza₁ by 'y₁' — IC1a;

g) the formation of the VIII-th cl. stems of the verbs with hamza₁ like of those with 'w₁ || y₁' — IG1a, LG2a, b;

h) v̄ in anlaut of the stem instead of hamza₁ — IA1a, b, IH2a, IH3a—c, IH4a, I I1a, IJ1a, b;

i) v in anlaut of the stem instead of hamza₁ — IA4i, IB1a, (first variant), IB5a (first variant), b, IIIA1a, IVb1b (first variant);

j) v in anlaut of the stem instead of hamza₂ — VIIIA11 (second variant), m, (second variant); r_β;

k) the substitution of hamza₃ by ' as third radical — VD1a, VIIIA1f.

3.2. Certain dialects, viz. W, S, E, P, KA, PM, PF, JB, IB, K, Baḥ., C—Z, A, YS seem to preserve hamza as first radical, (see above: IA1c—f, IA2e—g_α, j, IA3a, c, d_α, g, h, IB1b, IB3c, IB7a, IB8a, IB9a, ID1a, ID2a, b, ID5a, ID6n, ID7a, IF1a (second variant), IH1b, IH2b, IH4b, c, IH5b, c, IH6a IIA1a_{α, β}, IIIA2a, IVA2a, b, IVA3a, IB1e, f, IVD1a, b, IVD3a IVF1a, IVG1e). Also in KD, we can find certain X-th cl. stems with retained hamza₁, (see above: IH4d, IH7b). Sometime, in some of these dialects, the loss or retention of hamza₁ occurs in the case of one and the same verb, both in morphologically unconditioned situation, like e.g. in K: *ḥad* || *ḥadā-O*, *ḥad-at*, *hadē-tu*, beside *'aḥad-O*, *'aḥd-at*, *'aḥad-tu* : Cl. Ar.: *'aḥad-a*, *'aḥad-ta*, *'aḥad-tum* || *aḥad-tunna*, (see above: IA4f, and IA4h), or conditioned, like e.g. in KA: *kel-tu* : Cl. Ar.: *'akal-tum* || *'akal-tunna* but *'ekel-O*, *'ekel-et* : Cl. Ar.: *'akal-a*, *'akal-at* or *ḥet-te* : Cl. Ar.: *aḥad-ti* but *'ehed-O*, *'ehd-et* : Cl. Ar.: *'aḥad-a*, *'aḥad-at*, (see above: IA2g_{α, β}, IA4d_{α, β}). The dialect A seems to be the only one that retains hamza₁ in all its V. P. H. (see above: IA1d, Ia2j, IA4h, ID2b, IH4b). As for W, JB and YS nothing certain can be said, since

each of the first two of them is represented in our material by only one example of V. P. H. (see above: IA2e and IVA2a), while the third by three (see above: IH1b, IH6a, IVB1f).

In the case of the Cl. Ar. verb M. y and U. H.: *ǧā'a*, SN₁, SN₂, and Hd retain hamza₃ in its position in one of the forms of their counterparts of the Cl. Ar. verb in question, viz. in that used alternatively with suffixes: O or beginning with a vowel, (see above: VIIIA1i (first alternative), VIIIA1n_p, VIIIA1r_y), while in P, KA, PM, PF, JB, A, hamza₃ also remains preserved but becomes hamza₁, (see above: VIIIA1g_z, VIIIA1h (second variant), VIIIA1j_z, VIIIA1k, VIIIA1s). However, in all these dialects with the exception of A, the forms with hamza are used either alternatively or in morphologically conditioned situations, (see above: VIIIA1g_{β,y}, VIIIA1h (first variant), VIIIA1j_z, VIIIA1k_p). Thus, the fact of parallel occurrences of the forms of *verba hamzata* with original hamza retained or lost, sometimes even in the case of one and the same verb and in one and the same dialect, combined with the generally confirmed practical disappearance of this phoneme from the phonetic systems of modern Arabic dialects and in addition to the poor representation of this kind of verbs in a particular dialect seems to speak rather for the borrowing of the forms with hamza from the literary language than to serve as a proof that in certain dialects, the process of the disappearance of ancient hamza is not yet accomplished.

4.0. The phenomenon of the disappearance of hamza, the so-called *tahfif* 'al-hamza of the medieval Arab philologists started very early and in the VII-th c., hamza practically disappeared from the in- and auslaut of words in the dialects of Ḥiǧāz. This process began with hamza in anlaut some time later, i.e. on the turn of the VII-th and VIII-th cc.² The *tahfif* occurred in three ways:

a) 'ibdāl 'al-hamza or changing hamza into 'w || y' also in auslaut and inlaut of words. Most often, the disappearing hamza left behind the lengthening of the foregoing vowel, like e.g. in

² For the *tahfif* of hamza, see: Karl Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* Strassburg, 1906, p. 9, 83—97, 120; Johann Fück, *'Arabiya*, Paris, 1955, p. 4, 43, 79, 81, 88 n. 2, 89 n. 3, 104, 107, 109, 116, 157, 171 et sequ., 187; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge, 1971, p. 76.

nāti instead of *na'tī* — we come³. This tendency caused the changing of hamza₃ stems into the 'w₃ || y₃' ones and of the hamza₂ stems into those with 'w₂ || y₂'. The Imperfect form of the verb *ḵara'a* — to read, to recite, was pronounced *yakrā* — he reads like *yar'ā* — he pastures (U. U. y) instead of *yakra'(u)* and that of the verb *sa'ala* — to ask, *yasal(u)* — he asks like *yahaf(u)* — he fears (V. M. w), instead of *yas'al(u)*. Then, according to the law of analogy, the Perfect forms of these verbs were formed: *ḵarā* like *ra'ā* and *sāla* like *hāfa*. As a result of this, we observe in the medieval Arabic the parallel occurrence of the forms: *kafa'a* and *kafā* — to suffice, *sāba'a* and *sabā* — to buy wine, or *ta'ika* and *tāka* — to flow, to run, *ǧa'aša* and *ǧāša* — to be excited⁴. This process must have begun then in Imperfect and afterwards by the law of analogy, it also included Perfect. The changing of hamza between 'u-a' and 'i-a' into 'w' or 'y' seems to be conditioned by the foregoing vowel. Thus, when it is 'u', it changes into 'w', like e.g. in *yuwallifu* — he unifies, he combines, instead of *yu'allifu*⁵, and hence the Perfect form *wallafa* instead of 'allafa, while when it is 'i', it changes into 'y' like e.g. in *liyāla* — pearltrade, instead of *li'āla*⁶. However, in the case of *yuwallifu* instead of *yu'allifu*, one cannot be sure whether the changing of hamza into 'w' has been conditioned by the foregoing 'u' or whether this changing occurred because the form *yu'allifu* was regarded as originally *yuwallifu* and the hamza in it was perhaps a sort of hamza bayna bayna which originated from 'w' in juxtaposition with 'a'⁷ and the form simply returned to its original shape: *yuwallifu* in conformance to the general tendency of hamza to disappear.

b) 'al-ḥadf or total disappearance of hamza in inlaut of words, both before a consonant, like e.g.: *itmanantum* instead of 'itma'nantum — you (m. pl.) feel yourself calm or *tawil* instead of *ta'wīl* — interpretation⁸ and in intervocalic position: *al-mīna* instead of

³ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁴ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 84—86, 89.

⁵ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 89.

⁶ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁷ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁸ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, 48—49.

'*al-mi'ina* — hundreds (Gen. Acc. pl.)⁹. The total disappearance of hamza occurred also in anlaut of words, when the anlaut syllable which began with it was an unaccented one, like e.g.: *Mayya* instead of '*Umáyya* or *Sáma* instead of '*Usáma*¹⁰.

c) *ǧa'l 'al-hamza bayna bayna* or making a weak hamza, like e.g.: *amarnā* instead of '*amarnā*.

Except of the three above-inserted kinds of *taḥfīf*, two other details known from the Middle Ages ought to be mentioned in connection with the disappearance of hamza:

1) the VIII-th cl. stems of the verbs *P. H.* like also of those *P. w* || *y* must have developed according rather to the pattern: '*itfa'ala*, primarily reserved for the verbs with a dental consonant as the first radical of their stems than '*ifta'ala*. This explains better the parallel occurrences of the forms with and without lenition: *ittakala* beside '*itakala* or *ittamara* beside '*itamara*, though only '*ittahada* from among them was regarded by the medieval Arab philologists as correct and has been preserved also in the literary language down to our time¹¹. The forms *ittakala*, *ittamara* seem to be conformant with the phenomenon of reduplication of the consonant preceding hamza, like e.g.: *mar'un* instead of *mar'un* — man or *ǧuzz'un* instead of *ǧuz'un* — part¹².

2) In medieval Arabic of Naǧd, i.e. in so-called East-Arabic, hamza was often pronounced as ' , like e.g.: *ka'sa* instead of *ka'aša* — to eat and drink heartily or '*annī* instead of '*annī* — that I¹³.

4.1. It appears that the changes observed in *verba hamzata* in modern Arabic dialects and inserted above under 3.1.d, e, f totally conform with the *taḥfīf* of '*ibdāl'al-hamza* type of the medieval Arab philologists (see above: 4.0.a). Thus, e.g. in the *V. U. H.* *ḵara* in E : Cl. Ar.: *ḵara'a* — to read, to recite (VA1b) or *mälā* in Hḍ : Cl. Ar.: *mala'a* — to fill (VA5b) the ancient hamza₃ has been substituted by 'y₃'. The change must have begun, like in most of the cases with verbs, in Imperfect. The Imperfect forms of the verbs mentioned here were pronounced *yikra* instead of

yikra : Cl. Ar.: *yaḵra'u* or *yimlā*, instead of *yimlā'* : Cl. Ar.: *yamla'u* i.e. like *V. U. y: yilga* in E : Cl. Ar.: *yalḵā* — he meets, or *yibga* in Hḍ : Cl. Ar.: *yabḵa* — he remains. Then, by the law of analogy, the Perfect forms: *ḵara* and *mälā* were formed and afterwards in analogy to them, the derived stems, see, e.g.: *mällā* in Hḍ (VB1b) : Cl. Ar.: *malla'a* — to make full (II-nd cl.), like *V. U. y: šalla* in Hḍ : Cl. Ar.: *šallā* — to prey. The same can be said about the ground and derived stems of the remaining *V. U. H.* in all other modern Arabic dialects discussed in this paper with small exceptions for C (VIII1f) and M (VD1a), about which we shall speak later on. The same type of *taḥfīf* is represented e.g. by the verbs *P. H.*: *wakkal* in LB (IB2a) : Cl. Ar.: '*akkala* — to feed or *wannas* in KD, D (IB6a) : Cl. Ar.: '*annasa* — to make intimate, effected by the change mentioned under 3.1.e. Like in the case of *V. U. H.* (see above), the change began in Imperfect. According to what has been said under 4.0. a about the changing of hamza between 'u' and 'a' into 'w', the Imperfect forms of these verbs must have been pronounced respectively: **yuwakkel* instead of **yu'akkel* in LB : Cl. Ar.: *yu'akkilu* and **yuwannis* instead of **yu'annis* in KD, D : Cl. Ar.: *yu'annisu* and hence also, like in the case with *V. U. H.* (see above), the Perfect forms: *wakkal* and *wannas*, as well as other derived stems, like e.g.: *wānas* (IC2a) in KD, D : Cl. Ar.: '*ānasa* — to be friendly with sb. (III-rd cl.) or *tawannas* (ID3b), in KD, D : Cl. Ar.: *ta'annasa* — to become human (V-th cl.) and their counterparts in other dialects, (see above: ID3a, IE1a, IH7a). However, we have here to presume also another explanation of this change viz. the possibility that the forms **yu'akkel* and **yu'annis* were regarded as originally **yuwakkel* and **yuwannis* and hamza which substituted C₁ = w in them was only a sort of a *hamza bayna bayna* which, according to the phonological law proper to the Arabic language, developed from 'wa-', and so the forms of the verbs in question simply regained their primary shapes: **yuwakkel* and **yuwannis*, because of the tendency of hamza to disappear, like it has been exposed above under 4.0.a, in connection with the change of hamza in intervocalic positions: 'u-a', 'i-a'. All what has been here said goes also for the verbs: *wahḥar* in K, Bah. (IB3b) *waddan* in P (IB4a), *twellef* in O—Z (ID4a) and *stawlef* in Ka (IH8a), *wadda* in S, E,

⁹ See Voller, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁰ See Vollers, *oh. cit.*, p. 90.

¹¹ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 120; see also *ibid.*, p. 89—90.

¹² See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 92—93.

¹³ See Vollers, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

KD, K, Bah., (IVB1c) and *waddā* in B (IVB1d), *wattā* (IV B2a) and *twattā* (IVD2a) in LB, *wāsa* in AT, PF (IVC2a). The forms of the verb *wōta* in SN₂ (IVA1a) and *wata* in O—Z (IVA1b): Cl. Ar.: 'atā — to come undoubtedly developed in analogy to other *V. P. H.*, extended here also on the ground-stem (see e.g.: *twellef* in O—Z: Cl. Ar.: *ta'allafa* to consist /of/, ID4a). The only example in which hamza₁ changed into 'y₁' and which also belongs here is *yāmar* in B (IC1a): Cl. Ar.: 'āmara — to ask for an advise (V. P. H. III-rd cl.), see above under 3.1.f. The mentioned change has been most probably caused by the fact that the prefix of the Imperfect form in B is 'yi-' and not 'yu-'¹⁴ and thus **yi'āmir* changed into *yiyāmir* (see above), according to the rule of the change of hamza between 'i' and 'a' into 'y', (see above under 4.0.a) and hence the Perfect form *yāmar*. In the case of the verbs *P. H.*: *addeb* || *wuddeb* (IB1a): Cl. Ar.: 'addaba — to educate, *aḥḥar* || *wuḥḥer* (IB8a): Cl. Ar.: 'aḥḥara — to delay, *ammen* || *wummen* (IB5a): Cl. Ar.: 'ammana — to believe and *edda* || *wudda* (IVB1b): Cl. Ar.: 'addā — to bring sb. or sth. somewhere *V. P. H.* and *U. y*) occurring in two alternatively used variants in AT, the following can be said. The second variants developed in the same way like e.g. *wakkal* in LB (the change of the first stem-vowel from 'a' to 'u' has been caused by the influence of the foregoing 'w') and represent the forms with *tahfif* of the 'ibdāl' al-hamza type. As for the first variants, they represent the forms with the change presented above under 3.1.i, i.e. with *tahfif* of the ḡa'l' al-hamza bayna bayna type exposed above under 4.0.c. The 'a' in their anlauts might have developed from 'wu-', like it has been shown above in connection with the verbs *wakkal* in LB or *wannas* in KD, D, the change from 'u' to 'a' having been caused both by the influence of the second stem-vowel 'e' or 'a' according to the rules of vocal harmony very active in modern Arabic dialects, and by the foregoing slight hamza. The verbs *ammen* in T, LT (IB5b): Cl. Ar.: 'ammana, *ayyel* in AT (IIIA1a): Cl. Ar.: 'ayyala — to explain (*V. P. H.* and *M. y* || *w*) and *aḥad* in PM, PF (IA4i): Cl. Ar.: 'aḥada — to take, obviously represent the forms with

¹⁴ like e.g. *yī'ārik*: Cl. Ar.: *yū'āriku*, see Andrzej Czapkiewicz, *The Verb in Modern Arabic Dialects...*, Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk, 1975, p. 115.

tahfif of the ḡa'l' al-hamza bayna bayna type. The change registered under 3.1.h lets itself explain in the following way. In the case of the verb *āmar* in H (IA1a): Cl. Ar.: 'amara — to order, we have to do with the form with *tahfif* of the ḡa'l' al-hamza bayna bayna type, like e.g. in *ammen* in T, LT or *ayyel* in AT (see above). The lengthening of the vowel occurred because of the accentuation rules valid in H¹⁵. The same refers to the counterpart of the discussed verb in LB (IA1b). The verbs: *stāher* in H (IH2a): Cl. Ar.: 'istaḥara — to ask for delay, *stāhel* in AS (IH3a) and its counterparts in E (IH3b), and PM, PF, KD (IH3c): Cl. Ar.: 'ista'hala — to deserve, *ssāḥer* in AT (IH4a): Cl. Ar.: 'ista'ḡara — to rent, *sādab* in H (I I1a) — to train animals: Cl. Ar.: — and *tākel* in T (IJ1a) and its counterpart in E (IJ1b): Cl. Ar.: 'ukila — to be eaten represent forms with the *tahfif* of the 'ibdāl' al-hamza type. The lengthening of the vowel preceding the ancient hamza resulted both from the fact of the disappearance of this consonant, like it has been said above under 4.0.a and from the demands of accentuation. We meet the same phenomenon in the case of the Imperfect forms of the I-st cl. of *V. P. H.* in most of the modern Arabic dialects, see e.g.: *yākul* in PM: Cl. Ar.: *ya'kulu* — he eats or *yāḥud* in T: Cl. Ar.: *ya'ḥudu* — he takes. As for the verbs: *ṭkal* in AT (IG1a): Cl. Ar.: 'itakala — to eat and *ittāhad* in PM, PF (IG2a) as well as its counterpart in O—Z (IG2b): Cl. Ar.: 'ittahada — to make, they show the changes signalled above under 3.1.g. All these forms developed according to the pattern 'itfa'al (see above under 4.0.₁) and the reduplication of 't' occurred according to the phenomenon of the reduplication of the consonant preceding the disappearing hamza (see above under 4.0.₁). The lengthening of the first stem vowel in *ittāhad* in PM, PF is the result of the accentuation rules valid in these dialects¹⁶. The same refers to *ttāḥud* in O—Z. The first stem vowel in *ṭkal* in AT fell out as short and in an open unaccented syllable, according to the phonological rules proper to this dialect. In two verbs *U H*, viz. *thebba'* in M (VD1a): Cl. Ar.: *taḥabba'a* — to

¹⁵ See David Cohen, *Le dialecte arabe Ḥassāniya de Mauritanie*, Paris, 1963, p. 85—86.

¹⁶ See Leonhard Bauer, *Das Palästinische Arabische*, Leipzig 1926, p. 17, 48.

hide and *šā'* in C (VIII1f) : Cl. Ar.: *šā'a* — to come, we observe the substitution of hamza₃ by 'y'. This represents the change mentioned above under 3.1.k, and reminds of such pronunciation of hamza in the medieval Arabic of Neġd (see above under 4.0.₂). However, the scarce exemplification of this phenomenon (only one example for each of the two dialects in question), as of the *verba hamzata* in general in these dialects, as well as the fact that e.g. in C, the second attested *V. U. H.* shows the regular substitution of hamza₃ by 'y₃' : *malla* (VB1b) : Cl. Ar.: *malla'a* — to make full, do not permit to say anything more certain on this matter.

4.2. The changes mentioned above under 3.1.a and c demand a separate and more detailed discussion. The disappearance of hamza₁ with no substitutes (3.1.a) lets itself be seen in the case of the verbs: *kāl* in H (IA2a), *kel-* in KA (IA2g_β), *kil-* in O—Z (IA2l_α), (the two last forms are used before the conjugational suffixes with a consonant in anlaut) : Cl. Ar.: *'akala* — to eat, *sskel* in AT (IH1a_α), (the form used before the conjugational suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) : Cl. Ar.: *'ista'kala* — to consume (X-th cl.), *het-* in KA (IA4d_β), the form used before the conjugational suffixes with a consonant in anlaut), *had* in B (IA4e, a second variant used alternatively before the conjugational suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut) and its counterparts in KD, K, K, D, AZ, Br (IA4f, first variant) : Cl. Ar.: *'ahada* — to take, *ddā* in AS (IVB1a) : Cl. Ar.: *'addā* — to bring sb. or sth. somewhere and *stanne* in M (IVG1a) — to wait and its counterparts in AS (IVG1b), AT (IVG1c), LT, KA (IVG1d), P (IVG1f) and IB (IVG1g) : Cl. Ar.: —. All these verbs represent forms with *taḥfif* of the *'al-ḥadf* type (see above under 4.0.b). The demands of accentuation¹⁷ caused the lengthening of the stem-vowel of *kāl* in H in Perfect and the verb became a verb *M. w* in analogy with *gāl* : Cl. Ar.: *kāla* — to say (*V. M. w*), but in the Imperfect, it regains the form typical for the ground-stems of *V. P. H.* in most of the modern dialects: *yōwkal* : Cl. Ar.: *ya'kulu* (see above under 4.1. in connection with the discussion of the change 3.1.h). The variants: *kel-* or *het-* in KA, *kil-* in O—Z used obligatorily in these dialects in the conjugational forms with suffixes beginning

¹⁷ See above under 4.1. in connection with *āmār* in H and the note 12.

with a consonant, had in B and its counterpart in KD, K, K, D, AZ, Br used facultatively in all these dialects before the conjugational suffixes: O or with a vowel in anlaut developed according to *'al-ḥadf* and in analogy with similar stems¹⁸. *Sskel* (X-th cl.) in AT undoubtedly developed in analogy to the VIII-th cl. stem *ṭkal* (see above under 4.1., in connection with the discussion of the verb *ittāḥad* or *ttāḥud* in PM, PF, O—Z).

The substitution of hamza₁ by 'y₃' (see above under 3.1.c) is a phenomenon which deserves a special attention. It seems that it was not known to the medieval Arab philologists, since while discussing the problem, they did not register such cases and the process must have begun some time later. The phenomenon is testified in our material by the following verbs *P. H.*: *kla* in M (IA2b) and its counterparts in T (IA2c), LB (IA2d), SN₁ (IA2h), SN₂ (IA2i), K, D, AZ, Br (IA2k), O—Z (IA2l (the form used before the conjugational suffixes beginning with a consonant) : Cl. Ar.: *'akala* — to eat, *hda* in M, T (IA4a) and its counterparts in LB (IA4b), B (IA4e first variant), KD, K, K, D, AZ, Br (IA4f, second variant) : Cl. Ar.: *'ahada* — to take, *sskeli-* in AT (IH1a_β), the form used before the conjugational suffixes with a consonant in anlaut) : Cl. Ar.: *'ista'kala* — to consume (X-th cl.), *ēnthalla* in AS (IK1a) — to have regard for : Cl. Ar.: —, *thāwa* in M (IVE1a) : Cl. Ar.: *ta'āḥā* (VI-th cl.) — to fraternize (with). All these verbs represent, no doubt, the forms with *taḥfif* of the *'al-ḥadf* type occurring in anlaut. The appearance of 'y₃' in them lets itself probably explain in the following way. All verbs and the majority of nomina in Arabic language are based on at least tri-consonantal roots, the triconsonantism being predominant. Indeed, there occur certain nouns with biconsonantal roots, like e.g.: *'abun*, *'ahun*, *yadun*, etc., however we cannot find such verbs. But we know that these bi-consonantal nouns demand completion with a third radical = w || y while deriving other

¹⁸ Comp. e.g. *kel* or *het* = CvC in KA ~ *gul* = CvC in *gult* — I || you (sg. m.) have said (*V. M. w*) in KA : Cl. Ar.: *kultu* || *kulta*; *kil* = CvC in O—Z ~ *šor* = CvC in *šorto* — you (pl. m.) have become in O—Z : Cl. Ar.: *širtum* (*V. M. y*); *had* || *had* = CvC in B, KD, K, D, AZ, Br ~ *gul* || *gil* = CvC in *gultu* || *giltu* — you (pl. m.) have said (*V. M. w*) in these dialects : Cl. Ar.: *kultum*, see Andrzej Czapkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

forms from them. Thus, e.g. the dual form from 'ab^{un} is 'aba-w-āni — two fathers and not 'ab-āni, or nisba from yad^{un} is yada-w-iy^{un} — manual (labor) and not yad-iy^{un}. The same happens with the verbs derived from the biconsonantal nouns. See e.g.: dam^{un} — blood and hence damiya — to bleed (V. U. w) or yad^{un} — hand and from it yadā — to touch somebody's hand (V. U. y). Thus, in the case of the verbs under discussion, the disappearance of hamza₁ due to the *taḥfīf* of the 'al-ḥaḍf type left bi-consonantal verbal stems which had to be completed with a third radical in order to conform to the morphological demands of the verbal system in Arabic.

The changes 3.1.b and j affect the verb *M. y* and *U. H.*: ḡā'a — to come, in the dialects: H, T, LT (VIII1a), AS, AT, LB (VIII1b), W (VIII1c), S (VIII1d), E (VIII1e), P (VIII1g_β, the form used before the conjugational suffixes beginning with a consonant), KA (VIII1h, first variant), SN₁, SN₂ (VIII1i, second variant), PM, PF (VIII1j_β, the variant used alternatively with the conjugational suffixes beginning with a consonant), JB (VIII1k_β, the form used before the conjugational suffixes with a consonant in anlaut), IB (VIII1l), IM (VIII1m), KD (VIII1n_α), K (VIII1o), K, D, AZ, Br, Bah. (VIII1p), O—Z (VIII1q), and Hq (VIII1r_α, r_β, the form used alternatively before the conjugational suffixes: O or beginning with a vowel). The variants: iḡe in IB (VIII1l), iḡa in M (VIII1m), and aḡa in Hq (VIII1r_β) seem to represent the forms with *taḥfīf* of the ḡa'l 'al-hamza bayna bayna type but with the simultaneous metathesis, like in the case of this verb in KA (VIII1h, second variant used alternatively with the conjugational suffixes: O or beginning with a vowel), PM, PF (VIII1j_α), JB (VIII1k_α, the form used like in KA but obligatorily) or A (VIII1s), only in these forms hamza has been retained. The remaining forms of this verb affected by the changes 3.1.b or j mentioned here are the result of the *taḥfīf* of 'al-ḥaḍf type (see above under 4.0.b).

Concerning the verbs in which hamza has been preserved, we have exposed our point of view under 3.2. (see above).

5.0. Summing up what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, we are led to the following conclusions:

a) All changes observed in the verbs with hamza₁ or hamza₃ started on the phonetic plane, i.e. they have been caused by the disappearance of hamza from the phonetic systems of Arabic dialects;

b) the disappearance of hamza has caused a considerable reduction of number of *verba hamzata* and their substitution by other verbs, like e.g.: ḡbaḍ instead of literary Arabic: 'ahada — to take, in H or nšid instead of literary Arabic: sa'al — to ask in T;

c) all changes with the exception of the substitution of hamza₁ by 'y₃' (see above 3.1.c) were already *in tractu* in the Middle Ages, while this last one belongs to the later period;

d) many of the forms of the verbs *P.* or *U. H.* in modern Arabic dialects resulting from the process of these changes have been determined by the law of analogy;

e) in most of the cases, the verbs with hamza₁ or hamza₃ appear in forms with *taḥfīf* of the 'ibḍāl 'al-hamza type except of the few examples of verbs with hamza₁ which appear with *taḥfīf* of the ḡa'l 'al-hamza bayna bayna type or of the 'al-ḥaḍf type, in this last case usually combined with the completion of the stem with 'y₃', and of the verbs with hamza₃ in which it has been replaced by ';

f) the substitution of hamza₁ by 'y₃' which occurs in *V. P. H.* in M, AS, AT, T, LB, SN₁, SN₂, K, D, AZ, Br, O—Z has caused in these dialects the concurrence of *V. P. H.* and *V. U. H.* in one morphological type of *V. U. y* though on different ways and because of different reasons.

LIST of ABBREVIATIONS

cl.	— class of the verbal stem
Cl. Ar.	— Classical Arabic Language
V. M. H.	— verbum mediae hamza
V. M. w	— verbum mediae w
V. M. y	— verbum mediae y
V. P. H.	— verbum primae hamza
V. P. w	— verbum primae w
V. P. y	— verbum primae y
V. U. H.	— verbum ultimae hamza
V. U. w	— verbum ultimae w
V. U. y	— verbum ultimae y