

3.2.1. Every *hamzah maftuwḥah*, that is, open with a *fatḥah* 'an [a]' and preceded by a *fatḥah* 'an [a]', if you intend to lighten it, you make it a transitional sound between the *hamzah* and the *ḥalif ḥal-sākinah* 'the quiescent [A]'. {A *bayna bayna hamzah* is indicated by [-ḥ]}. [12] (II:163:23), e.g.

sa ḥāla → *sa-ḥāla* 'he asked'

qara ḥā → *qara-ḥā* 'he read'

It is less fully realized in the dialect of ḥijāz, a western dialect, than in the dialect of Baniy Tamiym, an eastern dialect.

3.2..2. If the *hamzah* is *munkasirah* 'broken with an [i]' and preceded by a *fatḥah* 'an [a]', it becomes a transitional sound between the *hamzah* and the quiescent *jāḥ*. [12] (II:164:2), e.g.

ja ḥsa → *ja-ḥsa* 'he despaired'

sa ḥma → *sa-ḥma* 'he got bored'

qala ḥbrāhiymu → *qala-ḥbrāhiymu* 'Abraham said'

3.2.3. If the *hamzah* is *madḥuwmah* 'closed with an [u]' and preceded by a *fatḥah* 'an [a]', it becomes a transitional sound between the *hamzah* and the quiescent *wāw* [w]. [12] (II:164:2ss), e.g.

la ḥuma → *la-ḥuma* 'he became reprehensible'

3.2.4. If the *hamzah* is *maksuwrah* 'broken with an [i]' and preceded by a *kasrah* '[i]', The *hamzah* approximates the [j]. [12] (II:164:7ss), e.g.

min ḥindi ḥbilik → *min ḥindi -ḥbilik* 'from your camels'

marta ḥi ḥbilik → *marta ḥi -ḥbilik* 'the pasture of your camels'

In the above cases, every *hamzah* approximates to its own motion/vowel.

3.2.5. If the *hamzah* is *madḥuwmah* 'closed with an [u]' and preceded by a *dammah* '[u]' or a *kasrah* '[i]', it becomes an in-between sound. [12] (II:164:8), e.g.

ḥādā dirḥamu ḥxtik → *ḥādā dirḥamu-ḥxtik* "this is your sister's dirham"

min ḥindi ḥmmik → *min ḥindi -ḥmmik* "from your mother."

Every *hamzah* preceded by an [a] approximates to its own motion/vowel.

4. BADAL 'SUBSTITUTION' with, a *jāḥ* [j], a *wāw* [w], an *ḥalif* [A]

4.1. Every *hamzah* that is *maftuwḥah* 'open with an [a]' and is preceded by a *maksuwr* 'broken with an [i]' letter, *tubdil* 'you substituted' a *jāḥ* [j] in its place when lightening it. [12] (II:164:10), e.g.

mi ḥarun → *mijarun* 'enmities'

juriydu ḥan juqri ḥaka → *juqrijaka* 'he wants to convey to you...'

min ḥulāmi ḥabijka → *min ḥulāmi jabijka* 'from your father's servant'

4.2. If the *hamzah* is *maftuwḥah* 'open with an [a]' and is preceded by a *dammah*, 'an [u]', you substitute the *wāw* [w] in its place. [12] (II:164:12), e.g.

tu ḥadda → *tuwadda* 'repaying'

gu ḥan → *guwan* 'basket'

ḥulāmu ḥabijka → *ḥulāmu wabijka* 'your father's servant'

This *hamzah* may not be an in-between sound, since one may not approximate to *ḥalif* when it is preceded by an [u] or an [i]. [12] (II:164:13ss)

4.3. If the *hamzah* is quiescent and is preceded by a *fatḥah*, 'an [a]', substitute an *ḥalif* [A] in its place. [12] (II:164:18), e.g.

ra ḥsun → *rāsun* 'a head'

ba ḥsun → *bāsun* 'strength'

qara ḥu → *qarāu* 'I read'

4.4. If the *hamzah* is quiescent and it is preceded by a *madḥuwmah* 'closed with an [u]' letter, substitute a *wāw* [w] in its place. [12] (II:164:14), e.g.

ḥal-gu ḥna → *ḥal-guwna* 'the basket'

ḥal-bu ḥs → *ḥal-buws* 'the misery'

ḥal-mu ḥmin → *ḥal-muwmin* 'the believer'

4.5. If the quiescent *hamzah* is preceded by a *maksuwr* 'broken with an [i]' letter, substitute the *jāḥ* [j] for the *hamzah*. [12] (II:164:21), e.g.

ḥi ḥun → *ḥijbun* 'a wolf'

mi ḥratun → *mijratun* 'enmity'

4.6. If the quiescent *hamzah* is preceded by a *maftuwḥ* 'open with an [a]' letter, substitute an *ḥalif* [A] for the *hamzah*. [12] (II:165:1), e.g.

ḥuwrā? biḥā → *ḥuwrā biḥā* 'felt it'

This may not be an in-between sound, since the *hamzah* is a dead letter and one can not make it an in-between something else as it has reached the state beyond which there is no lightening. [12] (II:164:23).

5. ḥaḍf 'DELETION'

5.1. The *hamzah* that is in motion and is preceded by a quiescent letter, is deleted and it transfers its *ḥarakah* 'motion / vowel' to the preceding quiescent letter. [21] (II:165:6), e.g.

man ḥabuwka → *man-a buwka* 'who is your father?'

man ḥummuka → *man-u mmuka* 'who is your mother?'

kam ḥbulika → *kam-i bulika* 'how many are your camels'

ḥal-ḥamaru → *ḥal-a ḥmaru* 'the red'

ḥal mar ḥatu → *ḥal-maratu* 'the woman'

ḥal kam ḥatu → *ḥal-kamatu* 'the truffle'

ḥal-xab ḥa → *ḥal-xaba* 'what is hidden'

5.2. If the *hamzah* is preceded by a quiescent letter, it is deleted to lighten it, if it is frequent, [12] (II:165:17), e.g.

ḥarḥa → *ḥara* 'I see'

tarḥa → *tara* 'you see'

yarḥa → *yara* 'he sees'

narḥa → *nara* 'we see'

ḥir ḥawhu → *rawhu* 'see it'

ḥir ḥa → *ra* 'look-imp!'

šis šal → *sal* 'ask-imp!'

5.3. If the *hamzah*, after the a quiescent *šalif* [A], is followed by an [a], [i], [u], it may be *bayna bayna* 'an in-between' sound, or *gazālu šummihi* → *gazālu mmihī* → *gazāwu mmihī* 'rewards of his mother'

5.4. If the *hamza* is in motion following a quiescent *jā?* [j] or a quiescent *wāw* [w], it is substituted with a *jā?* [j] or a *wāw* [w], respectively. [12] (II:166:15), e.g.

xatij šatun → *xatijjatun* 'a sin'

nasij šu → *nasijju* 'forgetfulness'

barij šatun → *barijjatun* 'innocence'

nabij šun → *nabijjun* 'prophet'

šufaj šsun → *šufajšsun* 'pejorative of *šafšusun*'

šuwaj šilun → *šuwajšilun*, a pejorative of *šāšilun* 'a beggar'

hādā maqruw šun → *hādā maqruwwun* 'this is readable'

hādīhi maqruw šatun → *hādīhi maqruwwatun* 'ibid -feminine'

šal-huduw š → *šal-huduwwi* 'the quietness'

5.5. If the *hamzah* is in motion after a quiescent *wāw*[w] or a *jā?* [j] that is of the base word, it is deleted. [12] (II:166:20), e.g.,

ja yzuw šummahu → *ja yzuwu mmahu* 'he invades his mother'

šabuw šis šāq → *šabuwī šāq* 'Father of Issac'

šud šuw šibilakum → *šud šuwī bilakum* 'call your camels'

šuw šamrihim → *šuwā mrihim* their protector'

šurijdu šan yasuw šaka → *šurijdu šan jasuwaka* 'he wants to harm you'

šabij šis šāq → *šabijī šāq* 'Father of Issac'

šarmij šummaka → *šarmijī mmaka* 'commit perjury against your mother'

šabij šajjuwb → *šabijī ajjuwb* 'Jacob's father'

qādīj šabijik → *qādījī bijk* 'your father's judge'

šurijdu šan jagij šaka → *šurijdu šan jagijaka* 'he wants to visit you'

5.6. If the *hamzah* is in motion after a quiescent *wāw* [w] or a *jā?* [j], in changing one structure into another base word, it is elided.

(quadri-radical → tri-radical). [12] (II:166:20), e.g.,

šaw šabatun → *šawabatun* 'wide'

šaw šabun → *šawabun* 'width'

5.7. If the *hamzah* is in motion after a quiescent *wāw* [w] or a *jā?* [j] that is not an extra *maddah* 'length' in the same word with the *hamzah*...[rather] it gives meaning to names, it is elided. [12] (II:166:22), e.g.,

šittaba šuw šamrah → *šittaba šuw-a mrah* 'they-mas obeyed his order'

šittabi šij šamrah → *šittabi šij-a mrah* 'obey-imp.2.sg.fem. his order!'

šahlibnij šibilika → *šahlibnij-i bilika* 'milk me your camels'

6. Geminate Hamzah.

6.1. If two *hamzahs*, in two separate words, meet, it is part of the speech of the Arabs to lighten the first and affirm the second ...

substituted with [j] or [w] respectively: [12] (II:166:9), e.g.

habāšatun → *habāšatun* 'expanse'

masāšil → *masāšil* → *masāšil* 'issues'

according to šabuw šamr. [12] (II:167:8), e.g.,

gāš šāšrāuha → *gāš-š šāšrāuha* 'its tokens already appeared'

jāš šakarajjāš šinnā → *jāš šakarajjāš-š šinnā* 'O, Zakarayya ,we ...'

qaraš šabuwka → *qaraš-š šabuwka* 'your father read'

jāš wajlatāš šalidu → *jāš wajlatāš-šalidu* 'Alas, shall I bear a child'

šiqraš jāšatan → *šiqraš-š jāšatan* 'read a *Quranic* verse'

6.2. If two *hamzahs* meet, each in a separate word, the first one is affirmed and the second one is lightened ... preferred by al-Khaḫil. [12] (II:167:11), e.g.,

gāš šāšrāuha → *gāš-š šāšrāuha* 'its tokens already appeared'

jāš šakarajjāš šinnā → *jāš šakarajjāš-šinnā* 'O, Zakarayya ,we ...'

kullu yarāš šidā → *kullu yarāš-šidā* 'every pretty woman who if'

jāš wajlatāš šalidu → *jāš wajlatāš-šalidu* 'Alas, shall I bear a child'

šalān rašat → *šal-šalān rašat* 'if she sees'

qaraš šabuwka → *qaraš-šabuwka* 'your father read'

šiqraš jāšatan → *šiqraš-šjāšatan* 'read a *Quranic* verse'

6.3. If two *hamzahs* meet, each in a separate word, the people of *ħijaz* lighten both. [12] (II:168:5), e.g.,

šiqraš jāšatan → *šiqraš-š-jāšatan* 'read a *Quranic* verse'

šiqriš šabāka šal-salām → *šiqriš-š-šabāka šal-salām* "convey greetings to your father"

6.4. If the *šalif* of interrogation and the *hamzah* meet, an *šalif* is inserted. [12] (II:168:12), e.g.,

šal šanti → *šā šanti* 'are you?'

6.5. If the *šalif* of interrogation, not preceded by any sound, and the *hamzah* meet, the second *hamzah* is lightened in the dialect of Banuw Tamiym. [12] (II:173:18), e.g.,

šā šanti → *šā-šanti* 'are you-f?'

6.6. If two *hamzahs* meet, within one word, there would be no way but to substitute for the second, [12] (II:169:1), e.g.,

gāš šin → *gāšīn* "comer"

šal-šādamu → *š-ādamu* 'Adam?'

šafāšal → *šafāšā* "sins"

mašāšal → *mašāšā* "horse-back rides"

7. RESIDUALS

7.1 If the *hamzah* that is of the base word or in place of what is of the base word, and comes between two *šalifs*, they lightened it. [12] (II:169:15), e.g.,

rašajtu kisāšāni → *rašajtu kisā-šāni* 'I saw two outfits'

rašabtu hanāšān → *rašabtu hanā-šān* 'I came upon happiness'

7.2 If the *hamzah* that is “a substitute of an extra letter” comes between two *ʔalifs*, in words that have two *hamzahs*, “they substituted it” and did not make it an in-between sound. [12] (II:169:19), e.g.,

xaʔāʔā → *xaʔāʔā* ‘sins’
maʔāʔā → *maʔāʔā* ‘horse-backs rides’

minsa ʔatun → *minsātun* ‘sweeper’
lā hana ʔaki → *hanāki* ‘may you not have ease’
sa ʔalat huḏajlu → *sā lat huḏajlu* ‘Huthayl asked’
sa ʔalatā ni → *sālatāni* ‘they both asked me’
wāgi ʔ → *wāgij* ‘hitting into the ground’
ʔaw ʔanta → *ʔawwanta* ‘or you’

7. CONCLUSIONS

By no means this is an exhaustive account of the analysis of *hamzah*, yet it presents a fairly detailed analysis with an abundance of examples that illustrate the phonetic output. In the process, a sample of dialectal preferences have been included among the examples. Thus, under this analysis, the form of the *hamzah* exists on a continuum from full-realization, to *bayana bayana*, where the *hamzah* partially assimilates to a following motion/vowel, to elision, where it is conceptually dropped and its vowel re-attached to the preceding consonant, to substitution with another weak sound. When it geminates with the previous letter it is degeminated by having an *ʔalif* inserted between two *hamzahs*, or lightened.

For reasons of phonotactic constraints (i.e. in terms of permissible sequences and other morpho-phonologically sensitive conditions), the assimilative processes are assumed to be basically regressive where the *bayana bayna hamzah* is the only operating assimilative process, while the rest of the rules are less assimilatory, and there are conditions that block such a process. The *hamzahs* are either deleted or mutated. Hence the *ʔalif* insertion rule which prevents any contact or assimilation. Thus, the term *bayna bayna* signifies the point at which the assimilation takes place between the *hamzah* and the *ʔalif* [A], the *jāʔ* [j] or the *wāw* [w] which are considered close to each other and class members that more easily assimilate to each other.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Professor Bassam Frangieh of Yale University, Mr. Muhammad al-Hawary of Georgetown University, and Professor

7.3. An exceptional rule whose forms are not analogizable but “memorized” and “taken from oral tradition” is that “The *hamzah* is substituted for by an *ʔalif* if preceded by a *maʔuwḥ* ‘open with an [a]’ letter, by a *jāʔ* if preceded by a *maksuwr* ‘broken with an [i]’ and by a *wāw* [w] if preceded by a *madnuwm* ‘closed with an [u]’”. [12] (II:169:25), e.g.,

Shaligram Shukla of Georgetown University for reading and commenting on the substance of this paper.

REFERENCES

- [1] ʔal-Khalil ʔibn ʔahmad ʔal-Farāhīdi 1980. *Kitāb ʔal-fayn*. Vol. 1. Ed. by Mahdi ʔal-Maxzuwmi and Ibrahim ʔal-Sāmīrāi [2] ʔal-Tuwni, Mustafa. 1990. *ʔal-Hamzatu fi ʔal-lughati ʔal-ʔarabījjah*. Egypt: Dār Shams ʔal-Maʔārif.
- [3] ʔibn Mandhur. n.d. *Lisānu ʔal-ʔarab*. Ed. M. A. ḥasaba ʔal-Allah and H. M. ʔal-Shāthili. Cairo, Egypt: Dār ʔal-Maʔārif.
- [5] Baalbaki, Ramzi. 1978. Some aspects of harmony and hierarchy in Sibawayhi’s grammatical analysis. *ZAL* 2: 7-22.
- [6] Bohas, G., Guillaume, J. P. and D. E. Kouloughli. 1990. *The Arabic Linguistic Tradition*. London, Eng.: Routledge.
- [7] Cowell, Mark. 1964. *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*. Georgetown University press. P.71
- [8] Dhayf, Shouqi. 1967. *ʔal-Madāris ʔal-Naḥawījjah*. Cairo, Egypt: Dār ʔal-Maʔārif.
- [9] Derenbourg, Hartwig. 1970. *Sībawaihi: Le Livre de Sībawaihi: Traite de grammaire Arab*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- [10] Owens, Jonathan. 1990. *Early Arabic Grammatical Theory: Heterogeneity and Standardization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- [11] Sara, Solomon. 1991. Al-Khalil: The first Arab phonologist. *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies* 8 (1): 1-57.
- [12] Sībawayhi, ʔabu Bishr Omar. 1898. *ʔal-Kitāb*. Bulāq: ʔal-Maʔbaʔah ʔal-Kubra ʔal-ʔamīrijjah.
- [13] Troupeau, Gerard. 1976. *Lexique-index du kitāb Sībawayhi*. Paris, France: Klincksieck.
- [14] Versteegh, Kees. 1978. The Arabic terminology of syntactic position. *Arabica* 25: 261-81.
- [15] ---. 1993. *Arabic Grammar and Qurʔanic Exegesis in Early Islam*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.