

Fee-Alexandra Haase

Mudar Language and Himyarite Language.

Is the Concept ‘Language’ as ‘لغة’ and ‘لسان’ and ‘Speech’ (‘كلام’) in Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* a Source for a Linguistic Variation in the Arabic Dialect Continuum in a North / South Scheme of Linguistic Distinction ?

Dr. Fee-Alexandra Haase

F.a.haase@gmx.de

Am Sportplatz 2 D-18573 Rambin Germany

-Abstract-

This article focuses on the problem of the classification of language and its variations in natural languages. The common understanding about language is that language exists at a complex level as language called in the Saussurean terminology *langue* and in a communicative modus as *parole*. This dichotomy doesn't seem to match the needs of the description of the Arabic language, which as a diglossia is spoken today on the Arabian Peninsula, Southern Central Asia, and Africa. The Arabic language employs two terms for the concept ‘language’, which is contrasted with the concept ‘speech’. The case of the usage of the term ‘Mudar language’ for a variety of the Arabic language spoken and written during the time of the Islamization opposed to the contemporary ‘Himyarite language’ shall introduce with the case study of Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* to the language typology of Arabic.

1. Introduction: The Research Problem:

‘The Concept ‘Language’ and Arabic’ as Research Problem of this Article

The Conception of ‘Language’ in Contemporary Arabic Terms, Ibn Khaldun, and the Western Conception of Language

Arabic as a Semitic language. As Voigt stated, historically the core region of the Semitic peoples during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC lay in the Fertile Crescent of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. (Voigt) Therefore, their assumed shared original homeland cannot have been situated on the Arabian Peninsula. The occurrence of Semitic languages must have been an effect of migration southwards. Semitic languages before Islamization comprise the areas of the Fertile Crescent, the Arabian Peninsula, and East African coastal area. Beeston (1981: 178-186) described the languages of pre-Islamic Arabia. Also the polar dichotomy of ‘convergence’ and ‘divergence’ were used to describe the relationship between the varieties of the Arabic language. Edzard distinguished between ‘convergence’ of linguistic features among historical varieties of Arabic dialects before and during the emergence of Classical Arabic, ‘convergence’ of linguistic features among modern Arabic dialects and other Semitic languages, and ‘convergence’ of linguistic features among Modern Standard Arabic, modern Hebrew, and modern European languages taking into account that the term ‘convergence’ itself is not an established term, in either theoretical linguistics in general or Semitic and Arabic linguistics. (Edzard)

about the Arabic language, we will study his historical accounts of the Arabs and their language from the perspective of his universal history in the *Muqaddimah*. His writings and the terms he used will be compared with the conceptions of Arabic scholars before and after his studies.

The Research Questions and Methodology: Determination of Historical Terms

This article entails a linguistic study of the conceptualization of ‘language’ in the Arabic language. Its concrete theme is a language variation, which existed in the Arabian Peninsula and has been recorded in historical writings concerning the Arabic language. It is called ‘Mudar language’ in English translations. In original Arabic documents the terms used for this ‘Mudar language’ automatically open up a question of research of the linguistics of Arabic, but also for the concrete theoretical perspective unto language: The Arabic language and also the historical documents, which narrate us about the ‘Mudar language’ employ two different terms for the concept ‘language’. The question whether the writers employed these terms in a systematic way or not, we will explore in detail. Concerning the ‘Mudar language’ we aim at raising several questions in order to differentiate and describe its nature. We are aiming at answering the following questions:

- (1) Which linguistic typology can be used to describe the ‘Mudar language’ and the ‘Himyarite language’?
- (2) In which area was the ‘Mudar language’ and ‘Himyarite language’ spoken?
- (3) Who spoke the ‘Mudar language’ and the ‘Himyarite language’?

We approach our questions using the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun as a source, in which we can study the linguistic description of the ‘Mudar language’ and its use. Our source, the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun, entails the Arabic terms, which were used during the 14th century in order to describe a language variation of the Arabic, which existed in the 7th century. Thus, the historical terms Ibn Khaldun used for the description of these language variations are for us a key to the understanding of the Arabic language by Arab scholars. Working with original sources of the Arabic language allows us to understand the concept of the Arabic language with its variations not from the contemporary linguistic perspective of the historical linguistic studies or linguistic typology by the induction of these terms, but to study the language with the usage of the segments called ‘Mudar language’ and ‘Himyarite language’ in historical terms of the Arabic language of the 14th century. The Arabic language entails a differentiated terminological index for the description of various language variations. As previously mentioned, two terms for the concept ‘language’ existed. The Arabic language also entails terms for the description of other variations of language. Besides the concept ‘language’ as ‘لغة’ and ‘لسان’, which are term used both for the written and spoken mode of a natural language, also the concept ‘speech’ (‘كلام’) exists for the oral usage of words. At the time of Ibn Khaldun the usage of ‘لغة’ and ‘لسان’, which today matched the meaning ‘language’, corresponds more to our contemporary understanding of a dialect or former state of language.

Diachronic and Synchronic Aspects of Language Contact:

The Concept of Historical ‘States of a Language’ and the Arabic Language

Western researchers started to distinguish between a structure of an ‘old state’, a ‘middle state’, and a ‘new state’ of a language especially in the Indo-European languages. This pattern was also used for the three main stages of the Ancient Egyptian language. In the case we apply the same structure onto the Arabic language starting with the occurrence of the first written documents in Arabic as the mark for the beginning of the language, we would set this initial point at the time the first Arabic written documents occur. But this is now a tricky action, since the Arabic language was existing in alternative writing

systems before the common usage of the writing system of the Arabic letters, which can be traced to the oldest documents in the 6th century. The southern writing systems of Arabic are older as well as the proto-semitic writing system, from which the Arabic script after intermediate writing alternatives developed. In a strict sense the triploid structure would begin in the 6th century as the century of the first historical writings in the Arabic script as the Old Arabic, the writings of Ibn Khaldun would be part of the Middle Arabic language. When Middle Arabic and New Arabic exactly start, would have been a topic of discussions. Blau (1981: 187-203) used the term 'Middle Arabic'. The triploid structure of the historical development of a language is a tool to describe the historical diachronic development of a language. But for the Arabic language, which always was used among various social groups who employed this language, the synchronic aspect of the parallel existence of variations of the Arabic language in form of dialects, registers, regionally used languages, standardized language and classical language of the *Quran* and the *adab* as well as diglossia is much more descriptive for the situation of the Arabic language since its earliest occurrence until today. Synchronically existing variations of the Arabic language have a higher impact on the variety of linguistic features of the Arabic language than historically developed changes during a period from the first historical records in Arabic to its contemporary state. Variations in a synchronic perspective and variations in a historical perspective for one language theoretically can affect all traditional areas of linguistic features, lexemes, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and morphology. In the case of the Arabic language, the morphology refers to the root system of all Semitic languages, which in the most stable element of the language both in the diachronic and synchronic perspective. On the contrary, the lexemes, syntax, and semantics of Arabic change and have changed mainly depending on synchronic aspects of different variations, which existed at the same time.

2. The State of Research of the 'Mudar Language', the 'Himyarite language' and the Variations of the Arabic Language

2.1. The State of Research

Recent Conceptions of the Arabic Language in Research

Three contemporary theories for the description of the Arabic language exist:

- (1) The 'Koine to Dialect-Theory'
- (2) The Theory of the 'Substratum Effect by other Languages'
- (3) The 'Pidginization/Creolization Theory'

Theories about the development of the Arabic diglossia distinguish between colloquial or spoken dialects in contrast to the standard Arabic, the Fusha, or in ancient times the classical Arabic. The 'Koine to Dialect-Theory' says that the majority of the modern dialects of Arabic are descended from a *koine* which existed side by side with the Standard, Classical Arabic (Ferguson). The 'Substratum Effect by Other Languages' argues that the difference between Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic leads to language drift, natural Semitic language change tendencies, and substratum effects. The 'Pidginization/Creolization Theory' is the theory that assumes the Arabic language created Pidgin languages and Creole languages (Versteegh). (Abulhab 2013: 7) The North Arabic script derived from the Nabatean Aramaic script, which was extended in order to be able to implement all phonetic variations of the Arabic language. (Abulhab 2013: 7) The idea of the distinction Northern and Southern Arabic varieties, which is commonly used in contemporary descriptions of the history of the Arabic language, is actually determined by the understanding of original Arabic sources about the history of the Arabic language. In the work of Ibn Khaldun we find one of the supporting ancient authors about the history of the Arabic language supporting the distinction of North and South Arabian language. As for

contemporary research about Arabic dialects, the distinction between Northern and Southern Arabian dialects is still valid. Cenje wrote that the northern region is regarded as the home of the ‘Mudar language’, the forerunner According to Chejne (1969: 34), the division between northern and southern regions became more pronounced after the rise and expansion of Islam, "when the Mudar language was accorded supreme attributes and superior qualities of Arabic and the southern region is considered the locus of the ‘Himyarite language’. The ‘Mudar language’ is traced back by some researchers to the ancient Egyptian language; thus the ‘Mudar language’ would be a Hamitic language. For example Gadalla stated that “the Ancient Egyptian-controlled Moabi region is regarded as the home of the *Mudar* language, the forerunner of Arabic. The name Mudar is an abbreviated form of the Ancient Egyptian term, *Medu-Neter*, meaning the words/language of angels/gods. It is no accident that Moslems say that Arabic is the ‘*language of angels*’, in imitation of the Ancient Egyptian ‘*medu neter*’. The people of this Ancient Egyptian colony (Moabi) spoke and wrote the Egyptian language. Scripts found in the Moabi region look exactly like the Ancient Egyptian demotic style of writing”. (Gadalla) Even though this etymology of Gadalla from ancient Egyptian *medu-neter* (‘good speech’) to the ‘language of angels’ is more than doubtful, the Egyptian language called Mudar is actually considered by Ibn Kaldun as a language (اللسان المضري or اللغة مصر) in its own. Another source of the ‘Mudar language’ Versteegh and Versteegh (1997: 131) present who discussed the Arabic dialects and the contribution of Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah* to it. Versteegh and Versteegh here identify the ‘Mudar language’ as a variety besides the language of the Bedouins and the settled and urbanized people and as the ancestor of the Quraysh through whom they traced their descent from Adnan, the ancestor of all northern Arabs, which they also call Gahiliyya.

Abulhab wrote in *Inscriptional Evidence of Pre-Islamic Classical Arabic* that “misnaming and denying the substantial Arab roots of the Aramaeans, Akkadians, Canaanians, and other population groups in the Fertile Crescent, and classifying them as independent and parallel ones, contradicts the geographic and historical facts of the Arabian Peninsula.” (2013: 15) Versteegh (2003: 131) in *The Study of the Arabic Dialects* wrote that “the systematic study of dialect geography is a typical invention of Western European nineteenth-century linguistics. But it would be wrong to suppose that the Arabs themselves were not aware of the variation in speech in the Arabophone world. We have seen above that the grammarians accepted the variation in the pre-Islamic dialects and even collected the variants, because in their view these belonged to the corpus of pure Arabic speech.” Versteegh (2003: 132) in *The Study of the Arabic Dialects* wrote that at an early date, al-Cahiz in the 9th century informs us that ‘the people in the cities talk according to the language of the Bedouin immigrants that had settled there, which is why you find lexical differences between the people of Kufa and Basra and Syria and Egypt. In Kufa, he adds, the immigration of Persians to the city brought in a number of Persian words.’ Al-Cahiz uses here the term لغة for ‘language’. Versteegh (2003: 133) stated that the most extensive description of the ways of talking in the Islamic empire and the differences between the various regions was given by al-Muqaddasi for the time of the 9th century.” According to Versteegh (2003: 133), the usual contemporary classification of the Arabic dialects distinguishes the following groups:

1. Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula
2. Mesopotamian dialects
3. Syro-Lebanese dialects
4. Egyptian dialects
5. Maghreb dialects

2.2. The Concept of Arabs as a Nation of Tribes and their Language: Research State of the Development of the Arabic Language from a Socio-Linguistic Perspective

The Abbaside Chalif al-Ma'mum mentioned that the Arabs consists of five groups in the first half of the 8th century Qays, Quda'a, Yamam, Rabi's, and Mudar. Retso's history of the Arabs traces the mention of people called Arabs in all relevant ancient sources and suggests a new interpretation of their history. (Retso 2002: 28) As Owens (2003: 34) in *A Linguistic History of Arabic* wrote, the Old/New dichotomy is suggested to derive from a 'logical matrix' assuming that languages must have a beginning (old), middle, and end (new). Old Arabic as roughly Classical Arabic of the 9th and 10th centuries developed into the contemporary Neo-Arabic dialects with a simplification of grammar and a spread of analytic as opposed to synthetic structures. It is assumed that contemporary spoken Arabic has moved relatively little from a reconstructed 'proto-Arabic'. Long (2013) wrote in *Pre-Islamic Arabic and the Language of the Qur'an* that the Semitic family of languages is composed of five main branches: Arabic, Abyssinian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian. For theological purposes Jews, and then later Christians, adopted the view that all Semitic languages (and in particular Aramaic and Arabic) were derived from Hebrew. Ferrando (2007: 261-68) wrote that Arabia was the centre of distribution for the Semitic languages, and quite possibly their area of specialization. Arabia however was not left untouched by foreign influence, though most of it only affected the language of its eastern and southern borders. Due to the effect that these influences had, Arabic has been further divided into northern and southern branches. The two dialects that compose 'classical Arabic' are that of the Hijaz, the western region of the peninsula bordered by the Red Sea, and Nejd, the more inland desert area. The Hijazi dialect was used in commercial intercourse while Nejd, the dialect of the Bedouin, remained more isolated and pure. Some modern linguists assert that there was even a third supra-dialect was the common language of poetry and shared amongst all tribes. One of the arguments used for this theory is that even though there were different varieties of Arabic present in the peninsula, the main corpus of poetry we have recorded from the 5th to 7th century are linguistically homogenous, conforming to morphological and syntactic patterns without any apparent deviations. Salleh (2011: 1) wrote in *Arabic as a Language between Qur'anic and Historical Designation* that "the first challenge arose in the Middle Age, when theologians and philosophers were beginning to respond to and adopt the cultural heritage of ancient Greece mainly at that time by scholastic theology." Salleh (2011: 2) stated that "Arabic translations of works of Greece philosophy and science, branched off and developed into a vigorous and brilliant movement of scientific and philosophical thought which produced works of great value and originality from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th centuries. Poetry in Arab tribes, is no more an index of cultural development in the sense used by ethnologist, than the plastic arts. Naturally, this low level in the scale of civilizations implies no congenital, inherited inferiority. It comes from the social conditions in the Arab Peninsula. Poetry themes circled around praise, chiding, grief, love, landscape, and camels." Salleh (2011:3) stated that "although great progress may be noted since that time, the central problems nevertheless still remain unsolved. The gulf between High Arabic and regional dialects (Coloquial) persists. The dialects rather virtually separate language in both vocabulary and grammatical structure, despite their non-written form and their restriction to everyday use. Language development in the Arab culture is a matter of innovation in society as a whole, inasmuch as the problem is not simply of a sterile scientific nature but of a socio-political one. Language renewal denotes a confrontation with influential Muslim institutions and the Salafi ideology that holds sway within them, and above all an acceleration of secularization within the education sector." (Salleh) The juxtaposition of 'Classical' Arabic and dialects is an antithetical assumption. Classical Arabic refers to the 'original' Arabs and the modern-day dialects are derived from this language as lower forms of the pure *Fusha*. The root-pattern system for the morphology remains substantially the same in all dialects. Córdoba (2007: 141) wrote that "dealing with the pre-Islamic period of Arabic is nearly the same as making guesses at what the prehistory of a language could have been like, on the mere basis of a few statements issued by neighboring people who did not speak it and of a host of scattered epigraphic materials which, however, may or not reflect the speakers' true speech and, at any rate, yield very little trustworthy information because of the well-known shorthand features of most Semitic scripts, compounded in this case by their being encoded in makeshift adopted Aramaic or South Arabian unvocalized alphabets." Randall wrote that "the comparative method begins with vocabulary, usually

basic vocabulary, and the recognition of cognates across the languages compared. Identifying genetic relationships is of course fundamental to the comparative task and underlies such basic projects as linguistic classification. Exploring the history of individual languages, especially the changes that occur across related languages, often involves the abstractive and retrospective method of reconstruction” (Randall)

2.2. Propedeutics of Research: Investigation of Arabic Sources the Arab Tribes and their Language

Classical Arabic was utilized in major population centers of the greater Arabian Peninsula, many centuries before Islam. The Arabian Peninsula was the source of many Semitic migrations. North African Hamitic languages entail cognates of the Semitic languages. Perishing Arabs (العرب البائدة) are the ancient less-known Arabs of the tribes ‘Aad’ (عاد), Thamud (ثمود), Tasm (طسم), Jadees (جديس), and Imlaq (عملاق) and other tribes. Qahtani Arabs (عرب قحطاني) or Southern Arabs are also called ‘pure Arabs’ who trace their origin to Ibn Qahtan. Adnani Arabs (عرب عدناني) are Northern Arabs or ‘Arabized Arabs’, which are said to have originated from Adnan (عدنان) who was from the progeny of Abraham’s son Ishmael. They are assumed to have spoken Old North Arabic, which became the predecessor of classical Arabic. Most Qahtani immigrant tribes adopted Northern Arabic. Qahtani tribes were the Ghassanids (الغساسنة), the Lakhmids (اللكميين), the Kindites (الكنديون), and the Himyarites (الحميريون). At the time of Islamisation Arabs inhabited Arabia, the Levant, and Iraq speaking Northern Arabic and writing in Nabataean script. Qahtani tribes are Quda (قضاة), al-Azd (الازد), Rassan (رسان), Lakhm (لخم), Kinda (كندة), al-'Aws (الؤوس) and al-Khazraj (الخزرج), Tay (طيئ), and Hamdan (همدان). Adnani tribes are Quraysh (قريش) from Mudar (مضر). The Tameem (تميم) were a large tribe of the Quraysh. Qays Aylan (قيش عيلان) was a confederation of tribes from Hijaz. Iyaad (اياذ) was one of the earliest Arab tribes to move and settle in pre-Islamic Iraq. The Rabi'a Tribe (ربيعة) was a Christian branch of the Adnani Tribes. (Arabic Online) Abd al-Aziz wrote that primordial Arabs were the tribes Ad Tribe, Thamud Tribe, Al-Amaliqa Tribe, Jurhum al-Ula Tribe, Tasm Tribe, and Jadis Tribe. The descendents of the Qahtan were called pure Arabs, while the descendents of the Adnan were called assimilated Arabs. Saba' was considered the descendent of Qahtan and the father of Himyar and Kahlan, the two main branches of the Yamaniya. The northern Arabs trace their descent back to Ma'add ibn 'Adnan or to his grandson Nizar. Mudar and Rabi'a, the two sons of Nizar, became the starting points for the two main branches of the northern Arabs, while the descendants of Iyad dies out during the Islamic period. The Qays 'Aslan Tribe was considered one of the two main branches of Mudar, and included such Mudarite tribes as the Hawazin Tribe, Sulaym Tribe, Thaqif Tribe, and Amir ibn Sasa'a Tribe. As for the branche of Mudar Tribes, it included the Tamim Tribe, the Hudhayl Tribe, and the Kinana Tribe and from the Kinana Tribe the Quraysh Tribe. (Abd al-Aziz 1987: 11) From the Rabi'a Tribe were traced the tribes of 'Abd al-Qays, the Bakr ibn Wa'il grouping, and Taghlib. (Abd al-Aziz 1987: 12)

2.3. The ‘Mudar Language’:

The Relation between the ‘Mudar Language’ and the Mudar Tribe and the Usage of the Term in Ancient Sources

The theories about the ‘Mudar language’ as a linguistic variety of the Arabic language localized in the Northern Arabic speaking area are at once rejectable, when one reads the descriptions of the Mudar tribe in the *Muqaddimah*. Here these tribes are *expressis verbis* tribes living in unfertile areas far away from Syria and Iraq. The word *mudar* (‘مضر’) appears in *hadith* in Bukhari translation always in the context of a tribe of the Mudar. According to *hadith* the prophet himself belonged to the tribe of Mudar was from the offspring of An-Nadr bin Kinana. (Book 56, *Hadith* 697) Ibn Khaldun, as we will see below, mentions the Quraysh as a Mudar tribe, in his *Muqaddimah*. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Quraysh Tribe was a branch of the Banu Kinanah Tribe, which descended from the Mudhar. Also the statement of the origin of the prophet Mohammed in the *hadith* refers to this origin Mudar (‘مضر’). Following *hadith* traditions, the tribes of Rabi'a and Mudar were obviously not favored by the prophet, since they didn't obey. In one

hadith the tribe of the Mudar is even called pagan. The tribes of the Rabi'a Tribe and Mudar Tribe must have lived in neighboring areas; delegates of the tribe of Rabi'a come to the prophet complaining about the tribe of Mudar, which is in the territory between them and Mecca. Both tribes are described by the prophet as rural Bedouins caring only about their camels and cows. So it was narrated by Abi Mas'ud that the prophet said: "From this side from the east, afflictions will appear. Rudeness and lack of mercy are characteristics of the rural bedouins who are busy with their camels and cows (and pay no attention to religion). Such are the tribes of Rabi'a and Mudar." (Book 56, *Hadith* 702) Narrated by Ibn Abbas was the event, when the delegates of 'Abd-ul-Qais came to the prophet and said: "O Allah's Apostle! We are from the tribe of Rabi'a and the infidels of Mudar tribe stand between us and you, so that we cannot come to you except in the Sacred Months. Therefore we would like you to give us some instructions which we may follow and convey to our people staying behind us." The Prophet said: "I order you to observe four things and forbid you (to do) four things: (I order you) to believe in Allah testifying that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah; to offer the prayer perfectly; to pay the Zakat; and to give one-fifth of the war booty to Allah. And I forbid you to use Ad-Dubba, Al-Hantam, An-Naqir and Al-Muzaffat." (These are names of utensils in which alcoholic drinks were served.)" (Book 56, *Hadith* 713) It was narrated by Abu Jamra that the prophet said to Ibn 'Abbas: "I have an earthenware pot containing Nabidh (i.e. water and dates or grapes) for me, and I drink of it while it is sweet. If I drink much of it and stay with the people for a long time, I get afraid that they may discover it (for I will appear as if I were drunk). Ibn 'Abbas said: "A delegation of Abdul Qais came to Allah's Apostle and he said, "Welcome, O people! Neither will you have disgrace nor will you regret." They said: "O Allah's Apostle! There are the Mudar pagans between you and us, so we cannot come to you except in the sacred Months. So please teach us some orders on acting upon which we will enter Paradise. Besides, we will preach that to our people who are behind us." (Book 59, *Hadith* 654) Narrated by Abu Bakra is the following saying of the prophet: "Time has taken its original shape which it had when Allah created the Heavens and the Earth. The year is of twelve months, four of which are sacred, and out of these (four) three are in succession, i.e. Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja and Al-Muharram, and the fourth is Rajab which is named after the Mudar tribe, between (the month of) Jumaida (ath-thania) and Sha'ban." (Book 59, *Hadith* 688) It was narrated by Abu Huraira that the tribe of the Mudar shall be punished by famine according to the prayer of the prophet: "Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to invoke evil upon somebody or invoke good upon somebody, he used to invoke (Allah after bowing (in the prayer). Sometimes after saying, "Allah hears him who sends his praises to Him, all praise is for You, O our Lord," he would say, "O Allah. Save Al-Walid bin Al-Walid and Salama bin Hisham, and 'Aiyash bin Abu Rabi'a. O Allah! Inflict Your Severe Torture on mudar (tribe) and strike them with (famine) years like the years of Joseph." (Book 60, *Hadith* 83) Yemen is praised in another *hadith* as the land, which follows Islam un contrast to the two tribes of the Rabi'a and Mudar, which only care about their camels and not about religion: " It was narrated by 'Uqba bin 'Umar and Abu Mas'ud: "Allah's Apostle pointed with his hand towards Yemen and said, "True Belief is Yemenite yonder (i.e. the Yemenite, had True Belief and embraced Islam readily), but sternness and mercilessness are the qualities of those who are busy with their camels and pay no attention to the religion where the two sides of the head of Satan will appear. Such qualities belong to the tribe of Rabi'a and Mudar." (Book 54, *Hadith* 521) (Search Truth) Canard and Cahen (1991: 347-348) described the Diyār Mudar as the homeland of the Mudar Tribe. Also Khanam (2005: 713) described the northern area of Mesopotamia as the homeland of the Diyar Rabi'a and Mudar. Weipert (2013) stated that Aws b. Hajar Abu Shurayh al-Tamimi Aws b. Hajar was a pre-Islamic Arab poet. Despite the fact that Aws was called the فحل مضر and regarded as the best poet of the tribe Banu Tamim before the rise of al-Nabigha and Zuhayr, almost no concrete facts about his life have come down to us. He was approximately born between about 520 and 535 C.E. and died before the Hijra.

Ibn Khaldun addresses features of the 'Mudar language', which also for later research positions are quite important. Ibn Khaldun has also describes the use and the community of speakers of this language; so the *Muqaddimah* is a source for the understanding of this 'Mudar language' as an element of the tribal

socialization on the Arabian Peninsula. As the Arabic language for a long time was unrecorded in the Arabic alphabet and prior to this only was present in other alphabets, it was mostly orally transmitted within communities of speakers at tribal level, which were separated from each other. At the time the first recorded text in the Arabic alphabet was written, in 512, the South Arabian tribes have had already migrates to the North. These tribes are likely to be associated with the Arabs that spoke the ‘Himyarite language’ in contrast to the ‘Mudar language’. Ibn Khaldun mentions that the ‘Mudar language’ was the language, in which the *Quran* was written. Thus, the term ‘Mudar language’ comprises the written version of Arabic at the time the *Quran* was written. The ancient Yemeni alphabet was called in Old South Arabian *msnd* and in modern Arabic *المسند*. It derived from the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet in about the 9th century BC. Owens (2013) stated on Proto-Arabic that “it is curious that one of the most fundamental concepts of historical linguistics, a discipline that came of age in the 19th century, the proto-language as a product of comparative reconstruction has never been systematically integrated into a historical linguistic interpretation of Arabic”. (Owens) Bräu (2013) stated that *المسند* is the “collective name for certain Arab tribes, in the traditional usage for those of North Arabian origin (Mudar and Rabi’a) in contrast to the Yemen tribes. This contrast said to be inherent in the name *المسند* seems already to be found frequently in the early poets, always presuming the genuineness of the passages in question.

2.4. The ‘Himyarite Language’:

The Research about Linguistic Documents associated to the Tribe of Himyar and the Problem of a Conceptualization of the Distinction of the North-South Arabian in Research

While Ibn Khaldun speaks about ‘لغة حمير’, without doubt literally translatable as ‘Himyar language’, the present research situation has an ambivalent description of the linguistic communicative forms associated to the Himyar Tribe. First of all, the historical documentation of documents, which can be attributed to the Himyar, is recorded not very week due to the lack of documents. Contemporary research distinguished between four dialects, which are associated to ‘Old Southern Arabian’, a term, which was used to replace Himyar. With the usage of the term ‘Old Southern Arabian’ the polar opposition of the Northern and Southern Arabic variations became the dominant structure of Arabic linguistics. But even though such a structure is a typical feature of implemented logical reasoning into historical structures, the conceptualization is problematic, if not completely wrong. Also Ibn Khaldun and other scholars state that this language was not intelligible to the contemporary speakers of Arabic.

Al-Hamadani was in the 10th century a South Arabian, who in his writings collected information about the Himyar Language, whereas it is not clear determinable whether the Arabic scholars distinguished between the dialects associated to the adjective ‘Himyaritic’ in the modern linguistic research. Himyar is the name of an ancient stock in South Arabia. The form *Homeritae* (Ὁμηριται) in the classical authors suggests a diminutive formation; the Arabic form now usual is only found in Theodoros Anagnostes in the 6th century AD in the form Ἰμμυρηνοί or Ἰμμυρεῖς. Nonnosos, who went to Aksum and South Arabia as the envoy of Justinian, and following him, Malalas use the form Ἀμεριται, which goes back to the Ethiopian Ḥemēr. (Mordtmann) ‘Ancient Southern Arabian’ was earlier known as ‘Himyaritic’ after the tribe of the Himyar (*Homeritae*) belongs with Ethiopian to the southern branch of the Semitic languages. There is evidence of four main dialects from the 9th century BC to the 6th century AD of Ḥadramautian, Minaean, Qataban and Sabaeen. These dialects were named after the centres of power. The dialects are divided into two groups relative to their causative prefix and the pronoun (3rd person sing. masc.): an h- (only Sabaeen) and an s- group. (Müller-Kessler) The adjective ‘Himyaritic’ existed before Islam and after Islam and Himyaritic saying in ancient manuscripts have survived. The adjective ‘Himyarite’ was coined by traditional Arab and Islamic scholars and grammarians who preserved and transmitted a limited number of words and a small corpus of short texts that they had heard of proverbs, sayings, and

conversations from daily life or read on epitaphs, in order to emphasize the strangeness of this language to an Arab ear. The term ‘Himyarite’ can also be applied to two inscriptions of pre-Islamic Yemen. (Himyaritic) Zammit stated that “the adoption by the Arabs of features of South Arabian cultural models inevitably resulted in borrowing the terminology related to these models. Ancient or Epigraphic South Arabian, attested as early as the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.E., comprised the following closely related Semitic languages: Sabean, Minean, Qatabanian, and Hadramitic (Kogan a.o. 1997:220–221). Given that South Arabian and Arabic are genetically related, sharing many inherited linguistic features, it is an arduous task to extricate loanwords.” (Zammit) Belova describes extra-linguistic situation, phonetics and phonology, morphology, pronominal system, verbal system, nominal system, and vocabulary/lexicon of the South Semitic languages. In the relationship between Arabic and the South Semitic languages, Arabic is represented by its two forms of the literary written form, ‘Classical Arabic’, and its somewhat modified modern variant, ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ and the spoken form, called ‘Neo-Arabic’. (Belova)

2.5. The Arabic ‘Dialect Continuum’ and the ‘Mudar language’ and the Himyarite Language’

The socio-linguistic studies use the term ‘dialect continuum’ for the variations of a language in the spoken format, while the written format is standardized as language with a grammar. Usually the Arabic language is taken as an example for a diglossia of the standard written language and local dialect variations. As we see from our sources, the concept ‘language’ as لغة and لسان is used for both the ‘Mudar language’ and the ‘Himyarite language’ existing besides the ‘Arabic language’. It is not uncommon that speakers of a social community call their speech a language, even though from the distant perspective is a dialect or a language shared among many communities on speakers. As we can learn from the writings of Ibn Khaldun, the ‘Mudar language’ was more than a dialect and existed in spoken and written form with a high level of linguistic markers. We have even the evidence of the Quran and other sources, which preserve the linguistic features. On the contrary, the situation concerning the ‘Himyarite language’ is different; only a few indirect quotations of scholars in the 10th century have survived. At that time the Himyar kingdom didn’t exist any longer. Some of the Old Southern Arabic writings were associated to the ‘Himyarite language’. It is assumed that some spurious remnants of the ‘Himyarite language’ have survived as substrate in the contemporary local Arabic dialect on Yemen.

3. Linguistic Typology according to Arabic Sources: The ‘Mudar Language’ and the ‘Himyarite language’ – Language or Dialect?

3.1. The ‘Mudar Language’ in Documents Prior to Ibn Khaldun

In contemporary Arabic the root ر-ض-م is active in the adjective مضر, which means ‘harmful’ and the noun مضر ‘disadvantage’. The word حمير might be a derivation of the word حمر and the root ح-م-ح with the meaning ‘red’. (Lessan) The existence of the ‘Mudar language’ must be seen in the context of the existing tribal situation. The ‘tribal landscape’ of the Arabian Peninsula changed. At-Tamim and al-Mudar were tribes. In the *Quran* the term *mudar* does not occur. For the time of the rising of Islam we have a commentary (Tafsir Ibn Kathir, Verse 19:28), which mentioned a tribe called Mudar (كما يقال للتميمي يا (أخا تميم وللمضري يا أخا مضر).

Ibn Kathir reported: Talha and As-Suddi said, “It was said to her: O sister of Aaron (19:28); meaning the brother of Moses, because she was from among his descendants.” Ibn Kathir added, “This is like saying to

عَنْ الْمُعْبِرَةِ بِنِ شُعْبَةَ قَالَتْ لَمَّا قَدِمْتُ نَجْرَانَ سَأَلُونِي فَقَالُوا إِنَّكُمْ تَقْرَأُونَ يَا أُخْتِ هَارُونَ وَمُوسَى قَبْلَ عِيسَى بِكَذَا وَكَذَا فَلَمَّا قَدِمْتُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَأَلَنِي عَنْ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ إِنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يُسَمُّونَ بِأَنْبِيَاءِهِمْ وَالصَّالِحِينَ قَبْلَهُمْ

somebody from the Tamimi tribe: O brother of at-Tamim; or to somebody from the al-Mudari tribe: O brother of Mudar.”
(Tafsir Ibn Kathir, Verse 19:28)

صحيح مسلم كتاب الأذاب تسموا باسمي ولا نكنوا بكنيتي 2135
قال علي بن أبي طلحة والسدي قيل لها ياأخت هزؤون أي أخي موسى
وكانت من نسله؛ كما يقال للتميمي ياأخا تميم وللمضري ياأخا مضر
التفسير ابن كثير 19:28
(Tafsir Ibn Kathir)

Abu Abd ar-Rahman al-Khalil ibn Ahmad al-Farahidi in the dictionary *Al Ain* (العين: 318) used the expression ‘فخذ في لغة سفلى مضر’ for the applications of the root فخذ:

خذ: الفخذ: وصل ما بين الورك والساق، ويخفف فيقال: فخذ في لغة سفلى مضر، وهي مؤنثة،

The dictionary *Lissan Arab* mentions only the use of the root for ‘sour milk’: ابن الأعرابي: لَبَنٌ مَضِرٌّ، Ibn Jarir al-Tabari (838-923) mentions in *The History of the Prophets and Kings* (*Tarikh ar-Rasul wa al-Maluk*, (اللسان المضري) and gives an account of the genealogy of the people who speak the ‘Mudar language’ (اللسان المضري). Al-Tabari listed the peoples who spoke in this language with the name العرب العاربة:

قال: وولد إرم بن سام بن نوح عوص بن إرم، وغاز بن إرم، وحويل بن إرم. فولد عوص بن إرم غاز بن عوص وعاد بن عوص، وعييل ابن عوص. وولد غاز بن إرم ثمود بن غاز، وجديس بن غاز. وكانوا قوماً عربياً يتكلمون بهذا اللسان المضري، فكانت العرب تقول لهذه الأمم: العرب العاربة، لأنه لسانهم الذي جبلوا عليه، ويقولون لبني إسماعيل بن إبراهيم: العرب المتعربة، لأنهم إنما تكلموا بلسان هذه الأمم حين سكنوا بين أظهرهم. فعاد وثمرود والعماليق وأميم وجاسم وجديس وطسم هم العرب، فكانت عاد بهذه الرمل إلى حضرموت واليمن كله، وكانت ثمود بالحجر بني الحجاز والشام إلى وادي القرى وما حوله، ولحقت جدیس بطسم، فكانوا معهم باليمامة وما حولها إلى البحرين، واسم اليمامة إذ ذاك جو، وسكنت جاسم عُمان فكانوا بها.

According to al-Tabari, tribes existed who spoke the language (اللسان) called Mudar, for which also the expression ‘العرب العاربة’ existed. Associated to the tribe of Ismail (لبنی إسماعیل) is the variation called العرب المتعربة. The list of the Arab tribes is organized in the direction from North to South mentioning Oman as the last (سكنت جاسم عُمان).

3.2. The Use of the Term *Mudar* in the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun:

Text-Critical Notices of the Text and the Translation of the *Muqaddimah*

The translator Rosenthal of the *Muqaddimah* translated both ‘اللغة مصر’ (4.46) and ‘اللسان المضري’ (6.48) as the language Mudar. The roots ‘مصر’ and ‘ضر’ are different concerning their root letters; the root ‘مصر’ means ‘to build up’, ‘to settle’, and ‘to civilize’ with derivations like ‘مصر’ for a big city and Egypt and the nisba used for ‘Egyptian’, while the root ‘مضر’ means ‘to become sour’ (used for milk) and with the noun ‘لغة’ it is used for the ‘the language of Mudar’, which is in Wehr’s dictionary equal to the Arabic language. This identification of the ‘language of Mudar’ with the Arabic language will be problematized in this article. Ibn Khaldun is an Arabic source, which clearly distinguishes the language Mudar from the Arabic language. Ibn Khaldun wrote in 6.46 the term ‘Arab language’ (‘اللسان العربي’) and ‘language of Egypt’ (‘لسان مضر’), but uses the term ‘لغة’, when it comes to the description of the change of one language into another language (‘لغة أخرى’) It is interesting that Ibn Khaldun differentiates between the ‘Himyarite language’, which was spoken in contemporary Yemen, the ‘Mudar language’, and the Arabic language. According to Ibn Khaldun, the ‘Mudar language’ existed until the time of the prophet Mohammed. So for Ibn Khaldun the original language was the one, in which the words represented the ideas; the ‘Mudar language’ is for Ibn Khaldun a state of the Arabic language, when the spoken language was not corrupted as he indicates for the contemporary Arabic of his time, the 13th century. The Arabic language was seen in contrast to the neighboring languages, which had a negative impact regarding the pureness of the Arabic language. Ibn Khaldun wrote in section 6.45 that the dialect of the areas of Mekka was the purest one:

“The dialect of the Quraysh was the most correct and purest Arabic dialect, because the Quraysh were on all sides far removed from the lands of the non-Arabs. Next came (the tribes) around the Quraysh, the Thaqif, the Hudhayl, the Khuza'ah, the Banu Kinanah, the Ghatafan, the Banu Asad, and the Banu Tamim. The Rabi'ah, the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Iyad, the Quda'ah, and the Arabs of the Yemen lived farther away from the Quraysh, and were (variously) neighbors of the Persians, the Byzantines, and the Abyssinians. Because they had contact with non-Arabs, their linguistic habit was not perfect. The Arabic dialects were used by Arab philologists as arguments for (linguistic) soundness or corruption according to the (degree of) remoteness of (the tribes speaking them) from the Quraysh”.

Ibn Khaldun used the word ‘Mudar tribes’ (‘مضر’) in his second chapter (2.9) of the *Muqaddimah*. According to Ibn Khaldun, among these tribes are the Quraysh, the Kinanah, the Thaqif, the Banu Asad, the Hudhayl, and their Khuza'ah neighbors (مضر من قريش وكنانة و ثقيف و بني أسد و هذيل). These tribes were in the Southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Ibn Khaldun also mentions that these tribes lived a hard life in places without agriculture or animal husbandry far away from the fertile fields of Syria and the Iraq. So according to Ibn Khaldun the Mudar tribes were living in a deserted and unfertile area in the South of the Arabian Peninsula:

9. Purity of lineage is found only among the savage

Arabs of the desert and other such people. This is on account of the poor life, hard conditions, and bad habitats that are peculiar to the Arabs. They are the result of necessity that destined (these conditions) for (the Arabs), in as much as their subsistence depends on camels and camel breeding and pasturage. The camels are the cause of (the Arabs') savage life in the desert, since they feed on the shrubs of the desert and give birth (to their young ones) in the desert sands, as has been mentioned before. The desert is a place of hardship and starvation, but to them it has become familiar and accustomed. Generations of (Arabs) grew up in the desert. Eventually, they become confirmed in their character and natural qualities. No member of any other nation was disposed to share their conditions. No member of any other race felt attracted to them. But if one of them were to find ways and means of fleeing from these conditions, he would not (do so or) give them up. Therefore, their pedigrees can be trusted not to have been mixed up and corrupted. They have been preserved pure in unbroken lines.

الفصل التاسع في أن الصريح من النسب إنما يوجد للمتوحشين في القفر من العرب و من في معانهم و ذلك لما اختصوا به من نكد العيش و شطف الأحوال و سوء المواطن حملتهم عليها الضرورة التي عينت لهم تلك القسمة و هي لما كان معاشهم من القيام على الإبل و نتاجها و رعايتها و الإبل تدعوهم إلى التوحش في القفر لرعيها من شجره و نتاجها في رماله كما تقدم و القفر مكان الشطف و السغب فصار لهم إلفاً و عادة و ربيبت فيه أجيالهم حتى تمكنت خلقاً و جبلة فلا ينزع إليها أحد من الأمم أن يساهمهم في حالهم و لا يأنس بهم أحد من الأجيال بل لو وجد واحد منهم السبيل إلى الفرار من حاله و أمكنه ذلك لما تركه فيؤمن عليهم لأجل ذلك من اختلاط أنسابهم و فسادها و لا تزال بينهم محفوظة صريحة

Ibn Khaldun lists as the Mudar Tribes (‘مضر’) the tribes Quraysh, Kinanah, Thaqif, Banu Asad, Hudhayl, and Khuza'ah:

This is the case, for instance, with Mudar tribes such as the Quraysh, the Kinanah, the Thaqif, the Banu Asad, the Hudhayl, and their Khuza'ah neighbors. They lived a hard life in places where there was no agriculture or animal husbandry. They lived far from the fertile fields of Syria and the Iraq, far from the sources of seasonings and grains. How pure have they kept their lineages! These are unmixed in every way, and are known to be unsullied.

و اعتبر ذلك في مضر من قريش وكنانة و ثقيف و بني أسد و هذيل و من جاورهم من خزاعة لما كانوا أهل شطف و مواطن غير ذات زرع و لا ضرع و بعدوا من أرياف الشام و العراق و معادن الأدم و الحبوب كيف كانت أنسابهم صريحة محفوظة لم يدخلها اختلاط و لا عرف فيها شوب

In the second part of this section Ibn Khaldun narrates about the tribes, which lived on fertile areas: the Himyar, the Kahlan, the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Tayy, the Quda'ah, and the Iyad. They

mixed among themselves and also with non-Arabs. Ibn Khaldun narrates that the settled sedentary Arabs mixed with Persians and other non-Arabs, while the Bedouins were keeping their lineage:

Other Arabs lived in the hills and at the sources of fertile pastures and plentiful living. Among these Arabs were the Himyar and the Kahlan, such as the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Tayy, the Quda'ah, and the Iyad. Their lineages were mixed up, and their groups intermingled. It is known that people (genealogists) differ with respect to each one of these families. This came about as the result of intermixture with non-Arabs. They did not pay any attention to preserving the (purity of) lineage of their families and groups. This was done only by (true) Arabs.

Ibn Khaldun describes the opposition between the Bedouins as the Arabs, which kept their lineage, and the tribes, which migrates northwards and intermingled there and sedentary Arabs who intermingled with other ethnic groups. Ibn Khaldun quotes Omar who said that the Nabatean tribes referred to genealogy as the knowledge of the place one came from. According to Ibn Khaldun, the northern fertile area was attracting many tribes, which intermingled this way here. The description of the tribe by the place the tribe lived became after Islamization a common habit. The Arabs who settled down also intermingled with the other ethnic groups, which were non-Arabs.

'Umar said: "Study genealogy, and be not like the Nabataeans of the Mesopotamian lowlands. When one of them is asked about his origin, he says: 'From such and such a village.'" Furthermore, the Arabs of the fertile fields were affected by the general human trend toward competition for the fat soil and the good pastures. This resulted in intermingling and much mixture of lineages. Even at the beginning of Islam, people occasionally referred to themselves by their places of residence. They referred to the Districts of Qinnasrin, of Damascus, or of the 'Awisim (the border region of northern Syria). This custom was then transferred to Spain. It happened not because the Arabs rejected genealogical considerations, but because they acquired particular places of residence after the conquest. They eventually became known by their places of residence. These became a distinguishing mark, in addition to the pedigree, used by (the Arabs) to identify themselves in the presence of their amirs. Later on, sedentary (Arabs) mixed with Persians and other non-Arabs. Purity of lineage was completely lost, and its fruit, the group feeling, was lost and rejected. The tribes, then, disappeared and were wiped out, and with them, the group feeling was wiped out. But the (earlier situation) remained unchanged among the Bedouins.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

In the 6th chapter Ibn Khaldun mentions that the 'Mudar language' was spoken still at the time of the prophet Muhammed. The language is in Arabic described by the term *lisan* ('اللسان المضري'). The Mudar language is a habit ('ملكة اللسان المضري'), a statement, which means that this language is a learned feature of the human.

48. Instruction in the Mudar language

It should be known that the habit of the Mudar language has disappeared and become corrupted at this time. All Arab Bedouins

. و أما العرب الذين كانوا بالتلول و في معادن الخصب للمراعي و العيش من حمير و كهلال مثل لحم و جذام و غسان و طي و قضاة و إباد فاختلفت أنسابهم و تداخلت شعوبهم ففي كل واحد من بيوتهم من الخلف عند الناس ما تعرف و إنما جاءهم ذلك من قبل العجم و مخالطتهم و هم لا يعتبرون المحافظة على النسب في بيوتهم و شعوبهم و إنما هذا للعرب فقط.

النسب و لا قال عمر رضي الله تعالى عنه (تعلموا تكونوا كنبط السواد) إذا سئل أحدهم عن أصله قال لحق هؤلاء العرب أهل من قرية كذا هذا أي ما الأرياف من الازدحام مع الناس على البلد الطيب و الخصيبة فكثرت الاختلاط و تداخلت الأنساب المراعي المواطن و قد كان وقع في صدر الإسلام الانتماء إلى فيقال جند قنسرين جند دمشق جند العواصم و انتقل لأطراف العرب أمر النسب ذلك إلى الأندلس و لم يكن و إنما كان لاختصاصهم بالمواطن بعد الفتح حتى صارت لهم علامة زائدة على النسب عرفوا بها و يتميزون بها عند أمرائهم ثم وقع الاختلاط في الحواضر مع العجم و غيرهم و فسدت الأنساب ثم بالجملة و فقدت ثمرتها من العصبية فاطرحت ثلاثت القبائل و دثرت فثرت العصبية بدثورها و وارث الأرض و من بقي ذلك في البدو كما كان و الله عليها

الفصل التاسع والأربعون في تعليم اللسان المضري اعلم أن ملكة اللسان المضري لهذا العهد قد ذهب و

speaks a language that differs from the Mudar language in which the Qur'an was revealed. It has become another language through the admixture of non-Arab elements, as we have stated before.

فسدت و لغة أهل الجبل كلهم مغايرة للغة مضر التي نزل بها القرآن و إنما هي لغة أخرى من امتزاج العجمة بها كما قدمناه.

Ibn Kaldun gives advices how to study the 'Mudar language' to contemporary readers. Ibn Khaldun declares here that any language is a learned habit; the 'Mudar language' can be learned by the study of the ancient texts like the *Quran*, oral instructions from pure Arabs, mixed Arabs, and non-Arabs, and the study of the prose and poetic literature in this 'Mudar language'.

However, since languages are habits, as mentioned before, it is possible to learn them like any other habit. The obvious method of instruction for those who desire to obtain the habit of the ancient (Mudar) language is to acquire expert knowledge of the linguistic documents (written) in it, such as the Qur'an, the traditions, the speeches in rhymed prose and verse of the ancients and of outstanding Arabs, as well as the statements of (early) men of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage (muwallad) in all disciplines. Eventually, the student obtains expert knowledge of a great amount of such poetical and prose material. As a result, he is like a person who grew up among the (old speakers of Arabic) and learned from them how to express what he wants to express.

كانت ملكات كما مر كان تعلمها إلا أن اللغات لما ممكنا شأن سائر الملكات. و وجه التعليم لمن يبتغي هذه الملكة و يروم تحصيلها أن يأخذ نفسه بحفظ القرآن و كلامهم القديم الجاري على أساليبهم من الحديث و كلام السلف و مخاطبات فحول العرب في المولدين أيضا في أسجاعهم و أشعارهم و كلمات سائر فنونهم حتى يتنزل لكثرة حفظه لكلامهم من منزلة من نشأ بينهم و لقن العبارة المنظوم و المنثور عن المقاصد منهم.

Ibn Khaldun understood the 'Mudar language' not as a specific register of the Arabic spoken before and after the Islamization, but as the Arabic language at that time comprising both the written and spoken Arabic language in prose and poetic form. The student of the 'Mudar language' shall according to the advices of Ibn Khaldun imitate the style and the expressions of the experts of the 'Mudar language'. Ibn Khaldun draws special attention to the pronunciation of the sounds, which cause the distinction between the 'Mudar language' and the contemporary Arabic. Both the study of the 'Mudar language' by heart and the support of written material is recommended by Ibn Khaldun in order to obtain a high quality of the utterance in prose and verse. This way, rhetoric ('بلاغة') of the 'Mudar language' can be obtained.

After that, he may try to express his own thoughts with the expressions and in the style they would have used and to follow their ways and word arrangement, of which he has, by now, an expert knowledge. His expert and practical use (of the material) gives him the habit of (the old language). With the increase in (his knowledge and practical use of the material, his habit) becomes more firmly rooted and stronger. In addition, the student needs a healthy disposition and a good understanding of the aspirations and ways of the Arabs in (their) word combinations and in (their) efforts that those word combinations should conform to the requirements of the given situation. Taste attests to the fact that (these things are needed by the student), for it originates as the result of the (existence of the proper linguistic) habit and of a healthy disposition, as we shall mention later on. The more the student knows by heart and the more he uses (the material), the better will his utterances in prose and verse turn out to be. The (student) who has obtained these (linguistic) habits knows the Mudar language. He has a critical understanding of what constitutes good style (eloquence) in it. This is how the (Mudar language) must be studied. God "guides whomever He wants to guide."

ثم يتصرف بعد ذلك في التعبير عما في ضميره على حساب عباراتهم و تأليف كلماتهم و ما و عاه و حفظه من أساليبهم و ترتيب ألفاظهم فتحتل له هذه الملكة بهذا الحفظ و الاستعمال و يزداد بكثرتهما رسوخا و قوة و يحتاج مع ذلك إلى سلامة الطبع و التقهيم الحسن لمنازع العرب و أساليبهم في التراكيب و مراعاة التطبيق بينهما و بين مقتضيات الأحوال. و الذوق يشهد بذلك و هو ينشأ ما بين هذه الملكة و الطبع السليم فيهما كما نذكر. و على قدر المحفوظ و كثرة الاستعمال تكون جودة المقول المصنوع نظما و نثرا، و من حصل على هذه الملكات فقد حصل على لغة مضر و هو الناقد البصير بالبلاغة فيها و هكذا ينبغي أن يكون تعلمها.

و الله يهدي من يشاء بفضله و كرمه.

In the 6th chapter one sequence (6.46) is exclusively dedicated to the distinction between the contemporary Arabic language, the ‘Mudar language’ (‘لغة مصر’) and ‘Himyarite language’ (‘لغة حمير’).

46. Contemporary Arabic is an independent language different from the languages of the Mudar and the Himyar.

This is as follows. We find that with regard to clear indication of what one wants to express and full expression of meaning, Arabic (as it is spoken today) follows the ways of the Mudar language. The only loss is that of the vowels indicating the distinction between subject and object. Instead, one uses position within the sentence and syntactic combinations (*qara'in*) to indicate certain special meanings one wants to express.

الفصل السابع والأربعون: في أن لغة العرب لهذا العهد مستقلة مغايرة للغة مصر و حمير و ذلك أنا نجدها في بيان المقاصد و الوفاء بالدلالة على سنن اللسان المضري و لم يفقد منها إلا دلالة الحركات على تعيين الفاعل من المفعول فاعتاضوا منها بالتقديم و التأخير و بقرائن تدل على خصوصيات المقاصد.

Ibn Khaldun describes in the next part the linguistic semantic and syntactic features of the contemporary Arabic language. The quality of the rhetoric of the ‘Mudar language’ (‘اللسان المضري’) Ibn Khaldun considers to be higher than the rhetoric of the contemporary Arabic. According to Ibn Khaldun, the semantic meanings of words in the ‘Mudar language’ were closer to the original root meaning, while in the contemporary Arabic language they got lost. Ibn Khaldun states that in all languages except Arabic special situations are indicated by expressions restricted by convention to those situations. In the contrary, in the Arabic language situations are indicated by the conditions and possibilities of combining words in a sentence. Examples for these syntactical changes are earlier or later position of words in a sentence, ellipsis, or vowel endings. Also special situations are indicated by the letters, which are not used independently.

However, the clarity and eloquence of the Mudar language are greater and more firmly rooted (than those of present-day Arabic). The words themselves indicate the ideas. What still requires indication are the requirements of a particular situation, called "the spread of the situation." Of necessity, every idea is surrounded by situations peculiar to it. Therefore, it is necessary to indicate those situations in conveying the meaning one wants to convey, because they belong to it as attributes. In all (other) languages, the situations are as a rule indicated by expressions restricted, by convention, to (those situations). But in the Arabic language, they are indicated by the conditions and possibilities of combining words (in a sentence), such as earlier or later position (of words in a sentence), ellipsis, or vowel endings. They are (also) indicated by letters that are not used independently.

إلا أن البيان و البلاغة في اللسان المضري أكثر و أعمق، لأن الألفاظ بأعيانها دالة على المعاني بأعيانها. و يبقى ما تقتضيه الأحوال و يسمى بساط الحال محتاجا إلى ما يدل عليه. و كل معنى لا بد و أن تكتنفه أحوال تخصصه فيجب أن تعتبر تلك الأحوال في تأدية المقصود لأنها صفاته و تلك الأحوال في جميع الألسن أكثر ما يدل عليها بألفاظ تخصصها بالوضع. و أما في اللسان العربي فإنما يدل عليها بأحوال و كيفيات في تراكيب الألفاظ و تأليفها من تقديم أو تأخير أو حذف أو حركة أعراب. و قد يدل عليها بالحروف غير المستقلة.

Ibn Khaldun states that the speech in the Arabic language (‘الكلام العربي’) has different classes, which depend on the ways indicating possibilities. The Arabic language is considered to have the shortest speech using the expression ‘Arabic speech’ (‘الكلام العربي’) in a statement by Ibn Khaldun, which is backed up by a quotation of the prophet Mohammed in the *Quran*.

Hence, the classes of speech in the Arabic language differ according to the different ways of indicating the possibilities, as we have stated before. Therefore, Arabic speech is more concise and uses fewer words and expressions than any other language. This is what was meant in the following remark by Muhammad: "I was given the most comprehensive words, and speech was made short for me."

و ذلك تفاوتت طبقات الكلام في اللسان العربي بحسب تفاوت الدلالة على تلك الكيفيات كما قدمناه فكان الكلام العربي لذلك أوجز و أقل ألفاظا و عبارة من جميع الألسن. و هذا معنى قوله صلى الله عليه و سلم: أوتيت جوامع الكلم و اختصر لي الكلام اختصارا.

The distinction between the Arabic language and the Arabic speech (‘الكلام العربي’) is in the *Muqaddimah* handles as the difference between the language and the spoken words. Distinct from the concept

'language' Ibn Khaldun uses the concept 'speech'. For speech in the Arabic language Ibn Khaldun uses the expression 'كلام العرب' he uses in a story about grammatical variations of deixis.

One may compare the story of Isa b. 'Umar. A grammarian said to him: "I find duplications in Arabic speech. The (three) sentences, 'Zayd is standing,' 'Behold, Zayd is standing,' and 'Behold, Zayd is indeed standing,' all mean the same." Isa replied: "(No! All three) mean something different. The first (sentence) gives information to a person who has no previous knowledge as to whether Zayd is standing (or not). The second (sentence) gives information to a person who has heard about it but denies it. And the third (sentence) gives information to a person who knows it but persists in denying it. Thus, the meaning differs according to the different situations (one wants to express)."

و اعتبر ذلك بما يحكى عن عيسى بن عمر و قد قال له بعض النحاة: إني أجد في كلام العرب تكرارا في قولهم: زيد قائم و إن زيدا قائم و إن زيدا لقائم و المعنى واحد. فقال له: إن معانيها مختلفة. فالأول: لإفادة الخالي الذهن من قيام زيد. و الثاني: لمن سمعه فتردد فيه، و الثالث لمن عرف بالإصرار على إنكاره فاختلفت الدلالة باختلاف الأحوال

In the next paragraph Ibn Khaldun discusses the rhetoric ('البلاغة') and stylistics ('البيان') of the Arabic language. Ibn Khaldun votes against the statement of contemporary grammarians who mention that the contemporary Arabic language ('اللسان العربي') is corrupt. The actual corruption is according to Ibn Khaldun just the missing of the vowel endings, which existed in the 'Mudar language'. Also concerning the semantics of the Arabic language Ibn Khaldun mentions that the majority of the contemporary words in the Arabic language has still the same meanings like the 'Mudar language'.

Such eloquence and stylistic (precision) has continued to this day to be a part of Arab custom and method. No attention should be paid to the nonsensical talk of certain professional grammarians who are not capable of understanding the situation correctly and who think that eloquence no longer exists and that the Arabic language is corrupt. They draw this conclusion from the corruption of the vowel endings, the rules for which are their (particular) subject of study. But such a statement is inspired by both partisan attitude and lack of ability. Actually, we find that most Arabic words are still used today in their original meanings. Arabic speech can still /today express what one wants to express with different degrees of clarity.

و ما زالت هذه البلاغة و البيان يدين العرب و مذهبهم لهذا العهد. و لا تلتفتن في ذلك إلى خرفشة النحاة أهل صناعة الإعراب القاصرة مداركهم عن التحقيق حيث يزعمون أن البلاغة لهذا العهد ذهبت و أن اللسان العربي فسد اعتبارا بما وقع في أواخر الكلم من فساد الإعراب الذي يتدارسون قوانينه. و هي مقالة دسها التشيع في طباعهم و ألقاها القصور في أفئدتهم و إلا فحن نجد اليوم الكثير من ألفاظ العرب لم تزل في موضوعاتها الأولى و التعبير عن المقاصد و التعاون فيه بتفاوت الإبانة موجود

Concerning the speech ('كلام') Ibn Khaldun mentions that the contemporary Arabs still use the language ('اللسان') of the prose and poetry like their ancestors. The poets are able to use the language and taste and disposition indicate for Ibn Khaldun that the language is intact ('الصحيح'):

In their speeches (the Arabs) still employ the methods and the different branches of the (old language of) prose and poetry. There still exist eloquent speakers at (Arab) parties and gatherings. There are poets who are gifted in all the ways of the Arabic language. (The existence of) a sound taste and healthy disposition (as far as linguistic matters are concerned) attests to the fact that (the Arabic language is still intact). The only part of the codified language that no longer exists is the i'rab, the vowel endings that were used in the language of the Mudar in a uniform and definite manner and that form part of the laws of (the Arabic) language.

في كلامهم لهذا العهد و أساليب اللسان و فنونه من النظم و النثر موجودة في مخاطباتهم و فهم الخطيب المصقع في محافلهم و مجامعهم و الشاعر المفلق على أساليب لغتهم. و الذوق الصحيح و الطبع السليم شاهدان بذلك. لم يفقد من أحوال اللسان المنون إلا حركات و لسان الإعراب في أواخر الكلم فقط الذي لزم في مضر طريقة واحدة و مهيمتا معروفا و هو الإعراب. و هو بعض من أحكام اللسان

The decline of the 'Mudar language' Ibn Khaldun explains by the contacts between the Arabic speakers of the 'Mudar language' with non-Arabs in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib. What Ibn Khaldun describes here is the movement of Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula northwards and eastwards. Such a movement occurred during the Islamisation. Ibn Khaldun describes this movement as a spreading

movement of Islam in the language he calls the ‘Mudar language’ (‘بلسان مضر’) beyond the limits of the Arabian Peninsula, which turned to another language due to the influence of the languages in the Islamized areas. The contrast between the language of the *Quran* and the now spoken language was according to Ibn Khaldun the reason for the study of the Arabic language as a science and philology in order to preserve the knowledge about the *Quran* and the other writings. Ibn Khaldun states that the ‘Mudar language’ was turned into another language (‘لغة أخرى’):

Concern for the Mudar language was only felt when that language became corrupt through the contact of (Arabs) with non-Arabs, at the time when (the Arabs) gained control of the provinces of the Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib. (At that time) the (Arabic linguistic) habit took on a form different from the one it had had originally. The (Mudar language) was thus transformed into another language.

. وإنما وقعت العناية بلسان مضر لما فسد بمخالطتهم الأعاجم حين استولوا على ممالك العراق والشام ومصر والمغرب وصارت ملكته على غير الصورة التي كانت أولا فانقلب لغة أخرى.

Ibn Khaldun states that the ‘Mudar language’ was the language, in which the *Quran* was revealed and the prophetic *ahatith* of the (‘الحديث النبوي’) as the basement of Islam.

(Now,) the Qur’an was revealed in (the language of the Mudar), and the Prophetic traditions were transmitted in it, and both the Qur’an and the traditions are the basis of Islam. It was feared that, as a result of the disappearance of the language in which they were revealed, they themselves might be forgotten and no longer be understood. Therefore, a systematic treatment of its laws, a presentation of the analogical formations used in it, and the derivation of its rules were needed.

و كان القرآن منزلا به و الحديث النبوي منقولا بلغته و هما أصلا الدين و الملة فخشى تناسيهما و انغلاق الأفهام عنهما بفقدان اللسان الذي نزل به فاحتجج إلى تدوين أحكامه و وضع مقاييسه و استبطاق قوانينه.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the language became a science (‘علم’), which was called grammar and Arabic philology (‘علم النحو و صناعة العربية’) and orally and written practiced:

(Knowledge of Arabic) thus became a science with subdivisions, chapters, premises, and problems. The scholars who cultivated that science called it grammar and Arabic philology. It became a discipline known by heart and fixed in writing, a ladder leading up to the understanding of the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet.

و صار علما ذا فصول و أبواب و مقدمات و مسائل سماه أهله بعلم النحو و صناعة العربية فأصبح فنا محفوظا و علما مكتوبا و سلما إلى فهم كتاب الله و سنة رسوله صلى الله عليه و سلم و أقبا.

Ibn Khaldun also describes the contemporary Arabic language linguistically. For the contemporary Arabic language (‘اللسان العربي’) Ibn Khaldun states that the vowel endings no longer exist in contrast to the ‘Mudar language’. For Ibn Khaldun it is sure that also the contemporary Arabic language entails rules, which must be investigated by researchers:

Perhaps, if we were to concern ourselves with the presentday Arabic language and evolve its laws inductively, we would find other things and possibilities indicating what the vowel endings, which no longer exist, (used to) indicate, things that exist in the (present-day language) and that have their own peculiar rules. Perhaps, (certain rules) apply to the endings of (the words of the present-day Arabic language, only) in a manner different from that which existed originally in the language of the Mudar. Languages and (linguistic) habits are not matters of chance.

و لعلنا لو اعتنينا بهذا اللسان العربي لهذا العهد و استقرينا أحكامه نعتاض عن الحركات الإعرابية في دلالتها بأمر أخرى موخودة فيه تكون بها قوانين تخصصها. و لعلها تكون في أواخره على غير المنهاج الأول في لغة مضر فليست اللغات و ملكاتها مجانا

Ibn Khaldun discusses the relationship of the ‘Himyarite language’ and the ‘Mudar language’ using for both the classifying noun ‘لسان’. While the Kingdom of Himyar came to an end prior to the rise of Islam, the language continued for centuries. It is known that from the region of contemporary Yemen the tribe of

the Himyar was the origin of other tribes like Zaid Al-Jamhur, Banu Quda'a and Sakasic. The Kahlan Tribe was the origin of tribes like the Hamdan, Azd, Anmar, Tayy, Shammar, Midhhij, Kinda, Lakhm, and Judham. Without doubt these tribes were in South Arabia. We can assume that Ibn Khaldun put the 'Mudar language' as language of the North Arabian tribes in contrast to the South Arabian language. Ibn Khaldun mentions that previous scholars assumed that the 'Himyarite language' and the 'Mudar language' are one and the same language. As a common feature we must assume that they shared their roots or common Semitic features, but, as Ibn Khaldun states, the 'Mudar language' had changed the 'Himyarite language'. Ibn Khaldun mentions documentary material he had for the support of his statement. Ibn Khaldun states that the 'Himyarite language' and the 'Mudar language' are separated languages. Here Ibn Khaldun changes his use of terms: When he speaks at other places about 'Mudar language' and 'Himyarite language' as 'اللغة المضرة' and 'اللغة الحميرية'. Thus, Ibn Khaldun employs in this part of his book the concept 'لغة' for distinct and distinguished languages as autonomous linguistic communication systems.

The relationship of the Mudar language to the Himyarite language was of the same type. Many of the meanings and inflections of the words of the Himyarite language were changed in Mudar usage. This fact is attested by the transmitted material available to us. It is contrary to the opinions of those whose deficient (knowledge) leads them to assume that the Mudar and Himyar languages are one and the same, and who want to interpret the Himyarite language according to the formations and rules of the Mudar language. For instance, certain of these persons assume that the Himyarite word qayl "leader" is derived from qawl "speaking," and so on. This is not correct.

. و لقد كان اللسان المضري مع اللسان الحميري بهذه المثابة و تغير عند مضر كثير من موضوعات اللسان الحميري و تصاريف كلماته تشهد بذلك الأفعال الموجودة لدينا خلافا لمن يحمل القصور على أنها لغة واحدة و يلتبس إجراء اللغة الحميرية على مقاييس اللغة المضرية و قوانينها كما يزعم بعضهم في اشتقاق القيل في اللسان الحميري أنه من القول و كثير من أشباه هذا و ليس ذلك بصحيح.

Ibn Khaldun distinguishes the 'Himyarite language' from the 'Mudar language' in terms of its semantics and inflection and vowel use. 'Himyarite language' and 'Mudar language' were both ancestors of the contemporary 'Arabic language'. The higher esteem of the 'Mudar language' derived from the fact that this variation of the Arabic language was the variation of the recordings of the *Quran* and the *Ahadith*.

The Himyarite language is another language and differs from the Mudar language in most of its (conventional) meanings, inflections, and vowels, (and has) the same relationship (to it) that the Mudar language has to present-day Arabic. The only difference is that the interest in the Mudar language which, we have stated, exists on account of (the connection of that language with) the religious law, caused (scholars) to evolve and derive (its rules). There is nothing nowadays to move us to do the same (for presentday Arabic).

و لغة حمير لغة أخرى مغايرة للغة مضر في الكثير من أوضاعها و تصاريفها و حركات إعرابها كما هي لغة العرب لعهدنا مع لغة مضر إلا أن العناية بلسان مضر من أجل الشريعة كما قلناه حمل ذلك على الاستنباط و الاستقراء و ليس عندنا لهذا العهد ما يحملنا على مثل ذلك و يدعونا إليه.

A case study of the differences between the variations of the Arabic language spoken by Bedouins are the pronunciations of the letter *q* (ق) as *q* (ق) or as *k* (ك). The Bedouins kept the traditional pronunciation as *q* (ق), while the settled population changed the pronunciation to *k* (ك). The Bedouins between the East and the West practice the pronunciation of the letter as a mixture of the *q* (ق) and the *k* (ك).

A characteristic feature of the language of present-day Arab (Bedouins), wherever they may live, is the pronunciation of q. They do not pronounce it as the urban population pronounces it and as it is indicated in works on Arabic philology, namely, where the hindmost part of the tongue meets the soft palate above it. Neither is it pronounced as k is pronounced, even though k is articulated in a place below that where q is articulated in the vicinity of the soft palate, as it is (when properly articulated). It is pronounced somewhere between k and q. This is the case with all Arab Bedouins, wherever they are, in

و مما وقع في لغة هذا الجبل العربي لهذا العهد حيث كانوا من الأقطار شأنهم في النطق بالقاف فإنهم لا ينطقون بها من مخرج القاف عند أهل الأمصار كما هو مذكور في كتب العربية أنه من أقصى اللسان و ما فوقه من الحنك الأعلى. و ما ينطقون بها أيضا من مخرج الكاف و إن كان أسفل من موضع القاف و ما يليه من الحنك الأعلى كما هي

the West or the East. It has eventually become their distinguishing mark among the nations and races. It is a characteristic of theirs that no one else shares with them.

بل يجيئون بها متوسطة بين الكاف والقاف وهو موجود للجبل أجمع حيث كانوا من غرب أو شرق حتى صار ذلك علامة عليهم من بين الأمم والأجيال مختصا بهم لا يشاركون فيها غيرهم.

Ibn Khaldun mentions that the differentiation between the different pronunciations of the letter *q* (ق). Ibn Khaldun also mentions that the imitation of the Bedouin way of the pronunciation of the letter *q* (ق) has become a fashion among speakers who aim at appearing as native Arabic speakers. In this regard these imitators imitate the pronunciation of the ‘Mudar language’. Ibn Khaldun lists the tribes, which derive from the Mudar Tribe. Ibn Khaldun also lists the most powerful Bedouin tribes, which use the traditional pronunciations of the letter *q* (ق). Ibn Khaldun speculates that this pronunciation might be the pronunciation used during the time the old ‘Mudar language’ was actively performed in writing and in spoken words.

This goes so far that those who want to Arabicize themselves and to affiliate themselves with the Arabs imitate the Arab pronunciation of (q). (Arabs) think that a pure Arab can be distinguished from Arabicized and sedentary people by this pronunciation of q. It is thus obvious that this is the (pronunciation of q found in) the Mudar language. The largest and leading group of Arab Bedouins who still live in the East and the West consists of descendants of Mansur b. 'Ikrimah b. Khasafah b. Qays b. 'Aylan through Sulaym b. Mansur and through the Banu 'Amir b. Sa'sa'ah b. Mu'awiyah b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur. Nowadays, they constitute the most numerous and powerful nation of the inhabited part of the earth. They are descendants of the Mudar. They and all the other (Arab Bedouins) of the Banu Kahlan are the model for the pronunciation of q mentioned. It was not invented by these Arab Bedouins but inherited by them over the generations. This makes it obvious that it was the pronunciation of the ancient Mudar. Perhaps it is the very pronunciation that was used by the Prophet. 'Alid jurists made that claim. They thought that he who reads in the first surah the words "the straight path" (as-sirata l-mustaqima) without pronouncing the q (in al-mustaqim) as is done by (present-day) Arab Bedouins, commits an error, and his prayer is not valid.

من يريد التقرب والانتساب إلى حتى إن الجبل والدخول فيه يحاكيهم في النطق بها. أنه إنما يتميز العربي الصريح من وعندهم الدخيل في العروبية والحضري بالنطق بهذه يظهر بذلك أنها لغة مضر بعينها القاف. و فإن هذا الجيل الباقيين معظمهم رؤسائهم في ولد منصور بن عكرمة بن شرفا و غربا خصفة بن قيس بن عيلان من سليم بن صعصعة بن منصور و من بني عامر بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور. و هم و أغلبهم و لهذا العهد أكثر الأمم في المعمور هم من أعقاب مضر و سائر الجيل معهم من أسوة. و بني كهلان في النطق بهذه القاف هذه اللغة لم يبتدعها هذا الجيل بل هي أنها متوارثة فيهم متعاقبة و يظهر من ذلك لغة مضر الأولين و لعلها لغة النبي صلى الله فقهاء أهل عليه و سلم بعينها قد ادعى ذلك البيت و زعموا أن من قرأ في أم القرآن بغير القاف التي لهذا المستقيم الهدنا الصراط الجبل فقد

In the last part of the section about the ‘Mudar language’ Ibn Khaldun compares the pronunciation of the ‘Mudar language’ and the language of the Bedouins. Here the distinct features of the pronunciation of the Bedouins in contrast to settlers and semi-nomadic Arabs are described. Regarding the discussion of the change of the pronunciations of the letter *q* (ق) Ibn Khaldun mentions that modern philologists openly denounced that the letter *q* (ق) as an ugly, un-Arabic sound being no longer aware of its pronunciation by the early Arabs. Ibn Khaldun mentions that it belonged to the Arabic linguistic tradition, because the Arabs inherited it from their ancestors. Finally, Ibn Khaldun discusses the pronunciation of the *q* (ق)-sound in the urban population.

There is a theory that q as pronounced by the urban population does not belong to the (original) q-sound, but is the result of their contact with non-Arabs. They pronounce it as they do, but it is not an Arabic sound. However, our aforementioned statement that it is (all) one sound with a wide (range of) articulation is more appropriate. This should be understood. God is the clear guide.

. و قد يزعم زاعم أن هذه القاف التي ينطق بها أهل الأمصار ليست من هذا الحرف، و أنها إنما جاءت من مخالطتهم للعجم، و إنهم ينطقون بها كذلك، فليست من لغة العرب. و لكن الأقيس كما قدمناه من أنهما حرف واحد متسع المخرج. ففهم ذلك. و الله الهادي المبين.

Still today the dialect spoken in Cairo suppresses the *q*-sound and replaces it with a *g*-sound. The phenomena Ibn Khaldun describes during the time of the Islamisation are related to the language contact, which brings the influence of one language onto another language. Here we have the case of the *superstratum* ‘Mudar language’, and the *substrata* of the language variants of the Arabic language and the other languages, which existed in the Islamized countries. It is Ibn Khaldun’s explication that the *substrata* had an impact for the language, which was the more prestigious one. Also other impact factors for the change of the language must be taken into account. Migration as a phenomenon with a strong impact onto the differentiation of linguistic variants can be taken into account for the variation of the Arabic language. The basic root structure of the ‘Mudar language’ and other Semitic languages Ibn Khaldun mentioned like the ‘Himyarite language’ and the language of the Beduins never seemed to have been subject to change; Ibn Khaldun mentions changes of meanings and changes of the flections. Compared with the 2nd sound shift, which separated different dialect variants of the German language by the regular change of their inventory of the consonants in two areas in North and South Germany, the change of the ‘Mudar language’ didn’t seem to have an impact on the morphological structure of the roots.

3.3. Ibn Khaldun’s Opposition of the ‘Himyarite language’ and ‘Mudar language’ as Examples of the North-South Opposition of the Arabic language

Ibn Khaldun uses the terms the ‘Mudar language’ (‘لغة مصر’) and ‘Himyarite language’ (‘لغة حمير’). Concerning his statement about the Himyari Tribe Ibn Khaldun makes doubtful annotations about their place of living, since we know that they were a tribe of the Southern part of the Arabian Peninsula now in Yemen; Ibn Khaldun writes here that the tribe of the Himyarite lived in the hills and at the sources of fertile pastures and plentiful living. This is the place where the Himyar, the Kahlan, the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Tayy, the Quda’ah, and the Iyad lived. As they got in contact, their lineages were mixed up, and their groups intermingled. ‘Hills and at the sources of fertile pastures’ is usually associated with the Northern Arabic homeland of the Fertile Crescent; here it would mean the South Arabian area of contemporary Yemen. Ibn Khaldun in the Chapter 10 treats the mixture of lineage between the different tribes (الفصل العاشر في اختلاط الأنساب كيف يقع). Here the tribe of the Himyar is mentioned:

المعاش والنعم، نقص من شجاعتهم بمقدار ما نقص من توحشهم و بداوتهم و اعتبر ذلك في الحيوانات العجم بدواجن الطباء و البقر الوحشية و الحفر إذا زال توحشها بمخالطة الأدميين و أخصب عيشها كيف يختلف حالها في الانتهاض و الشدة حتى في مشيتها و حسن أديمها و كذلك الأدمي المتوحش إذا أنس و ألف و سببه أن تكون السحايا و الطباخ إنما هو عن المألوفات و العوائد و إذا كان الغلب للأهم إنما يكون بالإقدام و البسالة فمن كان من هذه الأجيال أعرق في البداوة و أكثر توحشاً كان أقرب إلى التغلب على سواه إذا تقاربا في العدد و تكافأ في القوة العصبية و انظر في ذلك شأن مضر مع من قبلهم من حمير و كهلان السابقين إلى الملك و النعيم و مع ربيعة المتوطنين أرياف العراق و نعيمه لما بقي مضر في بداوتهم و تقدمهم الآخرون إلى خصب العيش و غضارة النعيم كيف أرهفت البداوة حدهم في التغلب فغلبوهم على ما في أيديهم و انتزعوه منهم و هذا حال بني طيء و بني عامر بن صعصعة و بني سليم بن منصور و من بعدهم لما تأخروا في باديتهم عن سائر قبائل مضر و اليمن و لم يتلبسوا بشيء من دنياهم كيف أمسكت حال البداوة عليهم قوة عصبيتهم و لم تخلفها مذاهب الترف حتى صاروا أغلب على الأمر منهم و كذا كل حي من العرب يلي نعيماً و عيشاً خصباً دون الحي الآخر فإن الحي المتبدي، يكون أغلب له و أقدر عليه إذا تكافأ في القوة و العدد سنة الله في خلقه.

In the chapter 60 about the Arabic poetry (‘الفصل الستون: في أشعار العرب و أهل الأمصار لهذا العهد’) is mentioned that also the Himyar had a written language (‘لغة’):

الفرس شعراء و في يونان كذلك و ذكر باللسان العربي فقط بل هو موجود في كل لغة سواء كانت عربية أو عجمية و قد كان في اعلم أن الشعر لا يختص شعراء متقدمون. و لما فسد لسان مضر و لغتهم التي ذوتت مقاييسها و أومروس الشاعر و أتى عليه. و كان في حمير أيضا المنطق في كتاب أرسطو منهم

لغة خالفت لغة سلفهم من مضر في الإعراب فسدت اللغات من بعد بحسب ما خالطها و مازحها من العجمة فكانت تحيل العرب بأنفسهم قوانين إعرابها و جملة و في كثير من الموضوعات اللغوية و الكلمات.

In the chapter 10 the Himyarite writing (‘الخط الحميري’), which is called ‘*al-masnad*’ (‘المسند’) as the ‘Himyarite script’ (‘كتابة حمير’) and opposed to the ‘Arabic script’ (‘كتابة العرب’) of the Mudar (‘language’) (‘مض’):

فمنها الخط الحميري، و يسمى المسند، و هو كتابة حمير و أهل اليمن الأقدمين، و باصطلاحات البشر في رسومها و أشكالها، و يسمى ذلك قلما و خطا. يخالف كتابة العرب المتأخرين من مضر، كما يخالف لغتهم. هو

3.4. The Use of the ‘Mudar Language’ in Arabic Sources after Ibn Khaldun

The usage of both terms ‘لغة’ and ‘لسان’ for the concept ‘language’ in the terms of the description of the ‘Mudar language’ continued in Arabic of the 19th century. An author who used the expression ‘لغة مضر’ is Mohammad Sadiq Hassan Khan (1890- 1832) in his book *Alphabet of the Sciences* (أبجد العلوم: 88). Kahn used the term ‘لغة مضر’ besides ‘اللسان المضرى’، ‘اللسان المضري’، and ‘اللسان العربي’:

يعلم النحو وصناعة العربية، فأصبح فنا محفوظا، وعلما مكتوبا، وسلما إلى فهم كتاب الله، وسنة رسوله وافيها، ولعلنا لو اعتنينا بهذا اللسان العربي لهذا العهد، واستقرينا أحكامه، نعتاض عن الحركات الإعرابية في دلالتها، بأمور أخرى موجودة فيه، فتكون لها قوانين تخصصها، ولعلها فليست اللغات وملكاتنا مجانا، ولقد كان اللسان المضري مع اللسان الحميري بهذه. تكون في أواخره، على غير المنهاج الأول في لغة مضر المثابة، وتغيرت عند مضر كثير من موضوعات اللسان الحميري، وتصاريف كلماته؛ تشهد بذلك الأناقل الموجودة لدينا، خلافا لمن يحمله القصور على أنهما لغة واحدة، ويلتمس إجراء اللغة الحميرية على مقاييس اللغة المضرية وقوانينها، كما يزعم بعضهم في اشتقاق: القيل في اللسان الحميري، أنه من القول، وكثير من أشباه هذا، وليس ذلك بصحيح.

In the following paragraph Khan uses the term ‘Mudar language’ (‘لغة مضر’):

ولغة حمير: لغة أخرى، مغايرة للغة مضر، في الكثير من أوضاعها، وتصاريفها، وحركات إعرابها، كما هي لغة العرب لعهدنا، مع لغة مضر، إلا أن العناية بلسان مضر من أجل الشريعة - كما قلناه - حمل ذلك على الاستنباط والاستقراء، وليس عندنا لهذه العهد ما يحملنا على مثل ذلك، ويدعونا إليه.

(...)
وعندهم أنه إنما يتميز العربي الصريح من الدخيل في العروبية، والحضري بالنطق بهذه القاف، ويظهر بذلك أنها لغة مضر بعينها، فإن هذا الجيل الباقيين، معظمهم ورؤساؤهم شرقا وغربا، في ولد منصور بن عكرمة بن خصفة بن قيس بن عيلان، من سلّم بن منصور، ومن بني وهم لهذا العهد أكثر الأمم في المعمور وأغلبهم، وهم من أعقاب مضر، وسائر. عامر بن صعصعة بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور الجيل منهم في النطق بهذه القاف أسوة.

But also the term ‘Mudar language’ was expressed using the term ‘لسان’. Mostafa Saadeq Al-Rafe'i (1880-1937) in his *History of the Arab Literature (Tarikh al-Adab al-Arab*. تاريخ آداب العرب: 83) used the expressions ‘اللسان المضري’ and لسان مضر for the ‘Mudar language’ in a historical account quoting Ibn Khaldun who used for ‘Mudar language’ the term ‘لسان مضر’:

الإعراف في العجمة: فإن العجمة تصنع اللسان كما قلنا، ولذلك فهو إذا تناول الألفاظ العربية أداها على الوجه الذي يستقيم له وإن كان معوجاً 3 وتصرف فيها بالحذف والقلب والإبدال، ومزجها بمادة العجمة حتى تنتقل إلى رطانة أو ما يشبهها، ولذا قال ابن خلدون: "ما كان من لغات أهل الأمصار أعرق في العجمة وأبعد عن لسان مضر، قصر بصاحبه عن تعلم اللغة المضرية وحصول ملكتها، لتمكن المناقاة حينئذ. قال: وأعتبر ذلك في أهل الأمصار، فأهل إفريقية والمغرب لما كانوا أعرق في العجمة وأبعد عن اللسان الأول، كان لهم قصور تام في تحصيل ملكته بالتعليم".
ولقد نقل ابن رشيقي أن بعض كتّاب القيروان كتب إلى صاحب له: "يا أخي ومن لا عدمت فقده... أعلمني أبو سعيد كلاماً أنك كنت ذكرت أنك تكون مع الذين تأتي، ومعانا اليوم فلم يتهدأ لنا الخروج. وأما أهل المنزل الكلاب من أمر الشين فقد كتبوا هذا باطلاً ليس من هذا حرفاً واحداً، وكتّابي إليك وأنا مشتاق إليك إن شاء الله".

In the following part Al-Rafe'i used the term ‘لسان مضر’ for the ‘Mudar language’:

وهكذا كانت ملكتهم في اللسان المضري شبيه ما ذكرنا، وكذلك أشعراهم كانت بعيدة عن الملكة، نازلة عن الطبقة، ولم تزل كذلك لهذا العهد " (سنة 778) ولهذا ما كان بإفريقية من مشاهير الشعراء إلا ابن رشيق وابن شرف، وأكثر ما يكون فيها الشعراء طارئين عليها

These scholarly authors had the knowledge of ancient sources of the Arabic language like Ibn Khaldun. In contrast to the Western scholarly studies, which developed strong critical approaches to textual historical writings and their interpretation since the 19th century, the Arabic scholars were not approaching the texts in a critical way of inquiry the linguistic material. The 20th century in the West we can also describe as the critical inquisitive age of methodological concerns, which had an impact on the establishment of scientific frameworks. Even Ibn Khaldun as a historian didn't reflect the terms of the Arabic language he was using; this lack of critical approaches is an explication for the change between the two terms for the concept 'language' in his writing without any contextual function. Both terms must have been considered by him as equally carrying the same meaning and thus the alteration and usage of both must have served purely artificial and stylistic purposes.

4. Conclusions:

The Conceptualisation of the Arabic Language as 'Literal Variation':

The Case of Language as 'لغة' and 'لسان' and the 'Arabic Speech' ('كلام العرب')

The concept of variation is deeply rooted into the Arabic language for the description of linguistic features. It derived from the root *h-r-f*, from which the word 'harf' (حرف) for letter or word derived. The noun حرف comprises the meanings 'letter', 'character', 'edge', 'brim', 'list', 'margin', 'brink'. As a verb حرف comprises as meanings 'deviate', 'diverge', 'corrupt', 'distort', 'garble', 'misrepresent', 'tamper', 'slant', 'contort', 'wrest', 'twist', and 'torture'. (*Lessan*)¹ The concept was mentioned in the *Quran*, where the prophet Mohammed says that he was ordered to recite the *Quran* in seven *ahruf*. Shafaat wrote in *The Seven Ahruf* ('الاحرف السبعة') that the word *ahruf* is the plural of *harf* (حرف), which has the following meanings in the *Quran*:

- 1) An edge or border; this is the meaning in Qur'an 22:11
- 2) A variation, this is the meaning which gives rise to the word *tahrif*, used in the Qur'an (2:75, 4:46, 5:13, 41)
- 3) A letter or a word
- 1) The reliability of the ahadith about seven *ahruf* is far from being above doubt
- 2) The identification of *ahruf* with variant readings is not supported by most of these ahadith
- 3) Not all scholars, probably not even a majority of them, are in agreement with this identification of *ahruf* with variant readings
(Shafaat)

We can understand this passage as seven ways of literal variation, in which the *Quran* was revealed. As a conceptual explanation for the unique Arabic settings of the language the concept of the root *h-r-f* is useful. The ambivalence of the terms 'لغة' and 'لسان' is for the historical conceptualization of the Arabic language important. While the first term ('لغة') refers to the complex systematic structure similar to the Saussurean concept 'language', the second one ('لسان') refers in its very earliest and original meaning to the spoken variation of language. This we can state today, since historical linguistic studies allow us to have an insight into the etymological changes of roots of Semitic languages. We cannot exactly state the time, when both terms in the history of the Arabic language were no longer differentiated, but in the writing of Ibn Khaldun we have an example for the indifference of the usage of both terms. A lack of a systematic usage in the work of Ibn Khaldun exists; this is obvious, when one compares the related text passages. So the terms even seem to be interchangeable in Ibn Khaldun's work. Besides language as 'لغة'

¹ *Lessan. Arabic-English Dictionary*. Lessan Organization. March 23, 2013.
<<http://www.lessan.org>>.

and 'لسان' also the concept 'speech' as expressed in the term 'Arabic speech' ('كلام العرب') exists. Ibn Khaldun differentiates the speech from the two above mentioned terms as the oral variation of the Arabic language, which by no means an inferior variation of the language: the spoken Arabic was the language of the speakers and the poets. Since this variation, the speech ('كلام'), was also the oral way of producing poems that was first recorded a few decades prior the emergence of Islam, this speech must have served an oral *lingua franca* between the tribes, which shared their poetry. Recordings of the Arabic language were first in the Southern Arabic languages, which had an alphabet different from the dialects of the Arabic language in the North.

The conceptualization of the Arabic language has been considered a problem of research. Especially the relation between the so-called 'classical Arabic', the Fusha as the established standard language, and the dialects as the local variants of the Arabic language has been considered a linguistic challenge. Even in the discussions of Ibn Khaldun in the *Muqaddimah* about the development of the Arabic language, the conceptual antithetical constellation of the 'Mudar language', which is from the Northern part of the Arab territory, and the 'Himyaric language', which is associated to the Southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, is a ground-giving work for the up-to-day existing differentiation between the Southern Arabic and the Northern Arabic language. The 'North-South' constellation and the process of the increased impureness of the 'Mudar language' due to the contact with communities of users of other languages is a theme of the work of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun dedicates the sequence 46 to a discourse about the contemporary Arabic ('لغة العرب') as an independent language different from the languages 'Mudar language' and 'Himyarite language'. The difference between the 'Mudar language' and the contemporary Arabic is the loss of the vowels indicating the distinction between subject and object. In contemporary Arabic the syntax became more important, since speakers use position within the sentence and syntactic combinations to indicate certain special meanings. Ibn Khaldun states here that in contrast to other languages the classes of speech in the Arabic language differ according to the different ways of indicating the possibilities. According to Ibn Khaldun, 'Arabic speech' ('كلام العرب') is more concise and uses fewer words and expressions than any other language. The contemporary Arabic in the Time of Ibn Khaldun entails a majority of Arabic words, which are still used today in their original meanings, a spoken Arabic, which can still today express what one wants to express with different degrees of clarity, and speeches, which employ the methods and the different branches of the old language of prose and poetry. Eloquent speakers exist in this time in Arab parties and gatherings and contemporary poets are gifted in all the ways of the Arabic language. These statements Ibn Khaldun makes about the spoken Arabic language. In chapter 48 Ibn Khaldun declares that the habit of the 'Mudar language' has disappeared and became corrupted at this time. The Arab Bedouins speak a language, which is differs from the 'Mudar language' ('لغة مضر'), in which the *Qur'an* was revealed. The contemporary language has become another language ('لغة أخرى') through the admixture of non-Arab elements. While the title of this chapter uses the expression 'اللسان المضرى', the term 'لغة مضر' is used in the text. As for the contemporary theories about the linguistic structure of the Arabic language, one can state: Most theories are based on the separation between several language registers: Modern Standard Arabic and Fusha represent the variation of the language, which is more prestigious than dialects. Dialects are variants, which identify the speaker by the region he/she comes from. The separation between ancient Southern and Northern Arabic coming into contact via migration is the underlying principle for the development of the language within the history of the language; also the exchange between Arabic and other languages has affected the language. Already Ibn Khaldun refers to the North-South distinction of the languages he calls 'Mudar language' and 'Himyarite language'. All Arabic authors writing about the 'Mudar language' employ the term 'اللسان المضرى', which we can distinguish from the term 'لغة' used for a language as an individual system of linguistic communication. Even though both terms are employed in contemporary Arabic for a natural language, the term 'لسان' can be traced to a Semitic root for 'tongue'. Ibn Khaldun gives us an ambivalent picture of the 'Mudar language' separating it on the one hand from the language of the Bedouins and the

settled Arabs, but discussing on the other hand its similarity to the Arabic language. We used the opposition of the *Mudar Language* and *Himyarite Language* in the source of the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun to discuss the contemporary question “Is the Concept ‘Language’ as ‘لغة’ and ‘لسان’ and ‘Speech’ (‘كلام’) in Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* a Source for a Linguistic Variation in the Arabic Dialect Continuum in a North / South Scheme of Distinction or Not?” As far as the descriptions of Ibn Khaldun emphasize the difference between the Arabic and the Himyar, which are both as لغة, the most complex term for language as a natural language existing in the Arabic language, characterized, and as far as the languages associated to the area of the Himyar Empire are Semitic languages, we conclude that the distinction between the North Arabic language and the South Arabic language is not appropriate as description of the Arabic language itself and for its history.

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