NOTES

0.1 (1) An extravagant compliment: Sībawayhi was the founder of Arabic grammar as a coherent discipline, a Persian by origin who came to Basra in the middle of the eighth century to study law, but who then turned to grammar as a pupil of al-Kalīl ibn Ahmad (see below). Using his legal knowledge as a model, Sībawayhi produced a strictly functional analysis of Arabic, embodying the results in a work known simply as 'the Book' (al-Kitāb), which has remained ever since the principal source of all grammatical science. He died, aged about 40, some time between 777 and 809. See G.A.L. I, 100, E.I. (1), art. 'Sībawaihi', Carter, R.E.I. 40, 69.

Al-Kalīl ibn Ahmad, the master of Sībawayhi, died between 776 and 791 (the later date is preferred, since it is also reported that he died after Sībawayhi). He is best known for his work in the areas of lexicography and metrics; though his contributions to the Kitāb are numerous and important, it is possible that his achievements in the field of pure syntax have been overestimated. See G.A.L. I, 100, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Kalīl b. Ahmad', W. Reuschel, al-Halīl ibn-Ahmad, der Lehrer Sībawaihs, als Grammatiker, Berlin 1959, Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 146.

0.2 (1) These are puns on the technical terms of grammar, an affectation which goes back at least to the time of Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), e.g. Qatr 1, n 5, and which has become routine with later commentators, e.g. al-Uṣmānī (d. 1467) on Alī., al-Azharī (d. 1499) on Āj., etc. For the case/mood names which provide these puns see 3.1 ('exalts' = independence), 3.5 ('object' = dependence), 3.8 ('compliance' = obliqueness), 3.9 ('inflexible decision' = apocopation).

0.3 (1) This is an echo of S. 112 vv 1-3. See further 22.5 on the declaration 'there is no god but God', and 5.71 on 'who bore not, nor was born'.

(2) The Qur'ān is by no means helpful on the topic of intercession, which carries with it the problem of impinging on God's omnipotence. However, the doctrine evolved that Muhammad had the power to make intercession on Judgement Day (see E.I. (1), art. 'Sha'ā'a'). It is not clear whether as-Sirbīnī's phrase 'Great Intercession' refers to Muhammad's primacy among those permitted to intercede, or to the division of intercession into two kinds, one evidently allowing intercession on behalf of individuals, and the other a general intercession for all believers guilty of mortal sins (see refs. in E.I. (1) to Ibn Ḥazm, al-Fīṣal fī l-mīlāl, Cairo 1321, IV, 63f).
0.4 (1) The full title of the work is *al-Muqaddima l-‘ājurrūmiyya* 'The Ibn Ājurrūm Introduction', most commonly abbreviated to *al-‘Ājurrūmiyya* 'The one of Ibn Ājurrūm'. Strictly *‘ājurrūmiyya* is the fem. of the adjective *ājurrūm* 'related to Ibn Ājurrūm', formed by suffixing ī to the name (cf. 11.721 n 4). On the popularity of the work see 0.5 n 3.

(2) His full name is given in *G.A.L.* II, 237 and *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Ādjurrūm'. Little is known about him, except that he died in Fez in 1323, where he had been a teacher. In *Buğyat al-wuṣṭāh* (Cairo 1964), I, 238, as-Suyūtī declares that from his reading of the Ājurrūmiyya he deduces that the author was of the 'Kūfan' persuasion (see 9.4 n 3).

(3) On spelling instructions see 3.44 n 2. The names of the letters are replaced in transcription with the letters themselves (but see 5.51 n 1 for one kind of exception); these should, of course, be in square brackets or between oblique strokes according to whether they are phones or phonemes, but this is a distinction which is not formalized in Arabic (but see 1.11 n 2). Both ’ and ā are notated with the same letter, q.v. 2.43 n 2. The three short vowels (4.01) are called *fatḥa* (a, literally 'opening'), *kasra* (i, lit. 'breaking') and *dammā* (u, lit. 'drawing together'). That these names might be related to the physiology of vowel production is clear enough, though it is not easy to take the idea any further, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. ‘Haraka wa-sukūn’.


(5) See 1.01 and notes for the nature and purpose of grammar.

(6) This work is not in Brockelmann (*G.A.L.* II, 320), nor are any copies known, and we assume the work is lost. His *Ṣārḥ Sawāhid al-Qatr* 'Commentary on the verses quoted in the Qatr' (*G.A.L.* S II, 17) is no more than a parsing of the said verses, and cannot be the missing work.

(7) Founder of the Ṣāfīschool of law, he lived from 767 to 820 (*G.A.S.* I, 484). His mausoleum is in Cairo, and the Ṣāfi school is the dominant Egyptian rite.

0.5 (1) Following an old tradition āš-Sīrbīnī has given his book a rhyming title ('ājurrūmiyya/sajijya; the latter means 'a faculty or quality firmly rooted in the mind', Lane). If these notes were to have a title of the same nature, it would be at-Ṭūraq al-mutasarriba 'ilā l-‘ājām al-‘āṣiba 'Devious ways into the tangled thickets'.

(2) The English lamely follows the rhyming prose of the original at the same level of literary merit. Rhyming prose (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Ṣadār') is a device often used in solemn discourse; one genre, the *maṣāmara* (q.v. *E.I.* (1) s.v.) consists of narratives entirely in rhyming prose. 'Flowing zephyrs' is a mixed metaphor which seemed best left as it was.

(3) *G.A.L.* II, 237 and Suppl. lists over sixty commentaries, some of which have in turn attracted glosses and super-commentaries, and it is certain that more remain to be discovered. The work is still popular at the present day, so much so that agrūmiyya has acquired the meaning
NOTES

of 'grammar' itself (at least in the Egyptian dialect). In the last century the Ājurrūmiyya was transformed into a catechism for use among Christian Arabs (G.A.L. Suppl. II, 332).

1.0 (1) Instead of the full phrase 'in the name of God etc.' the word basmalatun is used, i.e. the noun of the verb basmala 'to say "in the name of God etc."', derived from the characteristic consonants of that expression. Other delocutives are kabbara 'to say "allāhu 'akbaru"' ('God is most great'), sabbaba 'to say "subhāna lāhī!"' ('Glory be to God'), sallama 'to say "as-salāmu 'alaykum"' ('Peace upon you'), and one very important in grammar, nawwana 'to pronounce n on the end of a word' (from nūn, = n-w-n, 2.43 n 3, name of letter n). In each case the characteristic consonants of a phrase or word have become the radicals of a new verb, cf. Fleisch 247 n 21, Tr. #132

(2) Cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Basmala'. This 'Tradition' (v. 1.01 n 4) does not seem to be findable in Wensinck's Concordance (only a similar one in I, 149), though it is mentioned in the same author's Handlist 34. In any case aš-Sīrbīnī's immediate source is al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 5.

(3) Like many others, aš-Sīrbīnī wrote a short treatise on this very topic (see G.A.L. II, 320). Two problems arise: (a) how is the phrase connected with the following utterance or text, which is solved by treating it as purely 'phatic' and unconnected syntactically with what follows (cf. Petrâček, Ar. Or. 39. 70), and (b) the status of bi 'in, with', which begins the phrase; this is explained as connected with an elided verb such as 'I recite, I declare' or the like.

1.01 (1) This paragraph is quoted by aš-Šabbān in his Commentary on al-Uṣmūnī I, 15, and is the only reference to aš-Sīrbīnī by a later grammarian that I have so far been able to discover. That of Goguyer, Qaṭr 85 n 4, is evidently to Šarḥ Sawāḥid al-Qaṭr (0.4 n 6).

(2) The urge to define one's science is a late-comer to grammar, most probably inspired by translations of such works as the Isagoge (and cf. Versteegh 130). 'Grammar' renders naḥw, lit. 'way, direction, manner', reflecting the original Arab concept of language as a form of behaviour (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 81, and contrast Rundgren, Acta Univ. Upsal. 2:5, 132). Eventually naḥw, while retaining its general meaning of 'grammar', became specifically applied to syntax, with šarāf, lit. 'free currency' (cf. 1.41 n 1) for morphology, q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(3) i.e. the Qur'ān, doctrinally the very words of God revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad, cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Kūr'ān'.

NOTES

(4) i.e. the 'Traditions', the collected sayings and actions of the Prophet, and extra-Qur'anic body of religious matter second only to the Qur'an itself in doctrinal authority, cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Hadīth'.

1.02 (1) Ibn Hīṣām (1308-1360, active in Cairo) is possibly the most highly regarded grammarian of all, even being called 'a better grammarian than Sībawayhi!' See G.A.L. II, 23, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Hīṣām'. Both Qatr and Śugūr aq-gāhāb begin with the topic of the word.

(2) Ibn Mālik (1203-1274), born in Spain, active in Damascus, tireless versifier with over 5000 verses to his name (see Alfiyya 21.61 n 6). The Alfiyya and his advanced Tashīl (21.0 n 2) both begin with the topic of speech. See G.A.L. I, 298, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Mālik'.

1.1 (1) Jum. 17; Muf. #1; Alf. v 8; Qatr 3. These basic linguistic issues are not, of course, raised in Western works dealing specifically with Arabic syntax. 'Speech' renders kalām 'talking', which contrasts both with kalīm 'words' (cf. 1.16, 1.2) and qawl 'dictum, thing said'. Al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. 9 sums it up neatly: 'speech (kalām), words (kalīm) and the individual word (kalīma) are all something said (qawl), but the converse is not so'. Cf. Versteegh 34.

(2) 'Lexical meaning' lit. 'a meaning in the language' (cf. lūgā 'language' denoting 'variant realization', in 21.44 n 1), contrasting with 'technical meaning', ma'nā ʿl-iṭṣālāḥ, lit. 'a meaning by agreement', evidence of the grammarians' realization that grammar had become a techne with its own specialist vocabulary (cf. 20.8 n 2).

(3) 'Language of situation' (lisān al-hāl, lit. 'the tongue of the situation) is probably the same as nūṣba, lit. 'signpost', used by Jāhiz (d. 869) in the same context, and allegedly of Aristotelian provenance (see E.I. (2), art. 'Bayān', esp. p. 1115a). It must not be confused with 'context of situation', q.v. at 19.8 n 2.

1.11 (1) lafẓ 'formal utterance' is to kalām 'speech' what parole is to langage. Elsewhere lafẓ contrasts with ma'nā 'meaning' (2.1 n 2), taqdir 'implicit form' (2.101 n 1) and maḥall 'status' (22.1 n 2); it may also denote 'stem' (3.65 n 9) or 'linguistic form' (17.51 n 1).

(2) In other words, an utterance must consist of recognized phonemes of the language: that orthographical signs (see E.I. (2), arts. 'Ḥurūf al-hījāḍ', 'ʿAbjad') also represent phonemes was taken for granted by the Arab phoneticians (see further 1.16 n 1). Cf. Beeston 16.

1.12 (1) 'Composite' is murakkab, also found in the meaning 'compound', q.v. 3.411 n 4, and 'complex', q.v. 9.5. The antonym is mufrad 'simple, single, singular', see 23.431 n 1.

1.13 (1) The criterion of informativeness ('ifāda, whence muftīd 'informative here) is not explicit in early grammar, but became so by the ninth century (cf. Versteegh 34 and earlier instances in al-Mubarrad, Muqtadāb IV, 53, 88, 91, 126, 172, 186, 329). In Sībawayhi's system this aspect of speech was covered by the notion of istiğāma, lit. 'righteousness', i.e. the quality of satisfying the listener's expect-
ations (see n 3 below), cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 149. A connection between mustaqîm 'right, correct' and orthos is possible, but must date back long before mustaqîm was transferred from ethics to grammar (cf. Versteegh 16 n 70 and contrast the obvious literal translation orthos = mustaqîm in the time of al-Fârâbî, id. 64).

(2) See 12.91 n 8 on yahsunu 'it is good, structurally correct'.

(3) The listener sâmiC or person addressed mukfâtab has from the first been recognized as a determining factor in speech, not only from the point of view of informativeness but also structure (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147). The listener is part of the 'context of situation', and he alone determines, for example, the correctness of elisions, e.g. 19.8, and cf. also 9.81-95.

(4) See 20.01 n 1 on this doctrine.

(5) murakkab 'ıdâfi, see further 3.65 n 7.

(6) murakkab mazâfi, see further 3.411 n 5.

(7) murakkab tagyîdi; an adjective and the noun it qualifies have always been regarded as a single noun, e.g. Kitâb I, 45, 210. See ch. 11 on adjectives

(8) murakkab 'ısnâdi, see further 3.411 n 4.

1.14 (1) Definitions of speech usually say that it is 'informative by convention' or 'informative by intention', but here the two are conflated, and very probably not fully understood: 'convention' is waďC, lit. 'deposition' of meaning, a notion which owes much to the Greek thesis (cf. Versteegh 139) and is correspondingly lacking in early grammars. 'Intention' is qaď, on which see 14.4 n 5; it is clearly not a synonym of waď as the commentary implies. Further on waď see Weiss, Arabica 23, 23, and cf. 11.81 n 1.

(2) i.e. that only by means of a composite utterance can the intention to inform be carried out: in other words, there can be no topic without comment (cf. 1.13, 20.01 n 1).

1.15 (1) A much earlier formulation of the same idea is Kitâb I, 71, which states that if you point to your listener and say 'this is you' the utterance is 'not right' (lâ yastaqîm, cf. 1.13 n 1), i.e. not informative, as the later grammarians termed it.

1.16 (1) That these are in the strict sense phonemes is implicit in 1.11. As evidence that the grammarians distinguished between phonemes and the simple phonetic value of written symbols consider the following points: allophones have always been recognized, cf. Kitâb II, 404 for consonantal allophones and Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots f-h-m, m-y-l for vocalic allophones; consonants as radicals are distinguished from the same consonants as augments (cf. 5.3 n 1, and see 3.3 for vowels similarly distinguished); names of letters are not confused with their value or function (cf. Kitâb II, 61). See also 1.25 nn 2, 3. On the spelling convention z-y-d = zaydun see 2.12 n 1, 3.5 n 2.
(2) 'Word' kalima is not defined by aš-Sirbīnī; the minimal free form, however, is subject to the same criteria as any other utterance, i.e. it must occur in a context, be meaningful to the listener and be marked appropriately (see 11.1 n 2 and 2.14 n 2 on utterance-initial and final markers respectively). Thus the 'word' may comprise several morphemes, e.g. zaydun = /z-y-d/, /-a--/ (10.37 n 1), /u/ (3.2), /n/ (1.4); cf. 14.53 n 1.

1.2 (1) See 1.23 on the reasons for this. The first to speak of 'subdivisions' rather than 'parts' is apparently az-Zajjājī, in Jum. 17 (so al-Azhārī, Aj. 10). On the tripartite division cf. Versteegh 38.

(2) 'Rational dichotomy' is qisma Caqliyya, variously translated as 'inclusive disjunction', 'exhaustive division' etc., a favourite Greek analytical device, on which see further 3.87 n 2.

1.21 (1) Even at this late date, 'Arabs' always means the idealized desert Arabs who are supposed to have acted as informants for the early grammarians, but see J. Fück, CArabiya, Berlin 1950, ch. 9.

(2) Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrāʾ, active in Kūfa, died 822 aged 67; along with al-Kiṣāʾī (18.0 n 2) he is regarded as the leader of the 'Kūfan' school of grammar (9.4 n 3). G.A.L. I, 116, E.I. (2), art. 'Farrāʾ'.

(3) The 'report' is from al-Azhārī, Taṣr. I, 25, but seems to have oversimplified the views of al-Farrāʾ. In Muqīnī I, 161, kallā is said by al-Farrāʾ to be equivalent to 'ay 'that is' and naʿam 'yes', which seems to mean that he regards it as a particle of strong affirmation.

(4) This method of classification is obviously Greek in origin, but does not appear in Arabic until the 9th century (cf. az-Zajjājī, Iḍāḥ, 48, 52, 54, who is undoubtedly drawing on slightly earlier sources such as al-Mubarrad, d. 898, and see Versteegh 54, 70). By the time of az-Zamaḵšārī (d. 1144) it has become throughly incorporated into the system, e.g. Muf. #2, 402, 497, and cf. 3.87 n 2.

1.22 (1) On predicability as a nominal marker see 1.6. This criterion likewise has probable Greek origins (cf. Versteegh 58, n 29), but is also (pace Versteegh 57) not to be found in the earliest grammar. For Sibawayhi nouns were already sufficiently identified by their form, i.e. by tanwīn (1.4). However, by the time of az-Zajjājī, the notion of predicability as a classificatory device is well established, cf. Iḍāḥ 42. It is on these grounds, too, that az-Zajjājī concludes that the tripartite division is universal, as discourse can only be composed of subjects, predicates and 'linking words' (Iḍāḥ 45).

1.23 (1) This passage is found in al-Astarābāḏī, Sarh al-Kāfiya (Istanbul 1858), I, 5, as also are the contents of 1.22 above. It is unlikely that aš-Sirbīnī took them directly from this source, but neither are they to be found in his usual sources, al-Azhārī Aj. and Taṣr. There are other works by al-Azhārī he may have used, or perhaps he has it from al-Uṣmānī on Alī, v 8.

(2) In 1.2 Ibn Ajurrūm refers to 'subdivisions' ('aqsām, same root as qisma 'dichotomy', 1.2 n 2) of speech: as this is a division of the
universal into its particulars, 'aqsām is only 'figuratively' applicable to 'parts' of speech, although it is correctly applied to the subdivisions of the noun and verb listed in 1.24 and of the particle in 1.25. Cf. Versteegh 147 n 121.

1.24 (1) See 11.71 for pronouns, 7.2 n 1 for overt nouns (and cf. 11.61 n 1), and 11.73 for 'vague nouns', i.e. demonstratives.

(2) See 5.01 for past tense, 5.02 for imperfect, 5.03 for imperative.

1.25 (1) This reproduces the earliest description of the āhrāf as first defined by Sibawayhi (Kitāb I, 2), viz. āhrūn jā'ā li-mā'ānan, lit. 'a bit which comes for a meaning'. This has given rise to much comment, especially among those who would like to trace it to Greek origins (see Versteegh 43 for summary of opinions). Two points will be made here: (a) āhrāf means exactly what it says, a 'bit' (more technically a 'particle') which is not, morphologically, a noun or verb, and (b) it is meaningful (see next note) but indeterminate in function: such 'meaning' as it has, then, is grammatical rather than lexical, cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, and Carter J.A.O.S. 93, 153 n 49. Other references 1.9 n 2.

(2) 'āsmā'un li-mā'ānin 'nouns with meanings': there are no other kinds according to 1.13 (some grammarians do exclude nonsense words such as *dīz, 'Zayd' backwards), but the phrase is inspired by the definition of the particle above. The 'meanings' of the particle are in effect its grammatical function (see further 1.7 n 1), so that āhrāf has a very wide application as a technical term, which one would not readily deduce from E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarfa', viz. 'grapheme' (1.11 n 2), 'phoneme' (1.16 n 1), 'consonant' (4.02), 'radical' (17.5), 'morpheme' (5.3, 8.71) and even (though not in our text) 'segment of indeterminate length' (see Weiss, Z.D.M.G. 64, 362).

(3) The name of a thing is, of course, a noun (Versteegh 54); in Kitāb II, 61, al-Ḵālīl catches out students who cannot tell the difference between the phoneme /k/ and the name kāf (cf. Eng. /h/ and the word 'aitch' by which it is named).

(4) See 1.52 for ḥaš, 1.705 for ʾī, 5.71 for lam.

1.3 (1) Apart from the reasons given in 1.22 we may add that the noun has priority because statements may be constructed out of nouns alone (ch. 9), cf. al-ʾAṣtarābāḏī, loc. cit. 1.23 n 1.

1.31 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #2; Alī. v 10; Qaṭr 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 25. In keeping with the elementary nature of the Āṣurrūmiyya the classification is purely formal. See 19.3, 20.7 on formal categories of nouns, 3.64 n 2 for semantic categories.

(2) See 3.8 n 1 on the term āhrūf 'obliqueness', translated here as 'oblique form' in the light of aš-Širbīnī's explanation. On word-final ā as obliqueness marker see 3.81; for 'operator' see 2.11. Note that the two operators of obliqueness mentioned here (see 1.7 for particles of obliqueness, 26.7 for annexation) are the only possible operators: in other words, all oblique nouns are the second element of a prepositional phrase or annexation unit (cf. 26.01 n 2).
NOTES

(3) S. 1 v 1, and at the beginning of almost every other Sura. The expression is referred to as the basmala, see 1.0 n 1. For the juncture feature bi-ismi > bismi see 11.1 n 2, likewise for the same feature in the definite article al > a. For the assimilation of the article al > ar see 11.41 n 2. The use of such terms as 'nominality' is another echo of philosophical influence, and as such is not seen before the ninth century (e.g. al-Mubarrad, Mutaqadab III, 309, 313), and see also 11.721 n 4. On the morphological identity of nouns and adjectives see 11.61 n 1.

(4) See 11.01-02 on adjectival concord. The dispute here concerns the question of whether the oblique operator is 'formal' lafzi or 'abstract' ma'anawi, q.v. at 2.1, i.e. whether it is the overt element 'by' (which has already made oblique the noun qualified by the two adjectives) or the abstract quality of concordance which makes the two adjectives oblique. A similar dispute occurs in 26.01, and cf. 7.0, 9.11 for other conflicts of opinion over formal and abstract operators.

1.4 (1) Muf. #608; Alf. v 10; Qatr 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 39; Bateson 10, Yushmanov 41. Though often translated as 'nunation', the straight transliteration tanwin is preferred (a) because it is a feature unique to Arabic, synchronically speaking (cf. the preservation of such terms as Umlaut, tilde etc.), and (b) it is no more or less informative than the so-called translation 'nunation'? See 3.87 n 1 for references to Western treatments of the problem as it relates to inflection and definition (and cf. also 1.42, 11.8).

(2) For emphasis see 26.34 n 2. Graphically tanwin is represented by doubling the appropriate vowel marker: since the vowel markers are diacritical the tanwin disappears along with the vowel in pause (see 2.14 n 2). The exception is tanwin with a (dependent form), which is written with a double vowel marker and an 'alif (see 2.43 n 2), hence in pause only the tanwin is lost (and one of the two vowel markers with it), leaving ā, i.e. the original a and the lengthening marker 'alif.

(3) This is rather slack, since even the tanwin is vocalized in juncture (cf. n 4 below): he evidently wishes to contrast dayf-un 'guest', where the final n is a tanwin, with dayf-an-un 'parasite', where the first n, though a suffix, is not a tanwin.

(4) S. 17 vv 20, 21. See 2.5 n 3 on the clash of two unvowelled consonants and 11.1 n 2 on juncture in general. As tanwin is notated with doubled vowel signs, the extra vowel inserted only in juncture is never written, a rare anomaly in the orthographical system.

(5) S. 96 v 15. The an on this verb is written with 'alif, as if it were a nominal inflection (cf. n 2 above); another example 5.32. See 26.34 on the emphatic n.

1.41 (1) The terms are tamakkun 'establishment', lit. 'being firmly in position', 'amkaniyaa 'stability', lit. 'quality of being most firmly in position' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns in iyaa), sarf 'currency', lit. 'free circulation (of money)', munsarif 'fully declinable', lit. 'freely circulating'. See further 18.4 n 1, and cf. 3.87.
(2) See 11.7 on definition, 11.8 on indefiniteness.

(3) Lit. the 'lightness' (kiffa) of the noun, ultimately phonological in reference (cf. 2.31 n 4 on 'heaviness'), but the boundaries between morphology and syntax are often terminologically vague, cf. 1.5 n 3.

(4) Invariability (binä', lit. 'building' i.e. in a permanent form) is the antonym of 'iCRāb, 'inflection' (ch.2). But it also has a much wider application, referring to the structure of any word (e.g. the past tense verb, 5.01 n 1, the passive, 8.67 n 1, the short vowels as distinct from inflections, 3.3); in Kitāb II, 362 a problem is set in the following words: ibnī II min al-jiwāri ftaCalū 'Construct for me from the root j-w-r the verb of the pattern iftaCalū' (ibnī 'build!' is cognate with binä'). Note that invariability is associated with loss of syntactic freedom (cf. 18.41): in certain constructions there is doubt as to whether the noun ending is a genuine inflection or an invariable ending, q.v. in 22.12, 23.41. Similar vagueness prevails about some verbal endings, e.g. 5.1, 5.2, 5.32.

(5) The defects (Cilal, plur. of Cilla, cf. muCtall in 2.43 n 2) are listed in 3.88, 3.89. It is also possible that Cilal here means 'causes', see further 23.62 n 2, 24.22 n 1.

1.42 (1) tanwIn at-tankIr, see 11.8 on indefiniteness. It is noteworthy that tanwIn is not primarily associated with indefiniteness, but is regarded principally as the marker of the fully established noun: this is not unreasonable in view of the many proper names which have tanwIn, e.g. zaydun in 1.41. However, Western interpretations, taking as a basis the complementary distribution of al 'the' and tanwIn, see the latter as an indefiniteness marker, see refs. in 1.4 n 1, and 3.87 n 1 for bibliography relating to tanwIn versus partial inflection.

(2) See 8.3 n 2 on 'regularly', qiYās.

(3) See 23.411 on sībawayhi; 'noun of action' is lit. for ism al-fiC1, (cf. 16.1 on fiC1 ), a quasi-imperative which, since it does not take agent suffixes (5.03), is not classified as a verb. It is, of course, an interjection, but what is interesting is that the Arabs could not count such words as 'particles': (lengthy treatment in Muf.#187-99).

1.43 (1) tanwIn al-muqābala, lit. 'facing tanwIn', because it has the same distribution as the na of the sound masc. plur. (3.41) in the undefined form, though not in the defined form (compare paradigms at 4.13 n 2, 4.6 n 1). This early example of morphological parallelism (cf. Kitāb I, 4) may be a relic of pre-Sibawayhian grammar, which is notably analogical in method (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 95 n 1).

1.44 (1) tanwIn al-CiwaC (CiwaC 'compensation' is originally a term of commercial law relating to defective merchandise). The loss of the defective 3rd radical (2.43 n 2) is purely a phonological event (thus *jawāriyu*jawārin according to 2.6), not like the loss of a radical in apocopation (2.43) or in plurals where there is a limit on the number of consonants (thus safarjal 'quince' loses a radical in the plur. safārij, and cf. the modern example 'imbarātūr 'emperor', plur.
NOTES 21

'abâtira; see Kitâb II, 340). The tanwîn is, nevertheless, quite irregular, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #102g. On elision (haďf) see 3.73 n 2.

1.441 (1) Muf. #204; Alf. v 399; Ibn Hiâyâm, Muğfî I, 74; Fleisch 147, 206; Nöldeke 53, 107. Cf. the related elements 'îdâ in 5.94, 'îdan in 5.43, 'îdmâ in 5.85, the 'îdâ of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

(2) S. 30 v 4; here yâwma-'îdân may be analysed as 'on the day of' (18.101) and 'the time of it', there being no sentence to which 'îd is annexed (cf. n 5 below), hence the 'tanwîn of compensation'.

(3) On Ibn Hiâyâm see 1.02 n 1. The reference in Muğfî I, 170 is only a passing mention (but âš-Šîrînî is here paraphrasing al-Azhârî Taşr. I, 35 in any case). The status of kullun (13.4) and baďgün (17.65 n 1) is interesting, especially the former, which has the same syntax as the superlative adjective (cf. 13.4 n 6) on the one hand, but which may also stand alone, with tanwîn, in an apparently undefined state ('everything'). Ibn Hiâyâm clearly has reservations about this, and sees kullun as a defined expression meaning 'all of it', a view which seems well grounded in spite of the objections raised here. See 26.93 n 1 on complementary distribution of tanwîn and annexation.

(4) Sentences by nature carry no inflection markers, though they very often function as inflected elements (e.g. 5.41, and cf. 5.84 n 4).

(5) One problem with 'îd is that it remains definite when the sentence to which it was annexed is replaced by tanwîn (cf. n 2 above), and to this extent Reckendorf's reluctance to accept the ending as a genuine tanwîn is justified (5.43 n 3). Certainly the original demonstrative function of 'îd is not very far below the surface: a verse such as S. 2 v 214, wa-ďkurû niCmata llâhi  càlaykum 'îd jaCala fikum ul-‘anbiyâ’a, 'remember God's grace to you when he set prophets among you' could easily be read, 'remember God's grace to you: look! he has set prophets among you'. Cf. 'îdâ of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

1.45 (1) The work is evidently lost; a suitable alternative would be Muf. #608 or, since âš-Šîrînî will certainly have copied from it extensively, al-Azhârî, Taşr. I, 35-37!

(2) The verses are anonymous and seem to date back no further than al-Azhârî (d. 1499), Taşr. I, 37, or as-Suyûtî (d. 1505), Ašbâh II, 108, though âš-Šîrînî's version differs slightly from both.

(3) Type (1) 1.41; type (2) 1.44; type (3) 1.43; type (4) 1.42. Type (5) is inferred by taking zîd 'increase!' in the verse to mean ziyâda 'redundant element' (3.231 n 1), i.e. the rare vocative form yâ maďtarun O Matar', for yâ maďtaru (cf. 23.41). Type (6) tarannum 'poetic trilling', a nasalizing of the rhyming vowel (q.v. 5.88 n 4), cf. Fleisch, Tr. #37e. Type (7) ĥîkâya, using a fem. word as a man's name and retaining the tanwîn which it should have lost by becoming a proper name (3.89 (4)). Normally ĥîkâya in grammar means 'verbatim quotation', especially when repeating words with the inflection of their original context. Type (8) îjîtirâr, lit. 'being forced to', adding tanwîn to words which should not have it (e.g. mawâďiqan in 13.13). Cf. also
11.715 n 2. Type (9) ġuluww, 'going to extremes', adding a vowel and n to the otherwise unvowelled rhyming consonant (q.v. 5.88 n 4). Type (10) after hamza (= '), found only with hā'ulāː'i 'these' and a few other demonstratives which end in ' (11.731, 11.734 etc.), hence hā'ulāː'in.

1.5 (1) See 11.7 on definition in general, 11.74 on ʾal in particular, where also main bibliographical references; for assimilation of ʾi to following apicals see 11.41 n 2, and for elision of a in juncture see 11.1 n 2; on the name 'alif-lām for the article see 11.74 n 2.

(2) See 1.51 for the relative ʾal, 1.52 for interrogative ʾal.

(3) Note that 'substituted' (badaluḥā) here uses in a morphological context the term more commonly associated with substitution at the syntactical level (ch.14): as has been remarked before (1.41 n 4), from phonology through morphology to syntax is a continuum.

(4) This is evidently a Yemeni feature, cf. Rabin, Anc. West-ʾAr. 34, 50, 205 (where further examples), Cantineau, Études 51, Fleisch, Tr. #75b. See Wensinck, Concordance III, 461 for this 'Tradition' (cf. 1.01 n 4), which is unusual in that it occurs only in the collection of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855, v. E.J. (2) s.v., G.A.S. I, 502).

1.51 (1) It is not usual for ʾaḥ-Širbīnī to give such circumstantial details about the poems from which he quotes: the reason why he does so here is undoubtedly because he is only reproducing al-ʾAzhari, Taṣr. I, 38. For the poet Farazdaq (d. 728-30) see G.A.L. I, 53, G.A.S. II, 359, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Farazdaq'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 205 (add ʾIngāf 212, al-ʾAzhari, Taṣr. I, 38). Though historically both the definite article ʾal and the relative pronoun allāḏī (11.753) are related (as ancient demonstratives), they were syntactically far enough apart for this licence of Farazdaq's to outrage the purists. The combination at-turdā (for al-turdā, see 11.41 n 2) is equivalent to allāḏī turḍā 'whose (judgement) is accepted' or al-mardiyyu 'the accepted (of judgement)' (see 26.92 on the syntax of the latter paraphrase). Cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 426.

(3) In Alf. v 98. See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

(4) The work is lost, but cf. al-ʾAzhari, Taṣr. I, 38.

1.52 (1) This is nothing more than a variant of hal (see 5.741 n 1) showing the rare change h⇒ʾ, attested also in the prefix of the Stem IV verb 'a (cognate with ʾā, cf. 5.21 n 1, and cf. the noun 'āl, from 'ahl, both meaning 'family'). The reverse shift is also recorded: the variants hin and la-hinna exist for 'in 'if' and la-'inna 'verily', (cf. Weil, Zeitschr. für Assyriologie 19, 21).

(2) Qutrub, d. 821, is known principally as a collector of lexical material, with an interest in morphology, and is said to have been one of the few pupils of SThawayhi (G.A.L. I, 102, E.I. (2), art. 'Kuṭrub'). If S.Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, 286, is to be believed, the word quṭrub 'demon, puppy etc.' is an
adaptation of the Greek *kynanthropos*.

1.53 (1) See 11.81 n 1 on proper names without *al*. It is worth noting that proper names without *al* nevertheless acquire the definite article when dualized or pluralized (examples in 3.41, 3.64). Such duals and plurals are, however, rather artificial (mostly grammarians' fictions, in fact), as there is an inherent incongruity between dual/plural and words intrinsically denoting specific individuals (for similar reasons duals and plurals are rare in the vocative, v. 23.421). Cf. 3.65 n 8.

1.6 (1) Cf. 1.22 on predicability, also Muf. #2; Alf. v 10, Qaṭr 5, and ch. 9 on equational sentence structure (9.0 n 1 on the term 'īsnād 'predication' in particular). On other noun markers see 1.8 n 1. The omission by Ibn Ḥajrūḵī of these 'abstract' markers (cf. 2.1 on maʿnawī 'abstract') is only to be expected in view of his purely 'formal' presentation.

(2) The Arabic has only *t*, which can be vocalized *tu*, *ta*, *ti*, i.e. as 1st or 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing., cf. 5.1 n 5 (similar case: 4.81 n 1).

(3) All verbs are predications of their agents, see 3.73 n 5.

(4) See 10.37 n 1 on the pattern system.

(5) The examples here are simply grammarians' metalanguage (which is not always so easy to discern in a script which has neither capitals nor italics!). Nöldeke 64 has an interesting anthology of examples from literature. The problem was noticed very early (see Kitāb II, 31-36), and two illustrations will suffice to show how nominal markers could even be attached to sentences: *al-qāla wa-l-qīla* 'malicious talk', lit. 'the he said and the it was said', *min āubba ‘ilā dubba* 'from youth to old age', lit. 'from it was youthful to it was crept around with a walking stick' (note impersonal passives, 8.11 n 1).

1.7 (1) See Muf. #498; Alf. v 364; Qaṭr 279 on particles in general. Here we quote from Bateson 37-38 by way of summary of points made elsewhere (refs. in brackets): 'Membership of the class of particles (1.25 n 1) is, on the one hand, a matter of function (1.25 n 2), since the particles are the words which do much of the grammatical work (3.84 n 3) of the sentence; on the other hand, although ties with the root system are discernible (21.5 n 1), particles are words which do not have true roots (26.26 n 1) or true patterns (10.37 n 1) and are not included in the two inflectional systems (1.41 n 4)'.

(2) A fifth, predicability, has already been dealt with in 1.6. There are others, viz. pronominalization and collocation with the vocative particle *yā* 'O', see further 1.8 n 1. The reason why they are omitted here is that aš-Šīrbīnī is simply copying al-Azharī, Āj. 14.

(3) Note the attention to distributional factors. On absolute coordination see 12.1.

(4) So it appears to al-Azharī, whom aš-Šīrbīnī is quoting here (Āj. 14), because the particles are not due to be dealt with until 1.9.
Omitted are ḥattā (26.31), ḍā (23.21 n 2), wa meaning rubba (26.61), ḍāṣa etc. (26.1), muḏ and muḏu (26.62), and some rare ones in 26.1.

1.701 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with man 'who' (5.83). Muf. #499; Alf. v 369; Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī I, 14; Nöldeke 52; other functions of min: partitive 9.03 n 4, explanatory 5.82 n 3; comparative 20.42 n 2; causative 24.55 n 2; see also 26.21; min was formerly a noun meaning 'part' (Broekelmann, Grundr. II, 117).

(2) 'Senses' renders maḏānī, lit. 'meanings' as understood in 1.25 (and cf. 1.7 n 1), and is only preferred here over 'meanings' because the latter has too lexical a flavour. 'Semantic function' (2.2) has also been used for maḏnī, but seemed too ponderous for this context.

(3) On the semi-declinable sulaymāna cf. 3.89 (7).

1.702 (1) Muf. #500; Alf. v 371; Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī I, 70; Nöldeke 54; see further 26.22. The final ā of 'ilā is actually spelt ay, and is so pronounced before suffixes (e.g. 'ilayka 1.709). On the strength of this Rabin (Anc. West-Ar. 117) has speculated about the existence of a phoneme ā (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #7i). The so-called 'alif maṣūra 'shortened ā' is related, cf. 3.89 n 2. See 9.4 n 3 on Kūfa.

1.703 (1) Muf. #508; Alf. v 374; Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī I, 129; see also 26.23. The attempt to characterize the 'meanings' of Cān in a single term is particularly unhelpful here: it may better be summed up as denoting a literal or figurative movement away from something, e.g. safartu Cān il-baladi 'I travelled away from the country', 'atCāmtuhu Cān jūCin ' I fed him in his hunger' (examples from Lane s.v.).

1.704 (1) Muf. #507; Alf. v 375; Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī I, 125; see also 26.24. The final ā is of the same nature as that of 'ilā, 1.702 n 1. See 14.2 n 2 for an idiomatic use of 'alā and āl (1.709).

(2) S. 55 v 26: it had become, at least by the time of Ibn Fāris (d. 1004), an affectation to verify each point of grammar with Qur'anic quotations. Cf. 12.911 n 2 on 'perceptibly' and 'abstractly'.

(3) S. 2 v 253: similar example 26.1. Cf. 17.65 n 1 on baCīd 'some'.

1.705 (1) Muf. #502; Alf. v 373; Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī I, 144; see also 26.25.

(2) 'Being contained in space or time' is an explanatory translation of the single word zarf, lit. 'vessel, container', and used as the technical term for space and time qualifiers (v. ch. 18). It has been suggested that this term is borrowed from Greek angeion (see Versteegh, 8, for a review of this theory), but no-one has yet been able to demonstrate precisely how such a notion was transmitted from Greek to Arabic, presumably well before the time of Sibawayhi.

(3) S. 2 v 187. Note that, like all semi-declinable nouns, al-masājidi is regular when formally defined (cf. 3.89 n 12).

(4) S. 2 v 203.
1.706 (1) Muf. #505; Alf. vv 366, 368; Ibn Hišām, Muḡnī I, 118; see also 26.33. This word has contrary meanings (see further 26.33 n 1), and it was also disputed whether it was a particle ('Baṣrans') or noun ('Kūfans', v. 9.4 n 3), see Insāf, Suppl. prob. 3. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with rabban 'lord'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 262. The late grammarians had an enormous stock of evidentiary verses to draw upon, and did not always quote them in illustration of the same grammatical point as they were first used to prove. This one is a good example, since it was originally produced (Kitāb I, 341, II, 258) as evidence for the form yalda (from yalid, with loss of unstressed i and addition of final a, probably for metrical reasons; cf. 5.02 n 4 on yalid). Sibawayhi does not use this verse as evidence for the function of rubba, and indeed, on one of the occasions quotes it in a form which does not even begin with rubba.

1.707 (1) Muf. #503; Alf. vv 371, 374; Ibn Hišām, Muḡnī I, 95; Nöldeke 55, and see also 26.26, 26.4. The challenge to sum up the wide range of meanings of this particle in one word (cf. 1.703) leads to the choice of 'assistance' (istiṣâna, lit. 'seeking help'), a not very helpful attempt to combine the notions of 'with, in, at, by' which are some of the possible 'translations' of bi. For bi in oaths see 1.712.

(2) Spelling instructions distinguish bi from four otherwise identical letters t, ẓ, n, y (cf. 3.44 n 2). Note that the particles have been deliberately presented in order first of those which are independent words (orthographically) followed by those which, since they consist of only one letter, are always written as prefixes (cf. Beeston 28, 30).

1.708 (1) Muf. #509; Alf. v 377; Ibn Hišām, Muḡnī I, 151; see also 26.31, 26.4. According to Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 389, ka is related to kam 'how much/many' (q.v. at 20.6 n 2).

(2) The article in al-'asadi 'the lion' is generic (11.741), hence the translation 'a lion', but cf. 10.44.

1.709 (1) Muf. #504; Alf. v 372; Ibn Hišām, Muḡnī I, 175; Nöldeke 50; see also 26.27, 26.4 26.71.

(2) S. 16 v 44, lacking the usual introductory formula. The li prefixed to the verb might seem to us more 'causative' (cf. 5.51) than the second li, but cf. the explanation of lakum 'for you' in 24.51.

1.71 (1) Jum. 82; Muf. #506; Alf. v 365; Qaṭr 282; for other forms of oaths cf. 9.92; emphatic form of verb in oaths 26.34 n 2.

(2) Here the spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes qasam '(the swearing of an) oath' from qism 'section, division'.

1.711 (1) Refs. as in 1.71 n 1. The origins of this element are still obscure, and the thorough investigation by Fischer, Islam 28, 1-105 (!) comes to no firm conclusion.

(2) S. 53 v 1. The star in question is the Pleiades group, the common noun 'star' having become a proper noun by 'usage predominating' (3.65
n 12), though some say it is merely a generic article (11.741).

1.712 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.5. Note that when an overt verb (invariably 'ugsimu 'I swear') occurs, only bi may follow. Conversely there are a few forms of oath apparently without any introductory particle, e.g. lāḥi 'by God!', al-ka'batī 'by the Kaaba!', though here it is reasonable to assume that one has been elided by frequency of use (see the collection by Fischer, ref. in 1.711 n 1).

1.713 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.34. We are on safer ground regarding the origins of this particle: it is quite probably the remnant of some previous word, e.g. 'amatana lāḥi 'by God's safekeeping!' or bayta lāḥi 'by God's house!' (so Fischer, loc. cit. 27-30).

(2) The spelling instruction is necessary here to distinguish ta from yā, which is indeed found as a vocative with the name of God, viz. yā lāhū 'O God!' (q.v. at 23.21).

(3) This specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) is mere pedagogical reinforcement: it has no bearing on the possible historical order of the three particles.

1.8 (1) Two markers may be mentioned here as they are not dealt with systematically by aš-Širbīnī: (a) pronominalization, which is invoked in 5.83, cf. n 5; (b) collocation with the vocative particle yā (q.v. in ch. 23), a marker which is acknowledged somewhat haphazardly by the grammarians (thus Ibn Mālik includes it in his definition of the noun, Alf. v 10, but not az-Zamaḵšarī or Ibn Ḥišām). An interesting, but isolated criterion is offered by Jum. 17: a noun is that which can be an agent (faṣil) or patient (mafa'ul), cf. Versteegh 59 for discussion and alternative sources in az-Zajadiī.

(2) See 16.1 n 1 on 'verb' (the spelling instruction excludes faṣil, 'doing, being active'.

1.81 (1) Beeston 78 relates the function of this particle to the dynamic or static aspect of the verb: thus a dynamic action such as qalimtu 'I came to know, realized' becomes static with qad, viz. 'I knew (already)', and, with imperfect tense forms, a static action such as yaqūmu 'he (always) stands' becomes potentially dynamic, viz. 'he might well, actually does stand'. Cf. Nöldeke 70.

(2) The two are doubtless cognate, though a plausible etymology is lacking (cf. Bloch, Anthropos 41-44, 723, Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 296).

(3) See 20.6 n 2 for an alternative construction with qad.

1.82 (1) Muf. #578; Beeston 79; Fleisch 113. In Inṣāf, prov. 92, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that sa is a particle in its own right, while the 'Kūfans' sensibly claim that it is an abbreviation of sawfa. Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 466, sides with the Kūfans, and equates sawfa with similar time qualifiers such as bukrata 'tomorrow' (18.104), in the meaning of 'eventually, in the end'. Note that sa, being a one-letter element, is cited by the name of that letter, viz. sīn (cf.
other examples 1.707-13, 5.51).

1.83 (1) Jum. 286; Muf. #607; Alf. v 11; Qaṭr 14; 7.26-28; 4.13 n 5. The whole paragraph is repeated with minor modifications in 5.01, and may be from the lost Qaṭr Commentary (0.4 n 6). For Ibn Mālik this t extends to cover the tu, ta, ti of the 1st and 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing. (cf. 1.6 n 2), so that his definition of the verb is implicitly 'that which takes agent suffixes', though strictly speaking the fem. sing. at is not an agent suffix (see 7.28 n 1).

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on fem. markers in nouns.

(3) There are some seventy variants of rubba according to Lane, which are arrived at by the (random?) permutation of the possible vowels, suffixes (at, ata, with or without a suffixed mā) and single or double b. Of tumma only the variants given here seem to exist, to which should be added the interesting forms fumma, fummata (Cantineau, Études 41). The ta suffix has been investigated by Aartun, Bib. Or., 28, 126, as a feature denoting emphasis in such words as lāta 'not' (cf. 5.76 n 1), and cf. Fleisch, Tr. #115u, 143g.

(4) Cf. 1.41 n 4 on invariability, and cf. the phrase lā ḥalā wa-lā guwwata '(there is) no power and no might', quoted in 5.01, parsed in 22.4

1.9 (1) Summarized in Muf. #402, Alf. v 11. Verbs in general: ch. 5; agents ch. 7; passive ch. 8; objects and other qualifiers ch. 15; paradigms chs. 4, 8 passim.

(2) See 1.25, 1.7. Jum. 17; Muf. #497; Alf. v 12; Qaṭr 25; Fleisch 154; Bateson 37; Yushmanov 61; Versteegh, index (ḥarf).

1.91 (1) See next note on zero-marker. On 'improper', lā yaṣluḥu, see 11.82 n 2. In E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarf', Fleisch speculates that ḥarf is equivalent to horos, and was so named because, by enunciating slowly, the grammarians determined the 'limits' of a sound, i.e. a syllable. Particles were given the name ḥarf/horos because many of them are mono-syllabic. This all seems most unlikely, cf. 1.25 n 2.

1.92 (1) This negative definition of the particle reinforces what was said in 1.25 n 1 and 1.7 n 1: for this reason particles are often identified by their function (e.g. 5.74 n 3), and it is extremely significant that, when the 'meanings' (1.701 n 2) of particles are given, they are always expressed in the form of verbal nouns, i.e. of grammatical 'actions' (=functions), e.g. 'making partitive', 'asking a question', 'negating' etc. etc.

Zero is a well-recognized element in Arabic grammatical analysis: there are zero morphemes (cf. inflection of agent pronouns, 7.52-57, agent pronouns 'concealed' in the verb, 7.58-59, 7.8), and there are zero operators (cf. independent form of the verb, 5.33, equational sentence structure, 9.01). See further 5.34 n 1.

(2) The immediate source for this assertion is al-Ażhari, Āj. 18, but
it has not been possible to trace it in the major works of Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2).

2.0 (1) 'Inflection' is necessarily an approximate translation of the term 'īc ráb: originally it denoted the (orthographical?) insertion of vowels, contrasting with 'īcjam, the addition of diacritical points to distinguish otherwise identical letters (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Khaṭṭ', on origins of Arabic script). There is a long-standing, but unproven view that 'īc ráb is a calque of the Greek term hellenismos, which, however, cannot account for their different technical meanings, nor for the term 'īcjam, which is the literal antonym of 'īc ráb and means 'making something foreign' (barbarismos) evidently referring to the fact that the diacritical point system was modelled on Syriac (cf. K. Semaan, Linguistics in the Middle Ages, Leiden 1968, 12). Greek influence is strongly argued by Versteegh, 61.

2.1 (1) Jum. 18, 260; Muf. #15; Alf. v 15; Qatr 35; Beeston 53; Fleisch 165, Tr. #54a; Yushmanov 41; Bateson 9, 25; E.I. (1) & (2), art. 'īc ráb', Drozdk, J.M.S. 5, 71. For 'īc ráb in the sense of 'parsing' see 8.21 n 1. The antithesis of 'īc ráb is binā', 'invariability', see 1.41 n 4. Note that verbal as well as nominal 'inflections' are covered by the term 'īc ráb (2.2). For 'operator', ġāmil, see 2.11.

(2) 'Abstract' and 'formal' render mağnawī and lafzī respectively. The latter term relates to lafż 'formal utterance' in 1.11, and see 2.101; mağnawī relates to mağnā 'meaning' in 1.25 but, under philosophical influence, came to be used predominantly for 'abstract, conceptual, ideal'. In 12.911 it is contrasted with ḥissī 'tangible, perceptible'.

(3) Particles are by nature uninflected, cf. 1.41.

(4) For these two n suffixes see 3.241 n 1 and 3.241 n 2 respectively.

2.101 (1) Much paper has been consumed because of these two terms: lafżān, lit. 'as a formal utterance' (1.11) creates little difficulty, but taḏḏīrān, lit. 'by estimation', is tantamount to 'according to what the grammarian thinks he can see below the surface structure' (examples 5.411, 8.2, 9.74, 10.23, 11.8, 18.1, 20.23). Cf. Baalbaki, Z.A.L. 2, 7.

(2) On allomorphs cf. 3.0 n 3; vowellessness as an inflection 3.91 n 1.

(3) On al-fatā see 2.5; on al-muslimūna see 3.42 n 2.

(4) S. 3 v 186. In his Qur'ān Commentary, 1, 259, aš-Šīrbīnī shows
that tublawūna 'you are tested' with the emphatic suffix anna (q.v. at 3.241 n 2) reduces to tublawunna to avoid (a) the succession of 3 n's (cf. 10.55 n 3) and (b) the over-long syllable wūn (cf. 2.5 n 3).  

2.11 (1) Every inflected element is a member of a binary unit which consists of an 'operator' (Cāmil) and an 'element operated on' (maCmul fīḥī), the only exceptions being those elements which have been 'neutralized' (mulgā, cf. 5.431 n 3). This was the original concept as found in the Kitāb (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 151, and 3.84 n 3), but all too often such inept Latinisms as 'governing word', 'régime' etc. occur as translations (in spite of an article by J. Weiss, Z.D.M.G. 64, 349, published in 1910). Even Arab grammarians unconsciously use the same metaphor: Ibn Hišām (Qatr 240) speaks of tasallutu l-Cāmil, 'the authority of the operator' (cf. 18.1 n 2).

(2) Verb and agent ch. 7; verb and direct object ch. 16; ka 1.708; equational sentence ch. 9; zero-operator 5.34 n 1.

2.12 (1) Orthographically the un of zaydun is a diacritical mark (cf. 1.4), hence d is the last letter of the word. We are close here to the notion of a stem (cf. 3.65 n 9).

(2) Cf. 3.42 n 1; though certainly an originally biliteral root, yadun must conform to the Arab notion that it has lost its third radical, hence the d is only figuratively (majāzan, 13.3 n 1) its last letter.

2.13 (1) In other words Arabic syntactical analysis recognizes inversion, called tagdim wa-ta'kīr, lit. 'advancing and retarding' (cf. examples in 9.8, 19.73, 20.7). The problem is not only one of word order, but of how much an element may operate retro-actively, as normal operation (Cāmal, cf. 2.11 n 1) is upon the following element.

2.14 (1) See 1.41 on fully established nouns; 5.02 on imperfect tense verb inflection.

(2) The 'pausal form' occurs, as its name implies, before a pause (waqf, lit. 'stopping'), which may be utterance-final, or simply for breath or for rhetorical reasons. The main rules are: (a) final short vowels are dropped (inc. tanwIn, e.g. zaydun⇒zayd. (b) dep. tanwIn (an, 1.4 n 5) becomes ā, e.g. zaydan⇒zaydā. (c) fem. suffix at becomes ah, e.g. makkatu⇒makkah (see 11.42 n 1). All words in Arabic are spelt in pausal form (i.e. as if isolated, cf. 11.1 n 2), which Rabin, Stud. Isl. 4, 26, ascribes to slow dictation. Muf. #640; Alf. v 881; Beeston 21; Fleisch 28; Bateson 8; Yushmanov 15.

(3) i.e. language can only be analysed in the context of utterances.

(4) The resemblance to the Latin 'casus' metaphor is quite fortuitous: under legal influences the Arabs introduced their own notions of a hierarchy of elements (cf. 11.711 n 2).

2.15 (1) This obscure comment stems from the fact that iCrāb may be understood in two different ways, (a) as a process of change in word endings (thus 'abstract'), or (b) as a set of morphemes (thus 'formal'). Aš-Širbīnī's point (elaborated from al-Azhari, Aj. 22) is that if we
NOTES

2.2 (1) The names and functions of the cases/moods are dealt with in ch. 3, esp. 3.1, 3.5, 3.8, 3.9.

(2) Common only to nouns and imperfect tense verbs. The latter, on account of certain functional resemblances to the noun, are called muḍāric, lit. 'similar' (see 5.02), always rendered 'imperfect tense'.

(3) Contrast the word order here with that of the normal verbal sentence (see 7.12). For zero-operator see 5.34 n 1.

(4) For 'inna see 10.4; for lan 5.42.

(5) The text says yaktassu bi-maṣṣan bi-smin, lit. 'is peculiar to a meaning in a noun'. This cannot refer to lexical meaning, but is best interpreted in the light of the use of the term maṣṣān to define the particle (1.25), namely as referring to grammatical functions. We may then paraphrase maṣṣān as 'the ability of nouns to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements', such as subject, agent, possessor etc. See next note.

(6) By the same token (n 5 above) verbs have the ability to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements, such as combining with lam to indicate a non-event (5.71) or being the condition for another event (5.8), both marked by the apocopated form. See 2.34 and 2.44 for Arab views on the fact that nouns and verbs do not completely overlap in their inflection.

2.3 (1) Jum. 18, 260; Muf. #16; Alf. v 15; Qatr 35; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 41.

2.31 (1) Though stated here as a phonological problem (see subsequent notes for details) the etymological reasons are given later in 2.5 and 2.6. From the spectator's point of view the weak radicals w and y are constantly engaged in a struggle between the demands of morphology and phonology, usually involving compromises on the morphological side. The topic has never been explored, but Fleisch, Tr. #24d n 1, makes a tantalizing reference to it. For the matter as a whole see Muf. #697.

(2) The u is final because the n of tanwIn (1.4), like the defining prefix al (1.5) with which it is in complementary distribution, are not part of the case inflection system.

(3) 'Impossibility of realization' renders taḍḍur, lit. 'extreme difficulty, impossibility', viz. of the long diphthongs *āu, *āi, and an overlong *āa. These are reduced to ɑ both on nouns, as here, and on verbs, e.g. yakšā, q.v. in 2.41.

(4) 'Phonetic inconvenience' renders istitqāl, lit. 'regarding as too heavy', viz. the non-canonical sequences *iyu, *iyi, *iwu, *iwi (cf. 2.6 n 1), which are always reduced to I. The role of ease of
articulation in producing phonological changes has been recognized in Arabic grammar from the very beginning, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, under t-q-l, h-r-f, C-g-r.

2.32 (1) Note that the word qādī is omitted from the examples here. This is because the dep. forms of qādī are completely regular, viz. qādiyan, al-qādiya, as there is no 'phonetic inconvenience' in the sequence iya. The same applies to verbs, see 2.42 n 1.

2.33 (1) Thus *al-qādiyí is reduced to al-qādî (= al-qādiy) as in 2.31 n 4. The grammarians offer long and detailed explanations of this and related phenomena (e.g. 8.2 n 5), but it can never be assumed that the phonological changes described correspond to any actual historical developments. Indeed it is more likely that the Arabs had no intention of offering other than a synchronic analysis: in other words, the changes are not the result of a long process but happen almost instantaneously with each new occurrence of the word.

2.34 (1) There are various theories as to why apocopation is not found in nouns (and cf. 2.44 for the problem of why verbs do not have an oblique form). The purely formal explanation of Sibawayhi is that, since nouns must bear the suffix n of tanwīn (1.4) there must be an intervening vowel between the last radical and the n (because there cannot be two consonants at the end of a syllable, 2.5 n 3). He also argues that, since verbs are morphologically more cumbersome ('atqal, related to istitqāl in 2.31 n 4), they may have subtractive endings (Kitāb I, 2 and 6 respectively). Another theory, ascribed to the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), is that nouns cannot be operated on by apocopating elements because these denote negation, prohibition, condition, the giving of orders etc., which are not qualities proper to nouns (az-Zajjājī, Ḥdāḥ, 106, and cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6).

2.4 (1) Jum. 22; Muf. #404; Al'. v 677; Qatr 21; Beeston 83; Fleisch 106; Yushmanov 52; Bateson 25. See 5.02.

2.41 (1) This is an example of a so-called 'hollow verb', i.e. one whose middle radical is w or y (see 10.23 n 2), but the indep. ending u is unaffected by this.

(2) The weak 3rd rad. verbs on the whole follow the same principles as the nouns in reducing non-canonical sequences (cf. 2.31 nn 3, 4). Thus the three typical verbs in this class behave as follows: *yarmiyu ➞ yarmī, *yağzuwu ➞ yağzū, *yakṣayu ➞ yakṣā. Paradigms 4.81 n 2.

2.42 (1) On lān see 5.42. Note that yakṣā, like al-fatā (2.7) is virtually invariable (except for its apocopated form, 2.43). The other weak 3rd rad. verbs are not mentioned here because they are quite regular, as no non-canonical sequences are generated, thus yarmiya, yağzuwa (the 'five verbs' (3.45) set of the weak 3rd rad. verbs are also regular in that they elide the final n for their dep. and apocopated forms, cf. paradigms at 4.82 n 1 and 3.92 n 1).

2.43 (1) See 3.9 on 'apocopation'. Regular paradigm 4.82 n 2.

(2) Consonants are either 'sound' (ṣabīḥ, lit. 'healthy') or else
'defective' (muṣṭali, lit. 'ailing', v. 23.62 n 2). All consonants are 'sound' except the semi-vowels w and y and the consonant known as 'alif which is realized as a glottal stop but also acts as lengthening marker for ā (historically some cases of ā were originally a', from which the function of ' as a lengthening marker was undoubtedly generalized; cf. Beeston 26). The prosodic structure of Arabic is very limited: it comprises only the short syllable CV, the long closed syllable CVC (e.g. man 'who'), the long open syllable CV̄ (e.g. fī 'in') and a highly restricted over-long syllable CVC (q.v. 21.22 n 4). Both CVC and CV̄ are prosodically identical (fī = fiy) because the lengthening marker is a (weak) consonant: hence shortening a long vowel is orthographically the same as removing the final consonant of a closed syllable and both processes are termed ḥaḍīf 'elision' (3.9 n 2). For general references to syllable structure see 2.5 n 3. Note variable transcription of weak consonants: ', w, y when consonantal, ā, ū, ī when vowel lengtheners, aw, ay when diphthongs, as the context requires (cf. 3.5 n 2).

2.44 (1) According to az-Zajjājī, Īḍāḥ 107 (based on Kitāb I, 2) verbs have no oblique form because oblique elements are in complementary distribution with tanwīn (see 26.93 n 1) and verbs do not have tanwīn. It is also argued that elements cannot be annexed to verbs: this is not refuted by such structures as yawma jā'a 'on the day he came' because, as az-Zajjājī (loc. cit. 112) points out, the space/time qualifier here is annexed to a sentence (cf. 1.441 n 2).

2.45 (1) Another example of the 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) which is so prominent in pedagogical grammars, where it functions more as a mnemonic device than an analytical tool. In the long history of Arabic grammar the genuine elementary textbook (i.e. aimed principally at children) does not emerge until relatively late, perhaps no earlier than the eleventh century, with such works as the Mi'at Čāmil ('The Hundred Operators') of al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) and the Um mugaj ('The Model') of az-Zamakšārī (d. 1144). By the thirteenth century, however, when all debate over the subject-matter of grammar textbooks was ended (in other words, when the community had settled upon its concept of the ideal language), pedagogical grammars begin to appear in greater numbers, e.g. the Mištāh ('The Lamp') of al-Muṭarrīzī (d. 1213) and the Kāfiya ('The Adequate') of Ibn al-Hājib (d. 1249). Once the contents of Arabic grammar had been established, only the form left any opportunities for innovation, and from the twelfth century (and probably earlier) grammatical textbooks begin to appear in verse. By far the most famous of these versified grammars is the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik (see 21.61 n 6); the use of poetry as a teaching medium has continued into the twentieth century, in other subjects besides grammar.

2.5 (1) Apart from the special case of the 'five nouns' (3.42) and some foreign words (see 3.422 n 1 for examples), there are no nouns whose singular ends in ū.

(2) For the significance of 'elided' (maḥdūfa) in this context see
3.9 n 2, and below, n 3.

(3) 'The clash of two unvowelled consonants' translates iltiğa' as-sākinayn, lit. 'the meeting of two unvowelled letters' (see 4.01 n 1 on sākin 'unvowelled', lit. 'not moving', from sukūn 'vowellessness, motionlessness'). The avoidance of this particular collocation is the reason for many phonological intrusions into the regular patterns generated by the morphology (cf. 2.31). Briefly, no syllable may either begin (11.1 n 2) or end with two consonants (except in 'doubled verbs', 21.22 n 4, and pausal forms, 2.14 n 2, examples in 4.13 n 2, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). When fatā (= *fatayu, 2.31 n 3) acquires tanwîn an assumed form *fatayn is generated, which is reduced to fātan for the reason given, because *fatayn contains the non-canonical sequence CVCC (cf. 2.43 n 2 on consonantal value of y here). Whether this explanation is valid diachronically is an open question (2.33 n 1); Muf. #663; Beeston 19; Fleisch Tr. #24; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 44; Bohas, Bull. Ét. Or, 29, 73. On syllable structure in general: Beeston 20; Fleisch 21, Tr. #34; Bateson 6; Yushmanov 14. Other consonant cluster problems: initial, 11.1 n 2, 13.12 n 1, final 3.53, 7.60.

2.6 (1) The lengthening marker in qādī is also y, which is thus 'elided' according to the same principle as the y in fātā (2.5), thus *qādiyu> qādī (= qādiy), and *qādiyn> qādin. Here, too, we cannot say whether the reconstructed phonological process reflects an actual historical sequence, though it is certainly likely that the reduction of *iyu to I is independent of the suffixation of tanwîn, since the change *iyu>I also occurs in verbs (e.g. *yarmiyu>yarmī, 2.41 n 2). Note that the dep. form qādiyan is regular, 2.32 n 1.

(2) Paradigms of qādī and fatā are in 4.2 n 2. Among 'similar cases' we may mention those nouns whose third radical is w: these have become completely assimilated to fatā and qādī, according to whether the w is preceded by a or i, thus Cāsān, al-Caṣā 'stick' (but spelt with 'αlif replacing the w, cf. 2.43 n 2), from *Caṣawn, *al-Caṣauw, and Gāzin, al-Gāzī 'raider', from *Gāziwn, *al-Gāziwu. The 'compensatory tanwîn' in jāwārin etc. (1.44) is also formed on the analogy of qādin (see 8.3 n 2 on 'analogy', qiyās).

2.7 (1) Because in this position the w and y are consonantal (2.43 n 2) and syllable-initial, and are said to 'resemble the sound consonant' (yuṣbihu ʃ-ṣabīb). The paradigm is thus the same as for rajulun in 4.11 n 1, ad-dalwu, dalwu, dalwun, dalw etc.

(2) The terminology of 'explicit' and 'implicit' shows a slight overlap in the various Arabic equivalents: for 'implicit' we have here muqaddar, related to taqdir 'estimation', q.v. at 2.101 n 1. But there it is opposed to laff, 'formal expression', while here it is opposed to zāhir, lit. 'manifest, apparent'. But elsewhere zāhir is opposed to mudmar 'pronominalized' (e.g. 7.2, and see further 11.71). For translation purposes the appropriate word has been chosen from a basic set, 'formal, explicit, overt' against 'implicit, implied, assumed' on the one hand and 'pronominalized, suppressed' on the other.
(3) The final ā sound, then, may be spelt either with 'alif (2.43 n 2) or with y. The former may represent either a true ā (e.g. the dual suffix, 3.43) or a former weak radical, mostly w (2.6 n 2). The latter may represent a former weak radical y as in the examples given, and cf. 1.702 n 1, 3.92 n 2, or the fem. suffix ā known as the 'alif maqsūra, q.v. at 3.89 n 2 (the term 'alif maqsūra tends to be applied to all the forms of final ā except the true 'alif).

3.0 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #16; Alf. v 25; Qaṭr 36; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37. 'Markers' renders literally ḍalāmāt (sing. ḍalāma), which also means 'signs, marks, symptoms' etc. From the same root is ḍalām 'proper name', q.v. at 11.72. For inflection, 'iḍrāb, see 2.0 n 1.

(2) Arabic 'usūl, plur. of 'aṣl, lit. 'base, root, stock', in all the Islamic sciences used figuratively for 'basic norm' or 'archetype'. In grammar it denotes (a) a basic norm, as in this paragraph, (b) a regular form or structure, e.g. 4.01, 9.8 and cf. 8.3 n 2, (c) an underlying form, e.g. 8.2 n 3. The same metaphor supplies the term farḍ (plur. furūḍ), lit. 'branch', i.e. secondary or derivative form, e.g. 'secondary markers' in this para. More examples 11.7, 11.717.

(3) 'Replace' is literal for nāba 'to deputize, stand in for', which clearly corresponds to the modern notion of allomorphs (but see 8.0 n 3). A synonym of nāba is ḡalaфа, cf. 5.51 n 2.

3.1 (1) The case/mood names are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary and their origins are entirely obscure. It is only certain that they cannot be equated with any other system. They belong to a group of terms whose literal meanings are associated with building (see 3.8 n 1), but no clear relationship is discernible between their technical meaning and the form or function they denote. 'Independence' is thus only a free translation of ḍafḍ, lit. 'raising', no more than a convenient label for the function of 'independent elements' (ch. 6). Perhaps this set of 'building' terms originally described only orthographical or phonological features, cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 80.

(2) Lit. 'the daughter of u', an extremely common anthropomorphism (see 6.4 n 2). That the short vowels a, i, u are homorganic with the consonants ', y, w has been an axiom of Arabic phonology from the first (cf. Kitāb II, 270, 342), hence the translation 'semi-vowels' here for ṭūrif al-madd wa-l-īn, lit. 'letters of stretching and softness'. See Fleisch, Z.D.M.G. 108, 74-105, esp. 90f.

(3) The arrangement is purely pedagogical: source al-Azhari, Āj. 19.
(4) Arabic mawāḍi (sing. mawḍi, lit. 'places', but clearly to be identified with 'functions', cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 48, and also maball at 5.81 n 3. In spite of such available terms a recent Tunisian textbook renders 'function' by waẓifa, lit. 'job, employment'. (See Borrmans, I.B.L.A. 32, 363-372 for this and other neologisms.)

3.21 (1) On mufrad, variously 'single, singular, simple', see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Paradigms: fully declinable noun 4.11 n 1; defective nouns al-fatā and al-qāḍī 4.2 n 2; semi-declinable noun 4.32 n 1; invariable noun 4.2 n 2 (c).

(3) Thus ā and î on these words are not to be confused with the overt case markers ā (3.43) and î (3.71) of other environments.

3.22 (1) Jum. 346; Muf. #234; Alf. v 791; Beeston 38; Fleisch 43, 92, Tr. #101, Yushmanov 42; Bateson 13; A.Murtonen, Broken Plurals, Leiden 1964; F.I. (2), art. 'Djam'. See also 4.12.

(2) The ā of 'asārā is the same invariable fem. suffix as is found on ḫublā (4.2 n 2 (c)). The î of Cagārī is not so easily explained. Fleisch (Tr. #102j) can only point out that nouns whose sing. bears the fem. suffixes ā or ā' (thus Cagrā in the present case) have fallen together with those whose final ā or ā' is a remnant of a weak 3rd radical w or y and which have plurals like al-jawārī (q.v. at 1.44). To add to the confusion, there is also a completely invariable plur. Cagārā, like ḫublā and 'asārā above!

3.221 (1) jamC al-taksIr, lit. 'pluralization by breaking', i.e. changing the pattern (10.37 n 1) of the sing. It is the change, and not the absolute pattern, which marks the plural: kitāb 'book' and rijāl 'men' both have the same pattern, but the latter contrasts with sing. rajul 'man'.

(2) Over thirty patterns are found with plur. meaning (Wright I, 199) and many nouns may take more than one pattern, e.g. nahr 'river' has plur. 'anhur, 'anhr, nhuur and nuhūr. Sometimes a pattern becomes restricted to smaller numbers, e.g. 'aklub '10 or less) dogs', but kilāb 'more than 10) dogs'. Cf. Fleisch 44; 13.31 n 5. The choice of plur. pattern can occasionally distinguish literal from figurative meanings: bayt, lit. 'house', fig. 'line of verse', has the plurals buyūt and 'abyāt respectively in these two meanings. The 'plural of the plural' (jamC al-jamC) is also possible: buyūt 'houses', buyūtāt 'noble families'; cf. Fleisch, Tr. #103b; 17.65 n 3.

(3) Broken plurals have the same inflections as sing. nouns, according to pattern. Most are fully declinable (4.12 n 2), some defective as in 3.22 n 2. For semi-declinable patterns see 3.89 (1).

3.23 (1) Muf. #234; Alf. v 41; Qatr 43; Beeston 39; Fleisch 41 (Tr. 283, 291); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; F.I. (2), art. 'DjamC'. Origins 4.31 n 1; paradigm 4.13 n 2; syntax 7.22 n 1, 7.28. The English is a literal translation of jamC al-mu'annat as-sālim.
(2) i.e. it is not the agent pronoun but only the sign that the agent is fem. (7.58 n 1).

3.231 (1) i.e. it is a suffix plural, described in 3.23 as mazId, lit. 'augmented'. The related term ziyāda is used variously for 'lengthening' (3.221), 'augment' (3.89 (7), 5.3, 8.51 etc.), and to denote a 'redundant element' (5.413 n 1).

(2) Distribution of sound fem. plur. Fleisch, Tr. #63; E.I. (2), art. 'DjamC'. Those masc. nouns which regularly take this plural are interesting for their own sake: (a) diminutives (3.421 n 1), (b) abstract participial and verbal nouns, e.g. tašlīḥāt 'repairs', lit. 'acts of repairing', mašrūbāt 'drinks', lit. 'things drunk', (c) foreign words, especially when they do not fit into the simpler patterns: contrast the broken plur. 'afīlām' 'films' and the sound fem. plur. tilīfūnāt 'telephones'.

(3) This remark, like the whole paragraph, is copied from al-Azharī, Aj. 26 (expanded in Taṣr. I, 79), and only makes sense if we assume that the change from ḥublā to ḥublay- is 'breaking' as defined in 3.221, though a more natural explanation is that the ā is restored intervocally to its original ay value (1.702 n 1). There are also genuine broken plurals of ḥublā, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #102j.

3.24 (1) See 3.44 for the personal suffixes.

(2) Zero-operator: 5.34 n 1. In the artificial rivalry between 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) the concept of the zero-operator was credited to the Kūfans, cf. Inṣāf, prob. 74. This view was shared by Ibn Mālik (Alf. v 676) and Ibn Hīšām (Qāṭr 54), but not by az-Zamaḵšarī (Muf. #408).

(3) Paradigms at 4.4 n 5 and 4.81 n 2. On yakṣā etc. cf. 2.41 n 2.

3.241 (1) Arabic nūn al-'ināt 'the n of females', conventionally naming only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2). Since it is always realized as na it will always be so transcribed, except at 2.1. See further at 7.62.

(2) The transliteration problem for nūn at-tawkīd 'the n of emphasis' is the same as for the fem. plur. na in the previous note. It is realized in a 'light' form an and a 'heavy' form anna (q.v. 26.34 n 2), the latter being preferred for transcription, except at 2.1. See Muf. #610; Alf. v 635; Fleisch 108. Arab segmentation is into a-, invariable verb ending, and -n, -nna, cf. 5.32 n 4.

(3) See 3.44 on these agent pronouns; on 'status' 5.81 n 3. The superficial similarity between the noun suffixes ānī/aynī (dual, 3.43), īnā/īnā (masc. plur., 3.4) and the verb suffixes īnā/ānī/īnā listed here probably reflects a common origin (cf. 5.02 for the overall similarities between nouns and imperfect tense verbs). But the two sets of elements are, correctly, segmented quite differently by the Arab grammarians: the noun suffixes are analysed into case morphemes ā/ay, ī/ī (see ensuing paragraphs) and definition morphemes nī, na
NOTES

(but see 23.41 n 4), the verb suffixes into agent pronouns I, ā, ū, and 'case' (= mood, 5.02) morphemes ni, na, φ. See 7.8 n 1 for Arab segmentation of imperfect tense verb.

3.3 (1) The problem raised here is the difference between phonemes and morphemes, a distinction which is implicit in the earliest grammar Kitāb I, 1). The comment of al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 25 seems by comparison rather careless: 'there is no contradiction in calling these (vowels) both actual inflections and markers of inflection, as they are in the broad sense inflection by being a feature produced by the operator, and in the narrow sense markers of inflection'. This tends to blur a very important distinction which is hardly a 'terminological nicety' as suggested by Drozdik, J.M.S. 5, 73.

(2) This translates ǧā 1-ʿālāmati, lit. 'what the marker belongs to'. The criticism that the Arabs had no abstract concept of case, mood and declension (e.g. Fleisch, in E.I. (2), art. 'Īrāb') is not relevant to the descriptive aims of their grammar, which has achieved a high level of adequacy precisely through the 'purely formal manner' that Fleisch deplores. See also 11.2 n 1.

(3) i.e. the phoneme and morpheme respectively; cf. 22.12 n 1.

3.4 (1) See 3.1 n 4; 'replacements', i.e. allomorphs, are dealt with distributionally, i.e. in terms of their function.

3.41 (1) ʿamC al-muḍakkar as-sālim, translated literally, Jum. 19; Muf. #234; Alf. v 35; Qatr 41; Fleisch 41 (Tr. #59); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; E.I. (2), art. 'DjamC'.

Paradigm 4.6 n 1; syntax 7.23 n 1; whether a genuine inflection 3.42 n 2. See also 23.41 n 4.

The origin of the sound masc. plur. ū is said to be a lengthening of the sing. u, opposing a common dep./obl. ending i which has also been lengthened (Moscati #12.37), but this may be an oversimplification (Fleisch, Tr. #60d, e).

(2) Morphologically nouns and adjectives are almost identical (cf. Beeston 34) and can usually only be distinguished by function: thus any adjective may stand alone as a noun, and there is a clear similarity between the attributive adjective (11.1 etc.) and the various appositional noun structures (chs. 12-14). But see 11.61 n 1.

3.411 (1) See 11.42 n 1 for fem. t. The nouns cited here always denote males, either as proper names (and therefore semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)), or intensives (others: ʿaṣṣābatun 'great genealogist', raḥḥālatun 'great traveller' etc.). Plur. is rare, sound fem. is mostly used. One common word in this class is kalifatun 'caliph', which has broken plur. ʿulafā'u. See Fleisch, Tr. #98; Insāf, prob. 4.

(2) Here natural gender triumphs over grammatical gender, and sound fem. or broken plurals are used. Note that fem. adjectives of the type hāʾiḏun 'menstruating', if used participially, do take the fem. marker, scil. 'is now menstruating' (Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 250, Nöldeke 20). In addition, there is a sizable class of adjectives which never vary
for gender, e.g. gatflun 'dead' (masc. or fem.), perhaps because they have never lost their nominal character, scil. 'something dead' (but see further 3.411 n 7).

(3) Explained by Ibn YaCîš on Muf. #4 as denoting 'human persons' ('aškâš 'ādamiyya, lit. 'persons related to Adam'). Creatures of other genealogies take broken plurals, if at all (cf. Lane s.v. sâbîqûn).

(4) murakkab 'Isnâdî: see 1.12 n 1 on 'compound'; for 'predicative' cf. 9.1 n 1. These compounds are so named because their constituents are in a predicative relationship, though this is widened by some grammarians to a 'sentence' (jumla) relationship so as to include such non-predicative compounds as ta'abbaţa Sarran 'he bore evil under his arm' (name of a poet: Sarran 'evil' variously explained as a sword or a snake). It is unlikely that these names ever did have a plural; they are probably examples of nominalization by 'verbatim quotation' (see hikâya 1.45 n 3 (c)). Another specimen, though not a proper noun, is at 1.13.

(5) murakkab mazajî, translated literally, and denoting compounds of constituents with no grammatical relationship to each other. The many names ending in wayhi (e.g. sibawayhi, 1.42) are in this category; plurals are excessively improbable, though Wright (I, 196) offers a sound plur. of mâɗîkari:îb! The third type of compound proper name, the 'annexed compound' (11.723), pluralizes the first element only: Câbîdu llâhî 'the °Abdullâhs' (see further 3.65 n 7).

(6) These combine both comparative and superlative functions: 20.4

(7) The four classes of adjectives represented here have (a) active form with passive meaning, unmarked for gender (Muf. #269; Alf. v 762; Nöldeke 20); (b) intensive form with active meaning, also unmarked for gender (Muf., Nöld. ibid; Alf. v 760); (c) suffix ân (Fleisch 88, Tr. #97) but with a separate fem. pattern, e.g. sakrâ (Muf. #272; Alf. v 765); (d) the pattern 'af°alu (fem. faClâ'u) denoting colours or physical defects (Muf. #272; Alf. v 763). This last class is now closed, unlike the formally very similar 'elative' (20.4), and a common origin is assumed for both, with reservations (H. Wehr, Der arabische Elativ, Wiesbaden 1952, 6; W. Fischer, Farb- und Formenbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung, Wiesbaden 1965, esp. 6, 64, 142).

All the above (except 'elatives') thus have broken plur., e.g. jarhâ 'wounded', suburan 'very patient', sukârâ 'drunk', all common gender. 3.412 (1) Alf. v 36; Qâţr 41; but here from al-Azhari, Taşr. I, 72.

(2) 'ulû functions as a plur. of ġû (3.42) and in that sense is not a true suffix plural; being always annexed, it is never *'ulûna. It is probably related to the demonstratives at 11.734.

(3) Evidently a loan-word from Aramaic or Syriac (A. Jeffreys, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’ân, Baroda 1938, 208). The grammarians regard it as a collective rather than a plural.
NOTES 57

(4) These are formally the plurals of their respective units, with twenty, originally a dual of ten (*C亚运会) assimilated to the plurals of the other decades (Fleisch 97, Tr. #106r); see also 20.22 n 1.

(5) This seems more like a genuine sound plur. with dissimilation of the initial consonant cluster. For 'regular' cf. 8.3 n 2.

(6) There is also a regular sound masc. plur. ḥarrūna.

(7) There are also broken and sound fem. plurals of this word, as well as a regular sound masc. 'argūnū (Fleisch, Tr. #61h). The singular is grammatically feminine! (Cf. 11.43 n 3).

(8) A sound fem. plur. sanawātun exists in free variation.

(9) According to Fleisch, 90 (Tr. #98a) the 1st rad. w of these words has been lost, and is compensated by the fem. sing. and sound masc. plur. suffixes, in order to retain the appearance of having three radicals. Cf. Ibn Yaʕīs on Muf. #234, al-Uūmūnī on Alf. v 38.

(10) The distribution of the sound masc. plur. is very restricted in Arabic: in effect it is confined to two classes of words, (a) proper names (but these often have broken plurals as an alternative, cf. 4.12 as against 4.6, and, for the sound fem. plur., 4.12 against 4.31), and (b) participles (which are often of a form which could not be fitted into a broken plur. pattern anyway), with the added condition that both must denote rational beings. Otherwise the sound masc. plur. has been largely displaced by the broken plur. in the South Semitic group of languages (cf. Moscati #12.44).

(11) The ān here is an ancient suffix not cognate with the masc. plur. suffix (Fleisch, Tr. #97d), nor is it common (as suggested here) for nouns with ān to inflect like sound masc. plurals: they usually take the same endings as nouns in ān (3.89 (7)), viz. zaydūna, zaydūna.

(12) A loan word from Hebrew, found in Qur'an S. 83 vv 18, 19, and explained as meaning 'highest part of heaven' (but see E.I. (2), art. 'C'illa'yūn').

3.42 (1) Jum. 18; Muf. #16; Alf. v 27; Qaṭr 36; paradigm 4.71 n 1. These are 'defective' (muCtalla, 2.43 n 2) only in the artificial sense that they appear to lack a third radical. In fact, they probably never had one, but are part of the small stock of primitive biliteral roots which survive (others include yad 'hand', ʾism 'name', ʾam 'blood', ʾām 'water', cf. Fleisch, Tr. #52). By Systemzwang they do acquire third radicals in dual and plur., cf. 3.65 n 9.

(2) There has been some debate as to whether the long vowel inflections here, and those of the dual (ā/ay) and masc. plur. (ū/I) are real inflections (cf. Insāf, prob. 2). The 'Kūfan' position is that, since such words already bore short vowel inflections u, a, i, the subsequent lengthening markers duplicated the inflections and were thus not themselves true inflection markers. The 'Baṣrans' replied that the lengthening elements were simply prolongations of inflection, not duplications of it.
NOTES

3.421 (1) Annexation 26.7. 'Non-diminutive' renders mukabbara, lit. 'enlarged', antonym of muṣaṣṣār(a) 'made small', i.e. 'diminutive'. A noun is made diminutive by converting it into one of a special range of patterns all showing the characteristic vowel sequence u-ay, e.g. kulayb 'small dog' (from kalb), šuwaycīr 'poetaster' (from šācīr). Diminutives of the 'five nouns' are regular, but rare, e.g. 'ubayy 'little father', fuwayh 'little mouth'. Jum. 247; Muf. #274; Alf. v 833; Fleisch 70 (and index), Tr. #7lf. The name Sulaymān (1.701) is a diminutive of Solomon in the Arab view (but see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 178). Cf. also Buṭayna in 13.13.

(2) The examples are from Qur'ān S. 4 v 12; S. 12 v 78; S. 4 v 23.

(3) Possessive suffixes 4.72 n 2. The suffix I 'my' displaces all the short vowel inflections, e.g. kitābī 'my book' (*kitābu-I), kitābatī 'my writing' (*kitābatu-I). The case of 'aḡī 'my brother' etc. is peculiar in that, for total symmetry, a long vowel must be assumed to have been displaced by I, parallel to the long vowels which occur before the other possessive suffixes ('aḡūka 'your brother' etc., see 3.42), and which is still found in colloquial 'aḡūya 'my brother'. An allomorph of this I is ya, which occurs after vowels ā, ĩ, (except the 'five nouns'), and diphthong ay, e.g. fatāya 'my boy' (see 23.62 n 3). Note ǧādimūya 'my servants', all cases (*ǧādimūya changed to avoid non-canonical sequence ūy), and ilayya 'to me' in 5.411 (see 'ilā, 1.702), ǧalīya 'upon me' in 13.13, 14.62 (see ǧalā, 1.704).

(4) Hence 'six nouns' in 3.422. This one differs from the others in that its third radical is felt to be entirely lacking: that of the 'five nouns', though phonologically defective (muṣṭall, 2.43 n 2) is still a psychological reality even when absent.

3.422 (1) Some obviously foreign words, e.g. samandū 'salamander' (?) (from as-Suyūtī, Ašbāh II, 27) are probably invariable, as also such proper names as Ibn Hindū etc. The name ǧamrun 'ǧAmr', spelt in its indep. and obl. forms with final Ī is unique; it is apparently a Nabatean survival (Fleisch, Tr. #54e n 1). Contrast dalwun etc., 2.7.

3.43 (1) Jum. 23; Muf. #228; Alf. v 32; Qaṭr 39; Beeston 38; Fleisch 41; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 41. The dual suffixes are Proto-Semitic, showing vowel dissimilation *ānā> ānī etc. (Moscati #12.62). Syntax cf. 7.22 n 1; paradigm 4.5 n 1; distribution 3.65; definition 3.63; whether ǧ/ā/y are true inflections 3.42 n 2.

3.44 (1) This n is realized as na or ni, see 4.81 n 1.

(2) Spelling instructions: Arabic orthography has two peculiarities, (a) in normal circumstances only consonants are written, the short vowels being added as diacritics only when necessary, (b) several consonants are distinguished from each other only by the number and position of their dots. Consequently explicit instructions are often included during dictation of the text and remain part of it thereafter. The present case is typical: y and t differ only in the position of the two dots (others passim, and see also 1.92, 10.15). Vowels are
indicated by their names, fatha 'a', kasra 'i', damma 'u' (0.4 n 3), cf. chs. 7, 8, where active and passive verbs differ only in vowels. Difficult words are spelt out more or less completely, e.g. 0.4, 11.61, 11.731-732. Cf. Wright I, pp 4, 7f.

(3) On the segmentation of these verbs cf. 3.241 n 3 and 5.3.

3.45 (1) al-'amtila l-kamsa, translated literally. From the very earliest grammar it has been the practice to symbolize the pattern of a word (see 10.37 n 1) by using the radicals f-c-l: thus in the present paragraph yadhabâni 'they two go' has the pattern yaf'âlâni, which stands for any active, imperfect tense, indep. 3rd masc. dual verb. Similarly tadribîna 'you (fem. sing.) strike' in 3.44 has the pattern taf'âlîna, and so on for all words.

(2) This quibble arises because f-c-l is also a root in its own right, meaning 'do', but the writer here intends its symbolic function, not its literal meaning, in other words, as the name of a category which is not identical with the members of that category (cf. 1.23). The 'six nouns', however, are genuine nouns. Cf. also 5.1 n 2 on radicals.

(3) Ibn Hîshâm 1.02 n 1; Commentary on the Lumâta (unpubl.) G.A.L. II, 110. But as-Sîrbînî is undoubtedly quoting indirectly, from al-Azharî, Taṣrîr. I, 85. Curiously Ibn Hîshâm does not express these views in his more widely known works, but speaks only of 'five verbs'. Yâsîn, in his commentary on Taṣrîr. I, 85, offers an additional choice of seven, eight, nine and ten verbs, by devious arguments!

(4) Zero-operator 5.34 n 1; n realized as na or ni 4.81 n 1.

3.5 (1) The term 'dependence' is a free translation of the Arabic naṣb, lit. 'erection, setting up': like all the case/mood nomenclature, its origins and precise technical application are obscure (cf. 3.1 n 1). It may be significant that the most obvious orthographical feature of many dependent forms is word-final ā or an, both written with a character which is essentially a vertical stroke (cf. 1.4 n 5), and it is just possible that naṣb may be descriptive of this. Cf. 3.8 n 1. The English 'dependent' is merely an attempt to reproduce the general function of maṣûb elements (cf. ch. 15).

(2) There are transliteration problems here: the Arabic convention is to name only the characteristic consonant, or in this case, semi-vowel, leaving the vocalization to be determined by context. Here y stands for the sound masc. plur. I (= iy, cf. 2.43 n 2) and the dual ay, which in the present paragraph can only be covered by the ad hoc transliteration I/ay. Where relevant, only one of these is used, e.g. I at 3.71, ay at 3.63.

(3) Cf. 3.1 n 3.

3.51 (1) The examples string together specimens of the fully declinable proper noun (11.721), semi-declinable proper noun (3.89 (6)), invariable noun (2.31) and annexed proper noun (11.723), all masc. Fem. nouns behave likewise, according to category. Note that in
the annexed proper name only the first element inflects, the second being fixed in oblique form by annexation (ch. 26, and cf. 3.65 n 7).

(2) Parsing in general 8.21 n 1; verb and pronoun agent 7.5; predicate as nominal marker 1.6; direct object ch. 16; coordination ch. 12.

3.52 (1) Broken plur. 3.22, 3.221; paradigm 4.12 n 2.

(2) The first two examples show that a is common to both genders of broken plural; al-'asārā 'the prisoners' is completely invariable, like al-fatā in 2.31; al-qaḍāriya 'the virgins' is, in the dep. form only, entirely regular, like al-qādī in 2.6 (the other plural form, al-qaḍārā, is completely invariable, cf. 3.22 n 2, but is clearly not intended in the present context, even though, in the absence of vowel signs, either could be read here).

(3) It is the custom in the metalanguage to refer to verbs in their active, past tense, 3rd masc. sing. form, principally because this is simplest (cf. 5.1). Though it may seem possible here that 'akramtu has been segmented into a stem 'akram- and suffix -tu, this is ruled out by, for example the case of marartu 'I passed' in 21.33, where it is not the dissimilated stem marar- (cf. 11.3 n 1) which is quoted in the parsing, but the 3rd masc. sing. marra, lit. 'he passed' but here clearly 'to pass'. Similar examples in 3.61, 4.11 etc. Occasionally the convention lapses (cf. ra'aytu 'I saw' in 4.11 and 4.12), and sometimes the reference is clearly to a past stem, e.g. 7.51, 8.61 rather than an infinitive.

3.53 (1) Paradigm 4.82 n 1.

(2) For fem. na see 3.241 n 1; emphatic anna 3.241 n 2; the 'five verbs' 3.44, 45.

(3) Note that lan is defined by its functions, and cf. 5.42. The etymology of lan has been a matter of dispute from the earliest times, though curiously it is not dealt with in the Insāf. The source for aš-Sīrbīnī is mainly al-Azhārī, Tašr. II, 229-30, and the neatest discussion of the whole issue is in Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 221. The etymology *lā+an goes back as far as al-Kālīl (Kitāb I, 361), and is also the one favoured by Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 603) and most Western scholars (e.g. Fleisch 201 n 1), but see Aartun, Oriens 25-26, 187, for lan = lā + emphatic n suffix.

(4) S. 19 v 26.

(5) S. 2 v 95, being Muḥammad's answer to his opponents' claim that heaven was reserved exclusively for them: if true, 'they shall never desire (scil. death)'. According to az-Zamaḵšarī (see next note) lan denotes perpetual negation (so in his Unmūqāj, ed. de Sacy in Anthologie grammaticale arabe, Paris 1829, ar. text p. 109, but note that as well as ta'bīd 'perpetuation', a milder variant is offered, viz. ta'yīd, which means no more than 'reinforcement'). This view is the result of az-Zamaḵšarī's adherence to the hyper-rationalist Muṣṭazila sect (q.v. E.I. (1)), one of whose aims was the removal of
anthropomorphism from speculation about God.

(6) S. 22 v 73. Az-Zamakšarī, 1075-1144 (G.A.L. I, 289), is best known for his elegantly structured Mufaṣṣal (which formed the basis of Howell's huge work), on which he wrote his own commentary and of which the Unmūḍaj is itself an abridgement (see previous note). His great Qur'ān commentary, the Kaššāf, was felt to be too heterodox and was eventually purified and condensed in the version of al-Bayḍāwī.

(7) S. 7 v 143, God speaking to Moses (cf. Kaššāf I, 349). In his own Qur'ān Commentary, I, 491-2, aš-Širbīnī refutes at length the implications of az-Zamakšarī's interpretation (which effectively denies the Beatific Vision) and, for good measure, the three other verses already cited here. The 'external factor' in S. 22 v 73 is simply that man will never be able to create a fly in any case, with or without lan! Again aš-Širbīnī is using al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 229.

3.61 (1) See 3.42. Note that 'mouth' has an alternative, completely regular biliteral set (cf. 3.42 n 1), famun 'a mouth', al-famu 'the mouth', famī 'my mouth', famuka 'your (masc. sing.) mouth' etc., dep. forms faman, al-fama, famaka etc., obl. famin, al-fami, famika etc. In the fūka/fāka/fīka set note fiyya 'my mouth' (cf. 3.421 n 3).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for the practice of quoting verbs in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense. Verbs with a weak 3rd radical present problems similar to those of al-fatā in 2.5, in that the 3rd masc. sing. past tense seems to be reduced from *ra'aya to ra'ā and the fem. sing. from *ra'āt to ra'āt. Bravmann (Arabica 18, 213-5) suggests, however, that the masc. ra'ā at one time had a short variant *ra'a, from which the fem. ra'at was derived quite regularly by suffixing the fem. marker t (5.01). Paradigm of this verb in 10.65 nn 1, 3.

3.62 (1) See 3.23. It is suggested that the i vowel arose by dissimilation from *āتا to āti (Fleisch, Tr. #59d).

(2) S. 29 v 44 and S. 45 v 22. The word samāwātun and its singular samā'un show alternation of ' and the weak radical w. This alternation (called 'ibdāl, lit. 'replacement' and cognate with the syntactic term badal 'substitution', q.v. ch. 14) occurs in both directions: in qaḍā'un 'judgement', for example, the weak 3rd radical y is replaced by ' as is weak 3rd rad. w in ʂafā'un 'purity', while in the opposite direction the non-radical ' of the fem. suffix ā' (3.89 (2)) is replaced by w, e.g. sahrāwātun 'deserts', to which category samā'un/ samāwātun belongs. Muf. #682; Alf. v 942; Fleisch, Tr. #50, 63d, g; for 'ibdāl denoting etymological alternation of radicals see E.I. (2), art. 'Ibdāl', Yushmanov 34.

(3) We are not told in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azhari, Aj. 29) whose opinion this is, but from what al-Azhari says in Taṣr. I, 79f, we learn that this is a theological, not grammatical matter: as the ultimate 'agent', God acts 'absolutely', and what He creates is not 'direct objects' but 'absolute objects'. See ch. 17 for the absolute object, and 5.751 n 1 for more theological intrusions.
3.63 (1) From here to the end of 3.65 may be taken as illustrative of late medieval scholarship: it is a slight abridgement of al-Azharî, Taṣr. I, 66-7, i.e. al-Azharî's comments on Ibn Hiṣâm's comments on Ibn Mâlik's Alfiyya, offered to us by aš-Šîribînî as his comments on the Ājurrûmiyya!

(2) This is a good specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2): the 'generic expression' denotes all words referring to pairs whether dual or not, from which first those words in which the ān is not a dual suffix (cf. 3.72 n 2, 3.89 (7)) are excluded, and second those which do denote pairs but are not morphologically dual are excluded.

(3) Apart from not having a singular, these are excluded on the grounds that they can denote two different entities, cf. 13.43.

3.64 (1) Note that proper nouns become formally defined in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) The grammarians identify various semantic categories of nouns: proper noun, īsm ʿalām, 11.72; common noun, īsm jins, 23.31, either abstract, īsm maʿnā or concrete, īsm ʿayn, 24.21; collective noun, īsm jamāʿ. The collective noun denotes groups from which the individual cannot be isolated and contrasts with the generic noun (īsm jins, note overlap of terminology with the common noun), whose fem. sing. denotes an individual, e.g. naḥlūn 'bees (as a class)', naḥlatūn 'a bee' (the example in our text, ḫanām, is badly chosen, cf. Lane). On the many formal categories of noun cf. 19.31 n 1.

(3) The spelling instructions (cf. 3.44 n 2) are here a device for contrasting the dual a(yn)i with the masc. plur. i(yn)a (2.43 n 2).

3.65 (1) General references at 3.43 n 1.

(2) Dual of sound plur. would result in suffixation of two incompatible elements (masc. plur. 3.41, fem. plur. 3.23). Duals of broken plur. are possible (example in 3.64) but objections to dual of masājīdu etc. are twofold: (a) no sing. nouns ever have these patterns (3.221 n 1), hence they lack the unitary (collective) connotation which allows, for example, jimā̀lūn '(group of) camels' in 3.64 to be dualized; (b) these patterns are already felt to be about as lengthy as the morphology of Arabic will allow (cf. 1.44 n 1) and further suffixation is unwieldy.

(3) This problem is discussed again in 11.733, at which see note 2 for details. As a controversy between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (see 9.4 n 3) it has a rather spurious air, as it is not found in the early anthologies of their disputes. It may date back no further than the time of Ibn Yaŷîš (died 1245), who refers to it in his commentary on Mufaṣṣal #171.

(4) On murakkab 'compound' in general see 1.12 n 1.

(5) murakkab 'isnādī, q.v. at 3.411 n 4.

(6) murakkab mazajī, q.v. at 3.411 n 5.

(7) murakkab 'idāfī, cf. also 11.723. The dual of ġabdu ḫlāhī is thus
\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{Cabda} llahi} 'the two \textit{Cabdollahs}', lit. 'the two servants of God'}. (Note that in the dep./obl. \textit{Cabdayi} llahi a glide vowel is required between the two elements, v. 11.1 n 2). Duals and plurals of these nouns are naturally rare, and are hardly touched upon by grammarians; \textit{Kitab} II, 103 has a short chapter on the topic, where (reflecting the lack of unanimity?) no less than three plurals of \textit{Cabdu llahi} are offered as free variants: two broken, viz. \textit{Cabdu} llahi, \textit{Cibdu} llahi, and a sound plur. \textit{Cabdu} llahi. In Muf. \#10 the broken plur. \textit{Cabdilatu} is used casually without comment, explained by Ibn Ya\textsuperscript{\textit{C}I\textsuperscript{\textit{S}}} ad loc. as formed from the root letters of the name \textit{Cabdu llahi} (cf. 1.0 n 1).

(8) Proper names are defined by nature (11.72), and presence or absence of the definite article is a matter of convention (cf. 11.82 n 4). But the article always appears in the dual and plural, because it alone can define a word which now refers to more than one person or place (cf. Noldeke 29). Though the Arab analysis has a flavour of deep structure about it, it is more probably based on a correct grasp of the Arabs' own intuitive feelings about proper names and definition.

(9) 'Stem-form' renders \textit{lafz}, lit. 'expression, utterance' (as in 1.11) but here clearly meaning that there should be no change in the pattern of the singular. Ibn \textit{C}a\textit{q}il on \textit{Alf.} vv 32-4 puts it succinctly: a true dual is \textit{gali\textsuperscript{\textit{I}}}li\textit{t-tajrid}, lit. 'appropriate to be stripped (of its dual suffix)' the residue being the original singular. The anomaly in \textit{abawani} is the restoration of a missing 3rd radical before suffixation (cf. 4.71 n 1); moreover the conditions of sub-para. (8) below probably apply. On 'usage predominating' see n 12 below.

(10) Equivocal words (\textit{mu\textsuperscript{\textit{S}}tarik}) are those with more than one meaning, whose duals ought then to be confined to a single meaning. The problem is discussed at length by al-Astarabadi in his commentary on \textit{Kafiya} II, 160: he finds its author, Ibn al-Hajib (12.912 n 3) somewhat radical in allowing duals to be applied to any two entities which in the speaker's mind share a common property, e.g. al-'abyadani 'the two white ones', viz. a man and a horse (but in fact such pairings are not infrequent, and al-Astarabadi's objection possibly stems from the feeling that these quasi-proverbial usages are no longer productive). In addition Ibn al-Hajib is inconsistent in prohibiting duals of equivocal nouns in his \textit{Kafiya} while allowing them as rare exceptions in his commentary on the \textit{Mufassal} (probably because the \textit{Mufassal} is a more advanced work). Of the 'two tongues' here the other is the sword!

(11) It seems that in 13.7 a\textit{S}irb\textit{I}nI contradicts what he says here, but he has simply omitted to mention that \textit{sawani} is relatively rare.

(12) 'Usage predominating' translates ta\textsuperscript{\textit{G}}li\textsuperscript{\textit{I}}b, lit. 'overwhelming, prevalence'. Here and in sub-para. (5) above this translation has been chosen to signify the implicit admission of defeat by the prescriptive grammarians, acknowledging that their system cannot accommodate all the observed phenomena of the language. A similar phrase, 'predominant usage' has been used to render the cognate term \textit{gali\textsuperscript{\textit{I}}}b, lit. 'prevalent, conquering', but this is applied to the overall situation (e.g. 19.3,
19.6) rather than to isolated anomalies, and indeed means little more than 'on the whole'.

(13) Here one particularly regrets the disappearance of this work, as it is one of the few places where aš-Širbīnī appears to have substantially differed from his usual source, al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 67: instead of ascribing al-qamarānī to 'usage predominating', al-Azharī says it is 'figurative' (majāzī, cf. 13.3 n 1).

3.71 (1) See 3.42 n 2 on whether I is an inflection marker at all. Note that proper nouns which may not have had a definite article in the singular nevertheless have one in the plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions; the intention here is to contrast the vowel sequence of the masc. plur. i(yn)a (cf. 2.43 n 2) with the vowels of the dual a(yn)i.

3.72 (1) i.e. at 3.71.

(2) The dual and sound masc. plur. are structurally so similar that they are often treated together, cf. Jum. 23 for a good example. It is, coincidentally, also true that the ān suffix occurs as a plural morpheme in other Semitic languages (Moscati #12.41-42) as well as on some Arabic broken plurals (Fleisch 88).

(3) Lit. it is the 'brother' of the dual, one of the personifications which are typical of Arabic grammar and which go back to the earliest period (cf. also 3.1 n 2). On 'inflected with long vowels' see 4.02 n 1.

3.73 (1) See 3.45.

(2) This is a slight overstatement: in 3.241 and 3.45 aš-Širbīnī has merely implied that the loss of n is a dependence marker. The term 'elision' renders hāḍf, lit. 'cutting off (with a sword etc.)', which in grammar is applied to elision on two levels: on the syntactic level hāḍf denotes the elision of a syntactic unit such as the subject or predicate of an equational sentence (9.9), a noun or its adjectival qualifier (11.61), the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier (19.8) etc. On the morphological level elision is normally phonemic, as here, but non-phonemic elision also occurs, e.g. in the vocative (23.61-62). For elision in its most characteristic function, i.e. as a marker of the apocopated verb, see further in 3.9 n 2. Note that elision of final short vowels is not termed hāḍf, cf. 3.91 n 1 and, on the special case of the reduction of word endings in utterance final position ('pausal form'), see 2.14 n 2.

(3) See 3.241 n 3 on the similarity between these and nominal morphemes.

(4) See 5.42 on lan, and cf. 3.53.

(5) On 'status' see 5.81 n 3. That verbs are predicates of their agents has already been illustrated by the examples in 1.6 and is formally stated in the definition of the agent in 7.01. An early discussion of this topic is in az-Zajjājī, Īdāh 119 (summarized by as-Suyūṭī, Aṣbāḥ I, 85), whose central notion is that verbs are by nature undefined and
predicative because (op. cit. 108-9) they do not denote 'named entities' (musammayât) but are only 'references' ('adîlla) to things (cf. Versteegh 71, 140).

3.8 (1) 'Obliqueness' renders kafû, lit. 'lowering' (antonym of the case name râfî 'independence', but lit. 'raising', 3.1). Once again, the translation merely reflects the approximate function of 'oblique elements' (ch. 26), leaving the origin of this term unexplained. The primitive connection with 'building' (3.1 n 1) is reinforced by the literal meanings of some other grammatical terms, e.g. 'îsmâd, lit. 'propping up' (predication, 9.1 n 1), 'idâfa, lit. 'inclining' (annexation, 26.7 n 1), 'îmâla, lit. 'leaning', (raising back a to front a in environment of i), binâ', lit. 'building' (invariability, 1.4 n 4), and most of the terminology of Arabic prosody (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'ârûd'). To complicate matters there is an alternative term for obliqueness, jârr, lit. 'dragging', see further 26.0 n 1.

(2) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration I/ay; 3.1 n 2 on 'related'.

3.81 (1) On the features of full declinability see 1.41. Paradigms of fully declinable nouns at 4.11 n 1.

3.82 (1) Broken plur. 3.22; paradigms at 4.12 n 2.

(2) 3.87. Semi-declinable nouns have a when oblique regardless of whether they are sing. or plur.

3.83 (1) Sound fem. plur. 3.23; paradigm at 4.13 n 2.

(2) An important issue is raised here: sound fem. plurals do not have three case endings (cf. paradigm at 4.13 n 2), hence 'fully declinable' may seem to be inappropriate. Such a translation is justified by the fact that most fully declinable nouns have three case endings, but at the same time it obscures the assumptions behind the Arabic term: by comparison with 1.41 (and contrast 18.41) it is clear that 'fully declinable' refers to the ability of a noun to take the indefinite suffix n (tanwîn, 1.4), which is normally associated with the three case endings, with the exception of the dual and suffix plurals. In Kl. Schr. I, 308 Fleischer argues (against all the Arab grammarians) that full declinability (sarf) refers to the three case endings; this may be contrasted with the views of Diem, Z.D.M.G. 125, 248, that the n suffix (and its Proto-Semitic correlative m) was once an integral part of the inflectional suffix and had nothing to do with definition. See further 3.87 n 3, 18.4 n 1.

(3) See 11.72 on proper names; 3.89 gives the types of proper names which are semi-declinable.

3.84 (1) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration I/ay.

(2) 3.42. Another example: ḥû in the poem quoted in 1.51, made oblique by bi in the previous hemistich (q.v. 10.18 n 4).

(3) The rather clumsy translation is an attempt to preserve the structure of the Arabic jârr wa-majrûr, which in turn is a reflection
NOTES

of the Arab analytical method: jārr is an active participle meaning 'oblique-maker' and majrūr is a passive participle meaning 'made oblique'. Together these form the elements of the function named by the verbal noun jarr 'the action of making oblique'. What this triad implies (and which is clearly borne out by practice, see Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 146-157), is that elements of utterances occur in pairs (binary units), one active, operating on the other, passive one (cf. 2.11). In many cases the function involves a particle, which itself is the active element, e.g. function 'negation' (nafy, verbal noun, 'action of negating'), active element harf nafy 'particle of negation' (cf. 1.92 n 1), passive element manfī 'that which is negated' (passive participle from nafy 'negation').

(4) The oblique form fī 'mouth' underlies the preposition fī 'in', apparently contracted from bi-fī 'in the mouth of' (cf. 26.25).

3.85 (1) 3.43; paradigm at 4.5 n 1.

(2) On the spelling instructions see 3.71 n 2.

3.86 (1) 3.41.

(2) 3.72.

3.87 (1) Jum. 224; Muf. #18; Alf. v 649; Qaṭr 367; Fleisch 39, Tr. #55a. The best bibliography for this topic is by Diem, Z.D.M.G. 125, 257-8, to which add: Fleisch, Tr. #56c; Lekashvili, Arch. Or. 39, 57-69; Rabin in Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb, ed. G.Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 547-62; Vychychl, Muséon 82, 207-12. Perhaps the attempt to find a single explanation for all the types of diptosis is not the best way: assimilative tendencies are very strong in Arabic and it is possible that more than one kind of irregularity has been combined into the same paradigm. See further 3.89 n 12.

(2) 1.41; aš-Šibbīnī is actually quoting al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 210, where the reference is to the Commentary on the Kāfiya by Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2). Note yet another example of 'rational dichotomy' in the ensuing lines: further to 1.2 n 2, cf. now the description of the use of this procedure to determine the three parts of speech by B. Weiss, Arabica 23, 23-36. Cf. also van Ess in Logic in Classical Islamic Culture, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1970, 40f.

(3) Observe that there are degrees of declinability: (a) invariable (mabnī, cf. 1.41 n 4), e.g. man 'who', 'anā 'I' and nouns with implicit inflection like ḥablā (4.2 n 2 (c)). (b) semi-declinable (gāyır munṣarīf, gāyır 'amkan, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. 'ahmadu 'Ahmad' and others listed in 3.89. (c) fully declinable (mutamakkīn 'amkan, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. rajulun 'man', farasun 'horse' etc.

Paradigms: fully decl. 4.11 n 1; semi-decl. 4.32 n 1; invariable 4.2 n 2 (and cf. 2.5 on implicit inflection).


(2) Both the verses quoted here are among several of similar content
mentioned by as-Suyūṭī in Ašbāh II, 28-30, but there is disagreement about the attribution to Ibn an-Nahhās: aš-Šīrbīnī follows as-Suyūṭī in attributing the first verse to Ibn an-Nahhās, but al-Azharī, Tašr. I, 84 and II, 210 attributes the second verse to Ibn an-Nahhās. The source of the confusion may be Ibn Hīšām, Qaṭr 368, where the text is rather ambiguous and could be taken to mean (as it was by Goguyer and evidently by al-Azharī as well) that Ibn an-Nahhās was the author of the second verse. The error is perpetuated by Howell (I, 31) and thence Schaw. Ind. 212 in assigning the second verse to Ibn an-Nahhās. One would like to know why aš-Šīrbīnī fails to comment on this slip by his principal source, al-Azharī.

The Ibn an-Nahhās in question is Bahā' ad-Dīn Abū Ğabdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, died 1299 (see G.A.L. I, 300), and was a pupil of Ibn Yağūtah and a master of Abu Ḥayyān (q.v. 26.7 n 2). He lived in an age when versification of grammar was endemic (cf. 21.61 n 6).

Needless to say, the translations offered here attempt no more than to list the categories by their most convenient English names!

3.89 (1) They are called the most extreme plural patterns because they embody the longest stem-forms permitted by Arabic prosodic structure (cf. 1.44 n 1), and are also termed 'patterns unique to the plural' (e.g. 3.65 (1)) because they never denote singulars (cf. 3.221 n 1). They are plurals of quadrilateral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1), either those with (a) four genuine radicals, e.g. qindīlun 'lamp', plur. qanādīlu, jumjumatun 'skull', plur. jamājimu (note reduplicated root), or (b) one or more augment treated as radicals, e.g. masjīdun 'mosque' (prefix ma to trilateral root s-j-d), plur. masājidu, ġāruğun 'rocket' (root s-r-k augmented by lengthening internal vowels), plur. sawārīgu. Paradigm is as 4.32 n 1 (poetic licence, 13.13). Beeston 38; Fleisch 93.

(2) The suffix ā' is called 'alīf māmdūda, lit. 'stretched ā', to contrast it with the other fem. suffix ā, called 'alīf maqsūra, lit. 'shortened ā'. Fleisch, 27, suggests that differences in stress may have caused the two to evolve from a common original. Both have fallen together with other word endings: ā' is, however, fully declinable when the ' represents an original weak 3rd rad. (w or y, cf. 3.62 n 2), ā is, of course, invariable whether as the fem. suffix or the reduction of a weak 3rd rad., as in al-fatā, 2.5, 4.2 n 2.

(3) The first element of these is uninflected, though in the earliest grammar there is evidence that they could be treated as annexed compounds, cf. Kitāb II, 49.

(4) The formulation is misleadingly brief: as well as natural feminine gender, this class embraces all proper names with the fem. marker at (11.42), including men's names (ṭalḥatu, 3.411), place names (makkatu, 11.721) and generic names ('usāmatu, 11.722). Cf. also 18.103.

(5) Of the four native prophets listed here, three are named in the Qur'ān as spiritual antecedents of the fourth, Muḥammad. On 'ibrāhīmu see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 44.

(6) 'Measure' is literal for wazn, a near-synonym of ṣūra etc., 'form'
(11.712 n 2). These names were indeed originally verbs, e.g. yağribu, the ancient name of Medina, and see further Fleisch, Tr. #91. For common nouns in this pattern see 11.61 n 6.

(7) The ān suffix has various functions, e.g. dual (3.43 n 1), broken plur. (Fleisch 88, Tr. #60f), fully declinable adjectival suffix (see 3.89 n 11), as well as semi-declinable suffix here (Fleisch, Tr. #97).

(8) The anomaly refers to the pattern of the word (10.37 n 1), it being felt that these words are deviations from more regular patterns. Thus, in the present case, Ċumaru is regarded as a variety of the regular names Ċamrun 'ČAmr' and Ċāmirun 'ČĀmir'.

(9) The distributives are in a class by themselves, with the patterns mafālu and fuğālu (the latter also occurs in some anomalous proper names, e.g. suğādu 'Suğād', cf. previous note).

(10) This is homologous with the 1st sing. imperfect 'afdalu 'I exceed' but the forms are historically unrelated. This class comprises (a) adjectives denoting colours or bodily defects (3.411 n 7), e.g. 'āhmāru 'red', fem. ġamrā'u, comm. plur. ġumrun (see 4.32 n 1), (b) 'elative' adjectives (20.4 n 1), e.g. 'afḏalu 'best', fem. fuḏlā (4.2 n 2 (c)), both with sound plur. 'afḏalūna/fuḏlayātun respectively.

(11) The work is lost, but the conditions may be simply stated: only those adjectives in ān which have their feminine in a different pattern (thus sakrā in the present instance) are semi-declinable. If they form their feminine with the regular suffix at, e.g. ġablānun 'angry' fem. ġablānatun they are fully declinable (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #55j).

(12) In other words they are fully declinable when formally defined. In most cases (types (3) to (9)) definition cannot be effected by pre-fixing the article al, but all can be defined by annexation (26.9) with greater or lesser plausibility (one may speak of 'the Mekka of the caliphs'), whereupon these nouns become completely regular. Behind this phenomenon doubtless lurks a partial explanation of the mystery of semi-declinable nouns: they are all, in one way or another, defined by nature, having an intensive or individualizing meaning. This being so, markers of indefinition are not found on them (except for the special case in 1.42), nor, by the same token, are markers of definition, unless for the purely external reasons outlined here.

3.9 (1) Termed jazm, lit. 'cutting off', possibly the clearest indication among the case/mood names that they refer to the sound (or perhaps the spelling) of the affected word, cf. 3.5 n 1.

(2) Elision (ḥaḏf, 3.73 n 2) in this context has two different consequences on the phonological level: (a) with the 'five verbs' the loss of the mood marker leaves a long vowel (see 3.93), (b) with the weak 3rd radical verbs the loss of the vowel lengthening marker leaves a short vowel (see 3.92 n 2). Both are regarded as 'elision' by the grammarians, because the problem for them is graphemic (cf. 2.43 n 2).

3.91 (1) Vowellessness (ṣukūn, see 4.01 n 1) is a negative marker,
NOTES 81

i.e. it is only an inflection marker when it contrasts, as here, with other vocalic inflections. The vowellessness of invariable words with permanently unvowelled endings (cf. 1.41 n 4) is not inflection, nor is that of words in the 'pausal form' (2.14 n 2).

(2) For lam see 5.71. The change of tense after lam (imperfect tense acquires past tense meaning) has never been explained. Jouon (M.U.S.J. 6, 147) has suggested the following: in conditional sentences lam is the obligatory negative particle, thus the negative equivalent of both 'in qāma qumtu 'if he stood I would stand' and 'in yaqum 'agum 'if he stands I will stand' is 'in lam yaqum lam 'aqum 'if he does not stand I will not stand'. From such common hybrids as 'in qāma lam 'aqum 'if he stood I would not stand' it came to be felt that lam 'aqum had a past tense reference, which was then generalized outside the context of conditional sentences.

3.92 (1) Paradigm of a typical weak 3rd rad. verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form, ramā 'to throw':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'armi</td>
<td></td>
<td>narmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarmī</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>tarmīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarmī</td>
<td>yarmi</td>
<td>yarmū</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarmi</td>
<td>yarmi</td>
<td>yarmīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The indep. forms of these verbs are prosodically yadcw, yakšay and yarmiy respectively (cf. 2.43 n 2 on vowel lengthening markers). Elision of the lengthening marker (i.e. the 3rd radical) leaves only a short vowel, usually homorganic with the missing semi-vowel. There are insuperable transliteration difficulties with yakšā: its final ā is orthographically ay, always realized as ā in word final position and thus formally identical with the so-called 'shortened ā' in 1.702 n 1. Because the y here is effectively functioning as the 'alif which is the normal marker for ā (2.43 n 2), aš-Širbīnī says that in yakšā 'it is the 'alif which has been elided', though to our way of thinking it is y which has been elided.

3.93 (1) This time the elision is not of a vowel lengthening marker but of the mood marker n (realized as na and ni, 4.81 n 1), exposing the long vowel which is the agent pronoun in these verbs (see next note). A paradigm is in 4.82 n 2: comparison of the apocopated with the dependent forms (paradigm in 4.82 n 1) will show that both are the same in the 'five verbs' (q.v. 3.45 n 1).

(2) The segmentation is thus ya-nšur-ā-ni, ya-nšur-ū-na, ta-nšur-ī-na; for the various elements see 5.3 (imperfect tense prefix), 7.8 n 1 (imperfect tense stem), 3.241 (agent suffixes), 3.44 (independence marker). The text omits lam tansurā 'you two did not aid' and lam tansurū 'you (masc. plur.) did not aid'. For lam see 5.71.

3.94 (1) See 5.33 on the absence of operators. Note that all the augmented stems (see 8.51 n 1) have the same sets of imperfect tense prefixes, agent suffixes (past and imperfect tense), and mood markers
as the simple verb, which is why Fleisch, 104, calls it 'la conjugaison commune'. This can be verified by consulting the tables of paradigms in the notes to 8.61-72, but note that the imperfect tense prefixes of some augmented stems are vowelled with u (cf. 5.31). A rule of thumb for the weak 3rd rad. verbs is as follows: in Stem I the medial vowel (10.22 n 2) determines the paradigm (4.81 n 2, 10.14 n 2). The characteristic vowel in all augmented stems, active or passive, will be i or a, conjugating like the relevant Stem I form.

(2) This excess of pedagogic zeal may perhaps be forgiven, especially since it has also inspired many of the annotations!

3.95 (1) S. 2 v 24. In order to make sense of this example it is worth quoting it in its context: 'If you are in doubt about what we sent down to our servant (i.e. the revelation of the Qur'ān), then bring forth a chapter like it ... If you do not do it - and you will not do it - then protect yourselves against the fire'. In his own Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 34, aš-Širbānī paraphrases īn tafi'ālu by lā yaqagu gālika minkum 'abadan 'that will not happen from you ever' (our italics), cf. his remarks on the possibility of perpetual negation through īn in 3.53 (and note that, in his paraphrase, the independent form of the imperfect tense is used with a future sense, cf. 5.02).

(2) Note the functional definitions here of ʿālam (5.71) and īn (5.42), and cf. 1.91 n 2.

(3) See 5.81 n 3 on the term mahāll 'status'.

3.96 (1) This is the n which, according to the Arab analysis (16.301), preserves the final vowel of the verb from being displaced by the 1st sing. suffix I 'my/me' (cf. 4.72 n 2), hence its name, the nūn al-wiqāya, lit. 'the n of preservation'. However, all the Semitic languages show the same alternation of I(ya) on nouns and nī on verbs, and Moscati, #13.22, has suggested that perhaps this n has developed by analogy with the regular n of the 1st plur. suffix nā 'our/us'. A completely different explanation is offered by Fleisch, M.U.S.J. 44, 66, basing himself upon A. Denz, Strukturanalyse der Objektsuffixe im Altsyrischen und klassischen Arabisch, Munich 1962, 77, viz. that the 'preserving n' has detached itself from the emphatic anna suffix (3.241 n 2), e.g. *yaqtulannī 'he will certainly kill me', expanded to yaqtulannānī by analogy with yaqtulannā 'he will certainly kill us', exposing nī as a new form which was then generalized.

(2) S. 39 v 64. The full, regular form should be ta'murūnānī, but Arabic phonology favours assimilation when two identical consonants occur close together (cf. doubled verbs, 11.3 n 1), and indeed this is the only case in which the over-long syllable CVC is permitted (21.22 n 4). The possibilities are thus: ta'murūnānī, ta'murūnī, ta'murūnī (var. ta'murūnīya), to which K. Vollers, Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien, Strasburg 1906, 145, adds ta'murūnī and ta'murūnī, claiming that ta'murūnī is an artificial hybrid. Cf. tublawunna in 2.101 n 4.
NOTES 85

(3) Schaw. Ind. 169, with minor variants 'asrī 'I journey by night' for 'abkī 'I weep' and jildaki 'your skin' for wajhaki 'your face'. No author is known and no satisfactory explanation for the elisions has been offered. Ibn Jinnī consulted his master Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī in vain (Kaṣāʿīs I, 388); al-Bağdādī (Kīzāna III, 526) can only reproduce Ibn Jinnī's confusion, and he adds that the Caliph ʿUmar was once heard to pronounce two verbs without their final n (viz. yasmāʾūn(na) 'they hear' and yujībū(na) 'they answer'). But these may be early specimens of colloquial, which always elides this n (J. Blau, The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic, Oxford 1965, has a possible eighth cent. example on p. 128.

(4) Treated in this translation as a separate chapter, though in the text it is only a fasl, sub-section, of ch. 3.

4.0 (1) On uninflected words see 1.41 n 4. The earliest grammars take inflection for granted, and az-Zajjājī (d. 949) is perhaps the first to suggest that inflection may be a secondary development. He argues, without much conviction, that since uninflected Arabic is easily understood it must be logically prior to inflected Arabic, and that inflection only emerged among the Beduin when confusion became intolerable (Īdāh, 67, also reproduced by as-Suyūṭī, Ašbāh I, 76).

4.01 (1) By 'vowels', ḥarakāt, is always meant 'short vowels', of which there are only the three listed here and their allophones (cf. Cantineau, Et. 110, Fleisch, Tr. v. index). The term ḥaraka 'vowel' (see 0.4 n 3 for names of vowels) means lit. 'movement', and opposes sukūn 'vowellessness', lit. 'stillness'. Both are part of the earliest technical vocabulary of grammar; cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥarakā wā-sukūn'; Drozdik, J.M.S. 5, 73f; Versteegh 22. See 3.0 n 2 on 'regular way'.

4.02 (1) Long vowels and diphthongs are orthographically short vowels followed by the consonants 't, w and y (2.43 n 2), which act as matres lectionis for the normally unwritten short vowel signs. It is thus not improper to treat long vowel inflection as consonantal, though Fleischer (Kl. Schr. II, 103-4) did not hesitate to dismiss this convention as 'unnatural'.

4.1 (1) Note that 'inflection' applies to verbal mood as well as to nominal case (2.2).

4.11 (1) Paradigms of masc. ar-rajulu 'the man' and fem. al-mar'atu 'the woman'.
NOTES

defined annexed undefined pausal

indep. ar-rajulu rajulu rajulun rajul
dep. ar-rajula rajula rajulan rajulā
obl. ar-rajuli rajuli rajulīn rajul

indep. al-mar'atu mar'atu mar'atun mar'a(h)
dep. al-mar'ata mar'ata mar'atan mar'a(h)
obl. al-mar'ati mar'atī mar'atīn mar'a(h)

Assimilation of def. art. 11.41 n 2; pausal form 2.14 n 2; pausal fem. suffix at 11.42 n 1; alternation of mar'atu/imra'atu 19.72 n 4.
All fully declinable adjectives are in this class, e.g. muslimun 'male Muslim', muslimatun 'female Muslim', there being no morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives (but see 11.61 n 1).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for this convention, and note that, as elsewhere in this paragraph, it is not always observed.

4.12 (1) See 3.22; syntax of broken plural 4.12 n 3.

(2) Paradigm of typical broken plural, rijālun 'men':

indep. defined annexed undefined pausal

ar-rijālu rijālu rijālun rijāl

dep. ar-rijāla rijāla rijālan rijālā

obl. ar-arrijāli rijāli rijālin rijāl

Some broken plurals are formally feminine, regardless of the singular gender (mostly masc. however), e.g. ṭalabatun 'male students' (sing. ṭālibun), 'as'ilatun 'questions' (sing. su'ālun). These decline exactly as the fem. sing., 4.11 n 1. Conversely some formally fem. nouns have formally masc. broken plurals, e.g. qītātun 'pieces' (sing. qītātun), but see next note. Discongruence in the numbers 3 to 10 may be related to this phenomenon, v. 20.22 n 1.

(3) Syntactically, broken plurals fall into two classes, humans and non-humans. Humans are plural, take plural verbs, adjectives and pronouns; non-humans are fem. sing. and take fem. sing. verbs, adjectives and pronouns (possibly reflecting an original collective function of the broken plural). There are frequent exceptions to this rule. Cf. Muf. #270; Fléisch 170; Yushmanov 68; chs. 7, 9, 11 passim.

(4) Unless the particular pattern is only semi-declinable, e.g. masājida 'mosques' (dep. and obl.), cf. 3.89 (1).

4.13 (1) See 3.23, 4.31.

(2) Paradigm of typical sound fem. plur. muslimātun 'female Muslims':

indep. defined annexed undefined pausal

al-muslimātu muslimātu muslimātun muslimāt

dep./ al-muslimāti muslimāti muslimātin muslimāt

obl.

Dep. and obl. cases neutralized, as in sound masc. plur., 4.6 n 1.

(3) Notice that some nouns have both sound and broken plurals. This is especially common with proper nouns. Cf. also 3.221 n 2, 11.43 n 2.
(4) Verbs are conventionally quoted in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense, see 3.52 n 3.

(5) This refers to the t of hindātu, for which see 4.31 n 1. The t of jā'at is also a fem. morpheme, q.v. at 1.83, 5.01.

4.14 (1) See 3.24. Complete paradigms at 4.4 n 5, including the suffixed forms mentioned in this paragraph.

(2) See 3.241. Since these are suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb no overt inflection is possible.

4.2 (1) This pedantry is not aš-Širbīnī's own, but is taken from al-Azharī (Āj. 25). Nevertheless it does clarify the misleading implications of Ibn Ājurūhm's excessive concision.

(2) For convenience are inserted here the three types of noun which, for phonological reasons, have partially or totally implicit inflection: (a) al-qādī 'the judge':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-qādī</td>
<td>qādī</td>
<td>qādīn</td>
<td>qādī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>al-qādiya</td>
<td>qādiya</td>
<td>qādiyan</td>
<td>qādiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>al-qādī</td>
<td>qādī</td>
<td>qādīn</td>
<td>qādī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonology 2.6; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is either sound qādūna v. 4.6 n 1, or broken qudūtun, cf. 4.12 n 2 and 4.31 n 1.

(b) al-fatā 'the boy':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-fatā</td>
<td>fatā</td>
<td>fatān</td>
<td>fatā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all three cases. Phonology 2.5; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is broken, either fityānun or fityatun, cf. 4.12 n 2.

(c) hublā 'pregnant':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Defined</th>
<th>Annexed</th>
<th>Undefined</th>
<th>Pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-hablā</td>
<td>hublā</td>
<td>hublā</td>
<td>hublā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all three cases. All the words in this class bear the invariable fem. suffix ā; they include fem. adjectives, e.g. kubrā 'greatest' (20.4 n 1), fem. sing. nouns, e.g. ġikrā 'memory' (24.54 n 2) and broken plurals, e.g. 'āsārā 'prisoners' (3.52).

4.31 (1) See 3.23, 3.231. It is generally agreed that the sound fem. plur. originated in the lengthening of the fem. sing. suffix at (q.v. at 11.42 n 1) to āt (Moscati #12.52). Like the sound masc. plur. (4.6 n 1), the three cases have been reduced to an opposition of indep. and dep./obl., but, unlike the sound masc. plur., the sound fem. plur. retains the complementary distribution of the definite article prefix al and the indefinite suffix n (cf. 1.4, 1.5).

N.B. In our transcription āt may occasionally represent the fem. sing. or plur. of 3rd weak rad. nouns, e.g. fatātun 'a girl' (*fatayatun, fem. of fatan), qudātun 'judges' (*qudayatun, plur. of qādīn). But there is no confusion in the Arabic script (see 11.42 n 1), and naturally these forms have normal fem. sing. inflection.

4.32 (1) See 3.87-89. Paradigm of a typical semi-declinable noun, masc. sing., 'ahmaru 'red':
Fem. sing. hamrā'u declines identically, as do all types listed in 3.89, but the common plur. humrun is regular, as in 4.12 n 2.

(2) In fact, the allomorph a is found only in the undefined state (cf. 3.89 n 12). A perhaps less obvious irregularity is in the pausal forms: these nouns never have final n (1.41), hence the dep. form lacks the ā ending of the regular nouns (cf. rajulā, 4.11 n 1). Fem. semi-declinable nouns with the fem. suffix at decline exactly as above, but because of the special nature of at (11.42 n 1), pausal forms are the same as the regular fem. noun at 4.11 n 1.

4.33 (1) Cf. 2.43, 3.92.

4.4 (1) i.e. there are also three types of nouns and one of verbs which inflect with short vowels, as listed in 4.11-14. For the meaning of 'consonants' in this context, see 4.02.

(2) Paradigms at 4.5 n 1.

(3) Paradigms at 4.6 n 1.

(4) 3.42. Paradigms at 4.71 n 1.

(5) 3.45. Paradigm of the sound verb, imperfect tense, indep. form, root daraba 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'adribu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nadribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tadribu</td>
<td>tadribâni</td>
<td>tadribâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tadribinā</td>
<td></td>
<td>tadribnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yadribu</td>
<td>yadribâni</td>
<td>yadribâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tadribu</td>
<td>tadribâni</td>
<td>yadribnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 4.82 n 2; with object suffixes 16.306 n 1. Derived stems (8.51 n 1) have the same prefixes and suffixes. Weak 1st rad. 10.67 n 1; hollow verbs 10.23 n 2; weak 3rd rad. 4.81 n 2; doubled verbs 11.3 n 1.

Syntax of indep. verb 5.33 and ch. 7 passim.
Note that 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always the same, likewise 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.

4.5 (1) See 3.43, 3.63-65. Paradigm of typical dual rajulāni '2 men':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep. ar-rajulāni</td>
<td>rajulā</td>
<td>rajulāni</td>
<td>rajulān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./ ar-rajulayni</td>
<td>rajulay</td>
<td>rajulayni</td>
<td>rajulayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subject to 3.65, the dual suffix is attached directly to final sound radicals (as above) and to the fem. at suffix: al-īmra'atānī etc. 'the 2 women'.

Weak 3rd rad. y behaves regularly, e.g. al-qādiyānī 'the 2 judges' (sing. *al-qādiy, cf. 2.6), al-fatāyānī 'the 2 boys' (sing. *al-fatay, cf. 2.5). Weak 3rd rad. w becomes y to avoid the non-canonical sequence
iw, e.g. al-ğāziyānī 'the 2 raiders' (sing. *al-ğāziw, cf. 2.6 n 2). Exceptions: Wright I, 188, Rem. b.
The fem. suffix ă' replaces  with w as glide-vowel, e.g. șabrawānī '2 deserts' (sing. șahrā'u, 3.89 (2)); likewise  ā-ḥamrawānī 'the 2 red ones (fem.)' (sing.  ā-ḥamrā'u), cf. 3.62 n 2.
The fem. suffix ā (= *ay, 1.702 n 1) is regular, e.g. al-hublayānī 'the 2 pregnant ones', dikrayānī '2 memories'.
(2) Cf. lafz in 1.11.
(3) 3.64 n 3.

4.6 (1) See 3.41-412. Paradigm of sound masc. plur. muslimūna 'Muslims':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-muslimūnā</td>
<td>muslimū</td>
<td>muslimūna</td>
<td>muslimūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./</td>
<td>al-muslimīnā</td>
<td>muslimī</td>
<td>muslimīna</td>
<td>muslimīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weak 3rd rad. nouns (2.5-7) have the following peculiarities: the sequence i + weak rad. is lost, e.g. al-qądūnā 'the judges' (from *al-qādiyūnā), dep./obl. al-qądīnā (from *al-qādiyīnā), cf. 2.31 n 4.
The sequence a + weak rad. forms a diphthong with the suffixes ūna and īna (= uwna, iyna, 2.43 n 2). Paradigm of musammā (= *musammay) 'named':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-musammawnā</td>
<td>musammaw</td>
<td>musammawna</td>
<td>musammawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./</td>
<td>al-musammaynā</td>
<td>musammay</td>
<td>musammayna</td>
<td>musammayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a passive participle; the active musammī follows the rules for qādī, e.g. musammūna etc., while the duals of both active and passive are regular, e.g. musammīyānī, musammayānī (4.5 n 1).

(2) 3.64 n 3.

4.71 (1) Paradigm of the sing. 'abun 'a father':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>defined</th>
<th>annexed</th>
<th>undefined</th>
<th>pausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indep.</td>
<td>al-'abu</td>
<td>'abū</td>
<td>'abun</td>
<td>'ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>al-'aba</td>
<td>'abā</td>
<td>'aban</td>
<td>'abā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>al-'abi</td>
<td>'abi</td>
<td>'abin</td>
<td>'ab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abnormality of the nouns in this group appears in their singular annexed forms (cf. 3.421), and may perhaps be explained as due to pressure of the triliteral system upon primitive biliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1). Certainly the duals and plurals of these nouns show the restoration of a hypothetical third radical, e.g. 'abawānī '2 fathers', 'ākawānī '2 brothers' (both with w as surrogate third radical), 'ābā'un 'fathers' (for alternation of w and ' see 3.62 n 2), 'afwārhun 'mouths' (this time with h as the surrogate radical). There is little doubt that many triliteral roots are expansions of bilaterals, but no-one has yet established whether the latter represent a more primitive stage of the language; cf. bibliography in Moscati, 179, and see Fleisch 239 (Tr. #52), Yushmanov 34, Nöldeke 14, Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 71 (expansion of biliteral roots by gemination, e.g. 'abb, 'ākk etc.) Another type of
Systemzwang: 3.412 n 9.

4.72 (1) An exception to 3.421 is the expression là 'abā laka lit. 'you have no father', i.e. 'you bastard!'. After là 'no' we should have 'aba (cf. 22.12), but the form 'abā is preferred apparently because it is felt that 'abā is virtually annexed to the pronoun ka in laka 'belonging to you'. The fully annexed equivalent là 'abāka is, in fact, known (Reck., Ar. Synt. 119 n 1); the expression là 'ağā lahu 'he has no brother' in 13.11 is of the same kind.

(2) Since aš-širbīnī nowhere deals comprehensively with the possessive pronoun suffixes, they are tabulated here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-kum</td>
<td>-kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kumā</td>
<td>-kunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>-hu</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>-hā</td>
<td>-humā</td>
<td>-hunna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the 1st sing. (see 16.301 n 1) these are all the same as the object pronoun suffixes (16.301-312). From the Arab point of view the noun possessed is annexed to one of these pronouns: thus 'abū-ka is really 'the father of you', structurally identical with 'abū zaydīn 'the father of Zayd' (cf. 26.7 n 3). Naturally these suffixes are in complementary distribution with al 'the' and tanwīn (v. 26.93 n 1). Further on the ḫ suffix see 3.421 n 3, 23.6.

4.73 (1) 3.421. See 5.81 n 3 on mahāl 'status' here.

4.81 (1) Though this n is realized as na or ni we do not have here an 'archimorpheme' in the Western sense, merely the result of a spelling convention which names only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2).

(2) The paradigm of the sound verb, active, imperfect tense, indep. form is at 4.4 n 5. Here follow verbs with 3rd rad. ṭ or y (see 10.22 n 2 for variations in stem vowel):

(a) kašīya 'to fear':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ākšā</td>
<td>nağšā</td>
<td>nağšā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḵšā</td>
<td>taḵšāywāni</td>
<td>taḵšāwāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḵšāyna</td>
<td>taḵšāywāni</td>
<td>taḵšāwāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaḵšā</td>
<td>yaḵšāywāni</td>
<td>yaḵšāwāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taḵšā</td>
<td>taḵšāywāni</td>
<td>yaḵšāwāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) ramā 'to throw':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aṟmī</td>
<td>narmī</td>
<td>narmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarmī</td>
<td>tarmīyāni</td>
<td>tarmīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tarmīna</td>
<td>tarmīyāni</td>
<td>tarmīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarmī</td>
<td>yarmīyāni</td>
<td>yarmīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tarmī</td>
<td>tarmīyāni</td>
<td>yarmīnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) gemäß 'to raid':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aḡžū</td>
<td>naḡžū</td>
<td>naḡžū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḡžū</td>
<td>taḡžūywāni</td>
<td>taḡžūnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḡžūna</td>
<td>taḡžūywāni</td>
<td>taḡžūnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.82 (1) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, dep. form ḏaraiba 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'adriba</td>
<td>nadriba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḍriba</td>
<td>taḍribī</td>
<td>taḍribā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taḍribī</td>
<td>taḍribā</td>
<td>taḍribna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yadriba</td>
<td>yadribā</td>
<td>yadribū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taḍriba</td>
<td>taḍribā</td>
<td>taḍribna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled (11.3 n 1) and hollow (10.23 n 2) verbs: stems unchanged by substitution of dep. morphemes, e.g. yamurra, yamrurna, yakūna etc. Weak 3rd rad.: indep. ꠿, ꠷ become iya, uwa (e.g. yarmiya), indep. ꠸ remains unchanged (yakša); otherwise as for sound verb (taḡzī etc.).

(2) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form ḏaraiba 'to strike':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aḍrib</td>
<td>naḍrib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḍrib</td>
<td>taḍribā</td>
<td>taḍribna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>*taḍribī</td>
<td>*taḍribā</td>
<td>taḍribna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yadrib</td>
<td>yadribā</td>
<td>yadribū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taḍrib</td>
<td>*taḍribā</td>
<td>taḍribna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dep. and apoc. forms are the same in the 'five verbs' (marked with *, see 3.45), the two fem. plur. forms show no mood distinctions at all, and the 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always identical (4.4 n 5): thus only 24 out of 39 possible forms exist. Doubled verbs (11.3 n 1) either neutralize all distinction between apoc. and dep. forms ('amurra, tamurra etc.), or dissimilate when the final radical is unvowelled, e.g. 'amrur, tamrur etc.). Hollow verbs (10.23 n 2) have short stems when the final radical is unvowelled ('akun, takun etc.), and the remainder are in any case identical with the dep. forms (takūnī, takūnā etc.). Weak 3rd rad. verbs: see 3.92 n 1.

(3) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(4) The work is lost; see Ibn YaḡĪš or Howell on Muf. #405 or the commentaries on Alf. v 44 instead.
5.01 (1) māḏī, lit. 'having elapsed'. The definition that we have here (and cf. also 1.21) illustrates clearly the penetration of Greek categories into Arabic grammar (see the discussion in Versteegh 140), which can be seen as early as as-ZajjājI, Jum. 21. The problem of the Arabic tenses is complex, however: some points of certainty are (a) the formal categories enumerated by Ibn Ājurrūm (and cf. 1.24) are not three tenses, but a relic of the original Semitic aspectual system (v. Moscati #16.28 and esp. #16.31, also Beeston 76, Fleisch 111); (b) no Arab classification exploits the full possible range of four distinct categories, viz. past, imperfect, future (= imperfect with prefix sa or sawfa, 1.82) and imperative, probably because the future is often expressed by the unmarked imperfect anyway (5.02); (c) Sībawayhi's grouping uses formal, functional and aspectual criteria to arrive at a classification entirely his own, viz. (i) 'constructed for what has elapsed' (buniyat li-mâ maḏā), (ii) 'what is going to be and has not happened' (mā yakūn wa-lam yāqa, note imperf. tense yakūnu in future meaning), which includes both the imperative and the unmarked imperf. with future meaning, (iii) 'what is being, not having ceased' (mā huwa kā'ūn laṃ yaqāṭī, note agent noun kā'ūn with participial meaning) i.e. the imperfect tense proper (all Kitāb I, 2, and cf. Troupeau, G.L.E.C.S. 9, esp. 46 on relative insignificance of absolute time, zamān, to Sībawayhi). Contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, esp. 111, which is an attempt to demonstrate that the Arabic verbal system is wholly time-based. Further on aspect: Fleisch, Arabica 21, 11.

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on the feminine īn in nouns.

(3) See 22.4 on the syntax of this phrase.

(4) Necessary self-justification because 5.01 is largely a verbatim repetition of 1.83.

5.02 (1) The grounds of the similarity are discussed in the ensuing lines, but it is worth pointing out that the term muḏārī 'similar, resembling', was not originally restricted to the imperfect tense verb, but (in the Kitāb, for example) was used to denote any formal similarity between elements of all kinds (v. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, q-r).
The formal similarity is that both nouns and imperfect tense verbs share the inflections u and a (cf. 2.2). Arabs argue synchronically that the inflection of the verb is logically secondary (e.g. Insâf, prob. 73), while the Western, diachronical view is that inflection of verbs is historically secondary (e.g. Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 554). Sîbawayhi (Kitāb I, 3) sees the 'similarity' as functional, in that the imperfect tense verb is interchangeable with the agent noun in 'inna Cabda llâhi la-yafCalu/la-fâCilun 'Abdullâh is doing', with the added resemblance that the predicate marker la (13.6 n 4) can be prefixed to imperfect tense, but not past tense verbs. Finally there is the possibility of making both nouns and imperfect tense verbs more specific by prefixes: al 'the' on nouns (11.74), the future markers sa and sawfa on verbs (1.82). Bateson 25 seems to imply that imperfect tense verbs are 'similar' because they have partly nominal inflection, but this is, of course, the wrong way round. Cf. also Versteegh 78.

On 'syntactical combination' (tarkīb and 'meaning' (maCnā) in that context cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, 20.6 n 3.

5.03 (1) 'amr, lit. 'command', always positive in Arabic, since there is a separate structure for prohibitions (5.76). For Sîbawayhi the imperative is aspectually in the same category as the imperfect tense denoting events not yet happening (5.01 n 1). Formally the imperative can hardly be anything but the apocopated verb minus its personal prefixes (paradigm at 7.82 n 1), which are redundant because this verb form is only ever used in direct address (cf. Bravmann, J.Q.R. (NS) 42, 51). Beeston 84; Fleisch 107; Bateson 25; Yushmanov 53; see 5.2.

(2) It must also take the other agent pronouns (5.2). The reference to Sîbawayhi is Kitāb I, 5 (and cf. Jahn, nn 53, 59 to #2).

(3) S. 19 v 26. See 5.2 n 3 on the forms.

(4) See 3.241 n 2.

(5) ism fiC1, see 1.42 n 3.

(6) At this point the text of the Ājurrûmiyya usually illustrates the three kinds of verb thus: "e.g. daraba 'he struck', yaCribu 'he strikes', idrib 'strike'", which aš-SirbInI redistributes through the following paragraphs. On ḥukm 'grammatical rule' see 24.1 n 2.

5.1 (1) Muf. #403; Qatr 15; Beeston 72; Fleisch 105; Bateson 24; Yushmanov 52. Paradigms 7.51 to 7.62. Ibn Ājurrûm's statement applies
only to the 3rd masc. sing. (see 5.03 n 6), which serves as the typical form of the verb for pedagogical purposes (and cf. 3.52 n 3).

(2) All verbs (also nouns, 10.37 n 1) are regarded as derived from three, less often four radical consonants expressing a particular root notion and which may be augmented, under strict rules, by up to three additional consonants (5.3 n 2), as long as the total does not exceed six. These consonants in effect constitute a stem, to which the appropriate vowels and consonantal pre- and suffixes may be added: the past tense agent pronouns are all suffixes, dealt with one by one in 7.51 et seq. For derived (i.e. expanded) verb stems see 8.51 n 1. The verb istakraja is six-lettered because the initial i vowel is notated with the consonant 'alif (a juncture feature, 5.2 n 3), hence the consonants are (')-(s)-(t)-k-r-j (augments in brackets).

(3) Cf. 2.31 n 4 on phonetic inconvenience. It is a long-standing belief that a is the 'lightest' vowel, cf. al-Mubarrad, Muqtaḍab III, 19.

(4) Orthographically ārabū is ḍrbw', and the suffixing of w (= ū, see 2.43 n 2) entails the u on the last radical which is not, in the Arab view, an inflection but an invariable vowel. See 7.61 n 2 on final '.

(5) Lit. 'with triple t', referring to the suffixes tu 'I', ta 'you' (masc. sing.) and ti 'you' (fem. sing.). The other suffixes which are also attached directly to the unvowelled last radical (viz. all the duals and plurals) are taken for granted here, probably because they are regarded as derivatives of the singulars, cf. 11.717.

5.11 (1) For laysa see 10.18; قاسم 10.101 n 1. The verbs niṣma and bi'sa are rare examples of retrogressive vowel harmony accompanied by loss of central vowel, thus *ba'īsa>bī'īsa>bī'sa (cf. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar., 97, where this is identified as an Eastern Arabic trait). See 20.7 n 2 on the syntax of niṣma and bi'sa.

5.2 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans'. In Ḥṣāf, prob. 72, the 'Kūfans' claim apocopeation through synonymity with the indirect imperative verb with prefix li (5.75), while the 'Baṣrans' argue that there is no inflection because the necessary condition, similarity to nouns (5.02), is lacking in imperatives.

(2) i.e. the last radical is not w or y, which are dealt with later.

(3) Every syllable in Arabic must begin with a consonant (2.43 n 2), but only one, and if morphological processes cause a word to begin with two consonants (it will never be more than two), an extra syllable has to be created. In the formation of the imperative, the removal of the personal prefix ta usually leaves a consonant cluster (e.g. ta-ḍrib, ta-nṭalīq etc.), and this is resolved by prefixing the syllable 'i, on the special nature of which see further 13.12 n 1. Note also that there is partial vowel harmony in this prefix: it is 'i if the vowels of the verb stem are a or i, but 'u if the internal vowel is also u, e.g. 'uktub 'write!'. If the removal of the personal prefix does not expose a consonant cluster this procedure is unnecessary, as
with kulī (ta'-kulī, see 18.108 n 2) and garrī (ta-garrī, cf. 11.3 n 1) in 5.03. Regular paradigm in 7.82.

(4) See 3.92 n 2. Note that throughout this paragraph aš-Širbīnī cites the 3rd masc. sing. as the base form for the imperative: this is simply because the 3rd masc. sing. is always used for 'quoting' verbs (cf. 3.52 n 3).

(5) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(6) Removal of the personal prefix leaves no consonant cluster with the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2), viz. ta-gūmu etc., hence no additional syllable required as in n 3 above. The masc. sing. gum is likewise regularly derived from ta-gum.

(7) The fact that loss of n in the 'five verbs' (3.93) and elision of the lengthening marker in 3rd weak rad. verbs (3.92) are allomorphs of the apocopated ending must surely weaken the 'Basran' argument that imperative verbs are not apocopated (5.2 n 1).

5.21 (1) It is doubtful whether hāti is in fact a verb, and Fleisch, Tr. #115q, argues quite positively that it is a combination of a deictic hā (cf. 11.735 n 1) and an element tī presumably related to that of rubbata etc. (1.83 n 3). Nevertheless a causative prefix ha does survive in some verbs (harāqa 'to pour', doublet of ārāqa, the normal Stem IV form, cf. 8.63 n 1, and Moscati #16.10), and perhaps hāti has been influenced by the existing causative verb ātā (imperative ātī etc., cf. 5.82 n 5). Another deictic element which has become assimilated to the imperative is halumma 'come on, now', fem. halummī etc., cf. Muf. #189; Fleisch 146, Tr. 115k; Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 162.

(2) Naturally the other agent suffixes are understood (5.03 n 2). After a the fem. sing. ī (= iy, v. 2.43 n 2) reduces to y in taGālay etc.

5.3 (1) The 'ahruf al-mudāqarāga, where 'ahruf, lit. 'consonants, letters in general' (cf. 1.11) clearly equates with the concept of morphemes. Moreover, as emerges from the subsequent discussion, these morphemes are not to be confused with the same consonants in different functions, viz. as radicals (cf. 5.1 n 2) in the quadriliteral words narjastu and yarna'tu, and as morphemes of a different class in 'akrāmtu (where ' is the causative prefix, cf. 8.63 n 1) and taGāllamtu (where t is a reflexive prefix, cf. 8.64 n 1). Nor are these augment themselves agent pronouns, see n 3 below.

(2) The later Arab grammarians are very fond of such mnemonic devices: the neatest is perhaps sa'altūmūnīhā 'you (masc. plur.) asked me about them', which contains all the ten consonants (s, ', l, t, m, w, n, y, h, ā') thus including the two functions of the letter 'alif, viz. ' and ā', see 2.43 n 2) which can be used as augments. One wry scholar has enshrined them in the sentence 'al-yawma tanSāhu 'today you will forget it' (e.g. Ibn as-Sarrāj, al-Mūjaz fī n-nahw, ed. M. el-Chouémi and B. Damerdji, Beirut 1965, 145; Muf. #671). Lane, 1276, s.v. ziyāda,
reports that over 130 mnemonics for these morphemes exist!

(3) Here, and at 7.4, 9.22, 11.71 only, the original periphrastic nomenclature of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons is reproduced literally (see 9.22 n 2 for the transliteration of the Arabic terms). Note especially that the morphemes listed here are not agent pronouns, as one might at first assume, but only markers of number and person: in the Arab analysis, agent pronouns appear either as overt suffixes (here the I, ū, and ā of the 'five verbs', q.v. 3.44) or as 'concealed pronouns' (damīr mustatir, 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1). In this the Arabs have gone further than, say, Trager and Rice, Language 30, esp. 226 (also Hamp, Studies in Linguistics, Buffalo, 14, 21), by assigning the agent function exclusively to the second element of a discontinuous morpheme.

(4) Since all the augments listed in n 2 above can also appear as full radical letters, it is of some consequence to be able to recognize in any given word which are its radicals and which are not. Dictionaries, for example, are invariably arranged according to radicals.

5.31 (1) 'First letter' here means the imperfect tense augment, not the first radical, nor any other augments associated with the stem (cf. 5.3 n 1). Only the active voice is meant here: for passive see 8.3.

(2) Quadriliteral verbs are (a) those with four different radicals, e.g. dabraja, (b) reduplicated stems, e.g. jaljala 'to resound', (c) stems with single augment (q.v. 8.51 n 1). All three conjugate as augmented stems (see n 3); Beeston 73; Fleisch 127; Bateson 35.

(3) Quinquiliterals and six-lettered verbs are always augmented triliteral and quadriliterals, cf. 5.1 n 2: thus (augments in brackets) the verbs here are (')-(n)-ç-i-q (paradigm 8.66 n 1), (')-(s)-(t)-k-r-j (paradigm 8.72 n 1). An augmented quadriliteral is, e.g. tadāhraja 'to be overturned, (t)-d-h-r-j, which has the same imperfect tense pattern as the triliteral paradigm in 8.64 n 1, viz. yatadāhraju etc.

5.32 (1) See 3.241 n 1 on this morpheme and transliteration problems.

(2) The fem. plur. na is suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb, e.g. yadrib-na 'they strike', and the argument is that the lack of vowel on the b is not an instance of apocopation, i.e. the absence of vowel is not phonemic and the stem is uninflected (cf. 3.91 n 1).

(3) S. 2 v 228. The point of the example is that, if an overt agent precedes its verb, the latter is marked for the number and gender of the agent, in contrast with the rules for the usual verbal sentence, q.v. at 7.12 and cf. also 7.62.

(4) Both quotations are from S. 12 v 32. Though transcribed throughout as anna and an respectively (see 3.241 n 2), the a is not part of the suffix, and the verbs in the examples must be segmented yusjana-nna and yaxāna-n. Nevertheless, the a is not an inflection, cf. 5.1 n 3, 5.32 n 2. See further 26.34 n 2, also 13.6 n 3 on the prefix la.

5.33 (1) The concept of a 'main verb' exists by default, as it were,
as one of the implications of the 'zero-operator' (5.34 n 1). The independent inflection of the verb thus parallels that of the noun when it is free from operators (cf. 9.11). Ḫan̄f, prob. 73, deals with the disputes between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on this topic: the substance of the Baṣran position is reproduced in 5.02 n 2, in the name of Ẓbawayhi, but it is interesting that one argument of the Kūfan has been incorporated unacknowledged into ʾaš-Šīrbīnī's position, viz. the need for verbal inflection based upon variations in syntactic function. The other Kūfan doctrine, however, is perhaps more interesting: they speak of the need for inflection in verbs because imperfect tense verbs denote 'lengthy periods of time (of continuous duration)' (the last phrase is added from az-Zajjājī's paraphrase of the case in Ḫdāh, 80), and therefore resemble nouns in that both can refer to qualities inherent in an agent and only ceasing when the agent ceases to exist. Versteegh, 80, overlooks this aspect of the Kūfan theory, which certainly needs further exploration.

(2) This is the Kūfan view, Baṣrans favouring the predicative function as the reason for the verb's independence (Ḫan̄f, prob. 74). See 3.24 for the inflection markers involved, 3.44 for the 'five verbs'.

5.34 (1) Since inflection is produced by operators (2.1, 2.11), there must be an explanation for instances where no operator can be shown, principally the equational sentence (9.11) and the indep. imperfect tense verb. The solution was the notion of ṭajarrud, lit. 'being stripped bare', i.e. of operators, here translated 'absence of operators', and sometimes more specifically as 'freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation', e.g. 9.01, 9.03 we find a synonym in the adjective ḫârī, lit. 'naked', i.e. 'devoid of operators'. This seems to have become an established technicality as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), cf. Muqtaddāb IV, 126. See also 3.24 n 2 and, for neutralization of operators, 5.431 n 3.

5.4 (1) Jum. 194; Muṣ. #410; Alfa. v 677; Qatr 54; Beeston 84; Fleisch 198; Yushmanov 72; Noldke 70. The unanimous view reported by ʾaš-Šīrbīnī is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), hence it is the 'Kūfan' line which Ibn ʾĀjurrūm here follows. Dep. paradigms 4.82 n 1.

(2) Here 'suppressed' renders muṣmar, lit. 'kept in the mind', mostly used in the narrower technical sense of 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71 n 1.

5.41 (1) Jum. 206, 333; Muṣ. #411; Alfa. v 677; Qatr 58; Beeston 92; Fleisch 201; Yushmanov 72. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are needed to avoid confusion with 'in (5.81), 'inna (10.41), 'anna (10.42).

(2) This translates mawsûl ḫarīf: mawsûl, lit. 'thing joined' is from relative clause terminology, denoting the element which 'joins' the relative clause to its antecedent (see 11.75 et seq.), while ḫarīf, lit. 'in the particle family' (see 11.721 n 4) distinguishes 'an from the set of nouns alladī etc. which introduce true relative clauses, q.v. 11.752. Both of these are nominalizers of their clauses, but see Spitaler, Oriens 15, 97, Yushmanov 73 for alladī in an apparently subordinating function (though Spitaler explains alladī here as
equivalent to 'ig 'lo', cf. 1.441 n 5, not to 'an).
(3) See 17.1 on the verbal noun (maṣdar). The resulting nominalized clause now functions as a single noun (cf. 9.02).
(4) 'Positions' is literal for mawādi', elsewhere 'functions' (3.1 n 4).
(5) S. 2 v 184, see 9.02.
(6) S. 57 v 16, cf. 7.02 n 3. After expressions of certainty the indep. verb is used, cf. Fleisch 199, and 5.413 n 4.
(7) S. 18 v 79.
(8) S. 30 v 43. As in many languages, prepositions usually subordinate sentences by means of conjunctions, in this case 'an: thus the word qabli is annexed to the noun phrase headed by 'an (cf. 26.73 n 2).
(9) Lit. the 'mother' of the whole category, one of the frequent anthropomorphisms encountered in Arabic grammar, cf. 6.4 n 2.

5.411 (1) S. 26 v 82. The verse refers to Allāh, and the lame English is designed to clarify the structure of the Arabic: the use of 'whom' here would obscure the fact that the clause 'that he should forgive' is the true direct object of 'I desire'.
(2) Schaw. Ind. 155, cf. also Jum. 199; Ibn Əqīl on Alf. v 693; Qatır 64. On the grammatical problem in general, see Carter, Arabica 20, 292.
(3) The analysis of this verse offers a good specimen of taqdīr, i.e. reconstruction of underlying forms (cf. 2.101 n 1). The issue on the formal level is that verbs cannot be coordinated with nouns by wa 'and', hence the verb taqarra has to be nominalized by an assumed 'an (which accounts for the dep. form of taqarra according to the 'Basran' interpretation), yielding an implicit noun phrase which is in turn equivalent to the verbal noun qurratun 'relaxation'. This verse and others like it are usually quoted in connection with an occasional function of wa in the meaning 'together with', when dependent forms of both nouns and verbs occur - see ch. 25 passim and 5.54 n 2, also references in n 2 above.

5.412 (1) Jum. 333; Muf. #570; al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 679; Qatır 60; Fleisch 145; Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. #193. The 'an al-mufassira, of which 'explanatory 'an' is a literal translation, functions as little more than a colon (Fleisch loc. cit.) and is followed by direct speech. It is probably a relic of a time when 'an was simply a demonstrative element. Nöldeke 104 has an interesting anthology of examples.
(2) i.e. any verb of saying except qāla itself, for which there are special rules (10.64 n 1). For 'letters' in this context see 17.5
(3) S. 23 v 27; clearly 'an is not operating on the imperative verb iṣna\', but neither is it entirely redundant as in 5.413.

5.413 (1) Jum. 333; Muf. #564; al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 679; Qatır 61. The name 'an az-zā'iḍa shows zā'ida in its meaning of 'redundant', cf. zīyāda in 3.231 n 2, where the same term means 'augment'. Other
NOTES 113

examples: 20.5, 22.42.

(2) lammā at-tawqîtiyya 'the lammā which fixes the point of time', to distinguish it from the negative, apocopating lammā 'not yet' (5.72). The temporal lammā has been explained as a combination of the prefix la (13.6 n 3) and an intensifying suffix mā (9.83 n 2), e.g. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 455, Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 110. Beeston 99; Fleisch 206.

(3) S. 12 v 96, explained as reinforcing the completion of the event.

(4) In default of this work, the references in n 1 may be consulted. One item worth noting is the 'an which occurs after verbs of certainty and which takes indep. forms of the verb, e.g. Calimtu 'an tağûmu 'I knew that you were standing'. The Arabs explain this as a 'lightened' form of 'anna (10.42). Jum. 206; Muf. #525; Alf. v 677; Qaṭr 61.

5.42 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #549, 578; Alf. v 677; Qaṭr 55; Fleisch 201; etymology of 'an, v. 3.53 and notes, and on negation of verbs in general see 5.76 n 1. The Qur'anic example here is S. 20 v 91.

(2) viz. in 3.53.

5.43 (1) Jum. 204; Muf. #594; Alf. v 680; Qaṭr 57; Beeston 99; Fleisch 206; Yushmanov 74; Nöldeke 106. This is part of a group of clearly related elements comprising 'iğ (1.441) and 'iğā (5.94) as well as 'iğan. Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 594) supposes an original 'iğ as a demonstrative adverb ('lo and behold!') which has acquired partial nominal inflection (dependent in 'iğā/'iğan, oblique in such compounds as yawma'iğin 'on that day', waqta'iğin (a neologism) 'at that time'). The Arabs treat 'iğ as a noun for purely formal reasons, though some traces of its deictic function can still be perceived (v. 1.441 n 5). See further n 3 below.

(2) 'Response' (jawāb) and 'requital' (jazā') are both terms for the apodosis in conditional sentences (5.811), whose relevance Ḍ-Širbînî explains in the ensuing lines.

(3) It happens that 'iğan is sometimes spelt as if it were an undefined, dep. noun (i.e. 'iğā, where a represents an, q.v. 1.4 n 5), and sometimes with an explicit n. The latter spelling gives rise to the illicit conjecture that 'iğan is a compound of 'iğ and 'an (on the analogy of 'an from *‘ā-‘an, 3.53). This is rejected by most Arab grammarians, including Ḍ-Širbînî, but Beckendorf, Synt. Verb. 745, argues firmly for the etymology '*iğ-'an, and goes so far as to claim that even the in ending of words such as hīna'iğin 'at that time' (v. n 1 above) is not an undefined noun inflection (because 'iğ is by nature definite), but is rather a relic of the particle 'inna 'verily' (10.41).

5.431 (1) The imperfect tense verb is indifferently present or future in reference (cf. 5.01 n 1); here an independent verb would have the meaning of a circumstantial qualifier (i.e. virtually a present participle, cf. 19.9 n 1). The dependent form, however, would mean '(You say you love me) and for that reason I shall believe you (this
once'), where the act of believing is logically and grammatically dependent on the main verb.

(2) This invokes a fundamental principle of Arabic syntax, namely that elements can only combine in the form of binary units (cf. 2.11 n 1), which are normally inseparable. Larger units do not occur, cf. the early statement of this rule in Kitāb I, 351, "three elements cannot have the status of a single noun" (see Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 155).

(3) This is better expressed as a general principle: only inoperative elements may intervene between members of a binary unit (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 156, for neutralization of space/time qualifiers). The inoperative element is termed mulgā, lit. 'voided', from laḡw, a legal term meaning 'voiding, nullifying a law' (other examples 21.31, 22.31, and cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, root l-ğ-w). A synonym is muḥmal, lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.722, tuḥmalu 'is made inoperative'), used also for 'undotted' in orthography, q.v. 13.45 n 3.

(4) Although it may look as if 'anā intervenes, a comparison with the previous paragraph will show that the noun + verb phrase (7.12) is the dominant binary unit, in combination with which there is no available function for 'idân beyond that of an adverbial phrase, the latter being, by definition, structurally redundant (19.1 n 1).

(5) Cf. English 'abso-bloody-lutely' for the invasion of morpheme boundaries by oaths; other Arabic examples in A. Bloch, Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen, Basel 1946, 152.

5.432 (1) Since the examples are presented in dialogue form it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, even centuries after Classical Arabic ceased to be a spoken language (if it ever was, cf. Beeston 13, E.I. (2), art. "Arabiyya"), the fiction is still kept up (most striking example is 14.4). References to writing are rather rare, except in grammars aimed at the secretarial class, cf. Ibn Durustawayh, Kitāb al-kuttāb, Kuwait 1977, esp. p. 128.

(2) Clearly retaining its demonstrative meaning, 'idā also introduces nominal sentences after main verbs, with a notion of suddenness, e.g. daḡaltu fa-'idā huwa jālisun 'I went in, and there he was, sitting' (or: fa-'idā bihi jālisun, cf. 10.18 n 4). In this function it is called 'idā l-mufāja'a 'the 'idā of surprise'; Muf. #204; Alf. v 702.

(3) Alternatively 'k-r-m may be vocalized as 'akrama, 3rd sing. masc. past tense, following the convention described in 3.52 n 3.

5.44 (1) Jum. 194; Muf. #595; Alf. v 677; Qatr 56; Fleisch 203; it is called kay al-maṣdariyya because, like the 'verbal noun 'an' (5.41), it fuses with its verb to form a noun phrase equivalent to the verbal noun (see 17.1 on maṣdar, 'verbal noun').

(2) S. 57 v 23. On li see 5.51; as the transliteration implies, li-kay-lā is written as one word (see 5.76 n 1 on lā 'not'). The verb ta'saw has a 3rd weak radical w, and the underlying indep. form is *ta'sawīna, with regular reduction to ta'sawna, cf. 4.81 n 2, where
table (a) is valid for this verb by substituting \( w \) for \( y \), except for 2nd fem. sing., viz. \( ta'sayna \).

(3) The speaker's intention (\( niyya \)) has always been a recognized determining factor, cf. 21.21 n 4. The listener (\( mu\qfat\) or \( s\ddot{a}mi\)) likewise often affects the form of the speaker's utterance, v. 1.13.

(4) The status of \( kay \) was one of the disputes between 'Başrans' and 'Küfans' (9.4 n 3). In \( Ins\ddot{s}\ddot{a}f \) prob. 78 the Küfans advance the simple view that \( kay \) operates entirely by itself, but the Başrans, justifiably perturbed by the overlapping distribution of \( kay \) and \( li \) (5.51) are moved to greater subtlety, and propose three solutions: (a) in \( li-kay \), \( kay \) has the status of \( 'an \) (since \( li-'an \) also occurs), (b) in \( kay \) alone, either \( li \) has to be assumed, yielding type (a), or, (c) \( kay \) is a synonym of \( li \) and \( 'an \) has to be assumed. This may not solve the problem, but at least it recognizes that there is something to explain, viz. the series \( li, li-kay, li-'an \), and the partial series \( kay, kay-li \) (rare, Nöldeke 71 n 1), but no \( kay 'an \), all of which are synonymous. There is also a \( kay\ddot{m}i\ddot{a}/kay-mah \), cf. 5.84 n 1.

5.5 (1) See 5.4. In \( Ins\ddot{s}\ddot{a}f \) prob. 77 (and cf. Muf. #411) it is the 'Küfans' who regard all ten operators of dependence as self-sufficient, and the 'Başrans' who must detect a suppressed \( 'an \) with the remaining six operators to be dealt with. On 'suppressed' (\( mu\ddot{d}mar \)) see 5.4 n 2.

5.51 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #411, 413; Alf. v 682; Qatr 64; Beeston 98; Fleisch 203; Yushmanov 73. This \( li \) has two names, \( l\ddot{a}m at-ta\ddot{z}li\ddot{i}yya 'the causative \( li \) (from \( 'illa 'cause', q.v. at 24.22 n 1\), and \( l\ddot{a}m kay \), an explanatory annexation (26.72) meaning 'the \( li \) which is like \( kay \). Note that, since \( li \) is a one-letter word, it is mentioned by the name of that letter, \( l\ddot{a}m \). It is not the same as imperative \( li \), 5.75.

(2) \( tak\ddot{l}ufuh\ddot{a} \) lit. 'deputizes for it' (cf. 'caliph'), a very late addition to the stock of grammatical anthropomorphisms.

(3) S. 22 v 78. Other Qur'anic examples of the causative \( li \) are at 1.709, \( li-tubay\ddot{y}ina 'that you might make clear' and 5.84, \( li-tash\ddot{a}ran\ddot{a} 'that you might bewitch us'.

(4) Verbs of the class of \( k\ddot{a}\ddot{n}a 'to be' are quasi-copulatives which, instead of agents and direct objects, have subject-nouns and predicates (q.v. in 10.11). However, the predicates are still marked as direct objects, in dependent form, following the structure of the favourite sentence pattern, Verb-Agent-Direct Object, cf. 7.9 n 1, 15.06 n 1.

(5) Prepositional phrases are often extraneous to the minimal sentence, and the term muta\ddot{a}llig, lit. 'hanging from' has been developed (from an earlier, more general application to any kind of connection between elements, cf. Troupeau, \( Lexique-Index, \( \ddot{C}\_l-q \) to account semantically for prepositional phrases. See further 5.82 n 6.

5.52 (1) Jum. 195; Muf. #413 (see Ibn Ya\ddot{q}f); Alf. v 683; Qatr 66. This is the same as the causative \( li \) in structure, and differs only in the restrictions on its use, as implied by its name, \( l\ddot{a}m al-ju\ddot{h}\ddot{u}d 'the
li of denial' (see 5.51 n 1 on lām = li). Whether it is in fact redundant is a moot point: the 'Kūfans' claim that it operates without a suppressed 'an (cf. 5.5), the 'Baṣrans' only that the preposition li cannot operate on verbs without an assumed 'an (cf. Inṣāf prob. 79, 82).

(2) S. 3 v 179. The apparently past tense verb kāna here must be translated as some kind of highly affirmative present tense, e.g. 'has always been', or, in the present context, 'never has been and never will be': this usage is frequent in the Qur'ān and obviously represents the true aspectual nature of the 'past' tense (5.01 n 1), asserting that an event (here 'being') is real and factual. Cf. W. Reuschel in Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann, Halle/Saale 1968, 147, and contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, 55, 72; cf. 10.11, 12.902.

(3) S. 4 v 137. Here lam yakun means 'has never been', cf. n 2 above.

(4) The text says a negated kawn, which may either have the concrete sense of 'entity' or simply be the verbal noun of kāna and mean 'a negated verb "to be"'.

5.53 (1) Jum. 201; Muf. #414; Alf. v 685; Qāṭr 67; Beeston 98; Fleisch 221; ḥattā as oblique operator 26.31; as coordinating conjunction 12.91; with indep. verbs Fleisch 222, and cf. 5.6 n 1.

(2) S. 13 v 31. The assumption of a compulsorily suppressed 'an is the 'Baṣran' theory (see Inṣāf, prob. 83, and cf. 5.5 n 1); see 5.4 n 2 on 'suppressed', muḍmar.

(3) The verb ya'tiya, with weak 3rd radical y, is regular in its dependent form, cf. 2.42 n 1, while the independent form (ya'tī, like yarmī in 4.81 n 2 (b)) and apocopated ya'ti (like yarmi in 3.92 n 1) are irregular, see 2.41 n 2 and 3.92 n 2 respectively.

5.54 (1) Jum. 202; Muf. #411; Alf. v 687; Qāṭr 71; Beeston 98; Fleisch 220; Nöldeke 71. The translation 'and then' for fa emphasizes that fa in this context is not a simple coordinating conjunction (v. 12.2).

'Conveying cause' renders sababiyya, lit. 'causal': see further 24.22 n 1 for the almost synonymous terms cilla and sabab 'cause'.

(2) Jum. 198; Muf. #411; Alf. v 688; Qāṭr 73; Fleisch 221. See ch. 25 on the so-called wāw al-maṣīyya, lit. 'the wa of Withness' (since wā is a one letter word it is referred to by the name of that letter, cf. lām 'li for li in 5.51 n 1). Another example of this wa in 5.411.

(3) S. 35 v 36. Theologically the deaths are caused by the decree and this is reflected in the grammar (so aš-Širbīnī, Qur'ān commentary III, 311). 'Pure negation' is nafy mahd, (mahd = 'racially pure'), i.e. 'unadulterated negation', see further 5.552.

5.55 (1) Called 'pure demand' (talab mahd, cf. previous note) because all are in effect imperatives (some, says Ibn Yaṣīr on Muf. #411, use the term 'imperative' alone to cover all seven). However, there are some exclusions, for which see 5.552 n 2. The somewhat unhelpful term mahd 'pure' seems to date back no further than the Alfiyya, and may have been chosen for none better than metrical reasons.
NOTES

(2) S. 20 v 81; taťgaw is another verb with 3rd weak radical, viz. w, and behaves exactly like ta’şaw in 5.44 n 2 (with both dep. and apoc. forms having the same endings, cf. 4.82 n 2). For prohibition see 5.76.

(3) 'Invocation' renders du'â, lit. 'calling upon', used commonly for 'private prayer' (in contrast to the prescribed daily ritual). See further 5.751, 752, where it has been translated 'request', to avoid the implication that the verbs in question are either prayers or optatives. (See 14.34 n 3 on optatives).

(4) Schaw. Ind. 259. The verse is anonymous and unknown to the earlier grammarians, which raises (not for the first time) the suspicion that it may have been coined to illustrate the grammatical point in question (cf. 13.12 n 1). Note that the negation of the verb through lâ (5.76 n 1) does not interfere with the operation of fa in making it dependent. See 23.61 (a) on the vocative Rabbi. Observe, too, how variants and alternatives can be freely inserted into the verse.

(5) Schaw. Ind. 71; this anonymous verse is quoted only by relatively late grammarians, though al-‘Aynî, IV, 380, claims that it was cited by al-Farrâ’ (d. 822, see 1.21 n 2). Of the two dependent verbs with fa in the verse here only the first is in question, fa-‘arjuwa 'that I may hope' (note dep. form of verb with 3rd weak rad. w, v. 2.42 n 1). The second verb, fa-yartadda 'that it may return' is explained as coordinated to ‘an tuqdâ 'that they might be ended' as a second direct object clause (cf. 5.41) of ‘arjuwa 'I may hope' (see 12.2 on fa as a coordinating conjunction). Nevertheless a reading in the spirit of sub-paragraph (g) below seems possible: 'that I may hope they will be ended and (as a result) some soul return ...'.

(6) Schaw. Ind. 147; yet another anonymous verse and, like the two before, not quoted by grammarians earlier than Ibn Hišåm (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), though in each case aš-Širbînî's immediate source is al-Azhari, Taşr. II, 239. On the construction of yâ bna 1-kirâmi 'son of nobles' see 23.44 and 23.7. 'Proposing' (‘arâd, lit. 'laying before') exactly parallels the English 'will you not ...', for 'a-lâ is a compound of the interrogative prefix 'a and the negating particle lâ (5.76 n 1). The comparison of seer and hearer is rhetorically inverted: it means that the hearer knows much less than one who sees.

(7) S. 63 v 10. The verse continues: wa-akun min aš-šâlihiþna 'and I might become one of the good', which the commentators treat together with the previous clauses. The possibilities are (from the Commentary of aš-Širbînî, IV, 386): apocopated 'akun as second apodosis of the pseudo-conditional lawlî ’akkartani (scil. 'if you granted ...', cf. 6.6 n 6); dependent 'akûna in coordination to 'asšaddaqa as a second consequence of the initial 'incitement'; dep. 'akûna reduced to 'akun for phonological reasons ('akûna min>‘akûm-min>‘akûmmin, avoiding the over-long syllable kûm (cf. 2.5 n 3), ‘akûmmin being in any case the correct pronunciation of 'akun min according to the rules of Qur'anic recitation). On the form 'asšaddaqa see Cantineau, Études 34, and cf.
Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 147. In passing note that the construction evidently aroused the suspicion of Sibawayhi, who queried it with his master al-Kalîl (Kitâb I, 452).

(8) S. 4 v 73; this differs from the previous specimen only in that a specific 'particle of hoping' is used, q.v. at 10.45. Note the use of the vocative particle gā (23.0, and cf. 23.21) to intensify the exclamation, comparable to the English 'Oh' (but 'O' for vocative!).

(9) Once again the 'Baṣran' interpretation, see 5.5.

5.552 (1) 'Pure negation' (nafy mabd, 5.54 n 3, 5.55 n 1) excludes also such double negatives as mā tazālu ta'tīnā fa-tuḥaddiṭunā 'you never stop coming and talking to us', where the intrinsic negative meaning of tazālu 'you cease' (v. 10.19) is cancelled by mā 'not' (on mā with the imperfect tense see 5.76 n 1). By the same token fa takes indep. verbs when preceded by purely rhetorical negation, e.g. S. 22 v 63; 'a-lam tara 'anna llāha 'anzala min as-samā'i mā'an fa-tuṣbihu l'-arḍu muṣḏarratan 'Have you not seen how God has sent down water from heaven and the earth has become green?'.

(2) Here 'amr 'imperative' replaces talab 'demand' used above, 5.54. The pattern faqālī is highly obscure: there are invariable proper names in this form, e.g. hāḏāmi (23.411), and pseudo-imperatives such as nazālī here, which are interpreted as agent nouns (fāqālī, 7.01) with an affirmative meaning, and are therefore excluded from the conditions under which fa operates as a subordinating conjunction. The form has been exhaustively studied by Canard, A.E.I.O. 1, 5–72, where he finds that faqālī is an infinitival pattern. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 156 points out that this form has strong South Arabian and Ethiopic associations, and never was a true imperative. Muf. #193 distinguishes four types of faqālī patterns, viz. two already mentioned above, one synonymous with verbal nouns and one anomalous (māqāḏūl, 3.89 n 8) adjective type.

5.56 (1) Jum. 197; Muf. #411; Alf. v 684; Qatr r 70; Noldeke 71. For 'aw as a coordinating conjunction see 12.4. In spite of the paraphrases offered in the text, a conditional structure seems to be at least as probable as the assumed consecutive structure, and Noldeke provides examples of apocopated (i.e. conditional, 5.81) verbs after 'aw.

(2) Note the use of the substitution principle: 'igā ṣaluḥa ff mawḏiqāḥā, lit. 'whenever ('illā or 'illa) can properly occur in its place' might easily be translated 'whenever it has the function of ...', cf. 3.1 n 4. On ṣaluḥa 'to be proper' see 11.82 n 2.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 107. On la- 'astashilanna and la- 'aqṭulanna in the next paragraph see 13.6 n 3, 26.34 n 2.

(4) Not from the Qur'ān, but reminiscent of S. 48 v 16, tuqāṭīlunahun 'aw yuslimūna, with indep. yuslimūna, interpreted as a simple alternative, 'either you will fight them or they will become Muslims'. A variant, however, with dep. yuslimû exists, viz. 'you will fight them or (= unless) they become Muslims' (so al-Bayḍāwī ad loc.).
NOTES 125

(5) The text omits 'udrika; note that the weak 3rd rad. verb yaqdiya is regular in the dep. form (2.42 n 1).

5.6 (1) His note (which is copied from al-Azharī, Āj. 47) simply reiterates the 'Baṣran' position (5.5). For prepositional li see 1.709, how kay functions as a particle of obliqueness is not clear, but see 26.1 n 7. There is no systematic treatment of ḥattā in this work, but see 26.31 for ḥattā as a preposition, and 12.91 for ḥattā as a coordinating conjunction. For the coordinating particles see 12.1 for wa, 12.2 for fa and 12.4 for 'aw.

5.7 (1) Jum. 215; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 74; Beeston 84; Fleisch 168 n 1; apocopated paradigms 4.82 n 2, 3.92 n 1. The actual number of apocoping operators varies according to whether lam and 'a-lam etc. are counted separately.

(2) This division at least serves to distinguish the conditional function of the apocopated form ('two verbs') from its other functions ('one verb'), but gives no idea of the diversity of functions of the single apocopated verb: negation after lam etc. (5.72-74), indirect imperative (5.75) and direct prohibition (5.76) are not an obviously homogeneous group, especially when the conditional function is taken into account. Almost the only semantic feature they have in common is that all denote one kind or another of non-event, a quality for which (at least within the Arabic framework) neither indep. nor dep. verbs are suitable: an equation non-event = zero morpheme is thus very tentatively suggested. (Is Fleisch 107 any more convincing?).

5.71 (1) Jum. 2.5; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 81; Beeston 99; an etymology *lä-mä is proposed by Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 85, though it leaves the problem of ḥammā (5.72) unsolved (*lā-mä-mä seems unlikely).

(2) Why this is so is not known, but see 3.91 n 2 for Jouon's theory. In addition it may be remarked that there is, historically speaking, no reason why the 'imperfect tense' form should not have had a past tense meaning, as indeed is the case in some Semitic languages (cf. Moscati #16.30, Fleisch, Tr. 149w).

(3) S. 112 vv 3, 4; verse 3 has already been quoted in 5.02 as an illustration of lam, q.v. note 4 for yālid and yūlad. On yakun see 10.11 for the syntax and 10.23 n 2 for the form.

5.72 (1) Jum. 215; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 81. This lammā is evidently a reinforcement of lam with the suffix mā (9.83 n 2), and is not related to the 'temporal lammā' at 5.413.

(2) S. 80 v 23. See 3.92 on yagdi.

5.721 (1) Since the whole of this paragraph is copied from al-Azharī, Tasr. II, 247 (who in turn has it from al-Uṭmūnī on Alf. v 695, or perhaps from Qatr 82), it is more than likely that the relevant section of aš-Širbīnī's missing commentary on Qatr would likewise be close to al-Azharī, who goes on to summarize the difference between lam and lammā as follows: (a) only lam may be preceded by the conditional 'in
'if' (5.81); (b) the event negated by lam may subsequently be asserted, e.g. lam yakun ṭumma kāna 'it was not, and then it was', which is not possible with lammā; (c) the verb may be elided after lammā, e.g. qārabtu i-madīnata wa-lammā 'I approached the town, but had not yet (scil. entered it)'; (d) lammā presupposes the event might actually occur, cf. the counter-example *lammā yajtami ḍid-diddāni 'the two opposites have not yet united'. As a rule of thumb lam may be regarded as the negative of the past tense verb with 'static' aspect (Beeston 99), whether marked with qad or not (1.81 n 1), and lammā as meaning only 'not yet' (cf. Cantarino, I, 129).

5.722 (1) The phenomenon is exceedingly rare and possibly of interest only to grammarians. There are one or two more examples of lam followed by the dep. verb (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 695), but apparently only one specimen of 'an with an apocopated verb, viz. 'ilā 'an ya'tinī ș-saydu 'until the quarry comes to us', with apocopated ya'ti instead of dep. ya'tiya (from a verse quoted by Yāsīn in his supercommentary on al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 247; not in Schaw. Ind. or A. S. Hārūn, MuCjam as-Sawāhid al-`arabiyya. The rhyme is naṭibu, the metre tawil). Poetic licence cannot be ruled out as a reason for this aberration.

(2) S. 94 v 1. The grammarians can offer no explanation for the dep. form, except to speculate that it may be reduced from an emphatic naṣraḥan (cf. 5.32 n 4), or be nothing more than a unique instance of vowel harmony (all the vowels in the verse are a, see the full text in next paragraph). No authority is known for the variant naṣraḥa, nor is the problem raised by the early grammarians.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 103; the correct apoc. form is yūfū, i.e. Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the first rad. w (5.02 n 4) and third rad. y (3.92 n 1) verb wafā 'to fulfil', the rules for both weak radicals applying simultaneously. On 'inoperative' see 5.431 n 3.

5.73 (1) Refs. as for lam at 5.71, and cf. 5.741.

(2) S. 94 v 1, see 5.722 n 2. 'Nonne' questions are asked with 'a-lam, in the Qur'ān often with divine sarcasm (cf. example in 5.552 n 1).

(3) Concealed agents 7.8; 'status' 5.81 n 3; 'connected' 5.82 n 6.

(4) Direct object ch. 16; annexation 26.7 (poets. pronouns 4.72 n 2).

5.74 (1) Refs. as for lammā at 5.72.

(2) Lit. the 'sister' of 'a-lam, cf. 3.1 n 2 on this and other anthropomorphisms.

(3) Like all particles (i.e. elements which do not fall within the morphological or semantic range of nouns and verbs, cf. 1.25, 1.92) 'a-lammā is identified (scil. defined) by its function(s), in this case affirmation (taqrīr) and apocopation (jazm): because it has the same functions as 'a-lam (5.73) it has the same definition. Like 'a-lam also, 'a-lammā is originally a combination of interrogative (5.741) and negative, yielding an exact equivalent of Lat. nonne.
(4) On status see 5.81 n 3; 'ila-ka->'ilayka 1.702 n 1; other refs. as in 5.73 nn 2, 3.

5.741 (1) Interrogation, istifhâm (lit. 'seeking to understand') is not set out in detail by aš-Sürbînî, but see Muf. #581-84, Beeston 102, Fleisch 151 (E.I. (2), art. 'Istifhâm'); Yushmanov 66. The principal interrogative particle is 'a, prefixed to the first word in the utterance (even to other particles, including conjunctions) and capable of causing inversion, e.g. 'a-zaydan ţarabta 'Zayd have you struck?'; see Ibn Hišâm, Muğîf I, 9, and cf. 12.5, 12.51 for 'a in alternative questions. The other interrogative particle is hal, a separate word which is placed first in the utterance, but which is more restricted in distribution (it cannot precede other particles or conjunctions, and inversion is not permitted after it), see Ibn Hišâm, Muğîf II, 28, and a detailed treatment by Worrell, Z.A. 21, 116-150. Interrogation is also effected by pronouns, all of which also function as conditionals, q.v. 5.83 n 2, and by adverbs, which likewise occur as conditionals, q.v. 5.87 n 2.

5.75 (1) Jum. 216; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qaṭr 83; Beeston 84; Fleisch 218. The function of this li is quite different from that of the 'causative li' in 5.51, though Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 28 regards the two as cognate (cf. also Bravmann, J.Q.R. (NS) 42, 51). This li, as its name (lām al-'amr, v. 5.51 n 1 on lām, 5.03 n 1 on 'amr) implies, produces indirect imperatives (it is rare with direct imperatives, e.g. fa-l-tafrahū 'let you rejoice', Jum. 216, and note li>1 after fa, probably to avoid sequence of short vowels).

(2) S. 65 v 7; on dū and the 'five nouns' see 3.42. Note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix hu 'his' after i, and see further 13.9 n 9.

5.751 (1) Apart from the considerations raised further down in the paragraph and in 5.752, this li (called lām ad-ďu'ā', v. 5.51 n 1 on lām, 5.55 n 3 on ġu'ā') is exactly the same as the 'imperative li' of 5.75. As will be clear from the examples, it is purely out of theological scruples that the term 'imperative' is felt to be inapplicable, placing God under an obligation. Such religious hypersensitivity is apparent from an early period (cf. Kopf, S.I. 5, 33), though it does not impose itself so formally upon grammar until relatively late (e.g. Ibn Hišâm; cf. also Haarmann, Z.D.M.G. Suppl. II, 1974, 149). Other examples: 5.761, 11.711, 14.11, 19.34, 26.96.

(2) S. 43 v 77. Normal word order (7.9 n 1) would be li-yaqdi rabbuka ġalaynā, but by inversion the less important element ġalaynā is brought into a less prominent position, with corresponding emphasis on the agent rabbuka (cf. 5.82 n 6 on the tendency for prepositional phrases to be structurally redundant and therefore syntactically mobile, also Bloch, op. cit. 5.431 n 5, 105 and refs. there).

5.752 (1) The third type mentioned here is iltimās, lit. 'touching' (as in the somewhat archaic English 'may I touch you for a fiver?'). This rather unhelpful category seems to go back no further than the time of
ad-Damāmīnī (d. 1424), quoted by aš-Šabbān on Alf. v 695 and by Goguyer (without attribution) in Qatr 83, n 6.

5.76 (1) Jum. 216; Muf. #419; Alf. v 695; Qatr 83. 'Prohibition' is nahy, a subdivision of nafy 'negation' in general, on which see Muf. #546-550; Beeston 99; Fleisch Tr. #149t, v; Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 88; Wehr, Z.D.M.G. 103, 27. In brief, the negating elements are: lā 'no, not', negates: indep. imperfect tense (e.g. 13.13), apoc. imperf. tense (= prohibition, 5.76, 5.761), optative verbs (14.34 n 3), nouns categorically (ch. 22). Conjunction lā 12.8, as a repeater for other neg. particles, 12.8 n 2.

mā 'what' (Wehr 35), negates: past tense verbs (e.g. 5.52) also, in affective use, imperfect tense verbs (Wehr 32), sentences (as synonym of laysa), 5.84 n 3.

lam, lammā negate apoc. imperfect tense verbs and convert to past tense meaning (5.71, 5.72).

lan negates dep. imperfect tense verbs and gives future meaning (5.42).

'in', rare synonym of mā (Wehr 37, Beeston 100, Nöldeke 89).

laysa 'not be', negates existence (10.18).

lāta, rare synonym of laysa, poss. lā + ta (Aartun, op. cit. 1.83 n 3).

'ilā 'unless' ('in 'if' + lā 'not'), ch. 21.

gayr 'other than', though positive, has become a synonym of 'ilā (21.4) and lā; see further 21.42 n 1.

5.761 (1) The difference between 'prohibition' and 'request' is one of pure theology, cf. the identical scrupulosity in 5.751.

(2) S. 2 v 286. In the light of the above comment it is perhaps worth noting that here and in several other places in this chapter aš-Širbīnī neglects to follow the convention of introducing Qur'anic quotations with such formulae as 'Almighty God said', 'in the words of Almighty God' etc. (1.01 n 3). This is doubtless due to the fact that his source for most of this chapter (al-Azharī, Āj. 38-50) does not observe the convention either.

5.8 (1) That is, conditional sentences, see 5.811 for terminology and syntax.

5.81 (1) Jum. 217, 332; Muf. #419, 585; Alf. v 696; Qatr 84; Beeston 104; Fleisch 211; Yushmanov 73. The particle 'in 'if' is generally held to be cognate with those of similar form and meaning in other Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew 'im), but see Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 635 for other possibilities.

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with 'an (5.41), 'inna (10.41) and 'anna (10.42), all of whose unvowelled consonantal skeleton consists of 'n.

(3) 'Status' renders maḥall, lit. 'untiring place for camping', hence 'place' in general. It is not found in the earliest grammar, and it is arguable whether it is to be understood as a synonym of mawḍī, 'place' = 'function' (3.1 n 4), which is the opinion of Versteegh in Arabica 25, 278, or of manzila, 'place' = 'status' (23.2 n 1). The latter is
preferred here for three reasons: (a) lexically mahall is closer to manzila (lit. 'dismounting place for camping'), (b) manzila is infrequent in later texts (including this one), and its displacement by mahall seems more likely than the evolution of a redundant synonym for the frequently occurring mawdi, (c) the phrase fācil marfū mahallan in the present paragraph can only mean 'agent independent in status' because 'agent' is already a functional category and all agents are independent, so that a translation 'agent independent in function' is tautological. In other words, the agent pronoun ū, being incapable of inflection, can never have indep. form, but it has the status of an indep. element because it has the function of one. We should not be misled by the fact that mahall and mawdi sometimes appear to be used interchangeably, see further 5.84 n 4.

(4) S. 47 v 36. See 5.71 on lam. The aspctual nature of the Arabic verbal system is nowhere clearer than here, for conditional sentences are intrinsically timeless, cf. Beeston 104.

(5) For the various grammatical points raised here see: apocopation markers 3.91-92; concealed agent pronouns 7.58; direct object pronouns 16.3 (16.306); doubly transitive verbs 10.6, 16.310 n 1.

5.811 (1) Conditional terminology: fīcl aš-šart 'verb of the condition' i.e. protasis (šart 'condition' is undoubtedly an early borrowing from law); jawāb aš-šart 'response to the condition', i.e. apodosis, evidently a coinage of the early grammarians. The other term for apodosis is jazā 'requital' (same root as yujza in 5.83), and is at least as ancient as jawāb, though it is not clear whether they are technically distinct (e.g. both are used in the same sentence by Sībawayhi, Kitāb I, 435). However, jazā' and the etymologically related mujāzā ('act of requiting') are also used as the name of the conditional construction, unlike jawāb or its cognates. Conditional syntax: (a) 'real' conditions start with 'in 'if', and the verbs of protasis and apodosis are normally both past or both imperfect tense apocopated (exceptions 5.93), e.g. 'in darastahu fahimtahu or 'in tadrushu tafhamhu 'if you studied it you would understand it/if you studied it you will understand it'; (b) 'unreal' conditions start with law 'if (only)', and both verbs are usually past tense, that of the apodosis normally being prefixed with la (13.6 n 3), e.g. law darastahu la-fahimtahu 'if you had studied it you would have understood it'. See further the references at 5.81 n 1, and cf. also 5.90 n 2, 5.93 n 1.

5.82 (1) Jum. 310; Muf. #419; Alf. v. 696; Qatr 84; Fleisch 218. The 'conditional mā', mā aš-šartiyya, is formally identical with both the 'interrogative mā', mā al-istifhāmiyya (5.83 n 2) and the 'relative mā', mā al-mawṣūla (11.755). Historically the chain of evolution was most likely from interrogative to relative and thence to conditional (cf. Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 570, 660, Moscati #13.42, Fleisch 218). The Arabs were well aware of the connection between conditional and interrogative functions: in Kitāb I, 433 Sībawayhi takes issue with some of his colleagues, who over-generalize by asserting that all interrogatives may be used as conditionals. Cf. also 5.87 n 2.
(2) S. 2 v 106.

(3) On the nature of the 'connection' see n 6 below. The min-phrase is a common device for amplifying the meaning of a vague antecedent pronoun, and is called the 'explanatory min', min al-bayāniyya or min li-l-bayān (cf. 26.72). It is related to the 'partitive min', (min li-t-tabā'īd: not dealt with in text, but see 9.03 n 4, Muf. #499; Beeston 49; Nöldeke 52). Normally the 'explanatory min' is followed by undefined sing. nouns, and 'partitive min' by defined plur. nouns, the two together having in this regard similar syntax to kull, v. 13.4 n 6.

(4) Since verbs are all predicates of their agents (3.73 n 5), and since predicability is a nominal feature (1.6), even elements which can never be formally expressed, such as concealed agent pronouns, are nouns: a good example of taqdīr, q.v. 2.101 n 1.

(5) The word kayr 'good, better/best' and its antonym šarr 'bad, worse/worst', are nouns which have become assimilated to the comparative/superlative structure (20.4). They thus occur as simple nouns, e.g. hādā kayrun 'this is a good thing', and with the sense of comparatives and superlatives, e.g. hādā kayrun min gālika 'this is better than that', huwa kayruhum 'he is the best of them' (other examples 5.41, 5.55(c), 10.62, 20.6). Note 'atā bi, lit. 'to come with', i.e. 'to bring': many verbs of motion are used in this way, e.g. ghāhaba bi, lit. 'to go with', i.e. 'to take away'. A causative of 'atā also exists, the Stem IV 'ātā 'to make come', i.e. 'bring' (e.g. 5.81). From jā'a bi 'to come with, bring', a new colloquial verb jāb has evolved, the bi 'with' having become a new third radical after regular loss of the original third radical in dialect (Yushmanov 62).

(6) 'Connected', mut'a'alliq, lit. 'hanging from' is a term applied usually to prepositional phrases, whose presence is dictated more by semantic than structural necessity. Hence these phrases should not occur without the element upon which they depend (but cf. 9.71) and, in common with several other elements which simply provide additional information about the main components of the sentence, they are structurally redundant (in particular space/time qualifiers, ch. 18, circumstantial qualifiers, ch. 19, and specifying elements, ch. 20). Whether prepositional phrases or dependent nouns, all are invariably operated upon by verbs (but see 19.25 n 1): even in the present case involving kayr 'better' the comparative function is traced to an underlying verb (see 20.41), with which minhā 'than it' is 'connected'. These elements are by nature likely to have no fixed place in the sentence: they are often 'neutralized' (mulgā) or 'rendered inoperative' (muhamal), see 5.431 nn 2, 3.

5.83 (1) Jum. 311; Muf. #419; Alf. v 696; Qatr 84; Fleisch 218. The man aš-šarṭiyya 'conditional man', like 'conditional mā' (5.82) is also identical with its interrogative counterpart, man al-istifhāmiyya (see n 2) and 'relative man', man al-mawsila (11.754).

(2) S. 4 v 123; with appropriate intonation the original interrogative sense of man can be detected: "Who will do 'evil'?--he will be requited
for it!'. The same can be done with S. 2 v 106 in 5.82: 'What verse do we cancel or cause to be forgotten?--we bring one better than it or like it!'. On interrogatives in general see 5.87 n 2.

(3) 'Constructed with its object as agent' renders *mabnī li-l-mafūl, lit. 'built for the direct object', one of the various periphrastic terms for the passive verb, q.v. at 8.0 n 1.

(4) According to the Arab interpretation, the grammatical agent of the passive verb is only a 'substitute' (*nā'īb, see further 8.2) for the logical agent which it displaces. Moreover the passive cannot be used when the logical agent is expressed (unlike English 'he was run over by a bus'), hence the passive is sometimes termed *majhūl, lit. 'unknown (scil. agent)'. Cf. 8.11.

(5) The 'referring' of an Arabic pronoun is specifically backwards, the term being *qā'id, lit. 'going back'. Forward reference is not very common (cf. Beeston 41: 'a fairly strong objection is felt to placing a pronoun before the overt term to which it alludes'). One modern example is found on a Bahrain *aérogramme: *idā wudi *ca 'ayyu gay'in bi-đākilihā qad tursalu hāgīhi r-risālatu bi-l-barđī s-satḥî 'if anything is put inside it, this letter will be sent by surface post'. See further 11.75 on relative pronouns. Note that pronominalization is a noun marker: this feature is seldom, if ever mentioned in the enumeration of noun markers, cf. 1.8 n 1.

5.84 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #181, 419; Alf. v. 696; Qatīr 26, 84. The etymology of *mahmā has caused the Arabs some problems, and their solutions are perhaps less satisfactory than Western explanations: Ibn Ya'īs, for example, (on Muf. #419) claims that *mahmā is not a compound but a simple noun of the pattern *fağlā (this is also the view of aš-Šīrīnī, in his Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 485). Others suggest that the first element *mah is a 'noun of action' like *saḥ 'ssh!' (q.v. 1.42). Those who see the *h as a device to prevent the repetition in *mā-mā are at least on the right track. in recognizing that it is a compound word: the second element is very likely the indefinite *mā 'what(ever)' which is suffixed to other elements and converts them into conjunctions (e.g. 'īdā, 5.85, 'aynamā, 5.89), and the first element is probably the interrogative *mā (see below, n 3). The *h can be compared with the *h in *mah, a 'pausal' (2.14 n 2) form of *mā found, for example in *kaymāh 'so that' (cf. 5.44 n 4). See Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 574, and cf. also Moscati, #13.42, Fleisch, Tr. #36ii.

(2) S. 7 v 132. See 5.51 on the 'li of *kay', 5.86 n 4 on *rābiṭa 'link'. The parsing of *mīn *'āyatīn, lit. 'of a verse', as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19) as well as an example of the 'explanatory *mīn' (see 5.82 n 3) seems rather unnecessary, and may be an initiative of aš-Šīrīnī's immediate source, al-Azharī, Āj. 49.

(3) Negative *mā 'not' may negate sentences in exactly the same way as the verb *laysa 'not to be' (10.18), in which case it is called the 'Hijāzī *mā (mā al-hijāziyya). The alternative construction, in which *mā has no grammatical effect on components of the sentence, is called
the 'Tamîmî mā' (mā at-tamîmiyya): contrast the official 'Hijâzî' reading of S. 12 v 31, mā hâdâ bašaran 'this is not a mortal' with the 'Tamîmî' equivalent mā hâdâ bašarun, and see further Rabin, Anc. W.-Ar. 174. On the artificial polarization of Classical Arabic into Eastern ('Tamîmî') and Western ('Hijâzî') varieties cf. Rabin, op. cit. 7. This negative function of mā is assumed to have developed out of an original interrogative function: a rhetorical question such as 'What, is this a mortal?' (or 'What is this, a mortal!?') is, after all, intended to mean 'This is not a mortal'. See also 21.31 n 2.

(4) Cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 154 on the axiom that compound elements function as single elements (v. also 7.02, 9.7). 'Function' here is mawdîc ('place', 3.1 n 4), denoting the substitutability of an apocopated verb (lā nu'mîn 'we would not believe') for the sentence having that function. It thus differs from maḥall 'status' (q.v. 5.81 n 3), which certainly implies functional equivalence but seems to be restricted to cases where substitution is possible. This may be either because the morpheme in question is a bound agent pronoun which cannot therefore be displaced by an element of identical function (see examples 5.81-92 passim), or because there is no single element available to replace a compound one (thus in 9.75 and 9.76 the complex predicates cannot be substituted by a single term). See also 12.51 n 3 for a good illustration of this principle. Versteegh's observations in Arabica 25, 277 are a good preliminary survey of the problem.

5.85 (1) Jum. 217, 223; Muf. ##204, 419; Alf. v 696; Ḍaṭr 26, 85; Fleisch 219. Despite the opinion of aš-Šīrīnī is the ensuing lines, there seems no reason to doubt that this element is anything other than the noun 'id (1.441) suffixed with the indefinite pronoun mā 'whatever', known as mā az-zā'ida 'the redundant mā'. This mā is a variety of the interrog./relative mā, functioning like Latin quod (Fleisch 203, and cf. 18.207 n 1). On 'id mā as a particle see al-Azharî, Tašr. II, 247.

(2) Here instead of ḥarf for 'particle' (1.25) the synonym 'adāh (q.v. 21.02 n 1) is used, apparently an arbitrary whim of aš-Šīrīnī.

5.86 (1) Jum. 312; Muf. ##184, 419; Alf. v 696; Ḍaṭr 84; Fleisch 219. Like mā, man, originally an interrog./relative, cf. Moscati #13.40.

(2) S. 17 v 110; the mā here is termed ǧiła, normally 'relative clause' (11.752 n 1) but translated 'relative' for clarity, cf. 5.89 n 2.

(3) 'Link' translates râbiṭa, lit. 'tether', a term which, as well as being a late-comer into grammar, has only a very marginal application: it is used (in various forms) (a) as a synonym for ḏā'id 'referential (pronoun)', e.g. 9.76 (masc. râbǐt), 13.41 (verbal noun rabṭ 'linking'), (b) approximately meaning 'copula', e.g. 10.1, (c) for 'conjunction' as in this paragraph. All three uses are clearly the result of influence from logic, cf. the cognate term ribâṭ 'tie', which occurs as a translation of Gk. syndesmos (Versteegh 38, 46). On fa as a 'link' see further 5.90 n 2.

(4) See 9.8 on word order in equational sentences.
(5) See 11.0 n 1 on the term na<sup>c</sup> 'epithet', which overlaps the term <i>sifa</i> 'adjective'.

5.861 (1) This note is copied verbatim from al-Azharî, <i>Taṣr</i>. II, 248.

(2) Aš-Širbînî's source (see n 1) actually has 'ayyuhum yaqum 'agum ma<sup>c</sup>ahu 'whichever of them stands I will stand with him', which makes more sense of the assertion that 'ayyu depends for its meaning upon what it is annexed to; however, 'ayyu is also found standing alone, as in the Qur'anic verse quoted in 5.86.

(3) This time 'ayyu is formally annexed to <i>ad-dawābbi</i> and is thus equivalent to <i>mā</i> 'whatever' (5.82). Note that the dependent form 'ayya is required, as it is a preposed direct object of <i>tarkub</i> 'you (might) ride', and see n 4.

(4) Observe that the word order of all four examples preserves that of 'ayyu in its original interrogative function (cf. 5.82 n 1), i.e. with agents, direct objects and other qualifiers preceding their operators, though still marked accordingly. See 5.87 on <i>matā</i>.

(5) See 5.89 on 'ayna. Cf. also 13.91 n 1 for a corroborative construction with 'ayyu.

5.87 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. ##206, 419; Alf. v. 696; Qaṭr 84; Fleisch 219. For <i>matā</i> as an interrogative see next note; as a synonym of 'īḏā 5.94; as a preposition 26.1.

(2) The particles 'a and <i>hal</i> convert statements into questions (5.741 n 1), and for other types of questions there is a set of interrogative nouns, most of which also function as conditionals: 'what?' <i>mā</i>, also lengthened to <i>māḏā</i> (see 11.731 on <i>dā</i> 'this'); 'who?' <i>man</i>; 'where' 'ayna; 'which?' 'ayyu; 'how?' <i>kaftā</i>; 'when?' <i>matā</i>. Note also the compounds <i>li-mā</i> 'why?' (= 'for what?'), <i>li-man</i> 'whose?' (= 'for whom?'). See further 9.94 n 1 and, on indirect questions, 12.51 n 6.

5.88 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. ##206, 419; Alf. v 696; Qaṭr 85; Fleisch 219. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) may be to avoid confusion with 'īyyanā (v. 16.502), though it is more likely to be a sign that this word is not very familiar. It is 'ayya (5.86) + 'ānin 'time' (q.v. 18.113 n 1 (b)).

(2) <i>Schaw. Ind.</i> 199, add Fleischer, <i>Kl. Schr.</i> II, 86, and al-Umūnî on Alf. v. 696. The first hemistich is 'īḏā n-na<sup>c</sup>jaṭu l-'aftā'u bātāt <i>bi-gafrin</i> 'when the emaciated ewe spends the night in the desert' (cf. 10.16 on bātā). There are other translations of the second hemistich: 'whenever the wind moderates, she descends' (Goguyer, Qaṭr 85), 'whenever the wind leads it aside, it sinks down' (Fleischer, loc. cit.).

(3) The parsing is copied exactly from al-Azharî, Āj. 50, but it is left to aš-Šārqawî, in his Commentary on al-Azharî, loc. cit., to point out that the 'redundant <i>mā</i>' (5.89 n 2) is here introduced for purely metrical reasons.

(4) Classical Arabic verse rhymes throughout in the same consonant (so that a poem may be referred to as al-lāmiyya 'the one in l' etc.) and,
if that consonant is vowelled, the same vowel must also be maintained. All such vowels are pronounced long, even when grammatically short, so *tanzili* could rhyme with *manzil* 'my abode' (but we transcribe all vowels as written, so as not to obscure the inflections). *Tanwīn* is not usual in rhyme, but see 1.45 n 3 for some exceptions. The final *i* of *tanzili* is an automatic juncture feature, q.v. 13.12 n 1, hence 'purely accidental', *Cārid* (cf. 18.3 n 1), i.e. non-phonemic.

5.89 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #206, 419; Alf. v 696; Ḍaquṭr 84; Fleisch 219. As an interrogative (5.87 n 2), 'ayna also makes compounds such as 'ilā 'ayna 'whither' ('to where', cf. 13.12) and min 'ayna 'whence' ('from where'). Cf. also 18.41 n 3.

(2) At least one grammarian (az-Zamaḵšārī, Muf. #206) disagrees with the interpretation of *mā* as a 'relative' (*sīla*, (cf. 5.86 n 2), and treats it as a 'redundant mā' (*zā’ida*, 5.85 n 1). The boundary between the two is often vague, and perhaps it is better instead to consider the following: *mā* occurs regularly after nouns in a purely indefinite function, e.g. rajulun mā 'a certain man' (see Nöldeke 59) and it also occurs as a pure nominalizer, e.g. mā durumtu 'for as long as I remain' (10.23), 'indamā jā’a 'when he came' (scil. 'at his coming', cf. 18.207 n 1). 'Redundant mā' seems to lie somewhere in between.

5.90 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #207; Alf. v 697; Ḍaquṭr 85; Fleisch 219. To judge by the entry in Lane's dictionary for this item ('whence, where, whencesoever, wheresoever, when, how, however' etc.), the meaning of the word has never been accurately known.

(2) Two further features of the conditional structure may as well be dealt with here: (a) it is possible for the protasis not to be a genuine condition, but an imperative, e.g. kūnu hu’dan 'aw nasārā tahtadaw 'be Jews or Christians and you will be rightly guided' (S. 2 v 135) or a proposal, e.g. 'a-lā tanzil ta’kul 'will you not dismount and eat?' (cf. the similar constructions with dep. verb after fa, in 5.55, also Beeston 107, Fleisch 217). (b) In certain circumstances the apodosis must be 'linked' by fa, viz. when the apodosis is a nominal sentence (example in 5.86), when the verb of the apodosis is preceded by a particle, e.g. 'in saraga fa-gad saraga 'ākun lahu min qablu 'if he stole, then a brother of his has stolen before' (S. 12 v 77), when the apodosis is an imperative verb, e.g. 'in kuntum tubibbūna ḫāla fa-ttabi‘ūni 'if you love God, then follow me' (S. 3 v 31), and if the apodosis must have past tense meaning, e.g. 'in kāna gmulīn ḥu’dul fa-ṣādagat 'if his shirt is torn from the front, then she has been telling the truth' (S. 12 v 26). See Muf. #587; Alf. v 701; Ḍaquṭr 86; Fleisch 215; Nöldeke 111. Semantic considerations, Beeston 106.

5.91 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #202, 419; Alf. v 697; Ḍaquṭr 85; Fleisch 219. This is a compound of the indefinite *mā* suffix (5.85 n 1) and the noun of place haytu; the latter is a member of a small group of space/time qualifiers which end in an invariable *u*, thought to be a remnant of an old locative case (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 533, and 18.41 n 2). In the context of conditionals, haytu is unusual in not being an
interrogative.

(2) See 8.21 n 1 on 'iC'rāb in the sense of 'parsing'. The sudden loss of energy on the part of aš-Širbīnī is inexplicable: certainly his immediate source (al-Azharī, Āj. 50) does not flag in his treatment of ḥaytumā.

5.92 (1) Jum. 217; Muf. #207, 419; not in Alfw. but see al-Uṣmānī on v 697; not in Qatr but see Muğnī I, 173; Fleisch 219. For kayfa as an interrogative cf. 19.8, kayfa ji'ta 'how did you come?'.

(2) The legitimacy of kayfa alone as a conditional element, as in kayfa taṣnaC 'aṣnaC, of whose flavour the English 'how you act I shall act' gives some idea, has been a subject of dispute since the earliest grammar: Sibawayhi asked his master al-Ḳalī (0.1 n 1) about it, and was told that the construction is 'felt to be reprehensible', (mustakrah), because kayfa is not a conditional. It comes to be used as one only because it is synonymous with ẓalā 'ayyi hālin 'in what(ever) state' (cf. 5.861), Kitāb I, 433. The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on the other hand, allow kayfa as a conditional, Inṣāf, prob. 91.

5.93 (1) See also general references at 5.81 n 1. Here we may also remark on two more aspects of conditional sentences: (a) the compound wa-'in 'and if' has become fixed in a purely adversative sense, 'even though, even if', e.g. 'anā maCahu wa-'in lam yaCrifnī 'I am with him even though he does not know me'. If this is not simple inversion of protasis and apodosis, it is ellipsis of an apodosis identical with the preposed clause, scil. *'I am with him: even though he does not know me I am with him'; (b) with wa-law 'even if' elision of the apodosis is compulsory, e.g. 'awlim wa-law bi-šātin 'have a feast, even if only with a single sheep' (cf. Beeston 106; Fleisch 215). On its own wa-law is used approximately as 'so what?, what if it is?'.

(2) See 11.2 n 1 on 'states', 'ahwāl.

(3) S. 17 v 8, both verbs being past tense forms of the 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) ġāda 'to return', root ġ-w-d.

(4) S. 2 v 284. Note that a second, alternative protasis is coordinated by 'aw 'or' (12.4).

(5) S. 42 v 20. The mixture illustrated here is not common, and in most cases kāna is the verb involved, where it clearly has a modal, rather than a temporal function, in keeping with the meaning that kāna sometimes has: 'it most certainly is' (e.g. in 5.52 n 2). There are other methods, e.g. the use of qad (1.81), for indicating a specific past reference, cf. Beeston 106.

(6) Schaw. Ind. 73, add al-Mubarrad, Muqtaḍāb II, 56. This variety is even rarer than the previous example, and is regarded by most as a poetic licence. However, Ibn Mālik seems to have been in favour of admitting it as a regular construction, cf. Kīzānā III, 655, where, contrary to aš-Širbīnī's statement, a prose example is adduced, viz. man yaqum laylata 1-qadri 'Imāhan wa-ḥtisāban ḡufira lahu mâ taqaddama
min 'danbihi 'whoever rises on Laylat al-‘Qadr (the night of the 26th of Ramaḍān) in belief and hope of reward, he will be forgiven what sins he has committed' (a 'Tradition', 1.01 n 4, cf. Wensinck, Concord. V 315).

(7) 'Prose' is natr lit. 'scattering', contrasting with naqm 'poetry', lit. 'arranging' (also Šicr in 5.94, lit. 'knowledge', cf. poiesis).

5.94 (1) In all copies of the Ājurrūmiyya, as far as can be discovered but not in other treatises. Cf. Beeston 104; Fleisch 206; 12.3 n 3.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 202, with variant tahammal 'bear it' (cf. 5.90 n 2 (b) for apodosis introduced by fa). See Nöldeke, note 1 to p.111.

(3) Note that the 'verbal sentence' (cf. 7.1) may function as a single element (5.84 n 4).

(4) On the rules for fa in the apodosis cf. 5.90 n 2 (b). Here the phrase qurina bi-1-fä' 'is connected by fa' expresses the function of fa as the 'link' between protasis and apodosis (see rābiṭa, 5.86 n 4), cf. the cognate term qarīna in 11.7 n 1.

(5) That 'in 'if' and 'igā 'when' are not completely interchangeable is well illustrated by contrasting the correct utterance 'ātīka 'igā Ḭmarra l-busru 'I will come to you when the grapes go red' and the incorrect 'ātīka 'in Ḭmarra l-busru 'I will come to you if the grapes go red'. The latter is wrong not so much because the condition is a false one, but because 'in cannot refer to a specific future time (so al-Ḳalīl, in Kitāb I, 433).

(6) See 5.87 on matā.

(7) See Wensinck, Concordance I, 63 for the various forms and locations of this Tradition, whose variants (matā yaqum, matā mā yaqum, 'igā gāma, 'in yaqum) suggest much grammatical uncertainty. The book Jāmi'C al-masānīd ('Collection of Traditions arranged according to the chain of transmission') is not yet published; its author was the most prolific and outstanding Ḥanbalī polymath of his day (1126-1200, see G.A.L. I, 503, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn al-Djawzī'). No doubt the source for aš-Širbīnī was al-Azhārī, Āj. 50, and he in turn probably had it from Ibn Ḥišām, Muʃfī II, 201. The Ibn Mālik mentioned here is the familiar grammarian (1.02 n 2) rather than the famous theologian of Medina (d. 709-11), and the information may have come from Tashīl 237 (it is not in Alf.).
6.0 (1) al-marfuʾūt, lit. 'those things which have been made independent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2). On 'independence' see 3.1 n 1. 'Nouns in particular' includes adjectives (3.41 n 2) but not verbs, whose independent forms have already been dealt with in 5.33.

6.1 (1) al-fāqīl, lit. 'the doer', see ch. 7, esp. 7.0, 7.01.

6.2 (1) al-mafūl alladī lam yusamma fāqīlūh, lit. 'the direct object of which no agent has been named', i.e. the passive, see ch. 8, esp. 8.1, 8.11. The spelling instructions are required here because the passive differs from the active only in vocalization, cf. 8.2, 8.3.

6.3 (1) al-mubtadaʾ (biḥ), lit. 'that which is begun (with)', and kabaruh, lit. 'the information about it', see ch. 9, esp. 9.01, 9.1. Both subject and predicate normally have independent form (cf. 9.11), but see 6.4, 6.5 for the exceptions.

6.4 (1) ism kāna, lit. 'the noun of kāna "to be"', see 10.1 on why it may not be termed a true agent (fāqīl) or subject (mubtadaʾ).

(2) Relationships between elements are often expressed anthropomorphically, e.g. 'mother' (5.41 n 9, 26.21 n 1), 'sister' (10.1), 'daughter' (3.1 n 2); see Carter, R.E.I. 40, 83.

6.5 (1) kabar 'inna, lit. 'the information (about the noun operated on by) 'inna "verily"', q.v. at 10.4. As with kāna in the previous note, the elements related to 'inna are termed its 'sisters'.

6.6 (1) tābiʿīt, lit. 'following' (scil. the inflection of its antecedent). Naturally if the antecedent is dependent or oblique, so is the concordant, and no longer belongs to this chapter (cf. 11.01). Some grammarians arrive at five concordants by distinguishing between sequential coordination (Caṭf nasag) and explanatory coordination (Caṭf bayān), cf. 12.0.

(2) naʿt, usually rendered 'epithet' but see 11.0 n 1. On adjectives in general, see 11.01 to 11.61.

(3) Caṭf, lit. 'inclining towards', see ch. 12.

(4) tawkīd, lit. 'confirming, affirming', see ch. 13.


(6) We may add here the particle lawlā 'if not for ...' (from law 'if', 5.811 n 1, and lā 'not', 5.76 n 1), e.g. lawlā zaydun la-jiʿtuka 'if it were not for Zayd I would come to you', scil. 'if Zayd were not (in existence ...)'; other examples 5.55(f), 7.11, and see 9.94 n 1. Jum. 301; Muf. #169; Alf. v 714; Qaṭr 125; Fleisch 214; Nöldeke 112.
7.0 (1) Jum. 23; Muf. #20; Alf. v 225; Qaṭr 178; Beeston 63, 71; Fleisch 166; Bateson 44; Yushmanov 64, 68. For fā'cil 'agent' see 7.01 n 1. On fā'cil as a morphological category see 10.34 n 1.

(2) This follows the order in which they are dealt with by Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 14, 278 respectively), also az-Zamaḵšarī and az-Zajjājī, while Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hīšām (Qaṭr only) treat the subject before the agent. For 'subject' see 9.01 and cf. below, 7.12; for 'aṣl 'original form' see 3.0 n 2.

(3) See 19.73 n 1 on inversion in general; agents become subjects when they precede their verbs, cf. 7.12, 9.82, 12.903.

(4) This assumes that the predicate is made independent by the subject, although there is some dispute over the problem (see 9.11). On 'operation' see 2.11 and n 5 below.

(5) Operators are either 'formal' (lafẓī) or 'abstract' (maqnaḵī, see 2.1 n 2), that of the agent being the verb which formally precedes it, while that of the subject is assumed to be abstract because the subject has nothing formally preceding it (9.11, and cf. 5.34 n 1). On the hierarchical considerations here cf. 22.0 n 4.

7.01 (1) Both fā'cil 'agent' and fī'cil 'verb' (see 16.01) are terms which ambiguously denote both the real actor and act and the agent and verb in purely linguistic form (similar ambiguity in 23.0 n 1, munāḏā, either 'person called' or 'vocative noun'). This overlap is both ancient and deliberate (for Sībawayhi speech is a set of acts of the speaker, Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147, 151), though only later did this same duality acquire philosophical proportions (see Versteegh 151).

(2) On 'plain noun', isnārī, and 'paraphrase', tawīl, see 9.02 n 1. The 'syntactically complete' (tāmm) verb is one which needs no further complements, contrasting with the 'syntactically defective' (nāqīṣ) verbs in 10.1-38, and cf. 9.71.

(3) These are explained in 7.03.

7.02 (1) S. 7 v 54. Here tabāraka is an optative verb, q.v. 14.34 n 3.

(2) S. 16 v 69; the masc. noun sinfūn 'type' introduced in an attempt to account for the masc. mukṭalifun by attraction, even though its agent is grammatically fem. (4.12 n 3, and see 26.95 n 2).

(3) S. 29 v 51; see further 9.6 n 2, 10.42 on 'anna clauses.

7.03 (1) See 10.11; these verbs have nominal sentences as their agent and complement, and are incomplete without the latter.

(2) An indep. noun preceding a verb is reckoned to be a subject, not an
NOTES

153

agent, cf. 7.12.

(3) 'Devoid of personal endings' is a rather free translation of fārīg lit. 'empty', but the meaning is clear from the context. Concordance rules (7.22 n 1) require that verbs preceding their agents should not be inflected for number: hence in yagūmāni az-zaydāni the dual verb is already a complete verbal sentence, 'they two are standing', and the following az-zaydāni 'the two Zayds' cannot be its agent, but is in apposition to the agent. A type 'akalūni l-barāǧītu 'the fleas bit me' with plural verb, was indeed recorded and discussed (e.g. Kitāb I, 5, 6, 39, 237, II, 8), but is dismissed as dialect usage (see also 7.23 n 1).

(4) Though qā'imun 'standing' has verbal meaning it is a noun, and so zaydun is an inverted subject, not an agent. See 3.0 n 2 on 'normal'.

(5) i.e. the agent of a passive verb, see ch. 8.

7.1 (1) What is offered is a purely formal definition of the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiCXliyya) in keeping with the elementary nature of the work. More detailed treatments are available in Ibn Ya'fīs on Muf. #20, al-Astarābādī on Kāfiya I, 62 (ed. Istanbul 1858), aš-Šabbān on al-Uṣmūnī on Alif. v 225. The central point of these considerations is that the agent is that of which an act is predicated (cf. 1.6 n 3), and which must be preceded by its verb because the verb operates on the agent. A typical pedantry is the assertion that the agent remains an agent even when there is no 'act', e.g. dying (Qatr 181, and cf. 16.11).

7.11 (1) S. 2 v 251. Here allāhī 'of God' is the logical agent, in subjective genitive relationship to the verbal noun darFDu 'holding back'. After such annexation constructions (cf. 26.92) a direct object may follow in dependent form, as an-nāsa 'the people' here (and cf. 16.312 n 1), or it may be paraphrased with li (examples in 24.31 n 1). Another kind of subjective genitive in 10.34. See 6.6 n 1 on lawlā.

(2) S. 5 v 19. The min here is only called redundant because the verb before it is negated: otherwise it would certainly be regarded as a 'partitive min', q.v. in 9.03 n 4. On 'redundant' cf. 5.413 n 1.

(3) S. 4 v 79 or 166, and cf. redundant bi in subjects, 9.03 n 5. It is tempting to associate this bi with the redundant bi which occurs in the predicate of laysa 'not to be' (10.18 n 4). Cf. also Noldeke 76.

(4) This always means the desert Arabs, contemporaries perhaps of the early grammarians, but certainly not of aš-Šīrīnī! See 1.21 n 1.

(5) According to as-Suyūṭī (HamC al-hawāmiC I, 186) these curious sentences are quoted by Ibn Mālik in his commentary on Kāfiya (though aš-Šīrīnī has them directly from al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 270). In all probability they are not themselves genuine utterances, but rather prose imitations of the structure of a few odd verses of poetry (q.v. in Jum. 211f, which seems to be the earliest location, but cf. Kitāb I, 145-6, Howell I, 155). See also Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 79.

(6) This is the 'Reader' (21.21 n 2) CAbdullāh ibn Kaṭīr, d. 738 (see

(7) S. 2 v 37. In his comments on this verse (MaCâni I, 28), al-Farrâ' argues that both 'Readings' amount to the same thing 'because whatever encounters you, you encounter it', and cites another example from the Qur'an (S. 2 v 124) involving the word nâla 'to obtain'.

7.12 (1) See the definition of the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiCîliyya) in 7.1. The translations in this paragraph are intended to emphasize that the verb in these positions is felt to be a complete sentence, consisting of the verb itself and its pronounized agent, together functioning as a predicate of the preceding noun (similar to 9.75). There are thus three possibilities: the true verbal sentence qâma z-zaydâni (see 7.22 n 1), the nominal sentence az-zaydâni qâmâ as in the present paragraph, and the single term verbal sentence with an overt noun in apposition to the pronounized agent, viz. yaqûmâni z-zaydâni, as in 7.03. A comparison of the three shows that in the verbal sentence with an overt agent the verb is not inflected for number, see further 7.22 n 1, and cf. Anshen and Schreiber, Language 44, esp. 792.

7.2 (1) 'Overt' is gâhir, lit. 'showing, apparent' (synonym muqîhar, lit. 'shown, made apparent', as in 1.24), a self-explanatory term for explicit nouns. On the antithesis muqîmar 'pronounized': 7.31 n 1.

(2) The manuscripts say four, but for different reasons: C. counts 7.21 and 7.24 as the four examples, while B. and D. (judging from the photographs) regard 7.21-22-23-24 as four sets of examples. Here, however, we follow al-Azharî, Āj. 52 and other printed editions, where all ten are presented as part of Ibn Ajûrûm's original text.

7.21 (1) See 3.2 on independence marker u, 5.01 on past tense verb, 5.02 on imperfect tense verb.

7.22 (1) As the examples demonstrate, the verb before an overt agent is always singular (cf. 7.23 n 1). It is marked only for gender, viz. (a) masc. (unmarked sing. verb) for agents of natural or grammatical masc. gender, regardless of number (7.21-25), including non-humans. (b) fem. (marked with t, q.v. 5.01) for agents of natural fem. gender (7.26-29) or grammatical fem. gender, in both cases regardless of number, e.g. nabâhat kalbatâni '2 bitches barked', naşihat āhar bun 'a war started' (agent is unmarked fem., cf. 11.43 n 3), naşibat ḥurûbun 'wars started', nabâhat kilâbun 'dogs barked' (see 4.12 n 3 on syntax of broken plural).

7.23 (1) Historically the past tense verb is a noun (concrete, in the view of Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 368), to which agent suffixes have been added. These suffixes are cognate with the free pronouns, as can still be clearly seen by comparing them (listed in 9.22) with the agent suffixes in ch. 7 or 8. Hence qâma 'stood' is not so much sing. as impersonal (scil. 'a standing occurred, by an agent yet to be specified'), and this has been generalized to the imperfect tense also. It is misleading to regard this as 'incomplete concordance' (as Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 69, Ar. Synt. 23), since overt nouns and agent
pronoun suffixes are in complementary distribution. The most intrusive reaction to this situation must surely be Noldeke's remark (78) on the grammatically wrong structure 'akalūnī l-barāgītu 'the fleas bit me' (with plur. verb before the agent, cf. 7.03 n 3), that 'unfortunately it has not become universal'!

7.24 (1) These are the nouns whose inflectional vowels are long according to the conditions set out here and in 3.421. It is clearly gross negligence to invoke those conditions here as they are completely irrelevant to the agent function, and the examples could just as well have included qāma 'aḵī 'my brother stood'. In fact aš-Širbīnī is only reproducing the misplaced pedantry of al-Azhari, Āj. 52.

7.25 (1) These broken plurals must have natural masc. gender, or else the verb will have to be fem. sing. (7.22 n 1). On the assimilation of the def. art. see 11.41 n 2, and on the juncture feature 11.1 n 2.

7.26 (1) The fem. marker here and in 7.27-29 is not an agent suffix, cf. 7.59. Note that, like many fem. proper names (cf. 11.43 n 3), hindun is unmarked for gender.

7.27 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. art. The extra vowel (i) is orthographically attached to the t of qāmat, but it seemed better to preserve the morphological integrity in transcription.

7.28 (1) Segmentation of the past tense verb leads easily to the conclusion that the masc. darab-a and the fem. darab-a-t are of the same status as, say, the 2nd sing. masc. darab-t-a (7.53) and fem. darab-t-i (7.54), and they are often so presented in Western grammars (even in a modern analysis such as Trager and Rice, Language 30, 230). However, it is incompatible with Arabic syntax, see further 7.58 n 1, and cf. Beeston 72.

7.29 (1) Here, as with the masc. plurals in 7.23, 7.25, it makes no difference whether the plur. is 'sound' (3.23) or 'broken' (3.22), as only natural gender is relevant to the form of the verb. Contrast an-niswatu yadribna 'the women strike' in 3.241, where the verb follows its agent and therefore concords in number as well as gender.

7.30 (1) The suffix I 'my' (cf. 4.72 n 2) obliterates any short vowel inflections, cf. 23.6 and following. However, the position of the agent is also one of its markers (7.12) and is sufficient here to identify gulāmī as the agent of qāma. It stands to reason that in cases where two uninflected nouns follow the verb, the first is taken to be the agent and the second the direct object, e.g. daraba gulāmī 'aḵī 'my slave struck my brother', igtāra mūsā Cisā 'Moses chose Jesus' (cf. 4.2 n 2(b) on these invariable proper names: they belong to the same class as al-fatā but have no undefined form *mūsan).

(2) The phrase 'its place is already occupied' renders ištīgāl al-mahall: on mahall 'place' cf. 5.81 n 3, though here a purely literal translation has been preferred. Literal, too, is the translation of ištīgāl, on which see further 21.34 n 1. It does not seem likely that mahall here can be equated with 'function' (mawdiC, cf. 5.84 n 4),
because the independence marker u and the purely arbitrary i of the possessive suffix I are respectively a morpheme and a phoneme, i.e. are not members of substitutable classes.

7.31 (1)'Pronominalized agent' is *fā'il muḍmar, which could also be translated in non-linguistic terms as 'the actor who is kept in the mind': muḍmar has a broader significance than 'pronominalized', however, and may also denote suppressed elements such as the conjunction 'an (see 5.4 n 2). The term ḍamīr, on the other hand, always denotes 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71.

7.4 (1) See 11.715 for bound pronouns, 11.716 for free pronouns.

(2) See 9.22 n 2 for transliterations of these terms. Note also that, although the analysis recognizes the three numbers (sing., dual, plur.) and the two genders (masc., fem.), there are no higher order terms for 'number' and 'gender' as such, nor, as it happens, for 'case' or 'mood' either (cf. 11.02 f.1).

(3) See 9.3 n 1 on this practice of computing combinations.

7.5 (1) Here is as good a place as any to reassert the futility of using 'subject' both for true subjects and for agents of verbs (e.g. Reckendorf, Fleisch etc.); this obscures the structural difference between the two, subjects always being first in the sentence (9.01) and agents always after their verb (7.12), not to mention the problems it causes in the treatment of concordance between the verb and agent on the one hand, and subject and verb-phrase predicate on the other.

(2) This definition of the bound pronoun is from Alf. v 55, and will be found again in 11.715 and 16.3. 'Unconstrained' here renders ikṭiyārān lit. 'voluntarily, by choice', antonym of iḍṭirārān 'by constraint, involuntarily', the latter being characteristically used to denote poetic licence (11.715 n 2). Note that in Muf. #163 a verse is quoted in which a bound pronoun is suffixed to 'illā (cf. also MuğNF II, 78): this is precisely such a poetic licence.

(3) This echoes 7.0, where the priority of agent over subject and vice versa is argued.

7.51 (1) The ensuing paragraphs contain the complete paradigm of the active verb, sound Stem I, ḏaraba 'to strike' in its past tense form; for the imperfect tense paradigms see 4.4 n 5 etc., and cf. 7.8. Contrary to the convention outlined in 3.52 n 3, the verb will here be translated as an impersonal (i.e. stem-like) past tense and not as an infinitive: for the reasons given in 7.57 n 3, however, it cannot be transliterated as a past stem *dařab-. Note the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which prevent confusion with the passive (cf. 8.61).

(2) Proto-Semitic probably had k for t here, but in Arabic and some other Semitic languages the t was generalized by analogy with the suffixes of the second person (Moscati #16.45).

7.52 (1) al-muẓẓim nafsah, lit. 'he who exalts himself', i.e. our pluralis majestatis. See Moscati #16.47 on Proto-Semitic na suffix.
(2) In an unvowelled text ḍarabnā and ḍarabanā are indistinguishable, hence the comments and spelling instructions. But ā is a special case, being prosodically an unvowelled consonant (2.43 n 2) but never a verb radical: before object pronoun suffixes it is the reflex of the weak 3rd rad. w or y in the 3rd masc. sing., contrast hadaynā 'we led' with hadānā 'he led us' (*hadaya-nā, see further 16.360 n 1).

7.53 (1) The t is evidently Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44); see 11.719 n 4 on the relationship between it and the ta of 'anta 'you'.

7.54 (1) Both the 2nd person marker t and the gender marker i are probably Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44). Note that the transliteration ti (also ta above, and tu etc. in the following paragraphs) obscures the fact that only the consonant is named in the text (cf. 3.5 n 2, 5.1 n 5). In 8.67 the 2nd person t suffix is further analysed into its various genders, though by modern criteria not going far enough in segmenting the dual and plural (see following notes). The vowels of the singulars tu 'I', ta 'you' (masc.) and ti 'you' (fem.) are explained by as-Šabbān (on al-Ušmūnī on Alf. v 55) in terms of a rather fanciful hierarchy u, a, i, with u, 'the noblest vowel' assigned to the 1st person and so on in descending order!

7.55 (1) Though not attested outside Arabic and Ugaritic, tumā is assumed by Moscati (#16.50) to be a Proto-Semitic form. There is also the possibility that it is a dualization of the masc. plur. tum, cf. n 2.

(2) The segmentation seems a little unadventurous when we compare the dual tumā with the plural tum. Perhaps what prevented the Arabs from isolating ā as a dual morpheme here (as Trager and Rice, Language 30, 225) was a sense of the contradiction in having simultaneous dual and plural markers (cf. 3.411 and 3.65 n 2 for examples of similar reasoning).

7.56 (1) Though there is variation in the forms between the Semitic languages, all 2nd masc. plur. suffixes consist of t and a following nasal element (cf. Moscati, #16.47). See further 10.66 n 2 on the variant tumū.

(2) The transliteration here (also 7.55, 7.57) as tu is a compromise: only t stands in the text (see 7.54 m 1), and the u is certainly not to be confused with the 1st sing. (7.51). That the Arabs did not regard the u as associated with the t can be deduced from as-Šabbān's comment (on al-Ušmūnī on Alf. v 55) that the vowel u occurs here only because of the bilabial m, homorganic with w (and hence with u, 3.1 n 2). The translation 'you' is adopted to signify that, at this stage, the 2nd person is still undifferentiated as to number and gender.

7.57 (1) A purely synchronic segmentation of tunna into masc. tum and fem. plur. na (q.v. 3.241, 7.62), as in Trager and Rice, Language 30, 225, is perfectly justifiable, but there is no evidence that tunna is historically a feminization of tum (cf. Moscati #16.37, #16.47, Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 576). The same applies to the free pronoun hunna and suffix kunna, see further 9.44 n 1.
(2) See 16.312 n 2 on the transliteration problem with nna.

(3) The final vowel of ḏaraba has no significance other than marking the verb, in the phonologically most convenient way, as being uninflected (5.1), and is automatically displaced by the true agent pronoun suffixes. This being so, and since verbs are normally quoted in their 3rd sing. masc. form (3.52 n 3), ḏaraba is preferred over ḏarab- as a transliteration. This also serves to emphasize that that the status of the final a in ḏaraba is not the same as that of, say, the tu in ḏarabtu and the like (a fact which is obscured by treating the entire past tense as a uniform 'suffix conjugation', e.g. Beeston 76, Bateson 24, which then leads to syntactical complications, cf. 7.23 n 1).

7.58 (1) mustatir 'concealed (pronoun)', lit. 'hiding itself', is a subdivision of the muḥmar 'pronominalized' (7.31 n 1), the other being bāriz 'visible (pronoun)', lit. 'protruding, standing out' (see 11.71 et seq. for general treatment of pronouns). The existence of 'concealed pronouns' is inferred as follows: since masc. ḏaraba and fem. ḏarabat are followed by overt agents of sing., dual and plur. number (e.g. in 7.21-29), the final a(t) cannot be a pronoun of the same order as the agent suffixes tu, ta, ti etc., and therefore a is a purely lexical item (5.1) and t is only a gender marker (5.01), which must leave the true agent pronoun concealed within the verb. The same reasoning is applied to those imperfect tense verbs (namely all except the 'five verbs', 3.44) which do not carry what the Arabs interpret as an overt agent marker: see further 7.8 and note, and cf. 11.713, 11.714.

7.59 (1) See 5.01 on the fem. suffix. The Arab grammarians would not accept the implications of Fleisch 105, where qatala is correctly presented as an integral form, but the fem. qatal-at (sic) is set out as if the a belonged to the t suffix.

7.60 (1) Both masc. and fem. are evidently dualizations of their respective singulare (contrast 2nd person, 7.55, where the dual suffix is apparently attached to the masc. plur.), and are Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.49). Note that there is no dual of the 1st person in Classical Arabic (only in Ugaritic, Moscati #16.51). See 11.715 on 'visible', bāriz.

(2) The difficulty is not so much phonological as orthographical. The mater lectionis for ẖ being historically the consonant ', (2.43 n 2), and only consonants being normally notated in the script (3.44 n 2), the suffixing of ' (= ā) to the unwovelled fem. t appears to produce the non-canonical cluster t' at the end of the syllable (see 2.5 n 3), viz. *darabat'. This, claims aš-Širbînî, is resolved by arbitrarily vowelling the t (though it is a fact that, when it does not have the value ', this character always has a before it to give ā!).

(3) The editorial comment and the contents of this paragraph are taken from al-Azharî, Ḧj. 54 (indeed almost the entire chapter is repeated by aš-Širbînî).

7.61 (1) This ending is the same as the Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.46).
(2) There are insuperable transliteration problems here (and again at 8.72). It happens that darabû is spelt (consonantally) d-r-b-w-' (cf. 2.43 n 2 on long vowel markers), and no satisfactory explanation has been offered for the presence of ' (the so-called 'otiose 'alif', or 'alif za'ida) on the end of the word. It is also found on the end of dep. and apoc. verbs tadribû, yadribû (paradigms 4.82 nn 1, 2), and on one or two unusual words (Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 29). The suggestion that ' serves to prevent the previous w from being read as wa 'and' prefixed to the next word is not convincing: perhaps the ' originally had something to do with stress (cf. 3.89 n 2). Certainly the final cluster w' breaks the phonological rules (cf. 7.60 n 2), which is why the ' has to be declared non-existent! Cf. Fleisch, Tr. #119c n 2.

7.62 (1) As a past tense suffix na is an extension of the imperfect tense pronoun suffix na rather than an original Proto-Semitic form (Moscati #16.46). As a pronoun na is impervious to mood inflections: compare the paradigms in 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2, and see 7.8 n 1. On the transliteration na see 3.241 n 1. Muf. #406 deals wholly with na.

7.63 (1) The examples as given in the Äjurrûmiyya consist only of verb and agent suffix, to which al-Azharî (copied by aš-Sîrbînî) has added preposed subjects, with the intention of making clear to the reader the exact reference of the suffixed pronoun (e.g. that na in 7.62 refers to plural females, exemplified by the preceding al-hindâtû). That is the only purpose of these nouns, which must not be mistaken for preposed agents: according to 7.12 there is no such thing as a preposed agent, for by inversion the agent becomes a subject, and this is reflected in our translations ('the Hinds, they struck' etc.). Here, to borrow M. M. Bravmann's formulation (Studies in Arabic and General Syntax, Cairo 1953, 39), 'the two parts confront each other as independent entities', unlike verb and agent, which (with pronoun as agent) are literally bound to each other in an irreversible order. Cf. also 9.75, 9.76.

7.7 (1) Observe the distributional criterion (cf. 7.5) and note that, in these exceptive constructions, the verb displays absolutely no concordance (even of gender) with its logical agent, the ensuing free pronoun; see further 21.3.

(2) The list of examples here comprises all the free independent pronouns, hence they need not be tabulated in the notes (they are, in any case listed again in 8.8 and 9.24). The same pronouns also function as subjects of equational sentences, see 9.22. For segmentation of these pronouns see 9.4 et seq.

(3) 'innenâ 'only' is not exactly a synonym of 'ıllâ 'except', but it often amounts to one, as in the examples here. See further 9.83.

7.8 (1) Unlike the past tense, the imperfect tense is marked by both prefixes and suffixes (in modern terms, discontinuous morphemes). The Arab segmentation is as follows (refer to paradigms, 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2): (a) prefixes '(a), t(a), y(a), n(a), being number and person markers (not agent pronouns) peculiar to the imperfect (5.3); (b) the
stem (taken for granted by the Arabs, but abstracted by quoting the required form of the symbolic verb fa\textsubscript{fa}\textsubscript{cal} 'to do', v. 3.45 n 1: thus yaf\textsubscript{fa}\textsubscript{cal}u implies the stem -f\textsubscript{cal}- etc.); (c) overt agent pronouns I (fem. sing.), ā (dual), Ṣ (masc. plur.) in the 'five verbs' only (3.44-45), and na (fem. plur.); (d) mood markers (except in fem. plur.), viz. end vowel alternation u/a/∅ or alternation ni (dual), na (masc. plur., see 3.241 n 3) and ∅. All four features can be seen in ya\textsubscript{fa}\textsubscript{rib}-ā-ni: 3rd person prefix, stem, dual agent pronoun, mood marker; cf. 3.93 n 2.

Further to the 'concealed' pronoun of the imperfect tense (7.58 n 1): from a comparison of tā\textsubscript{fa}\textsubscript{ribu} 'you (masc. sing.) strike' with its dual and plur. tadrib\textsubscript{ni}, tadrib\textsubscript{a}, we might infer that the sing. was simply the unmarked form (zero morpheme). But this breaks down in the 3rd person, for yā\textsubscript{fa}\textsubscript{ribu} 'strikes' may have sing., dual or plur. overt agents (7.21-29), and we can hardly posit three different zero morphemes (as least!) in the same word. It is this pitfall which the Arabs, with their 'concealed' pronoun, seem to be trying to avoid, though with what success is still a matter for investigation.

(2) This necessary fiction merely retains the morpheme sequence of the past tense verb.

7.81 (1) Compare the corresponding past tense forms in 7.7, or the passives in 8.8.

7.82 (1) The imperative is effectively the 2nd person imperfect tense verb minus (a) the 2nd person prefix ta (or tu), which is redundant in a verb form which can only be used in direct address, and (b) the mood inflections (i.e. is formally, if not actually identical with the apocopated form), because the imperative denotes a non-event (cf. 5.7 n 2). Only stem and pronoun agents, concealed or overt, remain. See also 5.2.

7.9 (1) The order Verb-Agent is only the minimal sentence pattern: see ch. 15 for a summary of the extended pattern Verb-Agent-Qualifier. Qualifiers, which are invariably dependent nouns or prepositional phrases (5.82 n 6) are syntactically mobile, and may occur in any position (viz. Qual.-Verb-Agent, Verb-Qual.-Agent), without disturbing the order of verb and agent (e.g. ċ\textsubscript{a}r\textsubscript{a}b\textsubscript{a}h\textsubscript{a}u zay\textsubscript{d}un 'Zayd struck him', where the object pronoun suffix intervenes between verb and agent (contrast the fully pronominalized ċ\textsubscript{a}r\textsubscript{a}b\textsubscript{t}\textsubscript{u}h\textsubscript{u} *struck-I-him, which retains the normal word order). A consequence of the structure of the verb (cf. 7.58 n 1) is that it can never occur with an elided agent (which would be tantamount to a predicate without a subject, cf. 3.73 n 5), while equational sentences may elide either subject or predicate, q.v. 9.9.
NOTES

8.0 (1) Jum. 88, 91; Muf. #436; Alf. v 242; Qaṭr 193; Beeston 82; Fleisch 117, 122, 246; Bateson 34; Yushmanov 51. There is no single term corresponding to 'passive': here we have mā lam yusamma fāciluh, lit. 'that whose agent has not been named', an-nā‘ib ġan il-fācilil, lit. 'the deputy agent' (see n 3), mabnī li-l-mafūl, lit. 'constructed for the direct object' (8.61 and passim) and, though not in our text, māhūl, lit. 'unknown'. See 8.67 n 1 on the historical problem.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference is to Alf. v 242.

(3) The term an-nā‘ib ġan il-fācilil is evidently a coinage of Ibn Mālik himself and, as such, constitutes one of the few innovations in later Arabic grammar. The verb nāba 'to deputize', from which nā‘ib is derived, commonly denotes allomorphs, see 3.0 n 3.

(4) In fact only space/time qualifiers are likely to be found as agents of passive verbs, since they are also allowed to function as direct objects by 'latitude of speech' (v. 18.1 n 4): examples, šīma ramaḍānu 'Ramaḍān was fasted', sīra yawmānī 'two days were travelled'.

(5) The reason is that the verb in question is doubly transitive (see 16.310 n 1) and the second direct object dīrhamān remains so after passivization. Normally only the first direct object becomes a passive agent, but sometimes the functional order (but not the word order) is reversed, e.g. kusiya zaydun tawban 'Zayd was clothed in a garment', but kusiya zaydan tawbun 'on Zayd a garment was clothed'.

8.1 (1) The text has li-qiyāmihi maqāmahu, lit. 'because of its standing in its place'; maqām, lit. 'standing-place', is one of the near synonyms of mawdiq 'function' (3.1 n 4) and manzila 'status' (23.2 n 2). Particularly of mawdiq (pace Versteegh, Arabica 25, 275).

(2) 'Subject of a predicate' is a very free translation of Cumdiyya, lit. 'the quality of being an indispensable prop', referring to the structural bond between subject and predicate which also obtains between verb and agent (verb = predicate, 3.73 n 5). See 20.01 n 1.

8.11 (1) The elision (baḏf, 3.73 n 2) must be deliberate, i.e. for metrical or stylistic reasons, or because the agent is not known, (though these considerations have been called 'an intrusion by the grammarians into the art of rhetoric' by Ibn Ḥiṣām, in as-Ṣabbān on al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 242). Note that these restrictions do not apply to the instrument of an action: the sentence in 1.701, katabtu bi-l-qalami 'I wrote by pen' has as its passive kutiba bi-l-qalami 'it was written by pen'. On the idiomatic use of the passive as a strictly impersonal verb cf. Fleisch 118 (frequent examples in as-Širbīnī, qīla 'it is said', 'ujība 'it is answered', and others in the present paragraph, fuhima, gukira).
8.2 (1) On systematic grounds the assumption that the passive is derived from an underlying active verb is interesting enough (see following notes). What is also worth noting is that such detailed descriptions of the derivational process as we have here could only have become necessary in a period when the passive was felt to be difficult, mainly because (at least by āš-Širbînî's time and probably much earlier) the formal passive had disappeared from colloquial Arabic, having been replaced by varieties of Stem VII (8.66 n 1) or Stem VIII (8.68 n 1), cf. Bateson 100, Yushmanov 57.

(2) This is a literal translation of Camīltā fihi ṭalāṭata 'ācmālin, and uses the same notion of Camal 'operation' already applied to the grammatical effect of one element upon another (2.11 n 1). However, even in the earliest grammar it could also denote the operation of the speaker upon elements in an utterance (Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 151, and cf. 20.12 n 2).

(3) "Original form* translates 'asl, 'root, base' etc. (see 3.0 n 2), here clearly approaching the concept of a deep structure: the whole treatment here has a marked flavour of transformational grammar avant la lettre, with 'deletion' (badf, 3.73 n 2) of the original agent, replacement of the agent by the object (cf. 8.1 n 1) and finally marking the new verb to distinguish it from the active. Whether the passive is historically a derivative of the active is arguable: Fleisch 246 connects it with the impersonal use of intransitive verbs.

(4) See the parsing in 8.21 for details.

(5) Prose is not the best medium for describing phonological changes, which may be more comprehensible when presented as follows:

- active qāla (< *gawala)= »qwilal= »qīla passive, 'was said';
- active bācā (< *bayacā)= »biyācā= »bīcā passive, 'was sold'.

These are 'hollow' verbs (10.23 n 2) whose middle radical is a semi-vowel. Note the principle of least phonological effort (2.31).

(6) S. 11 v 44. The example of qīla has already been explained; the other, gīda 'was diminished' is from gāda (< *gayada). Note the direct speech after qīla, and cf. 10.64 n 1.

8.21 (1) In its narrower meaning 'iṣrāb denotes 'inflection', q.v. at 2.0, but is here used in the sense of 'parsing' in which it often occurs in purely pedagogical contexts (other typical examples 5.91, 8.61-73, 14.52). The earliest occurrence of 'iṣrāb in this sense is not known, but it can hardly be before the 10th century.

(2) On the various points raised here see: independence markers 3.2; original form ('asl) 8.2 n 3; reason for elision of agent 8.11 n 1; the verb's need of an agent 8.1 n 2; replacement of agent 8.1 n 1. In all this (and below) it is well worth maintaining a close comparison with the corresponding active forms in ch. 7, since active and passive differ formally only in their vowels.

8.3 (1) The full paradigm of the past tense sound verb (2.43 n 2) is displayed in 8.61-73. For hollow verbs see 8.2 n 5; weak 1st rad.
verbs are completely regular, wujida etc., as are weak 3rd rad. verbs, luqiya etc., having exactly the same endings as the active verb laqiya in 10.14 n 2. Here follow the imperfect tense paradigms, indep. form:
sing. dual plur.

(a) sound verb daraba 'to strike':

1st 'udrabu nu'drabu
2nd masc. tu'drabu tu'drabāni tu'drabāna
2nd fem. tu'drabīna tu'drabāni tu'drabāna
3rd masc. yudrabu tu'drabāni yudrabāna
3rd fem. tu'drabu tu'drabāni yudrabāna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'udrab etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, 'udrab etc.

(b) weak 3rd rad. verb ramā 'to throw':

1st 'urmā nurmā
2nd masc. tūrmā turmayāni turmayna
2nd fem. turmayna turmayāni turmayna
3rd masc. yurmā yurmayāni yurmayna
3rd fem. tūrmā turmayāni yurmayna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'urmā etc., apoc. endings same as active, 3.92 n 1, 'urma etc. If weak 3rd rad. is w it replaces y in the above paradigm except in the 2nd fem. sing., e.g. tuğzayna.

(c) weak 1st rad. w, wajada 'to find':

1st 'ūjadu nūjadu
2nd masc. tūjadu tūjadāni tūjadāna
2nd fem. tūjadīna tūjadāni tūjadāna
3rd masc. yūjadu yūjadāni yūjadāna
3rd fem. tūjadu tūjadāni yūjadāna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'ūjad etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, 'ūjad etc. On 'ūjadu = 'uwjadu see 2.43 n 2. Doubled verbs (10.61 n 1) are regular within their own system, thus past murirtUf murra (<*murira) , imperf. umarru etc.

(2) Full paradigms of imperfect tense in n 1, and see 8.61-73 for past tense. 'Analogy' translates qiyās, originally referring to the analogy practised by speakers (cf. Troupeau, Lex.-Index, root q-y-s) but soon extended to denote analogy as perceived and imposed by grammarians (Weil, intro. to Inşāf, 7, Versteegh, index, root q-y-s). From this it has developed into a near synonym of 'āsl (3.0 n 2), i.e. 'correct form according to the rules' (e.g. 3.412 (b), 17.4). The term itself may have entered grammar from law, which in turn probably borrowed it from a Greek source (see Versteegh, Z.A.L. 4, 7 for the latter aspect); see also E.I. (2), art. 'Kiyās', end.

8.31 (1) It is replaced by the paraphrase using the imperative li (q.v. 5.75), e.g. li-tudrab 'let you be beaten' (though this is excessively rare in all but the 3rd person).

8.4 (1) See 7.2.

8.5 (1) Syntax and concordance are the same in the passive as in the active (q.v. 7.21-30), e.g. duribat il-hindātu 'the Hinds were struck', with fem. sing. verb as in 7.28. See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates,
8.9 n 1 for 'letter' (ḥarf) in this context, 8.21 n 1 on 'parsing'.

8.51 (1) Cf. 5.1 n 2. The range of augmented verb stems (excluding five rare ones, on which see Fleisch 124) is as follows (3rd masc. sing. only, cf. 3.52 n 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augment</th>
<th>Active past/imperf.</th>
<th>Passive past/imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>ḍaraba/yadribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Double 2nd rad.</td>
<td>ḥassana/yuḥassinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Long 1st vowel</td>
<td>kātaba/yukātabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Prefix 'a'</td>
<td>'ahsana/yuḥsinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Prefix ta to II</td>
<td>tahassana/yataḥassanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Prefix ta to III</td>
<td>takātaba/yatakātabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Prefix n</td>
<td>inkasara/yankasiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Infix t</td>
<td>iqtaraba/yaqtaribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Double 3rd rad.</td>
<td>ihmarra/yahmirru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Prefix st</td>
<td>istaḥsana/yastaḥsinu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems II to X are set out in the notes to 8.61 et seq. On augmented stems in Proto-Semitic see Moscati #16.1; although each augment is associated with a corresponding change in the root meaning of the verb, the system has become so irregular that generalizations can offer only a vague guide to the relationship between a simple stem and its augmented forms, but try Beeston 72, Fleisch 118, Bateson 30, Yushmanov 47, Schramm, Language 38, 60. For augmented stems of hollow verbs see 8.73 n 1, and for agent, patient and verbal nouns derived from augmented stems see 10.34 n 1.

8.61 (1) There being little more to add on the subject of the passive, most of the following notes will contain paradigms of the augmented verbs. Here Stem II, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb ḥassana 'to improve' (Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ṭuhassinu</td>
<td>nuḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥassinu</td>
<td>tuḥassināni</td>
<td>tuḥassināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassinīna</td>
<td>tuḥassinīnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥassinu</td>
<td>yuḥassināni</td>
<td>yuḥassināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>yuḥassinīna</td>
<td>yuḥassinīnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally regular are: doubled verbs (yuḥaddīdu etc.), weak 1st rad. verbs (yuwaṣṣīlu etc.), hollow verbs (see 8.73 n 1), but weak 3rd rad. verbs all have the same endings as yarmī in 4.81 n 2 (b), e.g. yusammī, yusammūna etc. Stem II passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ṭuḥassanu</td>
<td>nuḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuḥassanu</td>
<td>tuḥassanāni</td>
<td>tuḥassanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuḥassanīna</td>
<td>tuḥassanīnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuḥassanu</td>
<td>yuḥassanāni</td>
<td>yuḥassanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>yuḥassanīna</td>
<td>yuḥassanīnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled, hollow and weak verbs are regular (yuḥaddaḍu, yuwaṣṣalu etc.), weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yaḥṣā in 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yusammā, yusammawna etc. Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. ḥassantu, ḥassintu etc.
NOTES

8.62 (1) Paradigm of Stem III, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb kātaba 'to write to' (Stem I kataba 'to write'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ukātibu</td>
<td>nukātibu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tukātibu</td>
<td>tukātibāni</td>
<td>tukātibuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tukātibīna</td>
<td>tukātibāni</td>
<td>tukātibna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yukātibu</td>
<td>yukātibāni</td>
<td>yukātibuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tukātibu</td>
<td>tukātibāni</td>
<td>tukātibna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. yuwāsilu etc., yugāwimu etc., yuḥāmi etc., cf. 8.61 n 1; the exception is doubled verbs, which assimilate even after the long vowel, e.g. yuḥāddu etc., see 21.22 n 4. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ukātabu</td>
<td>nukātabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tukātabu</td>
<td>tukātabāni</td>
<td>tukātabuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tukātabīna</td>
<td>tukātabāni</td>
<td>tukātabna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuhsinu</td>
<td>yuhsināni</td>
<td>yuhsināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsinu</td>
<td>tuhsināni</td>
<td>tuhsināna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumiddu etc., hollow verbs yugimu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yuωjibu etc. (= yuωjibu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yujrī etc., same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Note loss of prefix ' in imperfect (Fleisch 119; Yushmanov 49): the vowel sequence u-i, however, is unique to Stem IV. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uhsanu</td>
<td>nhsanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuhsanu</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsanīna</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuhsanu</td>
<td>yuhsanāni</td>
<td>yuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsanu</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumaddu etc., hollow verbs yugāmu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yuωjabanu etc. (= yuωjabanu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yujrā, same endings as yahā, 4.81 n 2 (a). Note that Stem IV and Stem I are identical in imperfect tense passive (cf. paradigm, 8.3 n 1).

Past tenses, active and passive, have same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. kātabtu, kūtibtu etc.

8.63 (1) Paradigm of Stem IV, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb 'ahsana 'to do well' (Stem I hasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uhsinu</td>
<td>nhsinu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuhsinu</td>
<td>tuhsināni</td>
<td>tuhsināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsinīna</td>
<td>tuhsināni</td>
<td>tuhsināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuhsinu</td>
<td>yuhsināni</td>
<td>yuhsināna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsinu</td>
<td>tuhsināni</td>
<td>tuhsināna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumiddu etc., hollow verbs yuqāmu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yuωjibu etc. (= yuωjibu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yujrī etc., same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Note loss of prefix ' in imperfect (Fleisch 119; Yushmanov 49): the vowel sequence u-i, however, is unique to Stem IV. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uhsanu</td>
<td>nhsanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuhsanu</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsanīna</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuhsanu</td>
<td>yuhsanāni</td>
<td>yuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuhsanu</td>
<td>tuhsanāni</td>
<td>tuhsanāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yumaddu etc., hollow verbs yugāmu etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. yuωjabanu etc. (= yuωjabanu, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. yujrā, same endings as yahā, 4.81 n 2 (a). Note that Stem IV and Stem I are identical in imperfect tense passive (cf. paradigm, 8.3 n 1).

Past tenses, active and passive, have same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. 'ahsanu, 'uhsintu etc.

(2) Here we follow MS C., which conflates (deliberately) the 2nd masc. and fem. (t stands for both ta and ti, cf. 7.54 n 1), a welcome abbreviation in this most tedious portion of the text. But printed editions of Āj. give both examples separate treatment.
8.64 (1) Paradigm of Stem V, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb taḥassana 'to be improved' (cf. Stem II ḥassana 'to improve', transitive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ataḥassanu</td>
<td>nataḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taḥassanu</td>
<td>taḥassanu</td>
<td>taḥassanūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tataḥassanī</td>
<td>tataḥassanī</td>
<td>tataḥassanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yataḥassanu</td>
<td>yataḥassanī</td>
<td>yataḥassanūna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tataḥassanu</td>
<td>tataḥassanī</td>
<td>tataḥassanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally regular are: doubled verbs, e.g. yataḥaddadu etc., hollow verbs (q.v. 8.73 n 1), e.g. yataqawwamu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. yatawāsšalu etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yaḵšā, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yatamānā etc. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'utaḥassanu</td>
<td>nutaḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanī</td>
<td>tutaḥassanī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yutaḥassanu</td>
<td>yutaḥassanī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tutaḥassanu</td>
<td>tutaḥassanī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive, where it occurs, is mainly in impersonal sense (q.v. 8.11 n 1). Note that passive differs only in change of prefix vowel from a to u: all verbs follow this pattern, e.g. yutaḥaddadu, yutaqawwamu, yutawāsšalu, yatamānā etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. taḥassantu, tuḥussintu etc. (cf. 8.9 n 1).

8.65 (1) Paradigm of Stem VI, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb takātaba 'to write to one another' (cf. Stem III kātaba 'to write to'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'atakātabu</td>
<td>natakātabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tatakātabu</td>
<td>tatakātabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tatakātabāna</td>
<td>tatakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yatakātabu</td>
<td>yatakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tatakātabu</td>
<td>tatakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs almost non-existent, hollow verbs regular (cf. 8.73 n 1), e.g. yatajāwaru etc., likewise weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. yatawāšalu etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as yaḵšā, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. yatahāmā etc. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'utakātabu</td>
<td>nutakātabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tutakātabu</td>
<td>tutakātabu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tutakātabāna</td>
<td>tutakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yutakātabu</td>
<td>yutakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tutakātabu</td>
<td>tutakātabāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs show the same change of prefix vowel from a to u (cf. Stem V), e.g. yutajāwaru, yutawāšalu, yutahāmā etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. takātabtu, tuḵūṭībtu etc.

(2) See 7.56 n 2 on the problems of segmenting the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.
8.66 (1) Paradigm of Stem VII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *inkasara* 'to break' (intransitive, contrast Stem I *kasara* 'to break', transitive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ankasiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>nankasiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tankasiru</td>
<td>tankasirîni</td>
<td>tankasirûna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tankasirîna</td>
<td>tankasirina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yankasiru</td>
<td>yankasirîni</td>
<td>yankasirûna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tankasirîna</td>
<td>tankasirîna</td>
<td>yankasirîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs are regular within their own system, e.g. *yanqadumu* etc., likewise hollow verbs, e.g. *yandumu* etc. and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yanbarī* etc. (with same endings as *yarmî*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); but weak 1st rad. verbs do not form Stem VII, see further below. There is no passive of Stem VII.

Stem VII has the following peculiarities: (a) it is not formed from verbs whose first radical is *r, l, n, w, y*. In the rare cases where *m* is the first radical there may be assimilation of the prefix *n*, e.g. *inmāca*—*immāca* 'to melt'.

(b) The prefix *n* forms a consonant cluster with the first radical: in the imperfect tense this causes no problems, as the vowel of the personal prefix allows the *n* to close the syllable (*yan-ka-si-ru*, cf. 2.5 n 3). But in the past tense, *nkasartu* etc., the initial consonant cluster must be resolved by prefixing an empty syllable, pronounced and spelt 'i only in utterance initial position, otherwise retained in the spelling (cf. 2.14 n 2) but elided in pronunciation, cf. 5.2 n 3. The same applies to the other Stems whose augment creates an initial consonant cluster, viz. VIII, IX and X.

8.67 (1) The terminology of the passive (cf. 8.0 n 1) is somewhat inconsistent. The chronology appears to be as follows:

(a) *mā lam yusamma fāçiluh* 'that whose agent has not been named' and *mabnl li-l-mafûl* 'constructed for the direct object' are early terms from the period when grammar was mainly structural in approach.

(b) *an-nā'ib* *can il-fāçil* 'the deputy agent' is ascribed to Ibn Mālik (d. 1274, v. 8.0 n 3): the need for this term may have arisen from the lumping together of all independent forms of the noun for pedagogical reasons, calling for a distinction between agents of active and passive verbs.

(c) *majhûl* 'unknown' is perhaps only a shorthand version of *mā lam yusamma fāçiluh*, and seems to have been introduced very late (although Abū Ḥayyân, d. 1344, associates it with the early grammarian al-Kisâ‘I, q.v. 18.0 n 2; *Manhaj as-sâlik*, ed. S. Glazer, 1947, 114).

One thing seems clear, however, and that is that there are no obvious Greek models for these terms.

(2) In other words, why *a* is used for the masc. sing., *i* for the fem. sing. etc., cf. 7.54 n 1. See also 7.56 n 2 on the transliteration problems with the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.
8.68 (1) Paradigm of Stem VIII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iqtaraba* 'to approach' (cf. Stem I *garuba* 'to be near'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aqtaribu</td>
<td></td>
<td>naqtaribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqtaribu</td>
<td>taqtaribāni</td>
<td>taqtaribāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taqtaribina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaqtaribu</td>
<td>yaqtaribāni</td>
<td>yaqtaribāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>taqtaribu</td>
<td>taqtaribāni</td>
<td>yaqtaribāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs are regular, e.g. *yamtaddu* etc., likewise hollow verbs (8.73 n 1), e.g. *yaqtāzu* etc., and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yantamī* etc. (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); for weak 1st rad. verbs see 10.68 n 2. Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'uqtaribu</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuqtaribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tuqtaribu</td>
<td>tuqtarabāni</td>
<td>tuqtarabāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tuqtarabina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yuqtaribu</td>
<td>yuqtarabāni</td>
<td>yuqtarabāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tuqtaribu</td>
<td>tuqtarabāni</td>
<td>yuqtarabāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs show same vowel sequence *u-a-a* (cf. 8.9 n 2), e.g. doubled verbs *yumtaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yuqtāzu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yuntamī* etc. (same endings as *yaqţā*, 4.81 n 2 (a)). Past tenses, both active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *igtarabtu*, *uguribtu* (see 8.66 n 1 (b) on the initial consonant cluster).

Note that the infix *t* of Stem VIII assimilates with some 1st radicals, either wholly, e.g. *idgakara* (*d-k-r*) or partially, e.g. *istabara* (*s-b-r*), *izdahara* (*z-h-r*), see Yushmanov 54, Fleisch, Tr. #15c-k. For assimilation to 1st rad. *'*, *w* (e.g. *ittazana* from *w-z-n*) see 10.68 n 2.

8.69 (1) Paradigm of Stem IX, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *ihmarra* 'to go red' (cf. adj. *aḥmaru* 'red'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aḥmarru</td>
<td></td>
<td>naḥmarru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tahmarru</td>
<td>tahmarrāni</td>
<td>tahmarrāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tahmarraña</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaḥmarru</td>
<td>yaḥmarrāni</td>
<td>yaḥmarrāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>yaḥmarra</td>
<td>yaḥmarrāni</td>
<td>yaḥmarrāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs have no Stem IX, hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaswaddu* etc., weak 1st and 3rd rad. verbs are hardly seen. There is no passive of Stem IX. Its past tense is regular, see below.

Stem IX has two peculiarities: (a) the doubled 3rd radical follows the behaviour of the regular doubled verb (q.v. 10.61 n 1), i.e. assimilation before vowels (e.g. past tense *ihmarra*), dissimilation before consonants (e.g. past tense *ihmarartu*); (b) it is derived only from roots denoting colours or physical defects, q.v. 3.411 n 7(d). The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

8.70 (1) Here and in 8.71, 8.72, *mawdí* 'function' (3.1 n 4) occurs, although in similar contexts elsewhere the term *mahall* 'status' has been preferred (e.g. 7.60, 7.71), doubtless because aš-Širbīnī is here following al-Azharī, Âj. 55; cf. also 5.84 n 4.
8.71 (1) Here for once the MSS may be more reliable than the printed text of aš-Širbînî's immediate source (al-Azharî, Àj. 56): both read 'akalla bi 'has omitted' against the printed 'adkala bi 'has introduced into' (?) or 'udkila bi 'has been introduced into' (?), neither of which are very comfortable in this context. From Ibn Àjurrûm's point of view the example is unnecessary, as the dual agent pronoun á is of common gender and has already been illustrated in 8.70.

(2) Here 'particle', harf, clearly has the sense of 'morpheme', cf. 1.25 n 2.

8.72 (1) Paradigm of Stem X, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb istahsana 'to approve' (cf. Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'astahsinu</td>
<td>nastahsinu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tastahsinu</td>
<td>tastahsināni</td>
<td>tastahsinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsinīna</td>
<td>tastahsināni</td>
<td>tastahsinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yastahsinu</td>
<td>yastahsināni</td>
<td>yastahsinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsinu</td>
<td>tastahsināni</td>
<td>yastahsinna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yastamirru etc., hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) yastaqīmu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yastawjību etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yastaḥlī etc., same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ustahsanu</td>
<td>mustahsanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tastahsanu</td>
<td>tastahsanāni</td>
<td>tastahsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsanīna</td>
<td>tastahsanāni</td>
<td>tastahsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yustahsanu</td>
<td>yustahsanāni</td>
<td>yustahsanāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>tastahsanu</td>
<td>tastahsanāni</td>
<td>yustahsanāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doubled verbs yustamarru etc., hollow verbs yustaqāmu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yustawjābu etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yustahlā etc., same endings as yakāa, 4.81 n 2 (a). Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. istahsantu, ustuhṣuntu etc. The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

(2) See 7.61 n 2.

8.73 (1) Hollow verbs, augmented Stems, past and imperfect tenses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active</th>
<th>passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>sawwada/yusawwidu</td>
<td>suwwida/yusawwadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bayyāda/yubayyīdu</td>
<td>buyyāda/yubayyādu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>jāwara/yujāwiru</td>
<td>jūwira/yujāwaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sāyara/yusāyiru</td>
<td>sūyira/yusāyaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>'ajāba/yujību</td>
<td>'ujība/yujābu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>tasawwada/yatasawwadu</td>
<td>tusuwwida/yutasawwadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tabayyāda/yatabayyādu</td>
<td>tubuyyāda/yutabayyādu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>tajāwara/yatajāwaru</td>
<td>tusjūwira/yutajāwaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tasāyara/yatasāyaru</td>
<td>tusūyira/yutasāyaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>inqāda/yanqādu</td>
<td>'be led' no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>ijtāza/yajtāzu</td>
<td>'traverse' no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>iswadda/yaswaddu</td>
<td>'go black' no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ibqadda/yabqaddu</td>
<td>'go white' no passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>istamāla/yastamīlu</td>
<td>'incline' ustumīla/yustamālu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conjugation of Stems II, III, V, VI is completely regular, see notes above. Stem IX behaves like a 'doubled verb' (q.v. 10.61 n 1). Stems IV, VII, VIII, X shorten the long internal vowel when the 3rd radical is followed by a consonant (i.e. is unvowelled and syllable-final), contrast 'ajāba:'ajabtu, ijtāza:ijtaztu, yangādu:yangadna, yastamīlu: yastamil and see further 10.23 n 2.

In Stems IV, VII, VIII, X radicals w and y are neutralized, thus 'ajāba from j-w-b, 'ahāba from h-y-b etc. Occasional anomalies: Stems IV, VIII and X sometimes show w retaining its consonantal (i.e. syllable-initial) status, e.g. 'ahwaja/yuhwiju 'to need', i'atwara/yastawiru 'to befall', istahwaga/yastahwidu 'to overwhelm'.

8.8 (1) This is a repeat of 7.7 with the active verbs passivized and, like that paragraph and most of this chapter, is taken directly from al-Azharî, Āj. 56. On bound pronouns see 11.715, free pronouns 11.716.

8.9 (1) 'Letter' here is an explanatory translation of 'awwal 'first' and 'ākār 'last', standing for ḥarf 'particle' in its narrower meaning of 'consonant' or 'radical' (1.25 n 2 and see also 5.31). With trisyllabic verb stems (viz. Stems V, VI, VIII, X) the u is repeated, e.g. tuhussina so that a more useful statement of the vowels of the passive would be u-(u)-i. Note that there is only one pattern of passive vowels for all the various active vowel sequences.

(2) The imperfect tense vowel sequence for the passive is uniformly u-a-(a)-(a), with repetition of a if the stem is polysyllabic, e.g. yutahassanu. Dependent and apocopated endings are the same as for the active verb, see paradigms in 4.82 nn 1, 2. Note again that in the passive there is no variation of stem vowel as in the active (10.22 n 2).

9.0 (1) Jum. 48; Nuf. #24; Alif. v 113; Qârî 119; Beeston 63; Fleisch 166; Bateson 46; Yushmanov 64. The terminology is diffuse, perhaps reflecting historical differences. On 'predication' ('insâd, ibtidâ') see 9.12 n 2; 'subject' (mubtada', musnad) 9.01 n 1; 'predicate' (kabar, mabnî 'alagh, musnad 'ilagh) 9.1 n 1; 'nominal sentence' 9.24 n 2.

9.01 (1) The term mubtada' (in full mubtada' bih 'what is begun with') is unmistakably structural (see further 9.12 n 2) and so, originally, must have been musnad, lit. 'propped up', i.e. thing on which a predicate is based, but the latter very soon became entangled with the imported concept of 'proposition' (cf. Versteegh 72, 9.11 n 1). However the logicians' term for 'subject' is mawdûd, a literal translation of hypokesimenon, which eliminates Aristotelian logic as a source for the grammatical term, but hardly 'confirms' Stoic influence (Versteegh 74).
NOTES

(2) See 9.11 for the dispute about nominal sentence operators.

(3) This does not mean elided predicates (q.v. 9.93-95), but the type 'a-qā‘īmūn iz-zaydānī 'standing, the two Zayds?'. Here qā‘īmūn (masc. sing.) is a subject (it cannot be an inverted predicate because it does not concord with the dual az-zaydānī, but follows instead the rules for verb-agent concord, 7.22 n 1), and its predicate is dispensed with by az-zaydānī, the agent of the verb implicit in qā‘īmūn 'standing'; cf. Ibn ḌAqīl on Alf. v 114, Qaṭr 120. On waṣf 'descriptive element' see 11.0 n 1.

9.02 (1) 'Plain noun' is a literal translation of ism sarīḥ, a term perhaps coined no earlier than the 10th century (cf. Ibn Jinnī, d. 1002, Kitāb al-lumaḥ, ed. H. M. Keshrida, Uppsala 1976, 23), possibly to avoid overworking the term žāhir 'overt, explicit' (7.2 n 1).

(2) 'Paraphrase of a plain noun' renders al-mu‘awwal bi-s-sarīḥ, lit. 'what can be interpreted by a plain noun', which comes very close to the contemporary notion of 'noun phrase', cf. Beeston 34, 56, Fleisch 201.

(3) S. 2 v 184; note the application of the substitution principle, and that the paraphrasing appears to operate in both directions. On the 'fusion' of 'an with its verb see 5.41, 10.23 n 3.

9.03 (1) As set out in 7.0, agents, though independent in form, are operated upon by their verbs (but cf. 9.11).

(2) With kāna and its related verbs (see 10.1) the original subject of an equational sentence assumes the function of an agent.

(3) Cf. 7.11 for agents with redundant particles. By 'and the like' aš-Širbīnī means such particles as rubba 'many a...' (1.706), e.g. rubba rajulin žalihin laqītuhu 'many a good man have I met' (see 9.75 for verb phrase as predicate), and a rare case of la‘alla 'perhaps' (cf. 26.1 n 5) followed by an oblique noun, viz. la‘alla ‘abhī l-miḡwār minka qarībun 'perhaps Abū Miḡwār is a relative of yours' (al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. I, 156).

(4) S. 35 v 3. This mīn, like that in 7.11, retains its primitive meaning of 'part' (1.701 n 1), and mīn kālimīn is equivalent to 'some member of the class "creator"'. Though treated here as redundant, this mīn is undoubtedly a variety of the 'partitive mīn', q.v. 5.82 n 3.

(5) Since bi often denotes price (e.g. 19.33) we might translate here 'the worth of your account is a dirham', thus retaining the original subject-predicate sequence of the Arabic (but cf. 9.73 n 1).

9.1 (1) All three terms for predicate, viz. kābar (lit. 'information'), mabnī ‘alāyih (lit. 'based on it'), cognate with bīnā’, 1.41 n 4) and musnad ‘ilāyih (lit. 'propped up on it'), i.e. on the subject) are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary (v. Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots b-b-r, b-n-y, s-n-d). But the s-n-d set is very rare in the Kitāb and may represent either a later gloss or a tradition that failed to penetrate (contrast Versteegh 73). See also next note.
9.11 (1) Leaving aside the group musnad/musnad 'ilayh/'isnād, which plays almost no role in the earliest grammar that we have (Sībawayhi), it is clear that the equational sentence (q.v. 9.12 n 3) has from the first been analysed on two levels: (a) with regard to its structure it consists of an initial element (mubtada', 9.01 n 1) on which the second element is syntactically based (mabnī ġalayh, 9.1 n 1), and (b) with regard to its purpose the same initial element supplies the topic of the information (qabar, 9.1 n 1) about it (from which the subject is sometimes termed mukbar ġanhu 'informed about', syn. muddādat ġanhu, lit. 'spoken about'). At no time, however, is the equational sentence treated by Sībawayhi as a proposition: not until al-Mubarrad (Muqtadab III, 89) does falsifiability appear as a criterion of a sentence (cf. Versteegh 72; E.I. (2), art. 'Khabar', and see also 12.41).

(2) Insāf, prob. 5, reveals that the 'soundest view' is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), the second that of the 'Kūfans' and the third that of a minority of Baṣrans.

9.12 (1) It might help to know, since aš-Širbīnī does not mention it, that in number and gender the predicative adjective follows the same concordance rules as the attributive adjective (q.v. 11.1); for case and definition see next note.

(2) The equational sentence has no copula (to add time reference a different structure is used, q.v. 10.11); on the other hand the mere juxtaposition of two elements need not constitute a subject-predicate utterance (cf. 9.81). What is not clearly stated by aš-Širbīnī (no doubt because it was obvious to him and implicit in the examples anyway) is that the subject must always be defined, either by nature (pronoun, proper name) by form (def. article, annexation) or by context (cf. 9.81 n 3), and that, in general, predicates are undefined (cf. 10.21 n 2). Moreover, apart from the exceptions in 9.03 and ch. 10, both subject and predicate have independent form. The rules are necessarily strict: no predicate can succeed if the subject is too vague for the listener to identify (cf. 1.13); hence if there is (to our way of thinking) an undefined subject as the topic of a defined predicate, the latter will be brought forward into the subject position, e.g. fi d-dāri rajulun 'in the house is a man' (but see 9.73 n 1 for Beeston's view that there is no inversion here). It was recognized very early (e.g. by al-Kalīl, q.v. 0.1 n 1, quoted in Kitāb I, 394) that the 'act of beginning', ibtidā', arouses in the listener the expectation of a predicate: in other words ibtidā' is not only the name of a linguistic event but also of a highly ritualized social gesture (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 149).

(3) For these allomorphs see 3.43 and 3.4 respectively.

(4) Note that (a) sound and broken plural occur indifferently in the predicates here, and (b) the broken plural forms are of common gender. Neither of these phenomena is fully understood (dialect differences may be part of the answer: try E. Kahle, Studien zur Syntax des Adjektivs im vorklassischen Arabischen, (Diss.) Erlangen 1975).
NOTES

9.2 (1) Compare the categories of agent in 7.2.

9.21 (1) The position of the bracket in the translation is negotiable: it could well read ' (i.e. the first element in the above examples)'.

9.22 (1) Cf. the free agent pronouns in 7.7, and also 9.83.

(2) Here (and in 5.3, 7.4, 11.71 only) the names of the persons are left in literal translation. The Arabic terms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Arabic Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>al-mutakallim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waßdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>al-muğâtabab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>al-muğâtabab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>al-muğâtabatân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>al-ğâ'ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>al-ğâ'ibatân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>al-mutakallim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa-maâ'ah ßayruh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur.</td>
<td>al-muğâtabûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-muğâtabât</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-ğâ'ibûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-ğâ'ibât</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.23 (1) S. 19 v 74. The anomaly here is the occurrence of the sing. adjective 'aḥsanu 'better' as the predicate of the plur. hum 'they'. This, however, is the normal syntax with the 'elative' adjective (see 20.4 and notes), and one wonders whether the phrase has attracted attention more for rhetorical than grammatical reasons. It may be that the specifying element 'aṭāṭân 'as to property' is at the root of the problem, since according to the rules of this structure (20.41) it implies the paraphrase ñaḥsunu 'aṭāṭuhum 'their property is good', which predicates a human quality (goodness, i.e. moral) of an inanimate object. The confusion arises because, in this structure, the elative adjective is formally a predicate of its subject (here hum) but at the same time is semantically a predicate of its specifying element (viz. 'aṭāṭân, cf. huwa 'ajmalu wajni 'he is more handsome as to face'). The objection that ḥasan 'good' is so vague that it can freely be applied to property (and 'aṭâṭ means specifically household furniture) is plausible, but would have to be supported by a better explanation of why this Qur'anic phrase sounds so awkward!

9.24 (1) 'Predominant usage' translates al-ğâlib, lit. 'that which predominates, prevailing', on which see 3.65 n 12. Inversion is rare with pronouns (cf. Wright II, 257).

(2) Here is an opportunity to contrast the structures of the 'nominal sentence' (jumla ismiyya) and the 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiğliyya cf. 7.1 n 1, 7.12 n 1). These categories are entirely formal: all sentences beginning with nouns are nominal sentences (including those prefixed with 'inna and similar particles, q.v. 10.4, and those whose first element is a prepositional phrase, q.v. 9.73 n 1), while verbal
sentences are simply those whose first element is a verb (including verbs subordinated by particles, q.v. 5.34, and verb phrases in the function of predicates of nominal sentences, q.v. 9.75). Elision of subject or predicate is possible (9.9), but not of verb or agent: on semantic grounds because no act can exist without an actor, and on structural grounds because agent pronouns are bound morphemes (7.5).

(3) All pronouns are invariable, but recognizable as nouns by their function (e.g. as agents, 7.5, 7.7, in annexation, 11.718 n 2). For invariability, binā', see 1.41 n 4.

9.3 (1) The urge to calculate total combinations of elements is a relatively late phenomenon in grammar: Ibn Bābašāq (d. 1077) gives the figure of sixty pronouns in his Muqaddima (Brit. Mus. Add. 918, fol. 16r), and his contemporary al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) reduced the whole of syntax to exactly one hundred operators! The motive is clear: not only is enumeration a useful aide-mémoire, it also establishes the limits of the material to be taught (i.e. what is 'Arabic' and what is not). In origin it may be connected with the propositional calculus in the scholastic processing of the Organon which the Arabs inherited from Greek, cf. F.W. Zimmermann in Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented to R. Walzer, ed. S.M. Stern etc., Oxford 1972, 517f. For further and more extreme examples in grammar cf. as-Suyūtī, Ašbāḥ II, 120, III, 96. In an anonymous parsing exercise of about the same period as aš-Širbīnī a single verse of poetry is calculated to have 1,800,000 possible parsings! (Carter, Islamic Quarterly 18, 11).

(2) Of these, twenty-four are in 7.4, twelve in 16.3 and another twelve in 16.5; the remaining twelve (oblique pronouns) are mentioned only in passing, see 4.72 n 2. Note that, for simplification, the 'visible' pronouns include those which are, strictly, 'concealed' (v. 7.58 n 1).

9.4 (1) From 9.3 to 9.44 are repeated, with slight variations, in 11.718 and 11.719, and are evidently adapted from al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 103-4. Notes here and in 11.718-9 are complementary.

(2) See 11.719 n 2 on the segmentation of 'anā.

(3) After the foundation of Baghdad (762), grammar was artificially polarized into two opposing 'schools', named 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' after the two cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose cultural supremacy was eclipsed by the new capital of the empire. The two schools may be interpreted as representing contrary attitudes to language: 'Baṣrans' are rigidly normative and orthodox, 'Kūfans' are descriptive and heterodox (cf. G. Weil, Introduction to Inṣāf, Carter, Arabica 20, esp. 299-304).

(4) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

9.41 (1) See 11.719 n 4 on the segmentation of 'anta etc.

(2) On the grammarians mentioned in this paragraph see 9.4 n 3 for 'Baṣrans', 1.21 n 2 for al-Farrā', 12.6 n 3 for Ibn Kaysān.

9.42 (1) The text has only al-hā' 'the h', the vowels having been taken for granted (cf. 4.81 n 1); in their concern to isolate h as a 3rd
person marker the 'Kufans' (9.4 n 3) fortuitously agree with Trager and Rice (Language 30, 227), who set up a single morphophoneme for wa and ya (cf. also Insāf prob. 96). Contrast Moscati #13.9.

9.43 (1) Cf. the segmentation (or rather the lack of it) in the 2nd person dual agent suffix tumā in 7.55. For Trager and Rice (op. cit. 226) the question of why a dual morpheme is suffixed to a plural does not arise.

(2) See 10.71 on Abū Qalī al-Fārisī; the immediate source for the attribution is al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 103, but I have not been able to trace the idea in the available works of al-Fārisī.

9.44 (1) The similarity between the series hum, hunna, humā (which are also object suffixes, v. 16.310-312) and the object suffixes kum, kunna and kumā (16.305-307) justifies the synchronic analysis of Trager and Rice (Language 30, 225-6), but see 7.57 n 1 on the fem. plur. *um-na. On the form humā see 10.66 n 2: the reasoning here is that, just as humū ends in two consonants (see 2.43 n 2 on ü), so does hunna, a good example of the way theory can lose touch with reality (cf. Insāf p 23).

9.5 (1) As befits the work, these are purely formal categories. Kitāb I, 278 has a different classification: predicates are either identical with their subjects (šay' huwa huwa 'something which it is itself') or are space/time qualifiers (zarf, 'container' of the subject, v. ch. 18). Beeston's table of predicate types (69) does not materially depart from this, as the extra items (when not already subdivisions of the original categories, e.g. into participial and non-participial predicates) are the result of including verbal sentence predicates (7.12) and inversions (9.73 n 1). Cf. also D. Cohen, 'Les formes du prédicat en arabe et la théorie de la phrase chez les anciens grammariens', in Mélanges Marcel Cohen, The Hague/Paris 1970, 224.

(2) The comment is necessary because mufrad, here 'simple' is also used for 'singular' and 'single', see 23.431 n 1. Similarly muḥḥakkab, here 'complex', also serves for 'compound' and 'composite', see 1.12 n 1.

9.6 (1) On expansions of simple predicates see n 2, and cf. 9.02-03. Though verbs are orthographically single words they cannot be included here among the one-term predicates, and are dealt with under complex predicates (esp. 9.82). On the other hand, participles and adjectives (which in the Arab view also contain agent pronouns, 11.45) make simple predicates (cf. Insāf prob. 7 for an extreme case).

(2) Certain expansions of simple predicates (which also function as agents, cf. 7.02) are ignored or taken for granted by aṣ-Ṣirbīnī, viz. (a) nouns qualified by adjectives, e.g. zaydun ṣādīqūn muṣṭilṣūn 'Zayd is a loyal friend', (b) annexation units, e.g. allāhu rabbūnā 'God is our Lord' (9.02, and see 9.74 n 2 on the difference between this unit and the structurally identical prepositional phrase), (c) sentences with 'an (5.41) and 'anna (10.42) 'that', e.g. al-'arjaḥu 'an yajī' or 'annahu yajī' 'the most likely thing is that he is coming', (d) relative sentences, e.g. huwa llaḏī yajī'ū 'he is the one who is coming'.
9.7 (1) These are not expansions of single terms (contrast 9.6 n 2).
'Sentence equivalent' (v. 9.74) renders šibh al-jumla 'quasi-sentence'.

9.71 (1) Both categories are, to our way of thinking, prepositional phrases, but the Arabs distinguish them on the grounds that operators of obliqueness are one-function particles (1.7, 26.1), while space/time qualifiers are full nouns and may have other functions (v. 18.4 n 2).

(2) The comment here seems to be aš-Širbīnī's own paraphrase of al-Azharī, Ṭaṣr. I, 166. 'Structurally complete' translates tāmm, lit. 'complete, perfect', antonym nāqīs, lit. 'lacking, defective', hence 'structurally defective' (but see 10.11 n 3); on 'semantically connected', mutaĝalliq, see 5.82 n 6 and cf. 9.74. 'Reasonable' is jā'îz, lit. 'permissible', a term which in the latter sense was borrowed from law into grammar, but which also came to be used by logicians for 'reasonable', i.e. permitted by the laws of thought, as here. Cf. 9.8 n 2.

(3) Somewhat casually aš-Širbīnī invokes here two quite different types of structurally defective elements: (a) the prepositional phrase, which is made meaningful by citing the verb to which it is semantically connected, and (b) the relative (mawsūl, see 11.752 n 1), which is incomplete without an attached clause, supplied in the present example by the verb phrases sakana '(he) lived' and marra '(he) passed'. In neither case is the prepositional phrase or space/time qualifier essential for the structural completeness of the utterance (nor is the function of relative clauses limited to that of agent as here).

9.72 (1) See further 9.75-76. It is possible for a sentence predicate to contain a maximum of one embedded sentence, e.g. ḥādihi l-qarāratu zāhiruhā fīhi raḥmatun 'these decisions superficially contain mercy', lit. 'these decisions, their exterior, in it is mercy', where the sentence 'in it is mercy' is a predicate of 'their exterior' and the whole is a predicate of 'these decisions' (example from Beeston, Language 50, 476, where further discussion). Cf. also 9.76 n 1.

9.73 (1) Such sentences must be inverted if the subject is undefined, e.g. fī d-dārī rajulun 'in the house is a man'. Beeston 68, however, does not see this as inversion, but as predicing 'a man' of 'in the house' (to paraphrase his own words, 'stating what sort of a thing the house contains'). This is psychologically plausible, but leaves to be explained such genuine inversions as 'inna fī d-dārī rajulun 'verily in the house is a man', where rajulan still has dependent form as the subject operated on by 'inna (10.41). In Ḳūfans' claim that rajulun is the agent of the verb implied by the prepositional phrase (cf. 9.74 n 2).

9.74 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph, which inevitably evokes notions of deep structure and compulsory deletion, see 2.101 n 2 for taḏḏīr, lit. 'estimating' (i.e. recovering implicit elements), 3.73 n 2 for ḥaḏf 'elision', 9.8 n 2 for wujūb 'compulsion' and 5.82 n 6 for mutaĝalliq 'semantically connected'. Cf. also 19.25 n 1.
(2) The participial paraphrase results in a simple predicate because kā'īnun 'being' and mustagirrūn 'being situated', though too vague to fulfil the criterion of informativeness (1.13) are single terms structurally sufficient to constitute a formal predicate without the prepositional phrase, cf. zaydun jālisun ('zindaka) 'Zayd is sitting (with you)'. From this we may deduce that only noun and verb phrases may function as predicates, and that prepositional phrases are always dependent on a verb or its equivalent (cf. 9.71). Prepositional phrases thus differ from annexation units in that the former are not expansions of (or replaceable by) single nouns (i.e. are exocentric), while annexation units are endocentric. For simplicity's sake as-Širbīnī (following al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 166) subsumes the participial paraphrase (= simple predicate) under verbal sentence predicates, to which it strictly does not belong (cf. 9.6 n 1).

(3) The verbal paraphrase actually results in a sentence predicate of the type set out in 9.75, q.v. for further discussion. On concealed pronoun agents see 7.58 n 1; on ʿāʾid 'referring' see 11.752 n 1.

9.75 (1) The translation somewhat obscures the structure: it might be rendered literally 'Zayd: stood his father'. This is the so-called jumla gāt waḥayn, lit. 'sentence with two faces', so named because the major (grammatical) subject is different from the minor (logical) subject contained in the predicate sentence. D. Cohen, op. cit. 9.5 n 1, esp. 225f, argues that these are not true nominal sentences, since the noun, far from 'dominating' the sentence as it should, is merely the anticipatory exponent of a pronoun in the predicate. Cf. 9.76 n 1.

(2) 'Link' here is a fairly literal translation of rābit (cf. 5.86 n 3 on this and its synonym rāḥita). It seems to have replaced the older term sabāb 'tie, link' (also 'cause', 24.22 n 1), which once had a wide application (cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488), but was eventually restricted to an adjectival construction which happens to be formally identical with these complex predicate structures (see 11.5).

9.76 (1) This and the type in 9.75 are given only passing mention by most Western authorities (Beeston 70, Fleisch 169, Wright II, 256; only Reckendorf, Synt. Verb. 782 is at all expansive). Bravmann, op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 1, explains them thus: the 'Isolated Natural Subject' (Reckendorf's term) was originally the topic of a question, with the ensuing sentence forming the answer (*'Zayd? His servant-girl is going'). The once independent sentence has become subordinate, and is now a relative clause functioning as a predicate (*'Zayd is the one whose servant-girl is going'). Though identical in structure with relative clauses and the adjectival pattern in 11.5, the Arabs do not use ʿāʾid for the referential pronoun (11.752) but the imported term rābiṭ (9.75 n 2, and cf. Lewcowicz, Language 47, esp. 818). Certainly it is no help to speak of 'phrases brisées' (Fleisch) or 'ein Riss im Satz' (Reckendorf).

9.8 (1) 'Norm' renders ʿasl, q.v. 3.0 n 2. The other two 'states' (hālāt, 11.2 n 1) are inversion (not dealt with by as-Širbīnī, but cf. 9.73 n 1, 19.73 n 1) and elision, q.v. 9.9.
(2) There are two poles of constraint in Arabic grammar: (a) "wājib 'compulsory', as here, opposed to "jā'iz 'permissible' (cf. 9.9 n 1), also 'optional', and (b) "idtirār lit. 'being forced', i.e. 'poetic licence' (v. 11.715 n 2), opposed to "iktīyār lit. 'free choice', hence 'elective' (1.51), 'unconstrained' (7.5). All are legal borrowings.

9.81 (1) 'Contextual indication' is qarīna, q.v. 11.7 n 1; note the principle of collocation invoked here.

(2) Where both subject and predicate are defined they may be separated by an appropriate pronoun, e.g. zaydun huwa i-qā'imu 'Zayd is the one standing'; this pronoun has always been known as ḍamīr al-faṣl 'the pronoun of separation' (e.g. Kitāb I, 394), though an analysis in terms of the sentence predicate type in 9.76 would also be possible.

(3) For 'formal' lafẓī and 'abstract' maṣnawi see 2.1 n 2. The formal indication here is the adjective šāliḥun, which makes rajulun defined enough to function as subject (cf. 9.12 n 2). The segmentation rajulun/šāliḥun ḍagīrūn fails the test of 1.13.

(4) We have to accept the opinion of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azhārī, Taṣr. I, 173) on this matter, viz. that the statement 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa' cannot be a simple hyperbole (muḥālaqa) but must be understood as a genuine comparison (taṣbīḥ ḍaqīqī) in spite of the absence of the comparative particle ka 'like' (1.708). 'Thing compared' is muṣabbah (here Abū Yūsuf), 'term of the comparison' is muṣabbah dīh, lit. 'thing with which compared' (Abū Ḥanīfa). On Abū Ḥanīfa, a prominent early jurist (d. 767) see E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Ḥanīfa', G.A.S. I, 409, and on his pupil Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) see E.I. (2), art. 'Abū Yūsuf', G.A.S. I, 419.

9.82 (1) See 9.24 n 2 on the difference between 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentences. In qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood' only an act is predicated of Zayd, while in the alternative construction zaydun qāma 'it was Zayd who stood' a sentence is predicated of Zayd. This latter may be analysed either as a complex predicate (as in 9.75) or as a kind of appositional construction, 'Zayd, he stood' (cf. 7.12, 9.75 end).

9.83 (1) See 7.7, 8.8 for agents with 'illā and 'innamā.

(2) S. 11 v 12. The word 'innamā, generally translated as 'only', is probably a compound of 'inna 'verily' (10.41) and the vague pronoun mā 'what' (Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 575, Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 129). The effect of the mā suffix is to cancel the operation of 'inna (cf. 5.89 n 2 on the so-called 'redundant mā'), contrast 'inna zaydun gā'imun 'verily Zayd is standing' and 'innamā zaydun gā'imun 'Zayd is only standing' (scil. *verily what Zayd is, is standing'). Unlike the English 'only', 'innamā occurs mostly at the beginning of clauses (cf. Cantarino III, 202), and has the peculiarity that it restricts the next but one element as a rule (contrasting pairs are hard to find: one would like to do better than Reckendorf's 'innamā ja'ā 'anā 'only I came' and 'innamā ji'tu 'anā 'I only came'). Try further the study of 'innamā in the Qur'ān by Miquel, G.L.E.C.S. 9, 3.
NOTES

(3) S. 3 v 144; cf. 21.35 on the syntax of exception here.

9.9 (1) See 3.73 n 2 on ḫaḍīf 'elision', which it is tempting to render 'deletion' here. 'Optional' (jawāzan, cognate with jā'iz, q.v. 9.71 n 2) elision is always determined by the listener's ability to recover the missing forms (many examples in Kitāb, e.g. I, 129, 171); see 9.93 n 1 on compulsory elision.

9.91 (1) S. 41 v 46; nafs 'soul, self' is an unmarked fem. (cf. 11.43 n 3, 20.13 n 2), hence the fem. pronoun in ʿalayhā 'against himself'. One Qur'anic ellipse which has never been satisfactorily explained is S. 12 v 18, sabrun jamīlun 'fine patience': the commentators treat it either as the predicate of an elided subject, viz. 'amrī sabrun jamīlun 'my duty is fine patience' or as the subject (sufficiently defined by the adjective, cf. 9.81) of an elided predicate, viz. sabrun jamīlun 'ajmalu 'fine patience is the finest thing' (cf. Wright II, 263).

9.92 (1) There may be some special pleading here: in order to show that the subject has been replaced by the verb phrase (see 13.6 n 3 on the emphatic la prefix and anna suffix) an undefined subject has to be pos­ited to justify the inversion (9.73 n 1). What is even more curious is that this quasi-proverbial utterance is not analysed as a preposed space/time qualifier with verb, as the translation cannot avoid imply­ing, or as a syntactically void oath (cf. 5.431 n 3).

9.93 (1) S. 13 v 35, referring to Paradise. Elision, as will have be­come clear, is not arbitrary: the grounds for optional (jawāzan) elis­ion have already been stated (9.9 n 1), but those for compulsory elis­ion (wujūban) are necessarily more varied, and often rest on usage alone (particularly with the proverbial expressions mentioned here), in spite of the structural explanations offered. The Qur'ān, being highly oratorical in nature, is a rich source of elisions, cf. az-Zajjājī (attrib.), ʿCrāb al-Qur'ān, ed. Abyārī, Cairo 1963-4, index s.v. ḥaḍīf.

9.94 (1) Two cases of compulsory elision ought to be mentioned here: (a) the predicate of lawlā 'if it were not for...', q.v. 6.6 n 6, and (b) that part of an interrogative sentence about which information is being sought: this, of course, may be a subject (man 'aḡūka 'who is your brother?'), a predicate (man huwa 'who is he?'), an agent (man qāma 'who stood?'), or any of the various qualifiers, ('ayna huwa 'where is he?', kayfa qāma 'how did he stand?', matā qāma 'when did he stand?' etc.). Cf. 5.87 n 2.

(2) See ch. 25 on wa 'and' in the meaning of 'with'. It is doubtful whether there are any good structural reasons for this elision in spite of the argument presented here: it is simply a proverbial expression in which the elision of the predicate provides the necessary threatening vagueness. On 'structurally complete' (tāmm) cf. 9.71 n 2.

(3) This is the last phrase of a line of verse, q.v. Schaw. Ind. 273; note the dual verb yalṭaqiyānī (cf. 4.81 n 2(b)) as predicate of a nom­inal sentence (9.62). See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature in imrī'in 'man' and 19.72 n 4 on the vowel harmony in this word.
9.95 (1) Not, of course, within the same clause!

(2) S. 51 v 25. The absence of def. art. on salāmun is noteworthy: is it a relic of a stage when tanwīn was not necessarily an indefiniteness marker (cf. 11.8 n 3)? Note also that qawmūn munkarūna cannot be interpreted as a vocative (it would have to be (yā) qawmu l-munkarūna or al-munkarīna, 23.411, or yā qawman munkarīna, 23.51).

(3) Here we may add the equational sentence pattern 'ammā...fa..., e.g. 'ammā zaydun fa-qā’imun 'as for Zayd, he is standing', which serves to give prominence to the subject. Structurally it is very close to the complex predicate types in 9.75 (so: 'ammā zaydun fa-gāma ‘abūhu 'as for Zayd, his father stood') and 9.76 ('ammā zaydun fa-jāriyatuhu gāhibatun 'as for Zayd, his servant-girl is going'), and has been explained by Bravmann (op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 18f) as having developed out of a conditional structure, scil. 'What about Zayd?—well, his father stood' (cf. 5.90 n 2(b) on fa in apodosis); cf. Beeston 65, Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1. Brogkelmann, Gründr. II, 575, gives the etymology of 'ammā as 'an 'that' (5.41) and suffix mā 'what' (5.89 n 2), predating the distinction between subordinate and independent clauses.

10.0 (1) Jum. 53, 64; Muf. #33, 440, 447; Alf. vv 143, 174, 206; Qatḥ 135; Beeston 64, 80; Fleisch 168, 181; Nöldeke 37, 40.

(2) 'At this stage' because, as will become clear, these three are only classes of 'cancellers' (see next note), each with its own members (and hence the rather diffuse entries in the bibliography above).

(3) 'Cancellers', as can be seen from aš-Širbīnī’s ensuing comments (taken this time from Qatḥ 135 instead of al-Azhārī) is a literal translation of nawāsik (sing. nāsika 'that which abolishes'), a term borrowed directly from the vocabulary of law, where it denotes a Qur’anic verse or Tradition of the Prophet (1.01 n 4) which revokes or repeals another. It appears late in grammar, perhaps no earlier than the time of Abū Ḥayyān (d. 1344, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 90).

10.1 (1) Lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2. On kāna in particular see Jum. 53; Muf. #447, 450; Alf. v 143; Qatḥ 135; Beeston 80; Fleisch 181; Nöldeke 37; F. Shehadi, 'Arabic and "to be"', in The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar, Dordrecht 1969, 114; Levin, Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 1, 185.

(2) On transitivity see 16.309 n 1. Formally kāna has the same syntax as any verbal sentence, viz. Verb-Agent (indep.)-Qualifier (dep.), cf. the conspectus in ch. 15, but whether this is the result of Systemzwang
or an original structure cannot be demonstrated. A Western explanation
(e.g. Fleisch 181) interprets the dep. element as a circumstantial qual-
ifier (ḥāl, ch. 19), as if käna zaydun ʾalīman 'Zayd was learned' was
really 'Zayd existed, as a learned man'. For Sibawaihi at least, käna
was as much a transitive verb as ʿaraba 'to strike' (v. Levin, op. cit.
n 1, esp. 188), which seems to be confirmed by the fact that it occurs
with object pronoun suffixes, e.g. känaḥu 'he was it' (Nöldeke 37 and
Spitaler's n 3). See further 10.21 n 2.

(3) The debate is set out in Inṣāf, Supp. prob. 2, though the immediate
source for ʾas-Sīrībī is undoubtedly al-Azhārī, in a conflation of his
Taṣr. I, 184 and Āj. 60.

(4) 'Linking elements' is rawābiṭ, plur. of rābiṭa, q.v. 5.86 n 3.

(5) Cf. Jum. 53 et seq. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd ar-Rahmān ibn Isḥāq
az-Zajjājī, d. 949, studied in Baghdad under az-Zajjāj (v. 26.7 n 2),
after whom he was named az-Zajjājī (cf. 11.721 n 4). His works range
from elementary textbooks such as the ʾīḍāḥ; E.I (1), art. 'az-Zadījādījī', G.A.L. I,
110, Versteegh, index s.v. az-Zağgāzī.

10.101 (1) The limitation to thirteen is purely pedagogical; other
verbs with the same syntax are, for example, ʿāda, ʾirtadda, rajaʿa, all
meaning 'to return' and used in this structure to mean 'to become
again, revert', ʾingalaba 'to turn into', cf. Nöldeke 37; Wright II,
102: Cantarino III, 255.

For convenience we mention here the 'afṣāl al-muqāraba, lit. 'verbs of
being near', viz. ʾasā 'maybe', kāda 'almost to do', ʾawšaʔa 'be on
the point of'. Of these ʾasā occurs only as a past tense and is norm­
ally followed by an 'an-clause (5.41), e.g. ʾasā 'an ʿadriba 'maybe he
will strike'; ʾawšaʔa is also followed by 'an, e.g. yūšiku 'an ʿadriba
'he almost strikes'. With kāda the second verb usually remains indep­
dendent, e.g. kāda ʿadribu 'he almost struck', and note the negative lā
yakādu ʿadribu 'he hardly strikes' ('*does not almost strike'). Jum.
209; Muf. #459; Alf. v 164; Fleisch 198.

(2) One use of these verbs seldom mentioned by grammarians is as auxili­
arys, most particularly käna. In principle the past and imperfect
tenses of käna may combine with those of other verbs to give four poss­
ible modalities: käna (qad) ʿaraba 'he had struck', käna ʿadribu 'he
used to strike', yakūnu (qad) ʿaraba 'he will have struck' (see 1.81 on
qad), and yakūnu ʿadribu 'he will be striking'; cf. Beeston 80, Yush­
manov 54. Another type of auxiliary is ʾaḡaḍa 'to take', ʿaḡala 'to
make' (cf. 10.69), ʾadaʿa 'to begin', used to mean 'to start', e.g.
ʾaḡaḍa ʿadribu 'he started striking'; Fleisch 113, 184; Yushmanov 55.

(3) See 10.23 n 3 on the 'verbal noun mā', mā al-ʾaḡdāriyya.

(4) Because 'cases' (masāʿil, lit. 'legal questions') is fem. the text
treats the examples as fem. in the metalanguage, but sometimes
gives them their natural masc. gender.

10.11 (1) Refs. as for 10.1 n 1, and see especially Muf. #450.
NOTES

S. 4 v 17. The translation 'was always' (alternative: 'has always been') avoids the obvious pitfall of implying that God is no longer knowing and wise! On this atemporal use of kāna see 5.52 n 2.

(3) 'Syntactically defective' (nāqīś, lit. 'lacking') because this kāna needs a predicate—another argument against treating the dep. forms after kāna as circumstantial qualifiers (10.1 n 2), since these are by definition redundant (19.1). A 'syntactically complete kāna' (kāna t-tāmma) is occasionally found, e.g. ʾumma kāna ʾabū bakrīn 'then it was Abū Bakr' (lit. 'then Abū Bakr was'); further on nāqīś and tāmm see 9.71 n 2, 21.3 n 1.

(4) Note that šābban contains the over-long syllable CVC, on which see 21.22 n 4.

10.12 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This is one of a group of verbs which denote the performance of an action or being in a state at a specific time of day or night. Others are in 10.13-16, to which may be added rāḥa 'to do/be in the evening', ǧādā, 'asfara 'to do/be in the morning'. Those which have not become rare have simply lost their built-in time reference (rāḥa, for example, has become the universal verb for 'to go'), though ʾamsā, to judge by the examples in Reckendorf Synt. Verh. 289, seems to have held on to the connotation of eventide better than some of its fellows (but note ʾamsā ʾlāhu 'ahlakahum 'God proceeded to destroy them'). In form ʾamsā is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with weak 3rd rad.; its imperfect tense active is yumsī (same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2(b)), and its past tense has the same endings as raʾaytu, 10.65 n 1.

10.13 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb has become a virtual synonym of šārā 'to become' (q.v. 10.17), see Beeston 81 n 1. Note that, like all the verbs in this group, ʿaṣbaḥa has developed into something very like an auxiliary verb, e.g. ʿaṣbaḥa yugallibu kaffayhi 'he began wringing his hands' (Wright II, 105). In form ʿaṣbaḥa is a sound verb of Stem IV (8.63 n 1): in passing it is worth noting that Stem IV includes a non-productive set of verbs all connected with time or place (e.g. 'aymana 'to go to the Yemen', cf. Fleisch, Tr. #132e).

10.14 (1) Muf. #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. It is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with 3rd rad. w (= y in augmented Stems, cf. next note).

(2) Paradigm of weak 3rd rad. verbs daḏā (d- councillors), laqiya (l-q-y), past: sing. dual plur. sing. dual plur.
1st daḏawtu daḏawnā laqītu laqīnā
dacute laqīta laqītunna
2nd masc. daḏawta daḏawtumā daḏawtum laqīta laqītum
laqīta laqītumna
2nd fem. daḏawti daḏawtunna daḏawtunna laqītunna
3rd masc. daḏā daḏawā daḏaw laqiya laqiya laqū
3rd fem. daḏat daḏatnā laqiya laqiya laqiya
Apart from a rare class saruwa (medial vowel u, sarūtu etc.) all 3rd weak rad. verbs (including augmented Stems) conjugate as daḏā, laqiya or raʾā (q.v. 10.65 n 1), the ending being determined by the stem vowel (e.g. passive duʾiya like laqiya, Stem IV ʾadḥaytu like raʾaytu etc.). All augmented Stems show w=y, e.g. istadḏaytu, Stem X of daḏā.
10.15 (1) Muf. #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which are taken from al-Azharî, Āj. 60, the word for 'erect-tailed' is mušāla, and has been translated literally. It describes the shape of the letter z, particularly the feature which distinguishes it from d (cf. Wright I, 6): at a very early period the sounds (and consequently the spelling) of z and d had become hopelessly confused, and provided the grammarians with opportunities for patronizing anecdotes (cf. Fück, op. cit. 1.21 n 2, 58; on the phonology of z and d see Magee, Word 6, 75).

(2) In his Commentary on Kāfiya (Istanbul 1858), II, 274, al-Astarābādī asserts that zalla may also mean 'to become', and cites S. 16 v 58 in support: zalla wahjuhu muswadan 'his face became black'. In form zalla is a 'doubled verb', q.v. 10.61 n 1.

10.16 (1) Muf. #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form bāta is a 'hollow verb' (fiCl 'ajwaf), i.e. a verb whose middle radical is a semi-vowel (w or y); this leads to certain reductions and variations in the stem (see paradigms in 10.23 n 2: bāta follows sāra, having y as its middle radical). Even here it is worth remarking that, although fully developed in Classical Arabic as triliterals, there is a distinct probability that the 'hollow verb' represents an extension of original biliteral roots under Systemzwang (cf. Fleisch 111, 239 n 3).

10.17 (1) Muf. #451; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form sāra is a 'hollow verb' with middle radical y, see paradigms in 10.23 n 2. Another example is šīrtu 'aḥṣaba 'I became tawny', end of 10.62. In its Stem II (8.61 n 1) form sayyara this verb means 'to cause something to become something else', and is thus doubly transitive, v. 10.69 n 3.

(2) The verb sāra (root s-y-r) has nothing to do with the noun sūra 'form' (q.v. 11.712 n 2), which has itself engendered a new hollow root s-w-r in the denominative verb sawwara 'to give form' (but only singly transitive, contrast sayyara above). See Jeffries, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 201, on the likely foreign origins of the word sūra.

10.18 (1) Muf. #456; Beeston 100; other refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb is anomalous in several ways: (a) it is a rare example of a compound word, consisting of lā 'not' (ch. 22) and a nominal element 'aysa 'existence' (so Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 111, but Yushmanov 57 sees the second element as verbal); (b) its conjugation is both incomplete and irregular (see n 3); (c) it has past tense form but present tense meaning (see n 2); (d) it makes its predicate dependent (but see n 4).

(2) That is, laysa negates 'being' absolutely and in the present tense unless modified by context (cf. 11.7 n 1 on qarīna 'contextual indication', but here meaning that there is no accompanying negative particle as required by other verbs, cf. 10.22). An example of the future meaning determined by context is S. 11 v 8: 'a-lā yawma ya'ṭīhim laysa maṣrūfan ʾanhum 'and will it (i.e. punishment), on the day it comes to them, not be turned aside from them?'. Note the vowel harmony in the suffix hum (yaʿṭīhim/ʾanhum), q.v. 13.9 n 9, and the rhetorical negative 'a-lā, q.v. 5.55 n 6.
NOTES

215

(3) The paradigm of laysa is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>lastu</td>
<td>lasnā</td>
<td>lastum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>lasta</td>
<td>lasnāa</td>
<td>lasnunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>lasti</td>
<td>lasnāa</td>
<td>lasnunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>laysa</td>
<td>laysāa</td>
<td>laysū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>laysat</td>
<td>laysatā</td>
<td>lasna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no imperfect tense and no passive (but see 10.3 n 2).

(4) An alternative to the dep. form is bi 'with' (1.707) and obl. form, e.g. laysa bi-nā’īmin, and in both cases laysa can be replaced by the so-called 'Hijāzī mā' (5.84 n 3), e.g. mā Camrun nā’īman/bi-nā’īmin. The bi is obscure: Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 241, suggests a rhetorical question, scil. 'what has Āmr to do with a sleeper? ' (cf. 5.82 n 1), but note other equally perplexing functions of bi (after 'īgā of surprise', 5.432 n 2, before logical agents, 7.11 and logical subjects, 9.03). Possible Hamitic connections: Clerc, G.L.E.C.S. 4, 24.

(5) Negative equivalents are: prohibition (naha, 5.76), e.g. lā tazāl dākira 1-mawti 'do not cease thinking of death', and invocation (duṣā', 5.55 n 3), e.g. lā zāla munhillan...il-qatru 'may the rain not cease pouring' (Muf. #454; Qāṭr 137; see 14.34 n 3 on optative).

10.19 (1) Muf. #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1, and cf. 10.18 n 5. In form zāla is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) which belongs to the small group which retain the a vowel throughout the imperfect tense. In modern Arabic it regularly translates the notion of 'still', e.g. lā yazālum 'he is still asleep'. Like all the verbs in this section, zāla (always negative) combines with imperfect tense verbs in an auxiliary function, e.g. mā zīltu 'aktumuhu 'I have still kept it secret' (example from Cantarino III, 259, where wrongly zultu for ziltu).

10.20 (1) Muf. #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form infakkā is a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), of Stem VII (8.66 n 1): in juncture it therefore takes the vowel of the previous word (*mā infakka>mā Øinfakka) cf. 13.12 n 1. The resulting over-long syllable mā-n (= CVCC, 2.5 n 3) is pronounced short, cf. 21.22 n 4.

10.21 (1) Muf. #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form fatī’a is a Stem I verb with medial vowel i (cf. 10.22 n 2).

(2) Further to the syntax of kāna and related verbs: it is possible that the structure kāna—Subject—Predicate is the result of conflating three structures. Consider the following: (a) in all but two of the given examples the dep. elements are undefined participles or adjectives (virtually the same thing, 11.45). The participles would in other contexts be taken for circumstantial qualifiers (19.1), denoting transient qualities, but not so the adjectives, which should denote inherent qualities; (b) predicates of all kinds are most commonly undefined (cf. 9.12 n 2), which is why Muf. #449 asserts that kāna—predicates must be undefined ḥaddu l-kalāmi 'this being the strict pattern of speech'; and (c) circumstantial qualifiers are themselves predicates of their antecedents (19.7), predicating transient qualities of them in the context
of an action. Three structures are thus available: Verb—Agent—Qualifier (dep.), Subject (def.)—Predicate (undef.), and Verb—Agent (def.)—Transient Predicate (= circumstantial qualifier, undef. and dep.). None of these fits kāna exactly (especially the type kāna š-šayku šābban 'the old man was once a youth' in 10.11), which leaves us with conflation as a possible explanation for its assimilation to the verbal structure Verb—Agent—Qualifier.

10.22 (1) Muf. #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. These verbs do appear (though rarely) in the positive, i.e. as 'syntactically complete verbs' (tāmm, cf. 7.01 n 2), e.g. bariha l-makāna 'he left the place', zāla ẓ-żillu 'the shade ceased' etc. In S. 12 v 85, however, the positive ta-llāhi taťkurū yūsuľa 'by God you will (not) cease mentioning Joseph' is unanimously explained by commentators as assuming an elided mā 'not'.

(2) Stem I verbs exhibit a variation in the medial vowel of both past and imperfect tense, broadly along the following lines: kataba/yaktubu (a, u) 'write', transitive action, mariďa/yamraďa (i, a) 'be ill', intransitive, temporary state, ḥasuna/yahsunu (u, u) 'be good', intransitive, permanent state. However, there are numerous exceptions, some of phonological origin, see further Fleisch 115; Bateson 30: Yushmanov 49.

10.23 (1) Muf. #455; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. Translation in the conventional form of an infinitive (3.52 n 3) is impossible in this case.

(2) Here the paradigm of the two commonest types of 'hollow verb' (fic 'ajwaf), (a) qāma 'to stand' (q-w-m), (b) sāra 'to travel' (s-y-r), past tense, active:

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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>qumtu</td>
<td>qumnu</td>
<td>sītā</td>
<td>qumtunna</td>
<td>sīrtum</td>
<td>sīrtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>qumta</td>
<td>qumtum</td>
<td>sītā</td>
<td>qumtunna</td>
<td>sīrtum</td>
<td>sīrtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>qunti</td>
<td>qumtum</td>
<td>sīrti</td>
<td>qumtunna</td>
<td>sīrtum</td>
<td>sīrtunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>qāma</td>
<td>qāma</td>
<td>sāra</td>
<td>sārā</td>
<td>sārū</td>
<td>sārū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>qāmat</td>
<td>qāmat</td>
<td>sārat</td>
<td>sāratā</td>
<td>sīra</td>
<td>sīra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of zirtu 'I was visited', zīra 'he was visited' etc. (cf. 8.2 n 5) and are thus identical with active sāra type except for 3rd person sing., dual and masc. plur. Imperfect tense, active, independent form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
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<th>plur.</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'aqūmu</td>
<td>naqūmu</td>
<td>'asīru</td>
<td>nasīru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqūmu</td>
<td>taqūmāni</td>
<td>tasīru</td>
<td>tasīrānī</td>
<td>tasīrna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem.</td>
<td>taqūmīna</td>
<td>taqūmīna</td>
<td>tasīru</td>
<td>tasīrānī</td>
<td>tasīrna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaqūmu</td>
<td>yaqūmāni</td>
<td>yasīru</td>
<td>yasīrānī</td>
<td>yasīrna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem.</td>
<td>yaqūmīna</td>
<td>yaqūmīna</td>
<td>yasīru</td>
<td>yasīrānī</td>
<td>yasīrna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of 'uzāru 'I am visited', yuzāru 'he is visited', yuzarna 'they (fem.) are visited' etc. The dep. forms have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 1), e.g. 'aqūmu etc. Apoc. forms likewise have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 2), but stem vowel shortens before zero ending, thus yagum, not *yaqūm. Indeed
hollow verbs may be summed up as follows: stem vowel long when 3rd rad. is vowelled (qāma, yaqūnu), short when 3rd rad. is unvowelled (qumma, yagumna, yagum). This is true also for augmented Stems, 8.73 n 1. A few verbs, e.g. zāla 'to cease', nāma 'to sleep' etc., have imperfect tense stem vowel a/ā (under the above rule, e.g. yazālu, yazalna), and are otherwise mostly like sāra in past and passive. Imperative of hollow verbs, 10.33 n 1.

(3) Like the similarly named 'an 'that' (5.41) this mā 'fuses' (sabaka = 'to cast metal') with its verb to form a noun phrase, as is neatly demonstrated by the eventual substitution of the mā phrase by the noun phrase muddata dawāmi... 'for the period of the duration of...'. As nominalizers, both mā and 'an enable prepositions to operate on sentences, cf. 5.41 n 8, 18.207 n 1.

10.3 'Conjugated forms' renders mā taṣarrafa minhā, lit. 'what is currently in circulation of them', i.e. the range of permissible verbal forms as illustrated. The cognate term taṣrīf can be understood as meaning 'the derivation of nouns and verbs from a given root', q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(2) The list presents an ever diminishing range of forms culminating in laysa, whose entire conjugation is set out in 10.18 n 3 (though at least one grammarian ventured to postulate a passive *ilīsa, presumably meaning 'it is not being been', v. Ibn ʿUṣfūr, al-Muqarrib, ed. Baghdad 1971, I, 79). There is also a suggestion that kāna, too, has a passive (e.g. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 253, and cf. 10.36 n 1). Of the other verbs categorized here, zāla and family, and dāma, are more productive than aṣ-Širbīnī implies, but only in their positive forms: but these cannot be negated and used as 'cancellers' with the same freedom as all parts of the verb kāna as illustrated in the ensuing paragraphs.

10.31 (1) An important principle is invoked here, namely that all deverbalative elements (q.v. 10.34 n 1) operate like their underlying verbs (16.312 n 1). This is clear in the case of the verbal, agent and patient nouns, whose verbal content is still obvious, but needs perhaps to be pointed out in the case of the adjective, e.g. ḥasanun 'handsome', equivalent to the verb phrase yaḥṣunu 'he is handsome' (see 11.45 and 26.92 n 5).

(2) See 10.11. Note in passing that the 'subject-noun' and 'predicate' of kāna are required to fulfil the conditions for the equational sentence (ch. 9), principally that the subject(-noun) should be defined: by the same token an undefined subject is permissible under categorical negation (cf. ch. 22), e.g. mā kāna 'abadun miṭlaka 'no-one was like you' (lit. 'someone was not like you', see 22.6 n 1), Kitāb I, 26.

(3) See 10.18.

10.32 (1) A present tense function for yakūnu is more or less ruled out by the existence of the 'timeless' equational sentence structure (ch. 9) which has no copula. On the other hand the imperfect tense often has future meaning (5.01 n 1), which the translation here reproduces.
10.33 (1) S. 17 v 50. The imperatives of the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are internally regular, i.e. they follow the same rules as the sound verb (7.82) with the stem variations peculiar to the hollow verb: sing. masc. kun, fem. kūnī, dual kūnā, plur. masc. kūnū, fem. kunna (middle rad. y gives sir, sīrī etc.). Stem I fem. plur. imperative is coincidentally the same as 3rd fem. plur. past tense kunna, sīrā. Imperative of augmented stems, 10.38 n 1.

(2) Here perhaps is an occasion when it is proper to speak of the 'subject' rather than the agent of the verb (cf. 7.5 n 1): in kūnū there is an overt bound pronoun suffix ū 'you' (7.82) which is formally indistinguishable from the agent pronoun, except that it pronominalizes the subject of an equational sentence (taking 'you are stones' as the under-lying form of the imperative 'be stones!').

10.34 (1) Every regular verb has three nominal derivatives: maṣdar 'verbal noun' (but see 17.1 n 2), ism al-fācil 'name of the doer', i.e. agent noun (the formal category, contrast functional cat. in ch. 7), and ism al-mafccoli 'name of the done', i.e. patient noun (formal, contrast functional cat. in ch. 16). Agent and patient nouns are predictable for all stems, but see 17.52 n 1 on verbal noun forms, stems I, II and III. The forms are as follows (cf. 8.51 n 1):

**Stem**: I II III IV V VI
Active fācil mufccoli mufccoli mufccoli mutafascil mutafascil
Passive mafccoli mufccoli mufccoli mufcall mutafascal mutafascal
Vb. noun varies tafācil fīعام al mufascii tafācul

**Stem**: VII VIII IX X
Active munfacci l mufacci l mufacci l mustafacci l
Passive none mufacci l none mustafacci l
Vb. noun inficull ifticull inficull

Doubled verbs are regular except for stems I and VI agent nouns, e.g. ṣābb, showing the over-long syllable CVC (see 21.22 n 4); weak 1st rad. verbs are regular, so are hollow verbs, except stem I, q.v. 10.35 n 1. Weak 3rd rad. verbs have regular patient noun in stem I (mafccoli or mafiyy) and all other nouns end in īn and follow qādī or ă/an and follow fācil (both 4.2 n 2), all with sound plurals (4.6 n 1). Syntax 7.11, 16.312 n 1, 17.2, 24.31; Beeston 35; Yushmanov 53.

10.35 (1) Hollow verbs acquire by Systemzwang a dummy radical ' in the stem I agent noun, see further sā’ir 'travelling', 25.11 n 1. The inversion in the present example stresses that kā’in cannot be used in independent equational sentences, e.g. *zaydun kā’inun qā’iman *Zayd is being standing*, though this is normal with other verbs, e.g. yūzdan qāribun Camran *Zayd is striking Camran*.

10.36 (1) Hollow verbs with y are regular (madyūn, from dāna 'to owe'), but wū reduces to ū (*makwūn=makūn). Evidently makūn is a perverse passivization of kāna zaydun qā’iman with qā’iman becoming the agent implicit in makūnun! But note that Sīdawayhi does refer to space/time qualifiers as makūnun fīhil 'been in it', i.e. 'in which being is done' (Kitāb I, 201, and see Troupeau, G.L.E.C.S. 9, 45).
10.37 (1) The paradigms in 4.4 n 5 (etc.) and 8.61-72 (notes) give an impression of the range of verbal patterns in which a single triliteral root (5.1 n 2) can be expressed. The same applies to nouns and adjectives, which are likewise root consonants embedded in patterns corresponding to their semantic function and grammatical category, e.g. agent, patient and verbal noun (10.34 n 1), plural (3.221), diminutive (3.421 n 1), distributive (3.89 n 9), noun of place (18.5 n 1), noun of instrument (17.63 n 1), and see Wright I, 109, Fleisch, index, s.v. nom for a more complete list. This almost algebraic correlation between form and meaning is a Proto-Semitic feature which has been (and still is being) exploited more by Arabic than any other Semitic language: see Beeston 31; Fleisch 31, 226; Bateson 1; Yushmanov 34. On quadriliteral nouns see 3.89 n 1, verbs 5.31 n 2; delocutive verbs 1.0 n 1; words outside the derivational system 26.26 n 1.

10.38 (1) With the exception of Stem IV, most imperative verbs are simply the relevant apocopated form minus the personal prefix (v. 5.2). Thus with weak 1st rad. the imperative of Stem I is jid, from apoc. tajid, root w-j-d (paradigm 10.67 n 1); hollow verbs are described in 10.33 n 1; weak 3rd rad. verbs are regular, e.g. irmi, from apoc. tarmi minus the prefix, with the resulting consonant cluster resolved as in 5.2 n 3. Stem IV verbs are unusual in that their imperative always begins with 'a: the rule of thumb for these verbs is, then, to replace the tu prefix of the apocopated form with 'a, thus 'aṣbiḥ from tuṣbiḥ, 'awjid from tūjid (= tuwjid, 2.43 n 2), 'ajri from tujri (root j-r-y) etc. In this way Stem IV is distinguished from Stem I (iṣbaḥ, jid and ijrī respectively). Other augmented Stems are completely regular, e.g. Stem II ḥassin from tuḥassin, Stem VII inkasir from tankasir, with resolution of initial consonant cluster (*nkasir) as in 5.2 n 3.

10.4 (1) Jum. 64; Muf. #33, 516; Alf. v 174; Qatr 152 (cf. Muğnî I, 35); Beeston 64; Fleisch 168, 198; Nöldeke 40. 'Related particles' is lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2.

(2) The 'correct' view in this instance is that of the 'Baṣrans' (q.v. 9.4 n 3), while in the following paragraph the 'Kūfan' explanation is presented. The matter is argued at length in Inṣaf. prob. 22, the Baṣran case being founded on the formal and functional similarities between 'inna and the verb (summarized in the second sentence of 10.401).

10.401 (1) Cf. the debate alluded to in 9.11, the 'Kūfan' view being that subject and predicate are made independent by each other.

(2) This is a good specimen of the analogical reasoning which typifies the theoretical linguistics of the so-called 'Baṣran' grammarians (cf. giyās, 8.3 n 2). Western interpretations of 'inna agree with the Arabs at least to the extent of acknowledging that it has some verbal ingredient, and point out the similarity to the Hebrew hinne 'lo!' (Beeston 64; Fleisch 168; Yushmanov 62). Structural confirmation of its verbal quality may come from the fact that 'inna etc. occur with the direct object suffix nī (16.301), e.g. in 21.61, and cf. 10.55 n 3.
NOTES 225

(3) See 5.1.

10.41 (1) Muf. #517; Qaṭr 153, 162; other refs. 10.4 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) ensures that 'inna will not be confused with 'anna (10.42). For the allomorph 'in see 12.903 n 1; for la prefixed to the predicate after 'inna see 13.6 n 4.

(2) 'Particle of emphasis and dependence' translates ḥarf tawkiḍ wa-ṣab on ḥarf 'particle' see 1.25, on tawkiḍ 'emphasis' cf. 13.0 n 1 and on ṣab 'dependence' see 3.5 n 1; note the functional definition of this element (cf. 1.92 n 1). Pellat (G.L.E.C.S. 9, 18) observes that 'inna etc. serve as 'anticipatory particles', with the same structure as relative clauses (11.753 n 3, and cf. Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1). The similarity lies in the fact that any overt noun may be taken out of the sentence and made dependent by 'inna, with the blank space now filled by the appropriate pronoun: compare 'inna zaydān yaktubu l-kitāba 'verily Zayd writes the letter' (reference pronoun already in yaktubu, v. 7.8), and 'inna l-kitāba yaktubuhu zaydun 'verily the letter, writing it is Zayd' (place of al-kitāba now filled by hu 'it').

10.42 (1) Muf. #517; Qaṭr 153; Fleisch 198; other refs. 10.4 n 1. Like 'an (5.41), 'anna is a nominalizer pure and simple: they differ from each other only in distribution, for while 'anna is followed only by nouns and pronouns, 'an is normally followed only by verbs (contrast 'an tākṣa'qulubuhum 'that their hearts should be humble', 5.41, with a paraphrase 'anna qulubuhum taḵṣa'q, and see further Fischer, Z.A.L. 1, 24). Commonly with 'inna, 'anna etc. an empty pronoun hu 'it' is suffixed when it is wished to retain the original verbal sentence word order, e.g. 'annahu kāna zaydun qā'iman 'that Zayd was standing'. This pronoun is termed ḍarnārāš-fa'n 'the pronoun of the matter', v. Muf. #167; Beeston 49; Yushmanov 73.

(2) See 16.301. Note the substitution technique in the analysis to follow, showing how 'anna clauses are equivalent to single words.

(3) i.e. 'anna clauses are always subordinate, see 10.421.

10.421 (1) Jum. 69; Muf. #517; Alf. v 177. While it might be enough to say that 'inna clauses are autonomous sentences while 'anna clauses are not, the Arab explanation (which comes to the same thing) uses the substitution principle (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 154) to demonstrate that 'anna clauses cannot fill one of the requirements of a complete utterance, viz. to be composite (1.12). In theory 'inna can only introduce direct speech (more accurately, can only be part of an actual utterance, cf. 10.64 n 1), which is why 'inna clauses must fulfil every one of the criteria of the complete utterance (1.11-14), and why 'anna clauses cannot.

10.43 (1) Muf. #528; Qaṭr 157 (cf. Muğnf I, 224). The etymology of lākinna is given as *lā kā'anna, a kind of negative of ka'anna (10.44) meaning 'not thus', though the assumed contraction of ka'anna to kinna is not explained (Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 480). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with lākin, q.v. 12.9.
(2) Note the functional definition, ḥar ḍīṣdāk 'particle of amendment', by which the amorphous element acquires an identity in terms of a linguistic action (cf. 1.92 n 1); see 10.52 for the definition of 'amending'.

(3) Through an apparent oversight both manuscripts have qaḍīdun 'sitting' here (repeated from the first example, above), which has been changed to qa'īdīnun 'standing' on the grounds that the contradiction of a negated term is its positive. Muf. #528 has a more coherent set of examples.

10.44 (1) Muf. #531; Qatr 153 (cf. Muğf I, 162). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with the 'lightened' allomorph ka'an, cf. 12.903 n 1, which does not operate upon the following noun; see Muf. #532; Qatr 160; Fleisch 205.

(2) The example is presented here as an autonomous statement, which raises doubts about the etymology of ka'anna: precisely because it does occur in apparently independent utterances, it is explained in Muf. #531 as a compound of the comparative ka 'like' (1.708) and the particle 'inna 'verily' (10.41). However, since ka'anna is found also with subordinate clauses, it is more consistent to treat it as a compound of ka and 'anna 'that' (10.42), and to assume that the main clause has been elided whenever a ka'anna sentence appears in isolation (so Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 539).

(3) In some works (e.g. Muf. #531), the example is cited with al-'asadu instead of 'asadun, i.e. with the 'generic article' (11.741); observe that in 1.708 the example likewise has the generic article.

10.45 (1) Muf. #535; Qatr 48 (cf. Muğf I, 221); Fleisch 192. The word at least has a genuine verbal content to account for its operation upon dependent nouns: it is a reduced form of the optative verb (14.34 n 3) ra'ayta 'may you see', with regular loss of intervocalic ' and an apparently unique sound change of initial r to 1 (not noted by Cantineau, Études 49, who asserts to the contrary that Classical Arabic r has to all intents and purposes ('pour ainsi dire') undergone no changes). Paradoxically the colloquial equivalent yā rēt 'if only it were so' preserves the original r.

(2) This includes pronouns, of course, thus laytahu 'would that he', etc. In the first person singular the suffix is accordingly the verbal (direct object) suffix nI, q.v. 16.301, and see see 5.55(g) for an example; Nöldeke 41, however, records a few instances of laytI, with the nominal suffix I, q.v. 4.72 n 2.

10.46 (1) Muf. #535; Qatr 48 (cf. Muğf I, 222); Nöldeke 40. There seems to be no reason to doubt Nöldeke's assertion (40 n 2) that laqalla has always been a verb, namely qalla (perhaps connected with the idea of repetition: this verb exists independently in the meaning 'to give a second drink'), prefixed with the emphasizing la (13.6 n 3). For the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) it was a question of whether laqalla was simple or compound: the Baṣrans inclined to the view that
it was compound, and cited verses in which \textit{calla} appears alone. The Kūfans fulfilled their dialectical role by rejecting this on the grounds that 'particles' consist entirely of root letters and cannot form derivatives by augmentation; cases of \textit{calla} alone they dismiss as elisions (see \textit{Insāf}, prob. 26). Note, too, the anomalous occurrence of \textit{lācalla} as a pure preposition, 26.1 (2). See further 10.55 n 3.

10.50(1) In passing it should be noted that the operation of these particles is voided in two ways: (a) by suffixing \textit{mā} (nominally the same as Lat. \textit{quod}, but see further 9.83 n 2), and (b) by 'lightening' i.e. reducing the final double \textit{nn}, e.g. '\textit{înna}⇒'\textit{in}, see further 12.903 n 1. 'Lightening' is \textit{tāqīf}, lit. translated, a morphophonological term (cf. 'phonetic inconvenience' in 2.31 n 4).

10.51 (1) Note the compound conjunctions \textit{li}-'\textit{anna} 'because', \textit{ma}\textit{c}a '\textit{anna} 'although' etc. (cf. Fleisch 203f). On 'senses' \textit{ma}\textit{cānī} in this context see 1.701 n 2: there is no possibility that lexical meaning is intended here, and the particles can only be described in terms of the kind of 'speech act' they involve (cf. 1.92 n 1).

10.52 (1) See 10.43 on lā\textit{kinna}.

10.53 (1) See 10.44. This definition of comparison (\textit{tasbīh}, lit. 'deeming similar') is not grammatical, but is taken over from rhetoric, where \textit{ma}\textit{cānī} 'meaning' is more narrowly semantic in connotation, and could well be translated 'idea' (see Versteegh 187 and al-Jurjānī, \textit{Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst}, tr. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959, 43f, 104f).

10.54 (1) See 10.45. 'Express a wish' renders \textit{tamānī}, lit. 'action of wishing' (verbal noun, Stem \textit{V}, of the root \textit{m-n-w}, cf. 10.34 n 1). It is discussed by aSh-\textit{Sirbīnī} in his Qur'ān Commentary I, 74, on S. 2 v 95, where he concludes that 'hoping' is not a genuine 'mental operation' (\textit{mīn \textit{a}\textit{cāmāli l-qulūbi}) of the same nature as that of the true 'mental verbs' in 10.6, but is only a verbal formality (\textit{kalimatu tamānīn} 'a word of hoping'), because it is absurd (\textit{muḥāl} 'self-contradictory') to aspire to something that exists only in the mind.

(2) The subordinate verb \textit{\textit{ahu}jj̣a} 'that I may make the pilgrimage' is explained in 5.54, and in 5.55 (g) there is another example of \textit{layta}.

10.55 (1) See 10.46. 'Express a hope' translates \textit{tarājīf}, lit. 'action of hoping' (verbal noun, Stem \textit{V}, of the root \textit{r-j-w}, cf. 10.34 n 1), though it is a little broader than the English implies, as it embraces the anticipation of both good and bad.

(2) 'Expectation' is a literal translation of \textit{tawagguC} (verbal noun, Stem \textit{V}, of the root \textit{w-q-C}, cf. 10.34 n 1).

(3) Note that the form \textit{lā\textit{call}f}, with direct object suffix (10.46 n 1) is commonly replaced by \textit{lā\textit{call}f}: this is probably not the possessive suffix \textit{f}, but the result of an analogical extension based on \textit{\textit{annī}}, where the \textit{f} suffix arises from reduction of \textit{\textit{annanī}} (Reckendorf, \textit{Ar. Synt.} 131 n 1), and cf. '\textit{înna} for '\textit{înnānī} in 10.67, 12.41.

10.6 (1) Jum. 41; Muf. #440; Alf. v 206; \textit{Qaṭr} 171; Beeston 93, 96;
Fleisch 183. These are the 'afراCal al-qulūb, lit. 'the verbs of the heart', see 24.25 n 1 and cf. 10.71. Western analysis makes the 'predicate' after these verbs a kind of circumstantial qualifier, but with reservations (see Beeston 96, and compare 10.21 n 2).

(2) Lit. 'after their agent has done all that is required of it', a commercial term based on the verb wafā 'to pay up, keep one's word', and here meaning that there must be a complete Verb-Agent sentence before the proposition which forms the double object of these verbs.

(3) Printed eds. have 'as a pair of direct objects' here as part of Ibn Ājurruʾm's original text.

(4) To these may be added synonyms, cf. 10.62 n 1, 10.63 n 1, 10.66 n 1.

(5) Or rather, of the predicate which functions as a second direct obj.

10.61 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that here the verbs are quoted in their 1st sing. past form instead of the conventional 3rd sing. masc.

(3.52 n 3): this may be in order to emphasize that these verbs already have their agents (10.6 n 2), contrasting with the kāna group (10.1). The verb ẓanna is a 'doubled verb' (fiق1 muqāfāf), i.e. its 2nd and 3rd radicals are identical. The past tense, active paradigm is:

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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ẓanantu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ẓanannā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>ẓananta</td>
<td>ẓanantum</td>
<td>ẓanuntuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ẓanantī</td>
<td>ẓanantumā</td>
<td>ẓanuntuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>ẓanna</td>
<td>ẓannā</td>
<td>ẓannū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ẓannāt</td>
<td>ẓannatā</td>
<td>ẓannana</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Passive ẓunintu, ẓunna etc. See further 11.3 n 1 for remaining forms.

(2) For no apparent reason the noun ẓann 'thinking' is used here instead of quoting the verb conventionally in the 3rd sing. masc.

(3) S. 84 v 14; see 10.41 on 'innahu, 5.42 on ʿlan with dep. verb.

(4) S. 9 v 118; see 22.12 on ʿlā with dep. noun, ch. 21 on ʿillā.

(5) Thus ẓanantuḥu with only one direct object would mean 'I suspected him', though it is probably more likely to be understood as 'I thought so'. On these verbs with 'an clauses (5.41) see Fleisch 199.

10.62 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. To this section we might also add the verb ʿadda 'to reckon, count', e.g. ʿaddatuḥu ʿaddīqan ʿf 'I counted him a friend of mine' (ʿadda is a doubled verb, q.v. 10.61 n 1). On the medial vowel ʿa of ḥasiba cf. 10.22 n 2.

(2) S. 58 v 18; see 10.42 on 'annahum. The phrase ʿalā ʿayn'in seems to correspond literally to the English idiom.

(3) First hemistich of a verse ending ʿibāḥan 'idā mā ʾmarʿu ʿaṣbaḥa tāqilan 'as a profit whenever a man became burdened' (Schaw. Ind. 210); on ʿṣayra see 5.82 n 5, 'idā 5.94, redundant mā 5.85 n 1, ʿaṣbaḥa 10.13.

(4) Note dep. form after ʿṣirtu (10.17); on the adjectival pattern 'afراق1 cf. 3.89 (10).
10.63 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Add here the synonym tawahhama 'to suppose, fancy' and the idiomatic hab 'grant, suppose', imperative of weak 1st rad. wahaba 'to bestow' (cf. 10.38 n 1). On the form of käla/ kiltu see below, n 4.

(2) Second half of a verse beginning dacīfu n-nikāyati 'aḍā'ahu 'weak in the spitting of his enemies', Schaw. Ind. 173. As often happens, the verse was originally quoted for quite a different purpose, viz. to illustrate the verbal operation of the defined verbal noun an-nikāyati 'the spiting' on 'aḍā'ahu 'his enemies' (v. 16.312 n 1, 24.31 n 1).

(3) Verse fragment: dacāni l-cawānī cammahunna wa-kiltunī liya smun fa-lā 'udqā hihi wa-huwa 'awwalu 'the maidens called me their uncle, and I imagined I had a name, but I am not called by it while he is first' (Schaw. Ind. 180). Note that kiltunī corresponds to the Eng. reflexive 'I imagined myself'; on lif paraphrasing 'to have' see 26.27 n 3; liya is lif (= liy, 2.43 n 2) with glide vowel before the initial consonant cluster of smun (ismun in isolation, v. 11.1 n 2); wa-huwa is normally pronounced wa-hwa in verse. Note the genuinely doubly transitive verb dacā here (10.14 n 2), 'called me their uncle' (concordance between verb and fem. plur. agent, 7.29, overlooked as a poetic licence).

(4) The verb käla has two different roots: from k-y-1 comes käla, imperfect tense yakālu 'to imagine' (cf. 10.23 n 2 end), while from k-w-1 comes yakālu 'to look after' (like qāma, 10.23 n 2).

10.64 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. All verbs of stating, thinking, believing etc. have an alternative structure with 'anna (10.42), e.g. zaqamtu 'anna bakran qālimun 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where the whole clause functions as a direct object. The one exception is gāla 'to say', which must be followed by 'inna (10.41), e.g. qāla 'inna bakran qālimun: since there is, in theory, no indirect speech in Arabic, this may mean 'he said, 'Verily Bakr is wise'' (with 'inna part of what was said) or 'he said that Bakr was wise' (where 'inna merely subordinates the original bakrun qālimun to gāla). From earliest times indirect speech forms have permeated reported direct speech so that, out of context, gāla 'innahu marīḍun can mean either 'he said that he (himself) was ill' or 'he said that he (someone else) was ill'.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 32. On lastu see 10.18, esp. n 4 for predicate with bi: 'innama 9.83 n 2; doubled verb yadibbu 11.3 n 1 (cf. dabīban from same root).

10.65 (1) Here the past tense paradigm of ra'ā 'to see', active:

sing. dual plur.
1st ra'aytu ra'aynumā ra'aynumī
2nd masc. ra'ayta ra'aytum ra'aytumī
dual fem. ra'ayti ra'aytumī ra'aytunna
3rd masc. ra'a ra'ayā ra'aw
fem. ra'at ra'atā ra'ayna

(2) Schaw. Ind. 76: occasionally the manuscript does not set out verses in red ink and on separate lines, and this has been followed in the
translation. See 20.42 n 3 on syntax of superlatives.

(3) S. 70 v 6. Here the paradigm of the active, imperfect tense, indep. form of ra’ā 'to see':

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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'arā</td>
<td></td>
<td>narā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td>tarayāni</td>
<td>tarawna</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
<td>taryna</td>
<td></td>
<td>taryna</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yarā</td>
<td>yarayāni</td>
<td>yarawna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td>taryāni</td>
<td>yarayna</td>
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This verb loses its middle rad. ' in imperfect, otherwise ends like yakū throughout (dep. yarā etc., 4.82 n 1, apoc. yara etc., 3.92 n 1). Past tense active 10.65 n 1; passive imperfect yurā etc., like yurmā, 8.3 n 1 (b), past tense ru‘iya etc., like laqiya, 10.14 n 2.

(4) Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of this verb also loses its middle radical ' in imperfect tense: urīf, yurīf etc. (endings as yarmī, 4.82 n 1) and in past tense: araytu, 'arā etc. (endings as ra‘ā, 10.65 n 1), meaning 'to show'. Passive past tense urītu, 'uriya; imperfect tense is same as Stem I. As causative of ra‘ā cf. 16.310 n 1.

10.66 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Here can be added the synonym darā 'to know' (like ra‘ā in past tense, 10.65 n 1 and yarmī in imperfect, 4.82 n 1), and Stem V imperative (8.64 n 1) ta‘allam 'learn' (Alf. v 208).

(2) S. 60 v 10. Note the ū intervening between the verb Calimtum and the object suffix hunna; Proto-Semitic probably had ū in this position (Moscati #13.26-27, Birkeland, Altarabische Pausalformen, Oslo 1940, 92), and it is found also on the free pronoun hum (e.g. 9.44, 11.719), viz. humū but spelt humū', with the otiose 'alif, q.v. 7.61 n 2), but its partial survival in Arabic is difficult to explain (stress is a possible factor).

10.67 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. The main irregularities of 1st rad. w verbs are in the imperative (10.38 n 1) and imperfect tense:

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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'ajidu</td>
<td></td>
<td>najidu</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tajidu</td>
<td>tajidāni</td>
<td>tajidūna</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tajidīna</td>
<td></td>
<td>tajidīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yajidu</td>
<td>yajidāni</td>
<td>yajidūna</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tajidu</td>
<td>tajidāni</td>
<td>yajidīna</td>
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(2) S. 38 v 44. Note 'innā, reduction of 'innanā, cf. 10.55 n 3.

10.68 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1; see also 10.69 n 3.

(2) S. 4 v 125 (from this verse comes the now proper name Kallīl for Abraham; cf. 3.89 (5) on 'ibrāhīmu)). The verb ittaqada is an unusual Stem VIII form (8.68 n 1) of the verb 'akada 'to take', in which the first radical ' has assimilated to the infix t: in most such verbs the ' either remains (i'tamara from 'amara 'to order') or changes to y (Itamara, = iytamara, cf. 2.43 n 2). With the assimilation 't→tt ittaqada falls together with the weak 1st rad. verbs, where wt is always assimilated to tt, e.g. ittābada 'to be united', root w-ḥ-d, and cf.
muttaṣil 'bound (pronoun)', agent noun of ittaṣala, root w-ṣ-l. There is, in fact, a widespread fluctuation between initial ' and w (even in Classical Arabic, cf. 'aḥad 'one' (pronoun) and wāḥid 'one' (adjective)). See Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 18, 120, 192.

10.69 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that in the first example given, the second direct object is actually a noun (and so ittakaga in the previous paragraph): it seems that here we are leaving the realm of propositions as objects and entering the realm of genuinely doubly transitive verbs (cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity). For this reason jaʿala (and, others, see n 3 below) are classified by the later grammarians as 'afقāl at-taḥwīl 'verbs of transformation'. In this way they clearly relate to kāna 'to be' and ṣāra 'to become' which, perhaps because they denote states of being rather than modes, also have nouns in their predicates (cf. 10.21 n 2 end).

(2) S. 43 v 19. Here jaʿala is regarded as a true 'mental verb' (10.6 n 1), because the agent of jaʿalū 'they made' is the unbelievers, and this can only mean that they 'consider' the angels female, hence the paraphrase with iṣṭaqa 'to consider'.

(3) Here we may also add other 'verbs of transformation' such as radda 'to restore', ṣayyara 'to cause to become' (cf. ṣāra 'to become', 10.17) and see further Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. 87, Wright II, 47. An example of ḫalaqa 'to create' is in 19.34.

10.70 (1) This verb is neither a 'mental' nor 'transforming' verb, see the argument in 10.71.

(2) This is the usual way of introducing a Tradition of the Prophet (cf. 1.01 n 4).

10.71 (1) On Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī see G.A.L. I, 113, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Fārisī', and the monograph Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī by ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāʿīl Salabi, Cairo 1968. He belonged to the 'Baṣrān' school (9.4 n 3) and was active at the Buwayhid court in Baghdad, dying in 987. See Mehiri (op. cit. 24.1 n 2) on his most famous pupil, Ibn Jinnī.

(2) The problem is discussed at greater length by as-Ṣabbān, on al-Uāmūn Í on Alī. v 207, where the original inclusion of samīʿa is attributed to al-Aḵfaṣ (26.01 n 3). The claim is that if the first object of samīʿa is not what was actually heard then the second object must denote what was heard just as, after ḥanā (10.61) the second object denotes what was thought. Alternatively the second dependent element may be treated as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19), as in the paraphrase samīʿtu n-nablīya qāʿilan 'I heard the Prophet saying'.

(3) 'afقāl al-ḥawāss 'verbs of the senses', a very late introduction into grammatical terminology (cf. also 24.25 n 1).

(4) See 16.309 n 1.

10.8 (1) These verbs do not operate on sentences prefixed with la (v. 13.6 n 4), e.g. ḥanāt la-zaydun muntalīqun or negatives lā, mā etc., e.g. ḥanāt mā zaydun muntalīqun, or interrogative 'a (5.741 n 1),
In some cases there exists the possibility of treble transitivity, by making the verb causative (Stem IV, 8.63 n 1), e.g. 'aqlamtuhu zaydan muntaliqan lit. 'I made him know Zayd going away', i.e. 'I informed him that Zayd was going' (cf. 16.310 n 1).

10.9 (1) Some make it five by subdividing coordination into two, explanatory and sequential (see 12.0 nn 2, 3).

11.0 (1) Jum. 26; Muf. #140; Alf. v 506; Qaṭr 322; Beeston 44; Fleisch 186; Bateson 43, 48; Yushmanov 68; Diem, Oriens 23/24, 312. There are two almost synonymous sets of terminology: wasf or naʿt 'describing function' and 'describing element, adjective', ṣifa 'adjective', also 'quality, property' (cf. 14.31 n 2), mawṣūf or manCūt 'thing described' (here translated as 'antecedent'). While wasf and naʿt appear to be completely interchangeable (and are also used to denote circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. ch. 19), ṣifa only occurs when the antecedent is a noun (so Mosel, Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sibawaih, Munich 1975, 287). But ṣifa is broader in meaning than our 'adjective': verbs, relative clauses etc. are also ṣifa (Diem, 313). The terminological doublets remain unexplained.

11.01 (1) tābiC ʿl-l-maCūt, lit. 'a follower of the thing described'; tābiC 'follower' may originally have referred only to word order, but was soon extended to cover agreement in number, gender and definition (hence tabCiyya 'concordance', but see 11.02 n 1). In 13.45 tābiC has the meaning 'subsidiary, subordinate'.

(2) 'True adjective' is literal for naʿt haqīqī, but for naʿt sababī an explanatory rendering has had to be used, see further 11.5 n 1.

11.02 (1) The translation of this paragraph may give a slightly more abstract impression than the original: 'features', 'numbers' and 'gender' are not in the original, and 'inflections' is perhaps less concrete than the Arabic wujūh al-ʿiCrāb 'modes of inflection' (cf. 22.4 n 1, and cf. 2.15 n 1). There are, in fact, no higher order abstract terms for the features dealt with here (even though Greek and Syriac equivalents were readily available for borrowing): 'case' is sometimes referred to as a 'state' of the noun (ḥāla, but see 11.2 n 1), and the rest are simply enumerated (virtual merisms). Even tabCiyya does not mean concordance as a grammatical category, but only the property that some Arabic words have of 'following' the inflection of their antecedent (cf. 1.31 n 4).
NOTES

241

(2) This is true for attributive adjectives only: see 9.12 for the predicative adjective. For 'semantically linked' adjectives see 11.5.

11.1 (1) See 2.1 n 2 on lafz 'form' and maCnā 'meaning', and 11.45 on the concealed pronoun assumed in the predicative adjective. On the syntactic contrast between concord and discord see 19.5 n 2. Note that nouns and adjectives are not morphologically distinct (cf. 3.41), but see 11.61 n 1 for functional differences.

(2) It will be noticed that 'intelligent' has been transliterated in isolation as al-Cāqīlu but in context as il-Cāqīlu (and even l-Cāqīlu elsewhere, e.g. 11.41). The variations are due to the nature of the prefix al 'the' (1.5) and the rule that no syllable may begin with more than one consonant (2.43 n 2). The three solutions are: (a) utterance initial al is written and pronounced 'al, forming an independent closed syllable, CV-C; (b) after a short vowel (or long, since these are automatically shortened in this context) al is pronounced 1 (but still written 'al), the 1 now closing the previous syllable, CV-C; (c) after a consonant al is pronounced 1 (and still spelt 'al), but a new syllable is created by introducing a glide vowel, usually i, C-V-C. The constant spelling 'al is historical, all words being spelt as if in isolation (cf. 2.14 n 2), but in juncture the ' bears a special sign indicating that it is not to be pronounced (the hamzat al-wasl ' ' of juncture'). For assimilation of 1 to following consonants see 11.41 n 2.

All other initial consonant clusters are resolved on the same principle, by prefixing i (for exception see 5.2 n 3), written 'i but elided in juncture (see further 13.12 n 1). There is occasional vowel harmony, notably with hum, kum, tum, e.g. katabtum ul-kitāba 'you (masc. plur.) wrote the book' (another example 22.43 n 1), and with min 'from' the glide vowel is always a (e.g. 1.701).

11.2 (1) A comparison with the use of the term ūal(a), plur. ūalāt or 'ahwāl (19.0 n 3) in 3.422, 5.93, 9.8, 18.104, 21.1 etc. will show that 'case' would be far too narrow a translation, however tempting here.

(2) Note that the verb is quoted conventionally in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense form (3.52 n 3); the full paradigm is in 10.65 n 1.

11.3 (1) This verb is a 'doubled verb' (fiC1 muḏāCaf), i.e. one whose second and third radicals are the same. An apparent irregularity in this class of verb is caused by the phonological rule that identical consonants tend to assimilate when separated by an unstressed vowel, cf. the paradigm of the imperfect tense, independent form, active:

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<td>1st</td>
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<td>2nd masc.</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
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<td>3rd masc.</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
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<td>yamurrna</td>
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Contrast *tamurrūna* (←*tamurūna*) with *tamrūrna*. Dep. and apoc. forms 4.82 nn 1, 2; passive 8.3 n 1; past tense 10.61 n 1.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', muta'calliq.

11.41 (1) See 3.63-65 on the dual.

(2) Note that here the definite article al, as well as losing its first component in juncture (11.1 n 2) has also assimilated to the z of Zayd. In fact the l assimilates to exactly half of the 28 consonants of Classical Arabic, viz. t, ā, d, ā, r, z, s, š, s, ā, t, z, l, n, all of which are linguals, which doubtless explains the ease with which l assimilates to them. Ullendorf (*Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 631) suggests that definition was originally marked in Arabic, as in Hebrew, by doubling the first consonant, and that l has only evolved later by dissimilation (he can produce other examples of dissimilation to l in other contexts). The theory is plausible but somehow fails to convince; however, it is interesting that, with dialect assimilations of the def. article to b, j, f, q, k, m included, only laryngeals and pharyngeals remain, which are also not doubled with the Hebrew article. Cf. Yushmanov 33.

(3) More accurately, the 'sound' masc. plur., q.v. 3.41. Note that proper names without the def. article (11.82 n 4) acquire one in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

11.42 (1) Comparison with other paragraphs will show that the masc. is the unmarked form, with the fem. being marked typically with the infix at (but better treated as a suffix, see below) between the last radical of the stem and the case endings (cf. *Kitāb* I, 6 on priority of masc. over fem.). The at suffix (and its plur. āt, cf. 4.31 n 1) is undoubtedly Proto-Semitic, and is also present in Hamitic (Moscati #12.32). Connections with the verbal suffix t (1.83) are obscure.

Orthographically there are problems with at, chiefly due to historical spelling. In a few words a t (the 'long t', tā' muṭawwala) is suffixed directly to the root, e.g. 'uţt 'sister' (cf. 'aţk 'brother'), bint 'daughter' (cf. ibn 'son'), and in some Qur'anic spellings. Normally, however, at is represented in word final position by ah with two dots over the h indicating that it has the value t (the 'kotted t', tā' marbūta, after the shape of the letter h), this ah reproducing the pausal pronunciation of at (see 2.14 n 2), a spelling also found after long vowels (4.31 n 1). When not pausal, the at is further suffixed with the inflection markers (4.11 n 1); with dual (4.5 n 1) and pronoun suffixes (4.72 n 2) the t resumes normal form. Other fem. suffixes, ā, ā', 11.43 n 2; distribution of at, 11.44 n 2; fem. gender in general 11.43 n 3; summary of main problems, Fleisch, *Tr.* #66. See also Bateson 20; Yushmanov 37.

11.43 (1) See 11.8 for indecision.

(2) Among the points to note here are: (a) the verb jā'a 'came' remains singular regardless of the number of the agent (see 7.22 n 1, and cf.
the fem. sing. verbs in 11.42, 44, with fem. agents); (b) adjectives qualifying plur. nouns seem to fluctuate arbitrarily between sound plur. (Cāgilānā, 11.41, Cāgilātun, 11.44) and broken plur. (Cugālā’, 11.43, 44), a phenomenon which still needs to be clarified (cf. 9.12 n 4); (c) the broken plur. Cugālā’u is formally a feminine, as it bears the fem. suffix ā’ (cf. 3.89 n 2), which may or may not be connected with an assumed 'collective' function of the fem. gender (11.44 n 2). The cognate (?) suffix ā (3.89 n 2) is a fem. marker of highly limited occurrence, being found almost exclusively in the pattern fu‘lā (e.g. kubrā 'greatest'), fem. of the 'elative' adjective, q.v. 3.89 n 10.

(3) Some remarks on gender: the two genders of Arabic, viz. muḍakkar 'masculine' (lit. 'made masc.', denominative verb from ākār 'male') and mu‘annaţ 'feminine' (denom. verb from āngā 'female'), are not distributed completely according to natural gender: many masc. nouns are marked fem. (see 3.411 n 1, 11.44 n 2), and many fem. nouns and adjectives are unmarked (see 3.411 n 2, 20.13 n 2); moreover gender may change by attraction (see 26.94-96). Gender is thus purely grammatical. Jum. 285; Muf. #263; Alf. v 758; Beeston 39; Fleisch 46, Tr. #66; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 37, 67. Cf. also 26.95 n 1.

11.44 (1) For the juncture feature in imra‘atun see 19.72 n 4.

(2) Distribution of the fem. suffix at is broadly: (a) marking natural fem. gender, contrast kādimun 'manservant', kādimatun 'maidservant'; (b) as an individualizing suffix, contrast samakun 'fish (as a class)', samakatun 'a single fish' (cf. 25.32 n 2), ārbun 'hitting (as a type of action)', ārbatun 'a single blow'; (c) on certain broken plural patterns (3.221), e.g. ālābatun 'students' (and cf. ‘uqalā’u, 11.43 n 2); (d) on certain masc. proper names and intensives, e.g. ālāfatun 'caliph' (see further 3.411 n 1); (e) on many abstract nouns, e.g. wizāratun 'ministry', ‘akṭariyyatun 'majority' (from ‘akṭar 'most', see 11.721 n 4), cf. also 3.231 n 2 for abstracts with sound feminine plur. See Colin, G.L.E.C.S. 3, 41, for the view that at has always been fundamentally an individualizing suffix.

11.45 (1) This asserts that adjectives are equivalent to verb phrases (Cāgilun = yāqīlū 'he is intelligent'), i.e. to relative clauses ('who is intelligent', v. 11.753), thereby accounting for number and gender concord. The idea may originate from Sībawayhi's observation that ĥāḏā rajulun āribun/ārabānā 'this is a man striking/who struck us' are synonymous (Kitāb I, 4). Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 90, Wright II, 284; Beeston 71; see further 11.5 n 2.

11.5 (1) Jum. 107; Muf. #145, 348; Alf. v 507; Qaṭr 324, 329; Beeston 94; Fleisch 174. 'Semantically linked' renders sabābi, lit. 'having a bond or tie' (contrast sabāb 'cause', 24.22 n 1, which shows a different, and unrelated extension of the same root meaning): like muta‘alliq 'connected' (5.82 n 6), the bond is semantic rather than structural (see notes following, and cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488).

(2) Structurally the 'semantically linked' adjectival phrase is an inverted relative clause in which the original predicate acquires
NOTES

247

partial concordance with the antecedent (see analysis in 11.41). The closely related structures of the complex predicate (9.75, 76) and the annexed adjective (26.92) should be compared with the semantically linked adjective, as all three share the property of referring both backwards to the antecedents they qualify and forwards to the true, grammatical subject (or agent) within the qualifying phrase (hence gāt wajhayn 'two-faced', 9.75 n 1).

11.51 (1) The four concordance features are effectively shared between the two 'antecedents' on each side: definition and case for the former and number and gender for the latter (note that these adjectives are predicates of the second noun, and in predicates definition and case are structurally indifferent, cf. 9.03, 9.81 n 2). However, it may be that both 'antecedents' have the same number or gender, and the adjective will then appear (as in the examples here) to concord in three or even all four features (e.g. huwa rajulun qā'imun 'abūhu 'he is a man whose father is standing'), which is why ʿā-Shīrīnī says that the adjective 'does not have to concord' in number or gender with the first antecedent (11.5, and cf. 11.52).

(2) The 'true' adjective theoretically contains an independent pronoun referring to its antecedent (11.45), while the semantically linked kind is already the predicate of an explicit noun (n 1): moreover this predicate is essentially verbal (all verbs are predicates, 3.73 n 5), as is reinforced by the choice of present participles in the examples. However, even adjectives of non-participial form (cf. 26.92 n 2) are verbal in origin: 'all adjectival qualification is verbal or can be reduced to a verbal concept' (Ibn Jinnī, op. cit. 9.02 n 1, 33).

(3) Examples of defined antecedents are omitted; they would be marartu bi-r-rajuli l-qā'imati 'ummuhu 'I passed by the man whose mother was standing' and marartu bi-l-imra'ati l-qā'imī 'abūhā 'I passed by the woman whose father was standing'. The similarity to relative clauses is particularly marked (cf. 11.753 n 3).

11.52 (1) Cf. 11.51 n 1. For a variety of reasons full concord is not always evident, e.g. zaydun il-Cāqilu (defined nouns with tanwīn 11.81), kālfatun Cādīlun 'a just caliph' (masc. nouns with fem. marker, 3.411 n 1), Cājūzun marīdatun 'a sick old lady' (unmarked fem. nouns, 20.13 n 2), imra'atun Cāqirun 'a barren woman' (unmarked fem. adj., 3.411 n 2), kutubun qadīmatun 'old books' (broken plur. is grammatically fem. sing., 4.12 n 3), kalguṇ katfrūna 'many people' (collective noun with plur. adj., cf. 9.95), ḡanamun rāziyatun 'grazing sheep' (non-human collective noun with fem. sing. adj., cf. Fleisch 47, 3.64 n 2).

(2) The passive participle occurs as a semantically linked adjective, e.g. al-mas'alatu l-mušāru 'ilayhā 'the problem referred to' (lit. 'at which pointing has been done'), concording with the unknown agent (8.1) and not (as in some European languages) with the antecedent. Cf. 26.92 n 4.

11.6 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #57; Alf. v 517; Qaṭr 331; Reckendorf, Arab Synt. 114. 'Suspend adjectival concordance' is a rather ponderous
NOTES

249

translation of qaţC as-šifa 'cutting the adjective off': in earlier grammar qaţC 'cutting' had a somewhat wider currency in the context of discord in general (cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 297).

(2) Ultimately the speaker's intentions are the determining factor in this construction (cf. 14.4 n 5), which has become generally known as an-naşb Calē 1-madh 'aw aḏ-ḏamm 'dependence in praise or blame' (and cf. 20.9 n 1 on the similar construction takštIs 'specializing').

11.61 (1) Nouns and adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable in Arabic, but their functions do not entirely overlap. The following generalizations are to be taken as a guide to a problem which has not yet been fully explored: (a) all adjectives may function as nouns, but it is not clear how essential it is to assume an elided antecedent in every case (cf. next note); (b) some nouns never function as adjectives, in particular those of an exclusively nominal 'pattern' (10.37 n 1), such as the verbal noun: this appears to be the only class in which there are no adjectives of the same pattern, contrast fačul, which is both the pattern of the 'underived' noun rajul 'man' (20.7 n 1) and the adjective faruq 'timorous' (Fleisch 56). See further Beeston 34; Fleisch 187.

(2) S. 37 v 48. Muf. #149; Alf. v 519. There is no difficulty in recovering 'damsels' (Palmer, Bell) from the sound fem. plur. agent pattern of qăşirātu, though perhaps Sale goes a little too far with his 'virgins of Paradise'. Cf. 26.92 on the annexation construction here.

(3) S. 18 v 79, meaning every ship not destroyed in battle.

(4) Schaw. Ind. 143; see E.I. (2), art. 'al-CAbbās b. Mirdās', G.A.S. II, 242 on this poet and tribal leader who became an ally of Muḥammad in 629. The restoration of an adjective for Saỵ'an 'thing' is a rhetorical pedantry, as the hyperbole is both deliberate and obvious. Among points worth noting here are: the verbal marker qaḍ, 1.81; the defective noun gā 'possessor of', 3.42, here with dep. form as predicate of kuntu 'I was', 10.11; tudra'in 'strength, see below, n 6; lam, negative particle followed by apocopated verbs, 5.71; 'uCta 'I am given' is the passive imperfect tense (8.3), first person singular, apocopated form (3.92), Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the root C-ţ-w 'give' (weak 3rd rad. w changes to y in all derived Stems, and the endings of the passive then become the same as the Stem I active verb yakša (4.81 n 2), apoc. yākša), and is doubly transitive (16.310 n 1); 'umnaCi 'I was refused' is also first person sing. passive imperfect tense (8.3 n 1), but has final i because of the rhyme, see 5.88 n 4.

(5) The historical background notes, and indeed the entire contents of this paragraph, are based upon al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 119, where also the subsequent four verses are quoted. On Ḥunayn see E.I. (2), art. 'Ḥunayn'.

(6) Since tudra' is a common noun it is fully declinable (munşarif etc., q.v. 1.41 n 1, 3.87 n 3): had it been a proper name it would, according to 3.89 (6), have been semi-declinable, since in form it is identical with the 2nd masc. sing. imperfect tense passive. These nouns with
NOTES

251

verbal prefixes (cf. 3.89 n 6 for prefix y) were almost certainly true verbs before they became used as nouns, cf. Fleisch 81.

11.7 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on terminology of definition and indefiniteness. Though the def. art. al and the (to our way of thinking) indefiniteness marker tanwIn (1.4) are in complementary distribution in the sing. and sound fem. plur., they occur together (albeit with allomorphs ni/na of tanwIn in the dual and sound masc. plur. (compare paradigms, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1 respectively). This is one of the reasons why tanwIn is not analysed primarily as an indefiniteness marker (1.42 n 1) and that indefiniteness is regarded as the unmarked state (hence logically prior, as argued here, cf. Kitāb I, 6). 'Contextual element' is qarīna, lit. 'accompanying element' (see 9.81, 10.18), a term perhaps taken over from logic (cf. van Ess, op. cit. 3.87 n 2, 28, n 34). Here it embraces all definition markers, formal and abstract (cf. 11.72).

11.701 (1) Jum. 27, 191; Alf. v 52; Qaṭr 89; Beeston 36; Fleisch 170; Bateson 9; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, Arabica 17, 225; Drozdik, African and Asian Studies 6, 9; Fellat, G.L.E.C.S. 5, 88. Further kinds of definition: 11.77 n 3.

11.71 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #160; Alf. v 54; Qaṭr 90; Beeston 39; Fleisch 135; Bateson 39; Yushmanov 26; Nöldeke 13, 47. For 'pronoun' we have two terms: ḏamīr lit. 'mind, conscience, thing in the mind', and muḏmar lit. 'that which is concealed in the mind'. The former is only used for 'pronoun', and the latter, and its verb 'admara 'to conceal in the mind', refer to the suppression of elements in general, e.g. of 'an 'that' in 5.4 (for an early example cf. Kitāb I, 52, suppression of a verb). The verb 'admara is an antonym of 'aṯrāb 'to express openly', q.v. 2.0.

(2) The periphrastic nomenclature is retained here, see 9.22.

11.711 (1) This theological intrusion (v. 5.751 n 1) may date from the time of aš-Sīrībin himself: aš-Ṣabbān, on al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 53, can cite only aš-Ṣanawānī (d. 1610). The hierarchy of defined elements is not developed by Sībawayhi (cf. Kitāb I, 219) but has become so by the time of al-Mubārrad (Muqtaḍāb IV, 281; cf. Jum. 192, Muf. #262 and the dispute in Insāf, prob. 101).

(2) Although implicit in Sībawayhi (cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, s.v. guwwa 'power' (q-w-y) and manzila 'status' (n-z-ı), explicit terms for 'rank', viz. rutba (syn. martaba) do not appear until about the tenth century. Cf. also 11.761, 22.0 n 4.

(3) The word is 'adāh 'tool', a synonym of ḥarf, see 21.02 n 1.

11.712 (1) The technique of dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) is particularly obvious here; for convenience the subdivisions have been numbered (a) (i) and (ii), (b) (i) and (ii) in subsequent paragraphs.

(2) 'Outward form' renders ṣūra lit. 'form, shape, idea', a term very often encountered in philosophy but seldom in grammar (other examples 11.733, 21.12). When the concept of linguistic form needs to be
expressed, the more usual terms are šakl 'shape, form' (3.221); šīga 'shape, form' (3.65 (2), 5.02, 7.01, 7.03), or lafz 'expression' (1.11).

11.713 (1) See 11.714 n 1 for general references, and 11.714 n 3 for continuation of the points raised here. Terminology: 'necessarily implicit' muqaddar wujūban, cf. 2.101 n 4 on taqdir 'implication' and 9.8 n 2 on wājib 'compulsory'; 'irreplaceable' lā yakūfūhu lit. 'there does not take its place' (cognate with kāliba 'caliph', cf. 5.51 n 2, here a synonym of nāba, q.v. 3.0 n 3); 'explicit noun' zāhir, 7.2 n 1; 'free pronoun' damīr munfaṣil, 11.716; 'positions' mawādi', i.e. functions, cf. 3.1 n 4. Compulsorily concealed pronouns are found only in the 1st and 2nd person, imperfect tense and imperative; see 11.714 n 3.

11.714 (1) Concealed pronouns in general: Muf. #165; Alf. v 60, Qat̲r 91; Bateson 39, and cf. 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1. On jā'iz 'permissible', jawāzan 'optional' and wājib 'compulsory' see 9.8 n 2.

(2) Free pronouns only replace a concealed 3rd person pronoun after 'illā and 'innam̲ā (see 7.7, 7.81, 8.8), without restriction of person, thus mā qāma 'illā 'anā 'none stood but I' etc. (cf. 11.717 n 4).

(3) The reasoning here and in 11.713 will be easier to understand if we bear in mind that the 3rd sing. verb has no agent marker and may, in fact, be followed by overt agents of dual or plural number (see 7.58 n 1). The agent pronoun is thus entirely inferential: it is assumed to be present when no overt agent is named (qāma 'he stood') or when the agent precedes the verb (zaydun qāma 'Zayd, he stood', cf. 7.12 n 1 and contrast zaydun qāma 'abūhu 'Zayd's father stood', 9.75), and it is assumed to be absent when its position is occupied by an overt agent, either noun (qāma zaydun 'Zayd stood') or pronoun (qāmū 'they stood'), mā qāma 'illā huwa 'none stood but he'). It is true that the compulsorily concealed pronouns of 11.713 are inferential too (7.8 n 1), but these cannot be replaced by overt nouns or pronouns without moving into the 3rd person: 'aqūmu 'I stand' has 'N. stands' as its overt equivalent, 'ānā ma'drūbu means 'I am one who has been struck' and may be expressed as 'ānā huwa l-ma'drūbu 'I am he that has been struck' (cf. Cantarino, II, 433, Fleisch 138, Tr. #110d, and see 11.717 n 4).

11.715 (1) Muf. #160; Alf. v 55; Qat̲r 92; others in 11.71 n 1. Terms are: 'visible' bāriz, lit. 'protruding', antonym mustatir 'concealed' (7.58 n 1), neither used by early grammarians (Sibawayhi, al-Mubarrad etc.) but in evidence by the time of az-Zamaḵšarī (d. 1144); for 'bound' muttaṣil see 11.716 n 1, 'operation' Gamaīl 2.11 n 1.

(2) This is a repeat of 7.5, q.v. n 2 on 'unconstrained', iḵtiyārān. Its antonym iḵṭirārān 'by constraint' and the cognate darūra 'need, constraint' have come to denote specifically poetic licence, cf. 1.45 n 3 (8), 1.51.

(3) The full inventory of independent bound (agent) pronouns is found in 7.51-62; the paradigm of the oblique bound (possessive) pronoun is in 4.72 n 2; bound dependent (object) pronouns are in 16.301-312.
11.716 (1) Muf. #160; Alf. v 61; Qaṭr 93; others in 11.71 n 1. 'Free is munfāṣil, lit. 'separate' (same root as ḍamīr al-faṣl 'separating pronoun' in 9.81 n 2), antonym muttaṣil, lit. 'connected', clearly representing the bound/free contrast as it is now termed. Free pronouns as agents 7.7, 8.8, as subjects 9.22-24.

(2) See 16.501-512 for the free dependent pronouns.

11.717 (1) 'Basic' renders 'uṣūl, plur. of 'aṣl 'base, root, stock', and 'derivatives' is furūʿ, lit. 'branches', cf. 3.0 n 2. The priority of singular over dual and plural, and of masculine over feminine, are a priori assumptions which go back to the earliest grammar (e.g. Kitāb I, 6) and may well have been borrowed informally from Greek sources (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 94; Versteegh has not taken up this topic, only a passing mention 84 on priority of nouns over verbs, but cf. 1.21-22). A later addition to the hierarchy is the priority of the first person over the second and so on (al-Mubarrad, Muṣṭaḍāb IV, 281). For priority of undefined over defined see 11.7.

(2) The six items listed in this paragraph correspond to the six pronouns in 11.716, viz. three independent and three dependent.

(3) 'Absolutely' is muṭlaqan, lit. 'set loose, without restraint' (cf. 17.3 n 1), in this case meaning that there is no distinction of gender.

(4) Further to 11.714 n 3: free pronouns may indeed occur after verb phrases, but only for emphasis, e.g. 'aqūmu 'anā 'I stand!', qum 'anta 'stand, you!'. Here the pronouns do not replace the concealed agents but are simply in apposition to them (cf. 13.14 n 4), it being a matter of indifference whether the antecedent pronoun is concealed, as above, or overt (visible, 11.715), e.g. qumtu 'anā 'I stood!'. In the type mā qāma 'illā 'anā 'none stood but I' (11.714 n 2) the verb strictly has no logical agent until one is explicitly mentioned (21.3), hence verbs with visible pronoun agents cannot occur in this construction, or rather, if they do, their agent cannot be the antecedent of the excepted noun itself (but mā qumtu 'illā 'ijlālan lahu 'I stood only out of respect for him' is possible because exception is from something other than the agent).

(5) i.e. because the fem., and the dual and plur. are derivative (n 1).

11.718 (1) This is substantially a repeat of 9.3; see also n 3 below.

(2) A feature of the pronoun (which it shares with other defined elements of a fundamentally deictic nature, viz. the def. article and the demonstratives, and cf. 11.753 n 3 on undefined relatives) is that it may yet refer to something undefined, as in jāʾa rajulun wa-sallamtu Calayhī 'a man came and I greeted him' (another example 13.2 n 2), cf. Kitāb I, 220: 'you only pronominalize a noun after you are certain that the person you are addressing already knows whom or what you mean, and that you mean something specific' (cf. 11.72 on 'specific').

(3) Some slight casuistry is involved here: taking the free pronouns as a basis, there are indeed twelve different forms, as there is no gender
NOTES

distinction in the dual. Nevertheless there are thirteen different agent suffixes (or better: 13 marked categories of agent) in the past tense verb, with 3rd dual gender distinction, and only eleven distinct forms in the imperfect tense (2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing. are the same, as are 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.). An Arab grammarian would argue that ā is a common dual agent pronoun in the 3rd dual past tense (7.60), and that the t prefixes of the imperfect are not pronouns (5.3 n 3).

(4) Agent pronouns 7.51-62; subject pronouns 9.22-24; object pronouns 16.301-312 (bound), 16.501-512 (free); possessive pronouns 4.72 n 2, which complete the sixty.

(5) Namely the dual agent suffix ā and the masc. plur. suffix ū (3.44). Since there is some doubt as to exactly how many imperfect tense verb forms contain these pronouns (3.45) they are pedagogically untidy and cannot be smoothly fitted into the scheme!

11.719 (1) Largely a repeat of 9.4-44 (notes there are complementary to these here).

(2) Possibly to avoid confusion with 'an 'that' (5.41). But there is much uncertainty about the value of the final ā of 'anā, which in poetry (as assured by scansion) is sometimes long and sometimes short. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 151, suggests that it may have two different roots, one with long and one with short final vowel (and cf. Nöeldeke 14, Moscati #13.2, 13.7). For Trager and Rice, Language 30, 226, there seemed no point in segmenting 'anā, as it produced no useful contrasts, and in this they fortuitously side with the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3).

(3) 'Letters' translates 'aḥruf, a plural of ḥarf (1.25) 'particle', but here clearly to be understood as grapheme or letter of the alphabet (cf. next note). For Ibn Mālik see 1.02 n 2.

(4) 'Letters of apostrophe' renders ḥurūf al-kitāb literally (ḥurūf is another plur. of ḥarf 'particle': the form 'aḥruf above is theoretically a 'plural of paucity', q.v. 13.31 n 5, though this distinction is seldom correctly applied, even by grammarians). Here we must understand ḥurūf to mean 'morphemes', cf. 1.25 n 2. On distributional grounds Trager and Rice, Language 30, 226, reject the segmentation 'an-ta etc., and opt for 'ant(a), thereby (synchronously at least) discounting the strong formal resemblance between the free pronouns and the agent suffixes (7.23 n 1).

(5) See 9.44 n 1 on the reasoning here.

(6) This must surely appear perverse to the Western grammarian, who can hardly be blamed for seeing the suffixes hu etc. on 'īyyā as identical with the bound object pronoun suffixes. But see notes to 16.501 et seq. for the justification of the Arab view.

(7) 'By convention common to all three meanings' translates wuḍīqat mustārikatan bayna l-maḍānī f-ẓalāqati: for wuḍīqat, lit. 'has been put', cf. waḍīq 'conventional denotation', 11.81 n 1; for mustārika lit. 'sharing', cf. 'equivocal' in 3.65 n 10, though our word here is to be
taken quite literally; ma'išna is literally 'meanings', but here might be better understood as 'semantic functions' (scil. pronominalization of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), cf. 2.2 n 5, 12.92 n 1.

(8) See 1.83 on fem. t, 16.504 n 2 on the 'other views' about 'iyyā.

11.72 (1) Jum. 27, 192, 229; Muf. #4; Alif. v 72; Qatr 96; Beeston 36; E.I. (2), 1st art. 'Ism'. The term Calam 'proper name' is literally 'signpost, banner, waymark' (and is cognate with Calāma 'marker', q.v. 3.0 n 1). Further examples of proper names: 3.411, 3.89, 11.81, 23.41. The entities denoted by proper names in Arabic overlap completely the corresponding modern categories, specific people, places, countries, but cf. 11.722. On noun classes in general cf. 3.64 n 2.

(2) 'Makes...absolutely specific': see 17.3 n 1 on mutlaq 'absolute'; tacyīn 'making specific' is literally 'individualizing, nominating' (cf. cayn 'self', 13.31, from the same root, similarly ism cayn 'concrete noun', 24.21 n 2). Contrast the definition of the common noun in 11.8.

(3) On 'formal', lafzī, and 'abstract', ma'nahī, cf. 2.1 n 2. The fact that many proper names are prefixed with aI 'the' is irrelevant (11.82 n 4): it remains true that formally defined common nouns can be applied to more than one individual. Abstract definition is effected by the act of pointing with the demonstratives (11.73) and apostrophizing with the vocatives (23.42 n 1). Pronominalization itself does not guarantee that a noun is defined (11.718 n 2).

11.721 (1) For formal categories of proper name see 11.723. The semantic categories are 'personal', šakṣī and 'generic', jinsī (11.722), the personal including places, tribes etc. For 'conventionally denoting' see wadC, 11.81 n 1; 'externally' contrasts with 'mentally' in 11.722.

(2) She was a pre-Islamic poet, see G.A.S. II, 310. Names are either 'transferred', mangūl, lit. 'carried over' as here, or murtajal, lit. 'extemporized', i.e. names not derived from existing roots (e.g. FaqCās) or in patterns used only for names (SuCād, cf. 3.89 (8), (9)).

(3) Evidently it is aš-Sīrbīnī who is mistaken (or rather, he has uncritically transmitted the error from his source al-Azhārī, Taṣr. I, 114). In al-Jawhārī's dictionary aš-Sībhāh, s.v. qaran, it is stated unequivocally that 'Uways is named after Qaran (however, signs of confusion between Qaran and Qarn are discernible in Yāqūt's MuCjam al-buldān, s.v. qarn). Al-Jawhārī himself is a famous lexicographer and grammarian who died c. 1007, apparently while trying to fly from the roof of a mosque (G.A.L. I, 128; E.I. (2), art. 'al-Djawhārī').

(4) 'Gentilic' is a narrow (but conventional) translation of mansūb, from nisba lit. 'relationship' of blood, extended thence to logical and other relationships (cf. 20.02 n 1). In grammar it denotes adjectives formed by suffixing I (iyyun etc. with case endings), possibly related to the i of the oblique ('genitive') case. Originally suffixed only to proper names, it was soon generalized (e.g. lafzī 'pertaining to form', kārijī 'external'), and the fem. sing. came to represent abstract nouns on the analogy of Greek -ia, e.g. ismiyya 'nominality' (1.31 n 3),
harfiyya 'property of being a harf' (21.5), māhiyya 'quiddity' (from mā 'what'), see Beeston 36; Fleisch 89; Bateson 20; Yushmanov 38.

(5) Muṣawiya was the 5th Caliph of Islām, reigned 661-680. For Nuḥmān, pre-Islamic king and patron, see E.J. (1), art. 'al-Nuḥmān ibn al-Mundhir'.

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference here is to Alf. vv 72-3.

(7) S. 18 v 22; the (facetious?) comment is from al-Azhārī, Taṣrī. I, 114, and see E.I. (2), art. 'Aḍāb al-Kuhf'.

11.722 (1) On 'generic', jīns see 23.31 n 1. 'Mentally specific' is muṣayyān fī d-ḥāl, lit. 'made specific in the mind' (cf. taṭyīn in 11.72 n 2), i.e. treating a class of creatures as a specific individual. The phenomenon is well known, cf. English 'Willie Wagtail', 'Reynard the Fox', and see Goguyer's notes to Qāṭr 96 for examples from French, also Fleisch, Tr. #76i. It would be interesting to know whether the Arabs would regard such singular nouns as al-muṣṭazila (the collective name for a school of hyper-rationalist theologians) or al-qadariyya (another group of theologians who denied free will) as generic proper names or as a variety of the personal proper name.

11.723 (1) 'Simple noun' is mufrad, q.v. 23.431 n 1; 'title' translates laqab (often rendered 'nickname', 'surname'); kunya 'nickname' (also 'by-name', 'sobriquet') strictly means an indirect, allusive name, mostly using the name of a son or daughter (and see next note). The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) are said to have used kunya as their term for 'proper noun' (Ibn Hisām, Ṣaḥr Ṣuğūr ḥ-gāhab, ed. A. G. ad-Daqār, Damascus N.D. 174). See E.J. (2), 1st art. 'Iṣm' on personal names.

(2) These names are normally never translated (see E.J. (2), art. 'Abū Bakr' for the first Caliph, reigned 632-4) even when, as might be the case with the examples given here, the man or woman is named after a son or daughter, viz. Abu CʿAmr, Umm CʿAmr. A variety of these names is the type 'abū n-naẓẓarā 'the man with glasses' (lit. 'father of spectacles'), 'abū ḍ-gibbān 'the man with bad breath' (lit. 'father of flies' etc., where 'abū is synonymous with ḍū 'possessor' (3.42). Except for the 'simple' name, these are formally 'annexed compounds', q.v. 3.65 n 7.

(3) The immediate source is al-Azhārī, Taṣrī. I, 120, referring to Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Mafāṭīḥ al-Ḥajb, Istanbul 1889-90, I, 32. On ar-Rāzī (died 1209), 'one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam', see E.J. (2), art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', G.A.L. I, 506. See 11.1 n 2 and 11.41 n 2 for the reasons why his name appears in three different forms in our text and footnotes, depending on the system of transliteration preferred.

11.73 (1) Jumuʿ 27; Muf. #171; Alf. v 82; Qaṭr 99; Beeston 42; Fleisch 139; Bateson 41; Yushmanov 29; Nöldeke 48. It has two names in Arabic: al-ism al-mubham 'the vague noun' and ism al-ʾišāra lit. 'the noun of pointing' (translated in the text as 'demonstrative pronoun'). There is no demonstrative adjective in Arabic: though ḥādā r-rajulu may safely
be translated 'this man', *ar-ražulu* is regarded by the Arabs as being in apposition to the noun *hâdâ* (cf. 14.12 n 1). Paradigm 11.737 n 2.

(2) See 9.3 n 1 on permutations. Fleisch remarks (142) that the hypothetical middle distance demonstrative is 'factice, simple fruit de la spéculation grammaticale'.

11.731 (1) As will be apparent, the demonstratives are a graveyard of archaic and obsolete forms (Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 348, claimed never to have seen *dâ‘i* and *dâ‘ihi*, but they are mentioned by al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 82). The masc. sing. has as its base the deictic element *d*, which is also to be seen in the word *'id* 'lo!' (1.441 n 5), *dû* (3.42) and the relative *allâdî* (11.753), cf. Moscati #13.33.

(2) The Arabic has 'with vowelless *â*', in other words, with the consonant 'alif functioning only as a lengthening marker for *â*, and not as the consonant' (see 2.43 n 2). On spelling instructions cf. 3.44 n 2.

11.732 (1) Here also are remains of old deictic elements, showing a double contrast (a) between masc. *d* and fem. *t*, and (b) between masc. *a* and fem. *i* (which is also found in agent suffixes, cf. 7.54 n 1).

(2) The second being the *y* which functions as a lengthening marker for *î* (cf. 2.43 n 2: *îf* = *tiy*). See Fischer, *Islamica* 3, 44 on fem. demon.

11.733 (1) i.e. *dâni* in indep. form, *gâyîni* in dep./obl. form, etc. (table in 11.737 n 2). The dual demonstratives are the only ones which inflect for case (cf. relatives, 11.753).

(2) The problem has already been aired in 3.65 (2), though it can hardly be doubted that *dâni* etc. (and the relatives *allâdâni* etc.) are indeed true dualizations. To be sure, demonstratives are by nature defined, but there is no objection to making proper names either fictionally (3.65 (4)) or formally (1.42) undefined, and there seems no reason why the same should not work for demonstratives. For the Arabs, however, these are more akin to *kilâ* 'both' etc. (3.63) in being intrinsically dual.

11.734 (1) The deictic element here is clearly *î*, which has several other deictic functions in Arabic (e.g. def. art. *al*, 11.74; plur. *‘ulû* of *gû* 'possessor', 3.412 (a); emphatic prefix *‘â* (cf. 13.6 n 3). The *‘u* of *‘ulâ‘i*, *‘ulâ‘ika* (and *‘ulû*) is invariably pronounced short, though spelt as if long (in compensation for loss of the first *î* of an assumed original *‘ullay*, so Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 153, but cf. Fleisch 247 n 23).

(2) These two symbolize the polarization of pre-Classical Arabic into Eastern (TamÎstit) and Western (Hijâzî) dialect groups (cf. Rabin, op. cit. 1). On the two varieties of *â* see 3.89 n 2.

(3) S. 2 v 5; Rabin (loc. cit. n 1) suggests that the intervocalic ' (which is neither a Proto-Semitic nor a genuine Arabic dialect feature) arose to break up an otherwise doubly long syllable *‘âyâ‘î*.

11.735 (1) See 11.737 n 2 for full paradigm. *Hâ* of attracting attention' is lit. for *hâ* *at-tanbîth*, a deictic element which may occur
alone, e.g. há 'anā gā 'it is I' (lit. 'look! I am that', cf. Fleisch 114), or as a suffix, e.g. 'ayyuhā 'O!' (23.5 n 2); cf. also hunā etc., 18.212, hātī and halumma, 5.21 n 1.

(2) Note that these are sentences: 'this Zayd' would have to be zaydun hādā, with hādā in apposition to zaydun. With common nouns, however, the situation is different: hādā r-rajulu is 'this man', the sentence equivalent being hādā huwa r-rajulu 'this is your house', baytuka hādā 'this house of yours'. Cf. Beeston 43.

11.736 (1) i.e. according to the view that there are only two orders of demonstratives, near and not near; 'particle ka' (ḥarfiyya) is meant to exclude ka as a pronoun suffix, but see n 3 below.

(2) The reasoning appears somewhat specious. In practice gāka/gālika etc. simply appear to be free variants.

(3) The deictic function of k is obvious: it is related to the object pronoun suffix set with k (16.303 etc.) and the prefix ka 'like' (1.708), cf. Fleisch 147, Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 389. By analogy with the object pronoun suffix, the k of gālika 'that' sometimes follows the number and gender of the person addressed, thus fem. sing. gālikī, dual gālikumā, masc. plur. gālikum, fem. plur. gālikunna. This is a Qur'ānic speciality; cf. Muf. #561, Yushmanov 30.

11.737 (1) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām, 3.45 n 3 on his Commentary on the Lumḥa. Here, however, aš-Širbīnī is actually paraphrasing al-Azhari, Taṣrīr I, 129. 'Infix 1 or ka' is a very free translation of al-lām wa-l-kāf lit. 'letter l and letter k', with no mention of 'infix'.

(2) The most commonly occurring demonstratives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hādā</td>
<td>gāka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hādīhi</td>
<td>tīka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāḍānī</td>
<td>ānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hātānī</td>
<td>tānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comm.</td>
<td>hā'ulā'i</td>
<td>'ulā'īka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duals have dep./obl. case in -aynī (11.733).

(3) See 0.4 n 6.

11.74 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. ##262, 599; Alf. v 106; Qaṭr 114 (cf. Muḥfī I, 48); Beeston 37; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 33; al as noun marker 1.5; juncture features 11.1 n 2; assimilation of l 11.41 n 2; al on proper names 11.82 n 4.

(2) Kitāb II, 63 (see 0.1 n 1 on al-Ḵalīl and Sībawayhi). The def. art. is either quoted as an independent morpheme 'al' or given the names al-ʿalīf wa-l-lām 'a-l' or lām at-ṭaʿīl 'the defining l' (in Kitāb invariably al-ʿalīf wa-l-lām). The dispute, which aš-Širbīnī reproduces from al-Azhari, Taṣrīr I, 148, turns upon the question of whether the initial 'a (only realized as such when not in juncture, 11.1 n 2) is
part of the article or not, since in juncture it is absorbed by the
previous word.

11.741 (1) Terms are: 'generic article' lām al-jins or al-lām
al-jinsiyya (see 23.31 n 1 on jins 'genus'); 'factual article' al-lām
li-bayān al-haqīqa lit. 'I for expressing the fact'; 'article which em­
braces all individuals of the species' al-lām li-ṣumūl 'afrād al-jins
(lit. translated), also called lām al-istiğrāq '1 of total immersion'
i.e. 'all-embracing'. On kull 'all' see 13.4.

(2) The two quotations here are S. 21 v 30 and S. 4 v 28 respectively:
kull cannot replace al in al-mā'i 'water', but can in al-'insānu 'man'.

(3) Metaphorically kullu rajulin 'every man' is clearly hyperbolic, but
still structurally correct. On 'metaphor' majāz see 13.3 n 1; on 'hy­
perbole', mubālağa cf. 9.81 n 4; on the dep. form Ǧilman here see 20.6
n 2. Note that the two uses of the article shown here are subdivisions
of Beeston's 'generalizing function' of al (37).

11.742 (1) Termed lām al-Cahd, and translated literally (= Beeston's
'particularizing function', 37). In this function the article reveals
its deictic origins unmistakably (11.734 n 1).

(2) S. 73 v 16; initial element of al is replaced by the last vowel of
fir'awnu in juncture (11.1 n 2), and 1 assimilates to r (11.41 n 2).

(3) S. 5 v 3; here the initial element of al has its full consonantal
value ', but this is not noted in the transliteration because (at
least in correct Arabic spelling) is never written, cf. 11.1 n 2.

11.75 (1) Jum. 27, 338; Muf. ##176, 262; Alf. v 88; Qatr 103; Beeston
43, 49; Fleisch 149, 194; Bateson 41, 47; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 97.
'Relative' for mawsûl (lit. 'thing joined') is a compromise: the ele­
ments treated here are not relative pronouns (contra Bateson, Yushmanov)
but simply join the relative clause to its antecedent (syntax, 11.753
n 3), and the translation 'relative' has been chosen to reflect this
function. See further 11.752 n 1.

11.751 (1) 'Particle type' renders (mawsûl) harfī, lit. 'belonging to
the particle family' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on the I suffix of harfī), so
called because these elements (essentially the nominalizers 'an 'that',
5.41, and 'anna 'that', 10.42) are not nouns or pronouns. On 'relative
clause', ǧila, and 'referential pronoun', Ǧā'id, see 11.752 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 184, and cf. 9.02.

11.752 (1) 'Noun type' is (mawsûl) ismī, lit. 'of the noun family'.
Terminology of relatives is: mawsûl 'relative' (11.75 n 1), i.e. the
element which connects the relative clause to the antecedent (but see
11.753 n 3); ǧila 'relative clause' (lit. 'join, connection'); Ǧā'id
'referential pronoun', (lit. 'thing returning, going back'), which, as
will be seen (11.753 n 3) is the true relative pronoun. Structurally
the relative (mawsûl) and its clause (ǧila) are indispensable to each
other (cf. 9.71 for some incomplete examples). The translation 'who'
for allâqî etc. is quite arbitrary: see 11.75 n 1.
NOTES

11.753 (1) Cf. 11.731-4 on the deictic elements 1, ġ, t in these words; 1.51 for al 'the' as a relative; 11.1 n 2 for the juncture feature which they share with al 'the'.

(2) But they are not regarded as true duals, see 3.65 (2).

(3) Syntax of relatives. The relative (mawsūl) concords with its antecedent in number, gender, definition and (where marked) case: with undefined antecedents the mawsūl, being by nature defined, cannot occur. The relative clause (ṣila) is a normal sentence (nominal or verbal) in all respects but one: its topic is always a pronoun, viz. the referential pronoun (Cā'īd) which stands for the antecedent. The ṣila remains the same whether the antecedent is defined or not, thus ar-rajulu llaṭī marartu bihi 'the man by whom I passed' (lit. 'the man-mawsūl-I passed by him'), rajulun marartu bihi 'a man by whom I passed' (lit. 'a man-ś-I passed by him'). General references 11.75 n 1.

(4) A masc. plur. allādīna, analogous to the indep. sound masc. plur. īna (3.41) has been noted (Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 89). In practice, however, only the following are regularly encountered:

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<tr>
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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
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<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>allādī</td>
<td>allādānī/ayni</td>
<td>allādīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>allāṭī</td>
<td>allāṭānī/ayni</td>
<td>allāṭī</td>
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</table>

11.754 (1) Beeston 49; Fleisch 150; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 103; other refs. 11.75 n 1. Interrogative man 5.87 n 2; conditional man 5.83. Spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) rules out min 'from', 1.701.

(2) S. 13 v 43; the relative clause (ṣila) here is an inverted nominal sentence, scil. 'with him is the knowledge...' (cf. 9.74), and the referential pronoun (Cā'īd) is the hu 'him' suffixed to āinda (18.207). Normally man is grammatically masc. sing. even when known to refer to fem. or plur. (so man 'uhibbuhu 'the one(s) I love'), but the modern tendency is to use whichever pronoun is appropriate.

(3) 'Status' is manzila, originally a term for social standing, but applied by Sibawayhi to grammatical status as the correlative of mawdi 'function' (3.1 n 4), cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84, also 23.2 n 1.

(4) S. 46 v 5; here the first man is interrogative (5.87 n 2), the second refers to a rational being (note assimilation *min man>mim-man) and only the third illustrates the irrational being, viz. stones, trees and other false gods.

(5) S. 22 v 18; see further comment in 11.755 n 3.

11.755 (1) Refs. as for 11.754 n 1, and see 5.82 n 1, 5.84 n 1.

(2) S. 16 v 96.

(3) S. 62 v 1. In the verse quoted in the previous paragraph (S. 22 v 18) the pronoun man 'who' is allowed to subsume irrational beings both in heaven and earth (angels being considered inferior to men). Here the reverse is the case, for the pronoun mā 'what' is now allowed
to subsume rational beings (mankind) among the things praising God. Another relative which could be included here is 'ayyu 'whichever, whoever', cf. Fleisch 151; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; see also 5.86.

11.76 (1) Jum. 27; Muf. #262; Alf. v (53), 385; Qaṭr 117; Beeston 46; Fleisch 171; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 64; Noldeke 29; Gätje, Arabica 17, esp. 231f. See further 26.7

(2) Annexation alone is not sufficient to define a noun, though it may confer a higher degree of specificity (baytu rajulin 'the house of a man' is technically undefined but still more specific than baytun 'a house', cf. 26.91). The definition status of certain annexation units still provokes discussion, particularly in the case of kull 'all' (v. 13.4 n 6) and the so-called 'relative' adjectives, q.v. 20.4 n 1.

(3) In the examples, ḡulām 'boy is annexed respectively to a pronoun (11.71), proper name (11.72), demonstrative (11.73), relative (11.75) and noun with def. art. (11.74). The slight deviation from the order of Ibn Aṣjurrūm's presentation is accounted for by the fact that here aš-Širbīnī is following Ibn Hišām's order (probably via al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 95).

11.761 (1) The principle underlying these observations (which stem either directly from Qaṭr 118 or indirectly from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 95) is that a qualified element must be at least as defined as its qualifier. Between definition and indefinition there is little difficulty: undefined elements can only be qualified by undefined elements (rajulun qā'imun 'a standing man' etc.), but defined elements may be qualified by both (undefined qualifiers generally in dependent form, see 19.5, 20.5). Since, however, definition is hierarchical, a problem arises when qualifier and qualified are both defined: this is seen clearly by comparing zaydun hādā 'this Zayd' with hādā r-rajulu 'this man' (11.735 n 2), where word order is determined by 'rank' (rutba, 11.711 n 2). The rule is apparently broken in such modernisms as al-maliku faysalun 'King Faysal' (cf. also Beeston 43).

11.77 (1) This continues the theme of the previous paragraph, but this time aš-Širbīnī seems to have lifted it from al-Azharī on Aṣj. 70. The criterion of qualiﬁability is present in Kītāb I, 221f, and has become rather more organized by the time of al-Mubarrad (Muqtadab IV, 281). See also Muf. #147.

(2) The sixth category, the relative (11.75) is omitted from this scheme probably because it is not in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (see previous note). It would have been elegant to include it here, since it ﬁlls the last space implied by the dichotomous classiﬁcation, viz. 'qualifies but is never qualiﬁed adjectivally'. For 'qualify' in this context the notion na CST is used, q.v. 11.0 n 1, which is thus seen to be somewhat wider in application than simple 'adjective'.

(3) Definition can be effected by the vocative structure (23.42), and perhaps also (though in a different way) by the categorical negative construction with lā 'no', q.v. ch. 22, esp. 22.11 n 1.
NOTES

11.8 (1) Jum. 191; Muf. #3, 262; Alf. v 52; Qaṭr 90; Beeston 37; Fleisch 153; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 34, 65; Gätje, Arabica 17, 235. For 'undefined' Arabic uses nakirā, formally a noun meaning 'something unknown' (from which the following verb nakkara 'to make undefined' and its verbal noun tankīr 'making (or being) undefined'). Antonym is maṣafīfa, lit. 'knowledge', hence 'something known' (also with its derivative ġarrāfa 'to make defined', noun taṣārif 'making (or being) defined'). It will be appreciated that definition/indefinition reside with the listener rather than the noun: when formally or functionally unmarked (e.g. marartu bi-zaydin/bi-baytin 'I passed by Zayd/by a house'), only the listener's knowledge distinguishes a proper name from a common noun. Students who have wasted time looking up proper names in dictionaries will understand this well. Cf. Fleisch, Tr. #76k.

(2) See 11.81 n 1 on 'convention' (waqf). Degrees of indefiniteness (cf. 11.71 n 1), on a purely semantic basis (viz. 'thing' is more undefined than 'body') and so on) appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, Muṣṭaṣhab III, 186, IV, 280.

(3) Names such as ʿAbdu ʾamsin 'Abd Šams' (= 'sun-worshipper') suggest that at one time there were defined common (?) nouns without al, though it cannot be inferred from this that the suffix n originally had defining function, cf. Moscati #12.75, 77. Misleading, too, is the simple equation of tanwīn with the English indefinite article.

11.81 (1) Lexical meaning plays very little part in Arabic grammar (cf. 12.92 n 1): the meaning of a word is as arbitrary, and as conventional, as the sounds, forms and structures in which words manifest themselves. The same applies to the proper name, whose 'meaning' (apart from any residual lexical content) is the specific individual it refers to (11.72), with the additional feature that the speaker can create a proper name simply by assigning any word to that category, by the process of waqf lit. 'putting', see further 1.14 n 1.

11.82 (1) Aʾṣ-Sirbīfī's concern for the perplexity of the beginner is no doubt genuine, but is expressed in the words of al-Azhārī on ʿĀj. 71. The reason for the obscurity is Ibn Ājurrūm's departure from the purely formal level of his presentation, to which he now returns.

(2) See 10.22 n 2 on the variation in medial vowel. Though somewhat uncomfortable in the context of 'proper names', 'proper' was chosen to translate ṣaluḥa because it conveys the necessary moral flavour of linguistic correctness: 'to be structurally correct' was originally expressed by ḥasuna, lit. 'to be (morally) good' (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 148, also 12.91 n 8), and ṣaluḥa is merely a synonym thereof.

(3) 'Man', 'horse' and 'to strike' are the eternal examples in almost every Arabic grammar (including the Kītāb): that they are the same as the standard Greek examples is clear, but how did they find their way to the Arabs, and what else came with them? Try Versteegh 42.

(4) From this point of view there are three classes of proper name: those which never have the def. article, those which always do (e.g.
al-gāhiratu 'Cairo', aš-Širbīnī), and those which sometimes do and sometimes do not have it, e.g. nučmānu, an-nučmānu 'Nučmān', ḥasanun, al-ḥasanu 'Ḥasan'. The distribution of al in the last category appears to be entirely arbitrary (cf. Muf. #11, Alf. v 109). One thing is certain: proper names almost always take al when dualized or pluralized (cf. 3.65 n 8)

11.9 (1) Appositional nouns with an apparently adjectival function, e.g. rajulun Ǧadlun 'a just man' lit. 'a man justice' (Fleisch 187) are not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, possibly because, being invariable (rijālun Ǧadlun 'just men'), they are not true concordants (see 11.61 n 1 for the similarities between nouns and adjectives). A frequent appositional structure is the type tawbun Ǧazzun 'a silk garment' lit. 'a garment silk', al-kātamu l-ḥadīdu 'the iron ring' lit. 'the ring the iron', cf. Fleisch 187, Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, chs. 1, 2. See 26.72 for the synonymous annexation construction tawbu Ǧazzin 'a garment of silk' etc.

12.0 (1) Jum. 30; Muf. ##157, 538; Alf. v 540; Qaṭr 346; Beeston 97; also M.U.S.J. 48, 167; Fleisch 157 (188); Bateson 38; Yushmanov 62; Nöldeke 93. Terminology: ġatf 'act of leaning towards, inclining', i.e. coordination, maḏūf 'thing coordinated', i.e. coordinated element, maḏūf Ǧalayh 'thing to which coordinated', i.e. antecedent, ḫarf ġatf 'particle of coordination' (cf. 3.84 n 3).

(2) 'Explanatory coordination' is ġatf bayān, lit. 'coordination of making clear' (cf. bayān, 5.82 n 3, tabyīn, 20.0). See 14.51 n 1.

(3) 'Sequential coordination' is ġatf nasaq, lit. 'coordination of arranging in order'. The term is absent from early grammar, and was perhaps introduced to resolve the ambiguity of ġatf (and cf. 23.45 n 5).

(4) Cf. 1.11, 4.5 for the method of paraphrasing nasaq by the patient noun munsūq. The difference between nasq and nasaq (spelling instructions 3.44 n 2, and cf. 17.1 on verbal noun) is that nasq is only a verbal noun, while nasaq denotes the result of that action.

(5) 'Arabs' always means Beduins, cf. 1.21 n 1; 'conventionally denote' renders waḏat, lit. 'they (the Arabs) have assigned them', cf. waḏ in 11.81 n 1, and see further 12.92 n 1.

12.01 (1) See the discussion in 12.6. Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with 'amma 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3.
NOTES 277

(2) See 12.92 n 1 on maṣānī 'meanings'.

12.1 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #539; Alf. v 543; Qaṭr 346 (Muqānī II, 30); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. For ṭa as a subordinating conjunction see 5.54, 5.55; ṭa with dep. nouns in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25; ṭa as a 'particle of swearing' with oblique nouns, 26.5; ṭa as a synonym of rubba with oblique nouns, 26.61; coordinating sentences, 12.93.

(2) There is some debate as to whether the coordinated element concords with the antecedent through a formal operator (Cāmil lāfẓī), namely ṭa 'and' or an abstract operator (Cāmil maṣnawī), namely concordance as such (tabciyya): see further 1.31 n 4, 11.01 n 1.

(3) 'Logical predicament' is ḥukm, lit. 'verdict', a direct borrowing from logic (contrast ḥukm as a legal borrowing in 24.1 n 2). In spite of Versteegh 74 n 22, ḥukm is an early synonym of qadiyya in its purely logical meaning of apophasis (q.v. Versteegh 145), cf. Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 536. See further 12.23 n 1.

(4) In Ḫaṣāfī prob. 64 the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue that ṭa is redundant in S. 39 v 73: ḫattā 'idā jāʿūhā wa-futihat 'abwābuhā 'until when they came to it (scil. Paradise) and its gates were opened', for no main verb appears here or in the rest of the verse. Is this a survival of the original deictic function of 'idā: 'until, lo and behold, they came to it and...'? Cf. 1.441 n 5.

12.11 (1) S. 57 v 26, inverting the historical order; the first ṭa (untranslated) is not in question here, as it only coordinates verses. 'Logically posterior/anterior is mutaʿakkir/mutagaddim fī l-ḥukm 'delayed/advanced in predicament', see 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm.

(2) S. 42 v 3. With rare exceptions (v. 12.94 n 2) nouns may not be coordinated with oblique pronouns, hence the repetition of 'ilā here (v. 1.702 n 1 on 'ilāy-). The verb yūḥī is Stem IV (8.63 n 1), root w-h-y. The relative clause 'ilā lladîna min qablika (which assumes an elided 'awhā 'he inspired') contains a predicate of the type set out in 9.74, i.e. a prepositional phrase dependent on a compulsorily deleted verb phrase or equivalent.

(3) S. 29 v 15; here the dep. noun 'aṣḥāba may correctly be coordinated with the dep. pronoun suffix hu. This occurs only with overt pronouns: concealed pronouns must be externalized by apposition, e.g. uskun 'anta wa-zawjuka 'dwell thou and thy wife' (S. 2 v 35), with 'anta repeating the concealed pronoun in uskun (cf. 11.713). 'Concomitant' is a lit. translation of muṣāhib.

12.2 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #540; Alf. v 545; Qaṭr 348 (Muqānī I, 139); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; fa as subordinating conjunction 5.54, 5.55. The translation 'and then' somewhat over-emphasizes the difference between wa and fa: both have, however, a much wider range of functions as sentence coordinators, cf. 12.93 n 1.

(2) 'Abstract ordering' is tartīb maṣnawī (see 2.1 n 2 on maṣnawī); cognate with tartīb 'ordering' are rutba, martaba 'rank' (11.711 n 2)
and tarattaba 'to follow from (apodosis from protasis)' in 5.811.

(3) S. 82 v 7; this time two verbs are coordinated (cf. 12.93).

12.21 (1) 'Narrative ordering' is tartīb ḍikrī, lit. 'ordering by mention' (cf. ḍikrī 'due to previous mention' in 11.742).

(2) S. 4 v 153. 'Coordination of detail to a general idea' is ġatf al-mufassil ġalā mujmal: mufassil is related to faṣil 'subsection, differentiation' (cf. 3.63), mujmal to jumla 'sentence' (19.6 n 1). See 20.42 n 2 on the comparative construction of 'akbara min gālika.

12.22 (1) 'Immediate consequence' translates taqīb, lit. 'following on the heels of something'. Qualitatively fa differs from wa in that the latter is indifferent to the chronological order of events (12.11).

(2) S. 80 v 21. In his own commentary on this verse (IV, 466), aš-Sīrābī points out that the choice of fa here instead of the neutral wa stresses the immediacy of the burial and that the corpse was not left lying about!

(3) 'So-and-so' is fulānun (fem. fulānatu, 3.89 (4), and adj. fulānī 'belonging to So-and-so'. The connection suggested by Hitti, History of the Arabs, London 1967, 644 n 1, between fulān and Old French pou­lain s is fortuitous: fulān occurs many centuries earlier (e.g. Kitāb II, and is probably composed of deictic elements (Fleisch, Tr. I 118k). Note impersonal passive wulida lahu, lit. 'there was given birth for him', cf. 8.11 n 1.

12.23 (1) See 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm 'logical predicament'. The two possible 'predicaments' are assertion and negation (see 12.41 n 2 on these and related borrowings from logic). 'Assertion' is termed either 'īthāt (lit. 'confirming') or 'Ījāb (lit. 'necessitating, root w-j-b, cf. 21.1 n 4), and 'negation' is nafī (5.76 n 1) among grammarians, but salb (lit. 'dispossessing, snatching away') among logicians. There are com­plexities in the history of these terms (both 'īthāt and 'Ījāb are used apparently indiscriminately by Sībawayhi, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index), on which see Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 532.

12.3 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. 540; Alf. v 545; Qatr 351 (Mugnî I, 107); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction,(3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with tūmna 'there' (18.213). Yushmanov 62 makes the observation that tūmna replaces wa 'and' when anything has to be coordinated with God, e.g. 'ašhadatu llāha tūmna jamā′cagan min al-muslīmina 'I call upon God and a number of Muslims as my witness'.

(2) 'Ordering and looseness of connection' is tartīb wa-tarāḡī (cf. 12.2 n 2 on tartīb); tarāḡī is lit. 'slackness, limpness', the term favoured by Ibn Hišām and aš-Sīrābī's immediate source, al-Azhārī, on Kf. 73. Aẓ-Zajjājī and aẓ-Zamakšarī prefer muḥla 'interval, delay' for this feature of tūmna, while Ibn Mālik, in the Alfiyya at least, opposes fa and tūmna by means of the antithetical terms ittiṣāl 'connection' and infiṣāl 'disconnection, separation'.
(3) S. 80, vv 21, 22, being the continuation of the verse quoted in 12.22. Here ṭumma coordinates the complex sentence 'idā šā'a 'ansarahu, in which 'idā 'when' has pseudo-conditional force (5.94), i.e. it does not mean 'when he wished, he resurrected him'.

12.4 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. ##541-544; Alf. v 551; Qatr 353 (Muğnī I, 59); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; 'aw as a subordinating conjunction 5.56. Some idea of the extent to which later grammar moved away from the strict structuralism of Sîbawayhi can be gained from Ibn Hišām's statement (Muğnī I, 59) that 'modern grammarians' distinguish no less than twelve functions for 'aw, viz. doubt (12.41), making vague (12.41), division (e.g. 'words are either nouns, verbs or particles'), option (the 'restricted choice' of 12.4 n 2), allowance (the 'free choice' of 12.4 n 3), unrestricted union (synonym of wa 'and', 12.1), digression (synonym of bal 'rather', 12.7), synonymous with 'ilā, synonymous with 'ilā (see both in 5.56), approximation (e.g. 'I do not know whether he said hallo or goodbye'), condition (e.g. 'I shall beat him, whether he live or die') and finally partition (e.g. 'be ye Jews or Christians', S. 2 v 135). The translations and examples above are taken from Howell, #543.

(2) 'Restricted choice' is takyīr lit. only 'choice', but qualified here in order to contrast with the other type of choice involved. It is cognate with īktiyāran 'voluntarily', q.v. 7.5 n 2, 9.8 n 2.

(3) 'Free choice' is 'ībāha, lit. 'permission, allowance', qualified by 'free' in the translation to fit the context. It is related to the legal term mubāḥ 'allowed', which is the neutral grade of legality between the opposite poles of harām 'forbidden' and farḍ ('religious obligation', synonym wājib 'obligatory act, cf. 9.8 n 2).

12.41 (1) Cf. 5.54, 5.55, where ṭalab (here 'request') has been rendered 'demand'. The request is for confirmation of one of the two alternatives (cf. n 3 below).

(2) 'Predicative statement' is a literal translation of al-kalām al-ḵabarī (cf. 1.1 on kalām 'speech', 9.1 on ḵabar 'predicate'), but such classifications of sentence types are borrowings from logic and are not found in Sîbawayhi. It contrasts with the kalām 'inšā'ī 'exclamatory statement' (lit. 'originative', Howell #1), i.e. commands, exclamations, entreaties etc. Several other classifications on the basis of meaning exist, on which see Versteegh 147, and contrast the simple formal opposition of 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentence, 9.24 n 2.

(3) S. 18 v 19, scil. 'we tarried a day, or was it part of a day?'.

(4) S. 34 v 24. On 'innā<̥'innanā see 10.55 n 3; on 'iyyākum see 16.506; on emphatic prefix la see 13.6 n 3.

12.5 (1) Jum. 31, 32; Muf. ##541, 542; Alf. v 548; Qatr 355 (Muğnī I, 39); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Relevant alternatives' is a free translation of al-mansūbayni lit. 'the two things attributed'; while this may be connected with nīsba in
its grammatical sense of (genetic) relationship (cf. 11.721 n 4), it is just as likely that it here has the logical flavour of this term in its sense of predicative relationship. Cf. also 20.02 n 1.

(3) See 5.741 n 1 on interrogative 'a, and 12.51 n 6 on indirect questions. 'Specify' is taṣyIn, the same as 'making specific' in the context of proper names (11.72).

12.51 (1) 'Conjunctive' is muttasal lit. 'continuous, uninterrupted' (cf. 21.1 n 5); the same root w-š-l supplies the basic terminology of relative sentences, 11.752 n 1, and bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1.

(2) 'Interrogative 'a' is 'alif al-istihām, q.v. 5.741 n 2; the 'equalising 'a' is 'alif at-taswiya, translated literally, also known as 'alif al-muṣādala 'balancing 'a'.

(3) 'Equivalent in status' renders fi maḥall, lit. 'in the place of'. Elsewhere (5.81 n 3) it has been equated with manzila 'status' (23.2 n 1) rather than mawdiC 'function' (3.1 n 4), even though it may seem that 'functionally equivalent' is the obvious translation. The reason is that maḥall does not denote absolute replaceability as does mawdiC, but equivalence of function between elements of different form classes (see 5.84 n 4), particularly when the element concerned is a sentence (jumla, q.v. 19.6 n 1), as sentences cannot exhibit inflection and can therefore only be regarded as having the status of inflected elements.

(4) S. 36 v 10; note vowel harmony in suffix -him in Calayhim (cf. 13.9 n 9) and past tense meaning of verb negated by lām (5.71).

(5) 'Neither can be dispensed with' renders lā yustağnū bi-ʿabadihim Cān il-ʿāgari fairly literally: in its positive form the cognate term mustağnī denotes a self-sufficient utterance (e.g. Kitāb I, 202, 208, 347, 480), while the negative most often appears in the context of absent elements or features (e.g. 5.44, 13.7), but see 19.6 on the notion that elements can be indispensable to the complete utterance. This explains why this type of 'am is called 'conjunctive' (n 1 above).

(6) Arabic has no distinctive structure for indirect questions, though under foreign influence there is a tendency to transfer pronouns into reported speech forms (cf. indirect speech, 10.64 n 1). Thus 'I asked him whether he was going' is either saʿaltuhu ʿa-ʿanta gāhibun, with direct speech in the subordinate sentence ('are you going?') or saʿaltuhu ʿa-huwa gāhibun, with indirect speech form ('whether he was going'). The other interrogative pronouns (5.87 n 2) behave similarly.

12.52 (1) This is 'am l-munqatīC, lit. 'the severed 'am' (cf. 21.11 n 2), see below, n 4, on the reason for this name.

(2) See 19.6 n 1 on jumla 'sentence'; 'independent' is a literal translation of mustaqyll, now most commonly encountered in political contexts. It will be noticed that aš-Širbīn has taken it for granted that the single nouns after this 'am will be construed as elliptical sentences (scil. jāʿa zaydun 'am jāʿa CAmr came or CAmr came'), a rare failure to grasp an opportunity for taqdf in (q.v. 2.101 n 1).
NOTES

(3) 'Retraction' is 'idran', lit. 'turning away' (hence in modern Arabic 'striking' against employers, from root d-r-b 'to strike').

(4) As the translations are meant to imply (by use of the comma after the first sentence), neither statement is essential to the utterance. Whether the second must always contain a retraction of the first is problematical; apart from tending to make both statements thereby indispensable to each other, it can surely be argued that this type of 'am sentence must fit somewhere into the many functions of 'aw 'or' listed in 12.4 n 1! Note that bal (12.7) replaces 'am in the paraphrase, however, and not 'aw.

12.6 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. 541, 543, 544; Alf. v 553; Qatr 357, (Muğnī I, 56); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with 'ammā 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3. There are two objections: however, if 'immā is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. so often occurs with wa 'and' prefixed (as in the examples here), and second that prepositions must be repeated after it (by contrasting wa- 'immā bi-Camrīn here and wa- amrīn in 12.1 it is easy to grasp the objections: however, if 'immā is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. also n 6 below.

(2) The only synonym which may follow 'immā is 'aw 'or'(12.4).

(3) On Ibn Hīšām see 1.02 n 1; Abū ǦAlī is Abū ǦAlī al-Fārisī, q.v. 10.71 n 1; Ibn Kaysān was a prominent pupil of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) and of TaClab, leaders of the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' respectively (cf. 9.4 n 3), and died in 911 or 932 (G.A.L. I, 111, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Kaysān'); Ibn Barhān was an eccentric, but highly respected teacher who died in 1064 (G.A.L. Suppl. I, 491).

(4) Here 'status' is manzila, q.v. 23.2 n 1 and contrast 12.51 n 3.

(5) See 12.4 on restricted and free choice, 12.41 on doubts.

(6) The 'former authorities' are Abū ǦAlī etc., mentioned above. For the reservations about 'immā see n 1: to those may be added the fact that 'immā always occurs in pairs, wherein the first 'immā certainly is not a conjunction. The coordinating function has to be ascribed to the wa 'and' which invariably accompanies the second 'immā.

12.7 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. 545; Alf. v 550, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnī I, 103); other refs. in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Assertion' is 'Ījāb, q.v. 12.23 n 1.

(3) See 12.1 n 3 on ḥukm 'logical predicament'. Note that 'qualified' here is mawsūf, the same term that is used for the antecedent of the adjective (11.0 n 1): the reason is that verbs are also analysed as adjectival qualifiers, usually of their agents (11.45 n 1), but here, interestingly, the verb phrases qāma, raʿaytu and marartu bi- are all construed as qualifiers, first (formally) of Zayd and then (through retraction) of ǦAmr. While this is obvious with qāma, it is perhaps worth emphasizing that for the other two the implied paraphrases are *zaydun bal Camrun raʿaytuḥu 'Zayd, rather ǦAmr I saw', *zaydun bal
Camrun marartu bihi 'Zayd, rather Camr I passed by' respectively, in which the verb phrases are complex predicates of the type in 9.75

12.71 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on negation, nafy, in general.

(2) Further to 12.7 n 3: here again the verb phrases are analysed as adjectival qualifiers, scil. *zaydun bal Camrun mā ra'aytu)m 'Zayd, rather Camr I did not see' etc. The 'logical predicament' remains a choice between assertion and negation: it is not a matter of the meaning of the proposition but simply of whether the given predicate applies to the stated subject or not.

12.8 (1) Jum. 31; Muf. #545; Alf. vv 554, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnf I, 194); other refs. in 12.0 n 1; for lā negating verbs see 5.76; for lā negating nouns categorically see ch. 22.

(2) Though not a conjunction in the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, the resumptive lā which is used as a repeater for previous negatives may as well be mentioned here. It repeats any of the various negative particles (5.76 n 1), always with wa, e.g. mā gāma wa-lā takallama 'he did not stand, nor speak'; lam yaqum wa-lā takallama 'he has not stood nor spoken'. Cf. Cantarino, I, 107, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 338, Nöldeke 93.

12.81 (1) While an elided second verb need not be assumed here (*idrib zaydan lā tadrib Camran), there seems to be no choice with mā darabtu zaydan wa-lā Camran 'I did not hit Zayd nor (did I hit) Camran'.

(2) The translation 'the word Camrun' is necessary here because Camr's name is quoted in the metalanguage with the indep. form as subject of 'is a concordant', rather than with dep. form as a concordant to zaydan (the alternative: 'Camran is a concordant to zaydan' is also possible, but it is not so close to the original).

12.9 (1) Jum. 31, 32; Muf. #545; Alf. vv 554, 555; Qatr 356 (Muğnf I, 226); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes lākin from lākinna (10.43): cf. 12.903 n 1 on the other 'light' (kaff) or 'lightened' (muğaffaf) alternants of nn, and see further 3.241 n 2.

(2) 'Be a single word' renders 'ifrād lit. 'causing something to be mufrad, viz. single, singular, simple' (see 23.431 n 1 on mufrad).

(3) In Insāf prob. 68, the 'Kifans' (9.4 n 3) argue somewhat speciously (and in the absence of evidence) that lākin, being a synonym of bal 'rather' (12.7), may be used after positive sentences, e.g. 'atānī zaydun lākin Camrun 'Zayd, but rather Camr, came to me'. The 'Başran' reply does not seem very positive, probably again through lack of evidence: they concede that lākin might occur in such a position but only (a) if the second element contradicts the first (i.e. if it falls into the category dealt with below in 12.903, where it is actually an allomorph of lākinna), or (b) if the first element is an error or oversight. But in the latter case, bal already exists for the correction of errors and oversights, and so (the Başranş claim), lākin is not needed in that function.
(4) After wa, lākin reverts to being an allomorph of läkinna, 12.903.

(5) See 5.76 on prohibition, naḥy.

12.901 (1) See 19.6 n 1 on jumla 'sentence', and see below, n 4.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 90 (add Muğnî I, 226; al-Azhārî, Ṭaṣr. II, 147).
Although attributed to the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr (and included in his published poems), it seems that this verse is first quoted in a grammatical context by Ibn Hišām. Apart from the grammar of lākin, note: 'inna with dep. nouns (10.41); juncture in ibnā (23.7 n 1); semi-declinable proper name wargā'a (3.89 (2) and (4)); passive of weak 3rd rad. verb tugšā (8.3 n 1 (b)); fem. sing. verb with broken plur. agent (7.22 n 1); broken plur. bawādiru (3.221); possessive suffix hu (4.72 n 2); preposition fī (26.25); juncture of al (11.1 n 2); passive of Stem VIII verb (8.68 n 1).

(3) Note that, since the noun precedes its verb, a nominal sentence (7.12) is created, with a complex predicate as in 9.75.

(4) 'Particle which introduces equational sentences' translates ḥarf ibtidā': for ḥarf 'particle' see 1.25; ibtidā' is literally 'the act of starting an utterance with a noun', q.v. 9.12 n 2.

12.902 (1) The argument is that if the conjunction wa is already present the following element cannot also be a conjunction (cf. the case of 'inna, 12.6 n 1). See also n 3 below.

(2) S. 33 v 40. Note here the past tense form of kāna 'to be' in its 'timeless' meaning (cf. 5.52 n 2), scil. 'Muḥammad has never been...' (and see 10.11 on dep. form of predicate 'abā 'aḥadin with kāna and related verbs). For 'abā, with long vowel inflection, see 3.61.

(3) 'As one single element to another' is mufradin 'alā mufradin, see 23.431 n 1 on mufrad 'single' etc. Note that 'single' refers to functional, not morphological singleness here: the annexation unit is formally composed of at least two elements, in the present instance 'abā 'aḥadin and rasūla lāḥi, but these are functionally equivalent to single nouns (26.91 n 1). However, even if the coordinated nouns in this verse had been single items, lākin would still not be a conjunction, as long as it has wa prefixed to it. In the absence of a better explanation, it is assumed that lākin here is an allomorph of läkinna (12.903).

12.903 (1) See 12.901 n 4 for the terminology, and id. n 3 for the equational (= nominal) sentence with verb phrase as predicate. In this function lākin is an allomorph of läkinna (10.43), and belongs to a set of 'light' and 'heavy' (12.9 n 1) doublets comprising 'inna/'in (10.41), 'anna/'an (10.42), ka'anna/ka'an (10.44) and läkinna/lākin (10.43). In each case (though by no means with equal distribution: 'light 'in is both archaic and rare, for example), the 'light' form is neutralized and does not bring about dependent forms in the nouns following it, cf. läkinna ḡālidan in 10.43 and lākin 'amrun in this paragraph. Muf. #525; Alf. v 190; Qatr 156; Fleisch 199; Bateson 38; Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 125, 129, 130.
12.91 (1) Jum. 30, 77; Muf. #540; Alf. v 547; Qatr 351; (Muğnf I, 111); Beeston 98, 99; Fleisch 222; ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction 5.53; ḥattā as a preposition 26.31.

(2) 'Positions' is mawādi', i.e. 'functions', q.v. 3.1 n 4.

(3) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans'. Surprisingly there is no trace of this dispute in the Inṣāf, where one would most expect to find it (though ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction is debated in prob. 83, cf. 5.53 n 2).

(4) It is this principle which requires that, for the Baṣrans at least (5.5), ḥattā may not operate directly upon a verb, but must operate by means of an assumed 'an 'that'; i.e. upon a noun phrase (cf. 5.53). For ḥattā as a preposition see 26.31.

(5) This condition is obscure and inapplicable, at least for modern Arabic: see Cantarino, II, 297. 'Et tu, Brute' is ḥattā 'anta yā brūṭus.

(6) 'Literally' is taḥqīgan, lit. 'by verification', related to ḥaqīqa 'truth, fact', which normally has as its antonym majāz 'figure of speech, metaphor' (see 13.3 n 1). Here, however, it is opposed to taʿwīlan 'by paraphrase' (cf. the cognate muʿawwāl, 9.02 n 1) in a distinction which is semantic rather than syntactic: the sandals are not part of the antecedent but only of what weighed upon the rider.

(7) Schaw. Ind. (add Jum. 81). As quoted by Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 50) this verse has naʿlihi with obl. form (i.e. with ḥattā as preposition), though no reasons are given in the text or by the editors (Derenbourg also has naʿlihi). In fact Sībawayhi establishes that all three cases are possible with ḥattā: indep. naʿluhu as subject of a new sentence (with 'algāhā as predicate as in 9.75), obl. naʿlihi, or dep. naʿlihu as preposed object of 'algāhā and concording by attraction with the dep. forms zāda etc. preceding. Sībawayhi's preference is clearly for the last, but he has to acknowledge that the obl. form is commonly met (and therefore is correct!), while he has reservations about the indep. form. The same three possibilities exist with 'akaltu s-samakata ḥattā raʾsaḥā: indep. raʾsuḥā as subject of new sentence, dep. raʾsaḥā as direct object coordinated with ḥattā, and obl. raʾsiḥā after prepositional ḥattā. In the last case, however, the meaning could be 'up to (but not including) its head'.

(8) The first grammatical criteria were ethical in origin, viz. ḥasan 'good' and qabīh 'bad', relating to structure, and mustaqīm 'right' and muḥāl 'wrong' relating to meaning (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147). With time, as grammar grew more prescriptive, these appear less often, and tend to be replaced with the simple opposition yajūz 'it is allowed': lā yajūz 'it is not allowed' (cf. 9.8 n 2). This is the only instance in this work of ḥasuna 'to be structurally correct' (though elsewhere we find the occasional synonym, e.g. 11.82, ʿalaḥa).

(9) He means neg. continuous exception (v. 21.2), i.e. māʾ ʿācjabatnī l-jāriyātu 'illā kalāmūhā 'only what the girl said delighted me'.

NOTES 291
12.911 (1) 'Limit' is ḡāya, cf. also the definition of min, 1.701, and cf. 21.01 n 1.

(2) 'Perceptible addition' is ziyāda ḥissiyya, 'abstract addition' is ziyāda maṣnawiyya; see 3.231 n 1 on ziyāda 'augment, increase' etc., and cf. 1.704 on ḥissiyya, 2.1 n 2 on maṣnawiyya.

(3) This sounds like one of the 'Traditions' of Muhammad (1.01 n 4), but is not listed as such in Wensinck's Concordance (others of similar content and wording, I, 294). Read mīğālī with obl. form coordinated by ḥattā with bi-l-ḥasanāti (obl. sound fem. plur., q.v. 3.83).

(4) 'Perceptible decrease' is naqṣ hissī, 'abstract decrease' is naqṣ maṣnawi, cf. n 2 above; naqṣ 'decrease' is morphological in 3.221, and cf. nāqis 'structurally defective', 9.71 n 2.

12.912 (1) 'Gradation' is tādrīj, 'making something proceed step by step', hence to be distinguished from tartīb 'ordering', 12.2 n 2.

(2) 'Absolute conjunction' is muṭlaq al-jamʿ: see 11.717 n 3 on muṭlaq 'absolute'. Here jamʿ, lit. 'gathering, uniting' is a synonym of qaṭf (q.v. 12.0 n 1), but it is also the normal term for 'plural' (3.23 n 1).

(3) See E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn al-Ḥādżib', G.A.L. I, 303, on this most famous grammarian, who was active mainly in Damascus and Cairo and died in 1239. Ibn Ḥīšām (1.02 n 1) relies heavily upon him. Here the reference is to Ibn al-Ḥājib's Kāfiya (countless editions, try Istanbul [1964], with commentary of al-Jāmī, 405): aš-Šīrīnī has evidently added Ibn al-Ḥājib's name to what he has adapted from Qatr 352.

(4) This Tradition (1.01 n 4) is in Wensinck, Concordance IV, 137, but reads bi-qadarin, omitting qaḍāʾin (cf. Qatr 353, Goguyer's note 4). Since predestination consists of God's actions, these can hardly be arranged in any order (especially grammatically or logically, unless by God himself, cf. 12.11). Cf. religious scruples in 5.751 n 1.

12.92 (1) Once again let it be stressed that meaning is not lexical (cf. 11.81 n 1). Examine the lists of 'meanings' (maṣʿāf, also rendered 'senses') in 1.701-709, 10.51-55 and those of the conjunctions in this chapter, and it should be clear that all are expressed in the form of verbal nouns, in other words, as kinds of linguistic acts. Look, also, at the contents list of any Arabic grammar: it is a series of verbal nouns, in the same way that the contents list of an Islamic law textbook is a series of verbal nouns (praying, washing, marrying, giving evidence etc. etc.) and for the same reason, namely, that the purpose of both disciplines is to regulate human behaviour. Only seldom is meaning expressed by synonym ('and' in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25) or paraphrase (ch. 18 passim), which is known to lead to infinite regression (Kitāb II, 312).

(2) In passing we note that coordination does not usually occur when nouns are qualified by more than one adjective, e.g. rajulun ṣāliḥun ṣādiğun 'a good, honest man'. However, coordination is obligatory in the situation where the adjectives qualify only part of the antecedent
viz. with dual and plur. nouns in the construction al-luṅtānī l-’Arabiyyatu wa-l-İngliziyyatu 'the Arabic (sing.) and English (sing.) languages (dual)'; cf. Cantarino, II, 52.

12.93 (1) Coordination of sentences proper (e.g. yaqūmu zaydun wa-yaqūdu, where the second verb is a complete sentence) is not dealt with by aš-Šīrbīnī. In fact the conjunctions wa and fa may express almost any logical relationship between propositions according to context, e.g. 'while' (q.v. 19.9 n 1), 'but', 'because', 'although' etc., cf. Beeston 89, 97; Fleisch (216 n 2).

(2) The verb here is qis 'make an analogy!', imperative of qāsa, and cognate with qiyaš 'analogy', q.v. 8.3 n 2.

12.94 (1) The complete concord of the adjective (11.02) reflects its ability to stand alone, without antecedent (11.61), with which it is, therefore, semantically and syntactically identical (this is true even for predicative adjectives: ar-rajulu qā’imun 'the man is standing' implies ‘ar-rajulu wa-julun qā’imun 'the man is a standing man'). But coordinated elements share only the function of their antecedent and (though not necessarily, cf. 12.7-9) its logical predicament.

(2) Coordination of nouns with pronouns is frowned upon, however, (cf. Inşāf, prob. 65; Muf. #158; Alf. v 557). Nöldeke 93 n 3 has a good example: ānahu wa-‘islāmihi 'about him and his Muslim faith'.

12.95 (1) There exists one type of compulsory coordination, viz. between agents of verbs denoting reciprocal action, e.g. ištaraka zaydun wa-’Amrun 'Zayd and ŠAmr worked together', see 25.23 n 2.

13.0 (1) Jum. 33; Muf. #132; Alf. v 520; Qaṭr 333; Fleisch 188; Nöldeke 47. Terminology: tawkid or ta’kid (also tākīd), 'emphasizing, corroboration', al-muwakkid or al-mu’akkid 'emphasizer, corroborating element', al-muwakkad or al-mu’akkad 'thing emphasized or corroborated' (translated 'antecedent'). The triad of function—active element—passive element is particularly obvious here (cf. 3.84 n 3). The same vocabulary is used for the emphasizing function of ‘inna ‘verily' (10.41, 51) and the emphatic elements la and anna (13.6 n 3). On the alternation of w and ‘ see Cantineau, Études 78, 178, Vollar, op. cit. 4.96 n 2, 43; for a’ to a Cantineau 77, E.I. (2), art. 'Hamza'. Like most grammarians, aš-Šīrbīnī is inconsistent, preferring 'akkada as the verbal form but tawkid, muwakkid etc. for the nominal forms.

13.1 (1) This formulation stems from Ibn al-Hājid, op. cit. 12.912 n 3,
NOTES

219, whence aš-Širbînî may have it directly, or perhaps through Ibn Hišām, op. cit. 11.723 n 1, 550.

(2) 'Relationship' is *nisba, originally 'genetic relationship' (cf. 11.721 n 4) but here in its logical sense (q.v. 20.02 n 1). 'Scope' is *ṣumūl, lit. 'act of embracing, comprehending', cf. 14.3 n 1. On the relevance of both terms to corroboration see further 13.3. Note the dichotomous classification here (1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on 'formal', *lafzî and 'abstract', *ma'cînawî.

13.11 (1) 'Identically' is *bi-aynihi 'by or through itself': this can be construed as a kind of abstract corroboration with 'ayn (13.31), with an underlying structure *yud'ū *matbūçu bi-*matbūçi *bi-aynihi *'the antecedent (matbūç 'that which is followed', cf. 11.01 n 1) is repeated by the antecedent itself'. 'By a synonym' is *bi-muwâfiqihi *ma'cîn 'by what agrees with it as to meaning' (ma'cîn is a 'specifying element', *tamyîz, q.v. ch. 20).

(2) Schaw. *Ind. 52; this verse is cited more often as an illustration of elided verbs than of corroboration, viz. the verb which has to be assumed in order to account for the dep. form of the first 'aḵāka (cf. 16.311 n 1). On the anomalous lā *aḵā lahu (cf. 4.72 n 1. Note that the relative clause man lā *aḵā lahu 'he who has no brother' (v. 11.754) has dep. status as the subject noun of *'inna (10.41), and that sâĨn, made obl. by ka (1.708) is of the type gāḏîn, 4.2 m 2.

(3) A kind of corroboration not dealt with by aš-Širbînî is *‘itbāç, lit. 'causing to follow' (cognate with tâbîc, 11.01 n 1), in which a word is repeated but with a different (and meaningless) initial letter, e.g. ḩasan basan 'beautiful, beautiful'; see Pellat, Arabica 4, 131.

13.12 (1) Schaw. *Ind. 124; anonymous and apparently not quoted before Ibn Hišām (e.g. Qatr 334), banal and suspiciously expedient, this verse nevertheless shows interesting juncture features in the last two words: graphically they are *‘ihbîsî *‘ihbîsî, morphologically *hbîsî *hbîsî and phonologically *hbîsî *hbîsî. The reasons are as follows:
(a) both are masc. sing. imperatives (5.2), i.e. the imperfect tense minus 2nd person prefix *tâ and mood suffix *u (tâbîsû–*hbîs),
(b) in context the non-canonical initial consonant cluster (2.5 n 3) is resolved by taking the final vowel of the previous word (lāhiqûna *hbîsî). If the previous word does not end in a vowel the glide vowel *i is automatically supplied (hbîsî *hbîsî), cf. 11.1 n 2,
(c) in utterance initial position the cluster is resolved by prefixing an arbitrary *i (sometimes *u, 5.2. n 3) which, for historical reasons, is notated , i.e. the consonant *‘alîf (2.43 n 2). This *‘alîf remains even when the word is not in utterance initial position, but is marked in juncture with a sign indicating that it is to be ignored,
(d) the final *i of the second *hbîsî is merely the rhyming vowel, q.v. 5.88 n 4, and is to be pronounced long.

It is clear from the above that syllable and word boundaries need not be the same: the last three words of this verse are syllabically lâ-ḡî-nâb-bi-sî-bi-sî. Note also that an-najā‘u shows both the
juncture feature of the def. art. al (11.1 n 2) and assimilation to the first consonant of the following word (11.41 n 2).

(2) 'Evidence' is šāhid, lit. 'witness', a reminder of the legal influence on Arabic grammar (Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84); an evidentiary verse is a šāhida 'fem. witness', plur. šawāhid.

13.13 (1) Schaw. Ind. 79. The lady Buṭayna is called Baṭna in the verse, but is universally known by the former name, which is the diminutive of the latter (3.421 n 1). See E.I. (2), art. 'Djāmil'. The following grammatical points should be noted: lā 'no, not' is called a 'particle of response' (harf jawāb) by aš-Širbīnī (from al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 129), presumably because the verse is an answer to a question, but thereby an inconsistency is created, for while the first lā may well mean 'no' the second can only mean 'not', i.e. is in quite a different function. Yāsīn (on Taṣr. ad loc.) evades the issue by taking lā lā... to mean 'not, not...' as an answer! The name Baṭna is semi-declenable, q.v. 3.89 (4), and so should mawāqītan have also been (3.89 (1)), but has tanwīn here by poetic licence (7.5 n 2), to create a long syllable for metrical purposes. For ġalayya see 3.421 n 3, and cf. 14.2 n 2.

13.14 (1) S. 89 v 21; on kallā 'nay' cf. 1.21 n 3.

(2) S. 89 v 22 (continuing the verse cited above). The eschatological tableau which follows is found in all the standard commentaries (among them aš-Širbīnī's own, IV 513), also in Qāṭr. 335.

(3) It is as well to point out that the dependent elements in the three examples do not all have the same grammatical status: the first dakkan 'crushing' is an 'absolute object' of dukkat 'is crushed' (see 17.53 n 2, 17.71 n 1), and as for the second we may accept the interpretation of aš-Širbīnī or not; ṣaffan ṣaffan 'rank upon rank' and bābān bābān 'chapter by chapter' are certainly not rhetorical repetition, but 'circumstantial qualifiers' of their antecedents (see ch. 19, esp. 19.33), both being necessary for the sake of the meaning.

(4) Corroboration by synonym occurs with pronouns, e.g. ḏarabanī 'anā 'he hit me', contrast ḏarabanī huwa 'he hit me', cf. 11.717 n 4. To this type would also belong such combinations as nāḥnu l-muslimūna 'we Muslims' (Beeston 43, n 1).

13.2 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish the agent from the patient noun (cf. 10.34 n 1); only one k is written, the doubling being marked diacritically with the sign called šadda 'tying together' (see further 24.23 n 2), hence it suffices in the spelling instructions to say al-kāf 'the k' (contrast 10.42-44 etc., where the doubling is phonemic).

(2) The second comment would not have been necessary if the first had not gratuitously implied that undefined elements could be corroborated, but this comes from following al-Azhari, Āj. 76 too closely. As may be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) assert that corroboration of undefined nouns is possible (Insāf, prob. 63), this time with a
NOTES

considerable body of evidence. It is limited, however, to expressions of time and place, e.g. qa'adtu yawman kullahu 'I sat a whole day'; cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 167 for further examples.

13.3 (1) li-rafi' l-majāzī c'an īq-dātī, lit. 'for lifting the metaphor from the entity'; see 20.01 n 2 on īqāt 'essence, entity'. 'Metaphor' is majāz, lit. 'going across' (scil. from literal, ḥaqīqī, to figurative), but see 13.31 n 4. Majāz still needs to be further investigated: in Muqtadaq it often means 'grammatical process'.

(2) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'.

13.31 (1) In fact, these are the only two in category (a); nafs also means 'soul', whileāyn has many meanings ranging from 'eye' to 'spring', see further 13.9, also 20.13 n 2 for fem. gender.

(2) For the other possibility, that nafs and āyn might themselves be taken literally when corroborating concealed pronouns, see 13.9. Note the variant bi-āynihi in 13.11 n 1, another example 22.43.

(3) Possibly there is also a historical reason, that āyn came into use when nafs was felt to have lost some of its force (something like the strengthening of 'same' by 'self' to give 'self-same'). 'Comprehensive term' is jumla, a word which in grammar most often means 'sentence' (cf. 19.6 n 1), but originally meant only a gathering or collection (hence also 'totality').

(4) 'Metaphorical' is musta'ār, from isti'āra 'metaphor', lit. 'borrowing', impossible to distinguish in translation from majāz, used already above, though they are not strictly synonymous in rhetoric: majāz is broader than isti'āra and embraces all figurative language (cf. al-Jurjānī, op. cit. 10.53 n 1, 379, 428. E.I. (2), 'Isti'āra').

(5) 'Plural of paucity' is a literal translation of jamc al-qilla, cf. 3.221 n 2. The patterns in which this plural allegedly occurs are fi'latun, 'afṣalun, 'afṣulun and 'afṣilatun, but there is a great deal of inconsistency in their use (even grammarians waver between ḥurūf and 'ahruf as plurals of ḥarf). Not many nouns actually have more than one plural pattern, though āyn gives a good idea of the range of possibilities: as 'self' it has the plur. 'a'yun, as 'eye' it has the plural āyūn, plur. of paucity 'a'yān, while as 'dignitary' it has 'a'yān for its plural. To complicate matters further, āyn also appears here as the regular name for the second radical of a word (see 3.45 n 1)!

(6) 'Impure speech' is ġayr al-'afṣab, lit. 'not the most eloquent', from faṣīḥ 'eloquent, speaking clearly and correctly', the linguistic ideal of the Arabs, after which Classical Arabic is named al-luḡa l-fuṣhā 'the most pure language'. It constrasts with al-luḡa l-C̣āmma 'the general, ordinary language'. Cf. Beeston 11, Bateson 77, Yushmanov 4.

(7) The translations reproduce the errors of the Arabic, and perhaps serve to remind us that similar forms occur in spoken English (e.g. 'hisself', 'theirselves' etc.). Why plurals of nafs and āyn must be
used when the antecedent is dual is not clear: the problem was noted very early (e.g. Kitāb II, 201), as the construction occurs in the Qurʿān, e.g. S. 66 v 4 etc. (try G.L.E.C.S. 3, 15, 26).

13.32 (1) For convenience nafsu- and Caynu- are quoted here in the forms ready to receive the pronoun suffixes, though the Arabic has an-nafsu, al-Caynu. Whether this is the 'generic article' (11.741) or the 'article of familiarity' (11.742) is an open question.

(2) Obligatory pronoun suffixation is one of the features which distinguish the corroborative from the substitute (14.12). See 4.72 n 1 for table of suffixed pronouns, and further 13.9.

13.4 (1) Jum. 33; Muf. #137; Alf. v 522; Qatr 337 (Muğni I, 164); Fleisch 153, 188; Nöldeke 33. 'Intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning' is a literal translation of ʿirādatu 1-kuṣūṣi bi-mā zāhiruhu ʿumūrum: as the examples will show, this definition assumes that kull corroborates elements bearing the generic article or equivalent (see 11.741), but see below, n 6, for kull in annexation to undefined elements.

(2) For which see 13.43.

(3) 'By its own operator' is literally bi-Cāmilīhi (v. 2.11 n 1): the question is, does this refer to the preceding verb or to the human agent? Since the speaker is the ultimate operator on all the elements of his discourse, there is every possibility that Cāmil here denotes the human agent (cf. Carter J.A.O.S. 93, 151 n 46, also 8.2 n 2).

(4) See 20.01 n 2 on ʿatt 'essence'; there are acute metalinguistic problems here (cf. 12.81 n 2), as we either have to take zaydun as the name of the agent (and thus say 'his own operator') or as an element quoted in the metalanguage (thus 'its own operator'). In the light of note 3, both are possible.

(5) S. 2 v 19; Arabic, like English, relies on common sense here!

(6) In addition to its corroborative function kull may be annexed to nouns and pronouns in all positions in the meaning of 'each, every, all', as follows:

(a) undef. sing. kullu yawmin 'every day' kullu rajulin 'each man'

(b) def. sing. kullu l-yawmi 'the whole day' kulluhu 'all of it'
   kullu l-qawmi 'all the people' kulluhum 'all of them'

(c) def. plur. kullu r-rijāli 'all the men' kulluhum 'all of them'

There is no pronominalization of (a); kullahu in 13.2 n 2 is a special case equivalent to kulla l-yawmi (cf. 11.718 n 2). Both (b) and (c) are grammatically defined, which is usually only apparent in relative sentences (kullu l-qawmi llaṣfina marartu bihim 'all the people by whom I passed') and in their ability to stand as subjects. Type (a) is formally undefined but occasionally appears to be defined (so Nöldeke 33, and cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 155). Compare superlative, 20.42 n 3.
NOTES

13.41 (1) 'ajmaçu should not be here (v. 13.6), but aš-Sirbīnī is following ad-Azhārī, Tašr. II, 122. See 5.86 n 3 on raḥṭ, 'link'.

13.42 (1) S. 2 v 29; the translation reproduces the orthodox parsing of this verse, i.e. with jamcCan as a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. ch. 19), albeit with emphatic function (tawkīdί). Cf. also 24.51.

(2) 13.4.

(3) 'Revelation' is tanzīl 'causing to come down'. The reference is to Muğnī II, 111, though taken directly from al-Azhārī, Tašr. II, 122. On Ibn Hāšām see 1.02 n 1; Muğnī 1-labīb ('All the intelligent man needs') treats particles and difficult words alphabetically, followed by two extremely important sections dealing with problems of syntax and elision: the whole work awaits a proper evaluation.

13.43 (1) 'All two' is certainly less elegant than 'both', but was chosen to reflect an assumed etymological connection between kilā and kull 'all' (so Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 141: however, kilā is also said to have the root k-1-1', Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 665, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 157 n 4, and any link with k-1-1 must be prehistoric); 'Kūfān' (Insāf prob. 62) derive kilā from kull. Syntactically kilā is highly restricted (unlike kull), occurring only in annexation (there is no point in positing a base form *kilānī, as Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 158, Moscati #14.2), and it does not always inflect for case.

(2) Cf. 3.63, 13.7. By asserting that the predicate must be the same aš-Sirbīnī obscures the fact that the subjects or agents need not be: māta zaydun wa-Čamrun kilāhumā 'Zayd and ČAmr both died', zaydun wa-Čamrun kilāhumā qā'īmānī 'Zayd and ČAmr both are standing'. In hādī li-zaydin wa-Čamrin kilayhimā 'this belongs to both Zayd and ČAmr', the predicate is the same in that it can be paraphrased by the single term la-humā 'belongs to them both'.

13.44 (1) Heterogeneous forms are involved here: masc. sing. 'ajmaçu is semi-declinable, adj. pattern 'afcāl u (3.89 (10)), so is fem. sing. jamcā′u, adj. pattern fā′cā′u (ibid.); dual jamcί is simply a noun (in other contexts used for 'plural', 3.23 n 1), masc. plur. 'ajmaсуnā is regular (3.411, as 'afdalūna), while the fem. plur. jumacί is unaccountably semi-declinable, as if being treated as a proper name (3.89 (8), and cf. Qatr 339 n 3, Fleisch, Tr. #55k).

(2) As 'plural' is jamc, the text reads jamcu 'ajmaсуa 'ajmaсуnā for 'the plur. of 'ajmacu is 'ajmacúnā' and jamucu jamcā′a jumacu for 'the plur. of jamcā′u is jumacu', a good specimen of the metalanguage for practice!

13.45 (1) 'Subsidiaries' renders tawābiC 'followers' (also used for 'concordants', q.v. 11.0 n 1).

(2) The etymologies, though accurate, are not very helpful (cf. Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 151 n 1), and are taken directly from al-Azhārī Āj. 77.
(3) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion of ș and ğ: the former is muhmal 'undotted', lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.431 n 3), while 'dotted' is expressed by mučjam, lit. 'made to look foreign', same root as 'icjäm in 2.0 n 1.

13.5 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'aşl 'normal', lit. 'base, root, stock'.

(2) This is the end of the chapter as far as Ibn Ajjurrüm is concerned; aş-Sirbini ploughs on, largely with the help of al-Azharî, Taṣr. II, 124, 126. The opportunity will be taken to give a few miscellaneous pointers. Other examples of kull annexed to nouns (i.e. not as a corroborative): 9.94, 11.61, 12.912, 17.64, 18.32, 21.61, 25.27; kull, al-kull used alone ('the whole'): 14.11, 14.2. Nafs, non-corroborative 9.91; note that nafs when annexed to nouns corresponds to 'same', e.g. marartu bi-nafsi r-rajuli 'I passed by the same man', ra'aytu nafsa r-rijāli 'I saw the same men'. The same structure with ġayr (21.4) gives 'not the same as, other', e.g. marartu bi-ġayri r-rajuli 'I passed by someone other than the man' (v. 21.42 n 1).

13.6 (1) Cf. 13.41 n 1. It happens that 'ajmašt etc. belong to a set of patterns which, as well as being semi-declinable, are somewhat ambiguous as to definition (see 3.89 n 12). Without claiming that they are, in fact, defined, we suggest that they are defined enough to be able to occur in apposition to defined elements without a suffixed pronoun. Support for this view comes from the dual jamštuhumā: jamštun is the only member of the set which is fully declinable, and it alone also has the pronoun suffix (masc. plur. 'ajmaštūna has all the syntactic features of its semi-declinable sing.). An alternative line is to oppose the 'ajmašt set (defined, and marked for number, gender and case) to the kull, nafs and jamšt set (undefined, marked for case but only partially for number, rest supplied by suffix pronouns).

(2) S. 15 v 30.

(3) S. 15 v 39. Note the emphatic prefix la, called lām at-tawkīd (cf. 13.0 n 1 on tawkīd), which is often found on verbs bearing the emphatic suffix anna (q.v. 26.34 n 2), and is also prefixed subjects (la-zaydun muntalīqun 'Zayd is going away'), predicates (see next note) and regularly to the apodosis of law conditions (5.811 n 1, e.g. law gāma la-qumtu 'if he had stood I would have stood'). Muf. ##600-605; Alf. v 181; Beeston 103; Fleisch 109, 143.

(4) S. 15 v 43; note that the predicate is introduced by the prefix la (see n 3 above), hence termed lām al-ğabar 'predicative la' (cf. Fleisch 169), which is related to the l which appears with deictic function in various demonstrations and pronominal elements, 11.734 n 1.

13.7 (1) See 3.63 and 3.65 (7) for the substance of this debate, which is here reported in the words of al-Azharî, Taṣr. II, 124. There, we learn, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) allow the strictly analogical duals of 'ajmašt and jamštāšt, viz. 'ajmaštāni and jamštāwānī respectively (note intervocalic 'w, cf. 3.62 n 2). See 13.44 for the 'orthodox' dual jamšt.
(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish siyyun from šay' 'thing' and sawā‘un from siwan 'other than' (21.02 (c)). The objections to sawā‘āni are possibly more orthographical than phonological: suffixing ā to ā' produces three consecutive 'alifs (cf. 2.43 n 2) and, even when reduced to two by an arbitrary spelling device, still leaves two together, and that is something which the language will hardly tolerate.

13.8 (1) Coordination of attributive adjectives by means of conjunctions is by no means so common with undefined nouns (cf. 12.92 n 2), but they are in any case excluded from the present topic. It must be admitted that the basis of the argument here, that adjectives need not be synonymous and corroboratives always are, seems rather weak. A series of synonymous adjectives can be coordinated just as easily. See also n 3 below.

(2) This, too, is not a feature peculiar to corroboratives: the noun and its adjective(s) have been recognized from the first as being functionally equivalent to a single element (ism wāhīd 'one noun', cf. Kitāb I, 210, 351, 393).

(3) The Sprachgefühl is sound but the reasoning could be stronger. In particular the example of the adjectives is unconvincing, as the same string can qualify Zayd without coordination (ja‘a zaydun il-‘alimu š-šāliḥu 1-wari‘u). The answer lies in the difference of function between adjectives and corroboratives: each successive adjective is a further qualification of its noun, and all adjectives have equal status, while any additional corroboratives only reinforce the first corroborative, to which they are in apposition and without which they cannot appear (hence 'subsidiaries', 13.45, and cf. 13.31 n 3 for nafs 6ayn).

(4) See 11.6 on qaṭ‘ 'suspension of concordance'; corroboratives are in this respect closer to substitutes (badal), q.v. ch. 14.

13.9 (1) These are all agent pronouns (q.v. ch. 7 passim); dep. and obl. bound pronouns are discussed at the end of the paragraph.

(2) The other corroboratives are not affected by this condition because, in the Arab view, they retain their literal meanings even in corroboration (cf. n 8 below). An alternative explanation might be that nafs only developed its corroborative function as a reinforcement of the free pronoun that had already come to be used to repeat (for emphasis, 11.717 n 4) concealed agent pronouns and others.

(3) Random though this mixture of past tense and imperative examples may seem, it follows exactly the list in al-Azharī, Taṣrīr, II, 126, and seems to have been chosen so as to avoid 3rd person sing. verbs, whose 'concealed agent' (cf. 11.714 n 3) causes the problem about to be discussed. But the solution is the same, viz. karajat hiya 6aynūhā 'she herself went out', with hiya 'she' externalizing the concealed agent.

(4) The text has karāhata ‘Ihāmi l-fā‘iliyyati Cinda stītāri /randīrī l-mu‘annaṭi, lit. 'out of reluctance for suggesting agency with concealment of the fem. pronoun', taking istītār 'concealment' from
al-Azharî, Taṣr. II, 126 in preference to both MSS 'īsnād 'predication'. It would also be possible to read karāḥata nbiḥāmi 'out of reluctance for vagueness', following al-Azharî, ibid.

(5) More literally 'her eye went out', cf. 13.31 n 1.

(6) See 11.711, 11.761 on the hierarchy of defined elements. 'More strongly defined' is 'aqwā ... bi-l-'acrafīyya: 'aqwā is comparative of qawl 'strong', cf. 11.711 n 2, and 'acrafīyya is an abstract noun formed from 'acrafu 'more defined', cf. 11.721 n 4 (as is fāqīliyya 'quality of being an agent', a line or two higher, from fāqil 'agent').

(7) Are concealed pronoun agents more frequent than visible pronoun agents? If so, this may explain why pronoun agents must always be corrobated with free pronouns, contrast dep. and obl. pronouns, which are always visible and can therefore be corrobated with nafs etc.

(8) Unlike nafs, kull is always literal, hence may stand as agent in its own right (gāma kulluhum, sing. verb, 7.22 n 1) or in apposition to a pronoun agent as here, cf. yaqūmāni z-zaydāni, 7.03 n 3.

(9) Observe the vowel harmony affecting suffixes hu, humā, hum, hunna after i, I (=iy, 2.43 n 2) or ay, thus minhu 'from him' but fihi 'in him'; Beeston 40; Yushmanov 28. Other types of vowel harmony: 5.2 n 3; 19.72 n 4; 22.43 n 1.

13.91 (1) A kind of hyperbolic corroboration occurs with kull, viz. 'anta r-rajulu kullu r-rajuli, 'you are the man, all the man', i.e. 'you are all man!', cf. Nöldeke 47 (esp. Spitaler n 1), Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 153. We also find 'ayy 'what' (5.86) in this construction, e.g. wa-lākinnahu saq̣ub 'ayyu saq̣ibin, 'but it is difficult, what a difficult thing', i.e. 'it is very difficult' (Cantarino I, 156, where saq̣ab must be corrected to saq̣b). Contrast 'anta r-rajulu cīlman 'you are the man for knowledge' in 20.6 n 2 and jā'ā r-rajulu wahdahu 'the man came by himself' (v. 19.51 n 5), neither of which are corroboration constructions.

14.0 (1) Jum. 35; Muf. #150; Alf. v 565; Qatr 358. Terminology: badal lit. 'act of substituting' (originally legal, e.g. exchange of good merchandise for bad); mubdal minhu 'thing for which another has been substituted', i.e. antecedent; mubdal 'thing substituted', i.e. the substitute itself (sometimes also called badal).

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Başrans' and 'Kūfans', 26.01 n 3 on al-ʿAqfaš,
12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān. The 'Kūfan' terms are seldom seen outside this particular context: they are 'interpretation' tarjuma, lit. 'translation', 'clarification' tabyIn, lit. 'making clear', and 'repetition' takrIr.

(3) See 1.1 n 2 on luḡatan 'lexically' and istilāḥan 'technically'. 'Replacement' is cīwāq, also a legal term with the narrower meaning of 'compensation', cf. 1.44. 'Intended to follow...the same grammatical rule' renders al-maqsūdu bi-1-ḥukmī, lit. 'intended by the ḥukm', in which ḥukm could mean either 'logical predicament' (v. 12.1 n 3) or 'grammatical rule' (q.v. 24.1 n 2), the latter clearly being the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, although other commentators (e.g. Ibn ʿĀqīl on Alīf, v 565) paraphrase ḥukm by nisba (q.v. 20.02 n 1). We are guided by Ibn Yaḥyā on Muṣ. #150: al-badalu tānin yuqaddar fi mawdīṣi l-′awwalī 'the substitute is a second (element) estimated to be in the place of the first' (cf. taqDIR, 2.101 n 1, mawdīC, 3.1 n 4).

14.01 (1) 'Inflections' is 'iṣrāb, cf. 11.02 n 1; substitutes do not necessarily concord in number, gender or definition, which makes them different from the other concordants (see 14.12 n 1).

(2) By subdividing the fourth kind into three, q.v. 14.4.

14.1 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the thing for the thing', badal aš-šay' min aš-šay', see further 14.11.

(2) S. 78 vv 31, 32; Palmer's translation has been used. It will be observed that this is not the only occasion when the substitution straddles two consecutive verses of the Qur'ān (cf. 14.11 n 2, 14.34 n 3, 14.6 n 2), and the chapter as a whole savours more of rhetoric than syntax. Commentators do not always agree over this verse: it can be regarded as partial (14.2) or inclusive (14.3) substitution, or even explanatory apposition (14.51 n 1)! Note inversion with undefined subject mafāzan (9.73 n 1) but still operated on by 'inna (10.41); ḥadā'iqa is a semi-declinable broken plur. (3.89 (1)).

14.11 (1) 'Substitution of a whole for a whole' is literal for badal kull min kull: see 14.52 n 2 on kull with and without the def. article.

(2) S. 14 vv 1, 2, allāhī being the first word of v 2. For this reason it is also explained by the commentators as having indep. form (allāhu) through suspension of concordance (gaṭC, cf. 11.6 n 1) as predicate of an understood huwa 'he (is)', or even as the subject of the following predicative clause, scil. 'God is he to whom belongs that which is in the heavens etc.' (cf. aš-Širbīnī's Commentary, II, 160). The prepositional phrase 'ilā sirāţi etc. is in turn explained as a substitute for a previous prepositional phrase, 'ilā n-nūri 'out of darkness) into the light'.

(3) Note the theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1). In the present instance aš-Širbīnī is reproducing the orthodox doctrine of tanziḥ 'stripping away', i.e. the belief that God has no physical human attributes (here quoting from al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 156).
14.12 (1) The substitute here differs both formally and functionally from the corroboratives nafs, ġayn (13.31) and kull (13.4); 'ajmaC, which corroborates without a pronoun suffix (13.6) is a special case. See further 14.21, 14.34 for the types of substitute which must carry a pronoun linking them to their antecedent. The demonstrative pronouns and their nouns stand in the relationship of identical substitution: zaydun hāḏā 'this Zayd' (lit. 'Zayd, this one'), hāḏā r-rajulu 'this man' (lit. 'this one, the man', cf. 11.735 n 2).

14.2 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the some for the all', badal al-baḏ min al-kull. See 17.65 on baḏ 'some', 13.4 on kull 'all'; note that kull and baḏ are here prefixed with the def. article (contrast 14.11), a practice which is disapproved of in 14.52. In fact it is not at all uncommon for kull to occur without article, even in places where it functions as subject of a sentence, e.g. S. 8 v 54, kullun kānū zālimina 'all were wrongdoers' (in apposition to 'Pharaoh's people'), a usage which is still current (Cantarino, loc. cit. 14.52 n 2).

(2) S. 3 v 97. Points to note: li 'for' (1.709) and ġalā 'on, against' (1.704) are used antithetically in the idiomatic sense of 'to be in credit' and 'to be in debt', e.g. li ġalayka dirhamun 'you owe me a dirham', ġala ġalayya dirhamun 'I owe you a dirham' (note inversion with undefined subjects, 9.73 n 1); that man ġistağa is a noun phrase (cf. 11.754) is neatly demonstrated here by its substitution for the noun an-nāsī.

14.21 (1) Except for nišfun 'half', fractions have the pattern fuC'il (cf. 10.37 n 1), e.g. tultun 'a third', rubun 'a quarter', up to ġušrun 'a tenth'. In tultayhi (=tultayni + hu) observe loss of ni in annexation (26.93 n 1) and vowel harmony with hi (13.9 n 9).

(2) A referential pronoun (ḏā'id, 11.752 n 1) is needed because the partial substitute is not identical with its antecedent (contrast 14.12); in tultahu etc. the visible pronoun hu does the job, but in man ġistağa 'whoever is able' (14.2) the reference is vague and minhum has to be assumed. Note that 'linking' is expressed by yarbuta, a verb cognate with rābiţ 'link', cf. 5.86 n 3, 14.34.

14.3 (1) 'Inclusive substitution' is badal al-īštīmal, lit. 'substitution of comprehensiveness or comprehending', cf. šumūl 'scope, extent' in 13.1, from the same root. See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 194; note juncture features in def. article, q.v. 11.1 n 2, 11.41 n 2; vowel harmony in ffhi (*ff-hu), 13.9 n 9.

14.31 (1) This is not a dispute which figures in the wrangles between 'Bašrans' and 'Kūfans' collected in İnşāf. It may have started in the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898), who is among the first to deal in these subdivisions of the badal (cf. Muqtaḍab I, 27, IV, 297, and note that al-Astarâbâdî, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 314, connects al-Mubarrad with this problem). See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) 'Quality' is sīfa, elsewhere translated 'adjective' (cf. 11.0 n 1). While it is certain that this term was used by philosophers (especially
NOTES

theologians, Versteegh 71 n 6, 74 n 22) for 'quality' = 'predicate', it
does not follow that its occurrence in the earliest grammar is due to
borrowing. Rundgren's unsubstantiated assertion (op. cit. 1.01 n 2,
143) 'the adjective is called sîfa by Sibawayhi, a term which strikes
one as somewhat philosophical', proves nothing.

(3) It would, of course, be allowable as a case of 'substitution of
error' (14.4). 'Impossible' is weaker than the original Arabic, which
has mamnûC 'prohibited': in a-Šîrînî's source, al-Azharî, Taṣr. II,
157, it is clear that it is the grammarians, by this stage heavily
normative, who 'forbid' such usages on logical grounds (cf. 12.91 n 8).

14.32 (1) The argument seems to be that Zayd is included in the second
element by pronominalization; see further 14.33 n 3.

14.33 (1) With 'whose operator comprehensively includes the meaning of
the substitute' we are in the world of semantics: the connection bet­
tween the two elements is variously described as ’iltimās, mulābasā (both
approx. synonymous, 'implication, involvement') 'īḥāta 'encompassment',
as well as istimāl (cf. Muqtadab, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1). Compare the
relationship between elements coordinated by ḭattā 'even' (12.91,
12.911) and the conditions for continuous exception, 21.2.

(2) See 13.3 n 1 on majāz 'metaphor', 12.91 n 6 on ḥaqīqa 'truth' (i.e.
literal usage). The rhetorical aspects of this construction are well
summarized by al-Astarâbâdî, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1: 'it is a condition of
inclusive substitution that it should convey no specific information
through the first element, but the mind, with the mention of the first
element, should remain in anticipation of an explanation, because of
the very comprehensiveness of the first element'.

(3) 'To steal', saraqa, is not commonly doubly transitive (Reckendorf,
Ar. Synt. 76; double transitivity 16.310 n 1), hence the example is
somewhat tendentious. Even so, passivization normally only requires
the transfer of one object into the agent function (8.2, and see 8.0
n 5), viz. suriga zaydun ṭawbahu or farasahu, and the argument here
seems specious. This is especially obvious if we compare the active
equivalent saraqtu zaydan ṭawbahu 'I robbed Zayd of his garment',
where there is scarcely any possibility of confusing the second direct
object with any kind of substitution.

14.34 (1) 14.3. Contrast identical substitution, which requires no
referential pronoun (14.12). 'Inclusive substitute' for qiṭālin is
not meant to imply that it includes aš-Šahrî, but merely that the type
of substitution is 'inclusive'.

(2) 'Link' is rābîṭ, cf. 5.86 n 3.

(3) S. 85 vv 4, 5. Since 'ukhdūd is here used in a (hitherto) unexplain­
ed sense (v. E.I. (2), art. 'Aṣhâb al-Ukhdūd'), it might seem that
an-nārî is a case of explanatory coordination ('aṭf bayān, q.v. 14.51
n 1), but the commentators all agree that it is inclusive substitution.
The verb in this verse is formally past tense passive (ch. 8), but has
optative value (duqā' 'call, prayer', cf. 5.55 n 3); other common
examples are ṭaḥimahu llāhu 'may God have mercy on him', athāla llāhu baqā'ahu 'may God prolong his life' (cf. also 7.02, 17.7 n 4). It is negated by la, e.g. la kāna 'may it never be' (cf. 10.18 n 5). Muf. #478, 547; Beckendorf, Ar. Synt. 11, 43.

14.4 (1) These are respectively 'idrāb lit. 'turning away' (cf. 12.52 n 3), ġalaţ 'mistake' and nisyān 'forgetting'. Sībawayhi was not so hairsplitting, recognizing basically two kinds of substitution, one of which corresponds to types 1-3, and the other to types 4-6, called simply badal al-ġalaţ (cf. Kitāb I, 218). This is in keeping with Sībawayhi's descriptive approach and shows that, for him at least, the language was still spoken (v. 5.432 n 1), while for al-Mubarrad (d. 898, 22.3 n 1) it was necessary to point out that these substitutes never occur in the Qur'ān, poetry and all right speech' (Muqtadāšab IV, 297, see 1.13 n 1 on 'right'). See further n 6 below.

(2) 'Substitution of second thoughts' is badal badā', lit. 'of a new idea which presents itself to the mind' (badā' is cognate with ibtidā' 'making a start', i.e. of an equational sentence, 9.12 n 2).

(3) This helpful comment is taken from Ibn Hišām via al-Azharī, Taṣr. II, 159 (it is also in Āj. 78): what he means is that substitution here takes place in reverse, and the first element is the mubdal (normally second) and the second is the mubdal minhu (normally first), see further 14.54 n 2. It hardly seems likely that this was Sībawayhi's original intention!

(4) The error is of some consequence, as a dinar is worth about twenty times as much as a dirham (cf. Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.89 n 5, 129, 133 on the foreign origin of these words, also E.I. (2), s.v.).

(5) 'Intention, purpose' etc. are variously denoted by the roots qaṣada 'to aim for' (cf. maqsūd, 14.0 n 3, 23.42 n 1), nawā 'to intend' (cf. niyya, 5.44 n 3) and ārāda 'to will'. It is clear that here, and in some other homologous constructions (notably the suspension of adjectival concordance for reasons of praise or blame, 11.6), only the motive of the speaker can distinguish them.

(6) This explanation is from Qatr 351, and was prompted by Ibn Hišām's concern that the pupil would have difficulty with the three types of substitution of error! It would be better, too, if they were not paraded in Western grammars of Arabic, e.g. Wright II, 286, Beckendorf, Ar. Synt. 65 n 2. Al-Astārābdī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1, mentions that poets may deliberately use this construction for effect, rather as in hindun najmun badrun šamsun 'Hind is a star, moon, sun'.

14.51 (1) This adds nothing to what has been said already, so here is an outline of a construction not dealt with by as-Sirbīnī, namely explanatory coordination (Cāf ṭayān, cf. 12.0): it is formally identical with substitution of a thing for an identical thing (14.1), and only differs (a) in its purpose (cf. 14.4 n 5), and (b) in that the second element must always be more specific than the first, e.g. ja'a āğūka zaydun 'your brother Zayd came', (there is only one Zayd but
there may be more than one brother: contrast jā'a zaydun 'āgūka 'Zayd, your brother, came', where 'your brother' does not make Zayd any more specific). Muf. #155-6; Alf. v 534; Qatr 342; Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 65.

(2) Alf. v 566; al-badal al-muṭābiq, lit. 'which fits exactly over'.

14.52 (1) See 8.21 n 1 on 'iCrāb, here 'parsing'.

(2) Cf. 14.11 n 1. Whether there is a difference between collective al-kull and distributive kull (so Cantarino, II, 124) is arguable, especially in regard to kullun kānū zālimīna, q.v. 14.2 n 1. Cf. also 1.441 n 3; Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 140.

14.53 (1) This segmentation is adequate for the present purpose, but for practice consider the possible further levels: nafaCanīf comprises the discontinuous morphemes n-f-C, root meaning 'benefit' and a-a for the past tense active (cf. 5.1 n 2); after the third radical is the purely lexical item a, associated with the 3rd sing. past tense, with which a concealed agent pronoun also has to be assumed (7.58 n 1); nf is the direct object suffix I with the 'preserving n' (16.301); zaydun and Cilmuhu likewise consist of the discontinuous morphemes z-y-d and C-l-m, and a-Ø, i-Ø for noun pattern respectively (10.37 n 1), both with independence marker u (3.21), zaydun with nominal marker n (not necessarily indefiniteness marker, cf. 1.41, 11.8), Cilmuhu with 3rd sing. possessive pronoun suffix hu (4.72 n 2).

14.54 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. article al, which appears as I in context (but see 11.41 n 2) and al in isolation.

(2) Surface structure and deep structure are here in open conflict: in terms of the former there can be no doubt that al-farasa is substituted for zaydan, and this is certainly how Sibawayhi understood the process. On the other hand, from the point of view of deep structure, zaydun has intruded into the intended statement ra'ay tu1-farasa, hence it can be said, as here (reproducing Ibn Hišām, see 14.4 n 3), that zaydan has been substituted for al-farasa.

14.6 (1) There are several candidates for this name, but the most likely is Abū-l-Qāsim aš-Sāṭībī, best known as an authority upon the Qur'ān, and reputedly one of the masters of Ibn al-Hājib (12.912 n 3). Aš-Sāṭībī died in 1194; G.A.L. I, 409 and Suppl. (note that his name is given as al-Qāsim only, not Abū l-Qāsim, by as-Suyūṭī, Buğyat al-wuCāh, ed. Cairo 1965, II, 260). See also 14.63 n 2.

(2) S. 25 vv 68, 69; if yudāCaf had had indep. form (yudāCafu) this would have made a new or relative clause, 'its/whose punishment will be doubled on Judgement Day' (*yudāCafu lahu l-Cadābu yawma l-qiyāmati), but the apocopated 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) yudāCaf precludes this.

14.61 (1) This is neither from the Qur'ān nor the 'Traditions' (1.01 n 4), and falls under the same suspicion as other specimens produced by aš-Sāṭībī (see 14.63 n 1). For the apoc. forms here see 3.92 for tuṣallī (weak 3rd radical), 4.82 n 2 for tasjud and yarḥam.
14.62 (1) Schaw. Ind. 147; for metrical reasons (cf. 5.88 n 4) the final a of tubāyiʿa is written and pronounced long, but has been left short in transcription so as not to obscure its function as marker of dependence after ḍān (5.41). Other grammatical points to note: ʿinna (10.41) has the verb phrases ʿan tubāyiʿa etc. (cf. 9.02 n 2) as its inverted subject and ʿalayya (see 14.2 n 2) as its inverted predicate; on allāha as a free-standing oath see Fischer, Islam 28, 9; for the verbal noun karhan as circumstantial qualifier see 19.33 n 1.

14.63 (1) The examples here and in 14.61 hardly ring true, and there can be little doubt that they are pedagogical inventions, hence the reservations expressed by ʾaš-Šayk Kālid (q.v. n 3).

(2) This whole extract from ʾaš-Šāṭibī has been taken from al-Azharī, Āj. 79, rather than from Taṣrīḥ II, 161, which lacks the final remark.

(3) Here (and once more in 21.35) ʾaš-Širbīnī reveals the name of his principal source, ʾaš-Šayk Kālid al-Azharī, died 1499 (G.A.L. II, 278 and Suppl.). His Taṣrīḥ was written after a conversation in a dream with Ibn Hišām (I, 3), while his Ājurrūmiyya commentary was composed especially for 'young people and children' (6). He was also a great source for ʾaš-Ṣabbān.

14.7 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing total combinations. Even Western scholars seem unable to avoid the temptation now and then, cf. Yushmanov 33, and 4.02 n 2. The particular calculation (from al-Azharī, Āj. 79) is of little practical value, and even slightly misleading in the matter of substitution of pronouns: while there are apparently no restrictions on substituting pronoun for pronoun (e.g. raʿaytuka ʿiyyāka 'I saw you, you'), the 1st and 2nd sing. pronouns are not found as antecedents of an overt noun substitute (contrast raʿaytuḥu zaydan 'I saw him, Zayd', ʿantum hāʾulāʾi 'you, these ones').

The occurrence of pronouns as substitutes for overt nouns seems even more restricted, with only 3rd sing. examples being offered (raʿaytu zaydan ʿiyyāḥu 'I saw Zayd, him', see Muf. #154, Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 70). This is all distinct from corroboration, 13.14 n 4.

(2) Unlike adjectives (ch. 11) and corroboratives (ch. 13).

(3) The grounds of permissibility (jawāz) and impossibility (imtināʿ) are no longer based on descriptive criteria, cf. 14.31 n 3.

14.8 (1) Some items apparently having the indep. morpheme u are dealt with elsewhere, e.g. indeclinable elements (18.41), vocatives (23.41, 23.42), and cf. 22.2 for problems with nouns negated by lā 'no'. 
15.0 (1) al-mansūbat, lit. 'those things which have been made dependent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2), and see 3.5 n 1 on maṣb, 'dependence'. In the Arab view, this dependence is caused by a verbal operator (cf. 2.1, 2.11) or an element with the status of a verb (cf. 10.401).

(2) See 5.4 et seq. for dependent verbs and their operators.

(3) Items 15.12-15 have been treated in chs. 10-14; summarized 25.61.

15.01 (1) al-mafūl bīḥ, lit. 'that which it is done to', see ch. 16, esp. 16.1.

(2) See 3.52 n 3 on convention of quoting verbs in their 3rd masc. sing. past tense forms: this is especially noticeable when 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are mentioned, as in several paragraphs below.

15.02 (1) al-maṣdar, lit. 'the source, origin', see ch. 17, esp. 17.1 n 2. The other name for this element is al-mafūl al-muṭlaq, 'the absolute object', cf. 17.3. A literal translation ('I struck a striking') is hardly feasible, though English does have one or two expressions of this type, e.g. 'he did a deed, saw a sight' etc.

15.03 (1) zarf az-zamān, lit. 'container of time' (cf. 1.705 n 2), see ch. 18, esp. 18.0-113. Though functionally equivalent to adverbs and prepositions, these are nouns, like all the items in this chapter.

(2) al-mafūl fīh, lit. 'that in which it is done': most modifiers of verbs are, in the Arab theory, objects of one kind or another of the verb, cf. 15.10, 15.11.

15.04 (1) zarf al-makān, lit. 'container of place', structurally identical with the time-qualifier in the previous paragraph. See ch. 18, esp. 18.0, 18.2-214.

(2) The borderline between noun and 'preposition' is often vague: the word 'amāma which is here seen in its prepositional function reverts easily to noun status, e.g. 'ilā l-'amāmi 'to the front' (now with noun markers al, 1.5, oblique form, 1.31, and oblique operator, 1.7). See further notes to 18.201-214.

15.05 (1) al-ḥāl, lit. 'circumstance, situation', see ch. 19, esp. 19.0, 19.1. If rākibān here were translated 'as a riding person' it might emphasize that it is not an integral part of the sentence, a feature which is shared by most of the dependent elements (cf. 19.1).

15.06 (1) at-tamyīz, lit. 'act of distinguishing, discrimination', see ch. 20. By now the cumulative effect of the examples should be to
reinforce the impression of a favourite sentence pattern, viz. Verb — Agent (independent, indispensable) — Qualifier (dependent, dispensable). Structural confirmation is that the verb and pronoun agent are morphologically a single word (7.5 et seq.), and so *ṣumtu*, for example, is already a complete utterance, 'I fasted', whether qualified (e.g. by *al-yawma* 'today') or not. See further 19.1 n 1, 19.25 n 1.

15.07 (1) *al-mustaṭnā*, see ch. 21, esp. 21.0. Since not every noun becomes dependent in the exceptive construction (cf. 21.2, 21.3) this must be taken as a pedagogical generalization.

15.08 (1) *ism lā*, lit. 'the noun of lā' (note how lā here, and the items in 15.12-14, become nouns in the metalanguage, cf. 1.6 n 5), see ch. 22. Because of disagreement about the status of the a ending on single nouns negated by lā (22.12), and because there are other possible endings with the single noun (22.3 et seq.), the example chosen here is an annexation unit, which always has dependent form after lā (22.11). See 25.71 on this kind of annexation unit.

15.09 (1) *al-munādā*, lit. 'the person called', see ch. 23, esp. 23.0. The annexed unit is here chosen as the example because it always has dependent form in the vocative construction, whereas single nouns end normally in u, variously interpreted as an implicit dependent form or not an inflection at all (even though it is formally identical with the independent ending!), cf. 23.41.

15.10 (1) *al-mafūl min 'ajjih*, lit. 'that for the sake of which it is done', also called *al-mafūl lah*, 'that for which it is done', see ch. 24, esp. 24.0, 24.1.

(2) Note that the verbal noun *'ijlālan*, lit. 'out of honouring' cannot form an objective annexation with Bakr (see 24.31 n 1), hence the paraphrase with *li*, scil. 'out of honouring for Bakr'.

15.11 (1) *al-mafūl ma'Cah*, lit. 'that with which it is done', see ch. 25, esp. 25.0, 25.1.

15.12 (1) *kabar kāna wa-'aḡawātihā*, lit. 'the information of kāna and its sisters' (cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism 'sisters' here and in the next two paragraphs). See 10.1 (summary presentation 25.61). In the light of 15.05 n 1 the example here could well be translated 'Zayd existed, as a standing person', since *kāna zaydun* 'Zayd existed' is a possible (though not common) complete sentence, cf. 10.11 n 3.

15.13 (1) *ism 'inna wa-'aḡawātihā*, lit. 'the noun of 'inna and its sisters', q.v. in 10.4-55 (summary presentation 25.61). The operation of 'inna is ascribed to its resemblance to a verb (see 10.401), which is certainly compatible with the probable origins of this particle, the demonstrative base n (cf. Fleisch 145, 168), giving a meaning roughly equivalent to 'lo!', i.e. 'look!'.

15.14 (1) *macfūlā ẓanantu wa-'aḡawātihā*, lit. 'the two objects of ẓanantu and its sisters', already dealt with in 10.6-8 (summarized in 25.61). Perhaps because the 'objects' of this verb are a statement
the operating verb (zanantu, cf. 10.61 n 1) is often quoted in its 1st sing. past tense form (see 10.61 n 1).

(2) Only by including zanantu and by counting all four concordants as one (15.15) can we arrive at the total of fifteen dependent elements which Ibn Ājurrūm himself has promised in 15.0. Nevertheless zanantu is missing from the version commented on by al-Azharī (Āj. 80, whence aš-Širbīnī has it), who also adds the 'Ḥijāzī mā' (q.v. 5.84 n 3).

15.15 (1) See ch. 11 on adjectives and concordance; on the juncture feature in zaydan il-Ǧāqila see 11.1 n 2. Summary presentation 25.61.

(2) See ch. 12 on coordination. Summary 25.61.

(3) See ch. 13 on corroboration. Summary 25.61.

(4) See ch. 14 on substitution, summary 25.61. On a as dependence marker see 3.61.

(5) This is disputed: an element is either made dependent by a formal operator, which in these cases must be the operator which makes their antecedent dependent, or by an abstract operator (which is what our author implies here), namely concordance itself, see further 1.31 n 4.

16.0 (1) Jum. 23, 39, 44; Muf. #44; Alf. v 267; Qāṭr 218; Beeston 87; Fleisch 178; Bateson 45; Yushmanov 64. Terminology: fiC 'verb, act' (see 16.1 n 1); fāCil 'agent, doer' (7.01 n 1); mafCūl bih 'direct object', lit. 'that which it is done to', generally abbreviated to mafCūl; mušabbah bi-l-mafCūl 'object-like, quasi-object', see n 2.

(2) By 'quasi-object' is meant the predicate of kāna etc., see 10.1, and 16.309 n 1 on transitivity in general. For 'Basrans' see 9.4 n 3, and 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Ḥiām. The reference to his 'marginal commentaries' is based on al-Azharī, Taṣrīr. I, 183 (and cf. I, 308).

16.1 (1) The Arabic reads yaqaC' u bihi l-fiC, lit. 'the act falls upon him, befalls him', and 'action of the verb' is merely an attempt to combine in translation the two distinct meanings of fiC; it may denote a grammatical category or a real action (cf. Versteegh 70; both Greek and Indian origins have been suggested for the terminology, v. Versteegh 72 n 10, but no proofs are offered). Cf. E.I. (2), 'FiC'.

(2) 'Originating from the agent' is lit. for sādir min al-fāCil (cf. maṣdar, 24.21, cognate with sādir), and fiC in this context can hardly mean anything but 'action'.

(3) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue (Insāf, prob. 11) that both verb and agent together make the direct object dependent, because neither can exist without the other. Against this the 'Baṣrans' claim that a noun cannot have a physical effect (taʿfīr fi-l-ʿamal) on a thing, and so only the verb is the operator (exploiting ambiguity of fīrīl).

16.11 (1) See 5.82 n 6 on mutacallīg 'semantically connected', and cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. The inclusion of direct objects where no event occurs, because negated or prohibited, is a refinement which Ibn Hiṣām attributes to Ibn al-Hājib (Qatr 219, and cf. also Qatr 181 for the agent with no 'act').

(2) On similar grounds Köbert, Orientalia NS 29, 328, makes the very reasonable observation that 'object' is thoroughly unsuitable as a translation of maftūl except in the specific case of the maftūl bih, but his alternative, 'Akkusativ' seems equally arbitrary (cf. 3.5 n 1). We retain 'object' for reasons of symmetry, v. 17.53 n 1.

(3) 'Formal' here is unusually expressed by bi-r-rasmi, elsewhere used specifically for 'written form' (viz. 1.4, end), and the comment is taken from al-Azhārī, Āj. 80. It must refer to the fact that the direct object is the noun spelt with dep. form etc. (contrast 17.1, definition of verbal noun in mnemonic terms).

16.2 (1) Direct objects are subdivided by dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) into the same formal classes as the agent, cf. 7.2.

(2) See 16.1; for completeness, aš-Širbīnī could have added 'with a as their dependence marker', cf. 3.51, 4.11.

(3) See 11.715 on bound pronouns. With one exception (16.301) the bound object pronouns are identical with the bound possessive pronouns, paradigm 4.72 n 2 and see further 16.308.

16.3 (1) This is the same definition as has previously been given for the bound agent pronoun, q.v. 7.5; for 'operator' cāmil see 2.11 n 1. Note that, being a suffix, the direct object pronoun precedes any overt agent (and cf. 7.9 n 1).

16.301 (1) As presented here, in the form I, the 1st sing. object suffix is identical with the corresponding possessive suffix I 'my' (q.v. 3.421 n 3), and the n is not regarded as part of the pronoun. Instead it has (so the Arabs claim) the function of preserving the final short vowel of the verb, thus retaining the contrast between darabanī here and darabī 'my wild honey', for example. The argument is not entirely satisfactory, particularly because the alternation I/nī is present in all Semitic languages with or without inflections to preserve (see 3.96 n 1 on possible origins of nūn al-wiqāyā 'the n of preservation'). The Arab case might have been stronger if they had argued that n was necessary to preserve the mood inflections of the imperfect tense verb. Conversely nī remains even when there are no vowels to preserve (e.g. apoc. yarhamnī 'he might have mercy on me'), though this could be naturally generalized from darabanī.
16.302 (1) See 7.52 n 1 on *al-muazzi* 'zn li-nafsih 'he who exalts himself'.

(2) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the active from the passive: with *u* in the first syllable *d-r-b-n-ä* would be read automatically as *duribnä* 'we were struck' (8.62).

(3) For the same reasons as in 7.51 n 1, the verb will be translated as if it were a past stem but transliterated in the form in which it is quoted in the text (on which see 3.52 n 3).

16.303 (1) As if to demonstrate his independence from al-Azharī, Āj. 80-81, from which almost the entire contents of this chapter have been copied, as-Širbīnī provides almost every verb with a different proper name as agent, while al-Azharī makes do with our old friends Zayd (7 times) and QAmr (5 times)!

(2) It will be observed that suffixation of an object pronoun appears to disturb the sequence Verb-Agent-Complement (cf. 7.9 n 1), but it can be argued that *darabaka* 'he struck you', with concealed agent pronoun (7.58 n 1) already fulfils the conditions, and that *bakrun* etc. simply restate the agent more specifically.

16.304 (1) All the examples are of the 3rd sing. masc. past tense: see 16.505 n 1 for other combinations. Only 3rd weak radical verbs present any problems, and then only in the 3rd sing. masc., where the long vowel is retained but respelt with *ʿalif* (2.43 n 2), thus *raʿ* 'he saw' (spelt *raʿay*, same orthography as *yakṣay*, 3.92 n 2) with object suffixes becomes *raʿānī* 'he saw me', *raʿāhū* 'he saw him' etc. (the difference is not apparent in transliteration!). Verbs whose 3rd weak rad. is already spelt with *ʿalif*, e.g. *daʿā* (10.14 n 2) do not change, thus *daʿāhū* 'he called him' etc., and verbs of the type *laqiya* (ibid.) are in this respect quite regular: *laqiyaḥū* 'he met him' etc. See 16.308 n 1 for suffixation to imperfect tenses.

16.305 (1) The segmentation problems here are the same as for the agent pronoun suffixes, q.v. 7.53-57, except that the 2nd person morpheme is here called *al-kāf* 'the k', and further differentiated by naming its accompanying vowel. For the sing. *ka* and *ki* a translation 'you' is accurate enough, but *ku* can only be labelled temporarily as '*you'; in 16.503-507 a different solution is found: because the Arabs do not regard the suffixes there as pronouns, no translation is offered at all.

16.306 (1) Since as-Širbīnī does not give us examples of object pronouns suffixed to imperfect tense verbs, here is a typical paradigm, using *daraba* 'to strike' with the 3rd masc. sing. suffix *hu* 'him':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'adribuhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>tadribuhu</td>
<td>tadribānihi</td>
<td>tadribānuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tadribānuhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaḍribuhu</td>
<td>yaḍribānihi</td>
<td>yaḍribānuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tadrībuhu</td>
<td>tadrībānihi</td>
<td>tadrībānuhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suffix hu was chosen because, like humā, hum and hunna, it shows vowel harmony when preceded by i or y (13.9 n 9), contrast taqribānīkum etc. See 16.307 n 2 for dep. and apoc. verbs with suffixes, 16.308 n 1 for suffixes on 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense.

16.307 (1) There is no justification for this spelling instruction (which is not in al-Azhari, Āj. 80), as the u is non-phonemic (like that of tum etc., it is arbitrary, 7.56 n 2), nor is there any alternation kunna/kinna as in the 3rd person (13.9 n 9).

(2) Further to 16.306 n 1, here the paradigm of the dep. form of the verb ḍaraba 'to strike', with the object suffix hu 'him':

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ʿaḍribahu</td>
<td></td>
<td>naqribahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc.</td>
<td>taqribahu</td>
<td>taqribāhu</td>
<td>taqribānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taqribāhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>taqribānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc.</td>
<td>yaqribahu</td>
<td>yaqribāhu</td>
<td>yaqribānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taqribābi</td>
<td>taqribābi</td>
<td>taqribāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observe that this time only the 2nd fem. sing. shows vowel harmony. Apoc. forms 'aḍribhu, taqribhu taqribīhi etc. 3rd weak rad. verbs at 16.308 n 1.

16.308 (1) 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense with suffixes: (a) if the final vowel is ī (yarmī, 4.81 n 2) or ī (yarmī, 3.92 n 1) complete vowel harmony prevails: yarmīhi, yarmīhi; (b) final vowel ā (yağṣā, for yağṣay, 3.92 n 2) is respelt ā (as with raʾā, 16.304 n 1), e.g. yağṣāni, yağṣāhu, otherwise regular, e.g. taqṣayānīhi etc., but note dep./apoc. 2nd fem. sing. taqṣayhi with vowel harmony (other dep./apoc. forms regular, e.g. yağṣāhu, yağṣawhu, and note feminine plurals ta/yakṣaynahu); (c) final ā (yağṣū, 4.81 n 2) or u (cf. 3.92 n 1) are regular, e.g. yağṣūhu, yağṣuhi, yağṣuwalīhi, but note 2nd. fem. sing. dep./apoc. tağzīhi; (d) dep. forms in iya or uwa (4.82 n 1) are regular, e.g. yarmiyahu, yağzuwahu.

16.309 (1) Transitivity: verbs are (a) intransitive, lāzim, lit. 'adhering' to their agent: (a logical borrowing absent from the earliest grammar, denoting that the action inheres in the agent), or (b) transitive, mutaʿaddī, lit. 'going across'. A link with metabasis is not impossible (cf. Versteegh 82), but more clarity is needed over Sibawayhi's use of this concept (cf. Levin in Studia Orientalia memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata, Jerusalem 1979, 193). Intransitive verbs include those operating via a preposition (the 'intermediary', wāṣīṭa, of 16.11), but all verbs, including passives, operate on objects other than the direct object (cf. 17.53, 19.25, 24.4). Jum. 39, 44; Muf. #432; Alf. v 267; Beeston 87; cf. Yushmanov 50.

16.310 (1) Verbs may be doubly transitive (mutaʿaddī 'išā mafūlāyn 'going across to two objects'), in various ways: (a) by having as their objects a proposition (see 10.6), (b) as causatives, e.g. Callamtuhu n-naḥwa 'I taught him grammar' (lit. 'made him know', causative of Calima 'to know'), 'araytuhu l-kitāba 'I showed him the book' ('made
him see'), (c) by not distinguishing direct and indirect objects, e.g. saraqtuhu 1-farasa 'I stole the horse from him'. Types (a) and (b) can combine to form trebly transitive structures, e.g. 'ačlamtu hu zaydan nā'īman 'I informed him that Zayd was sleeping' (cf. 10.66).

16.311 (1) The occurrence of dependent forms in isolation (a modern survival is 'ahlan wa-saḥlan 'welcome') led naturally to the assumption that they were operated upon by elided verbs. Many cases were treated not as direct objects but as other dependent qualifiers, e.g. the absolute object (v. 17.7) and the circumstantial qualifier (v. 19.8), while for the space/time qualifier in non-verbal sentences a verbal operator is assumed in the underlying form (9.74). Two prominent examples of direct objects with implicit operators are the vocative (ch. 23, and cf. 16.6 n 2), and dep. adjectives in suspended concord (11.6). Generally the analysis revolves around two problems: what is the class of object (direct, absolute etc.) and is the elision of the verb compulsory or optional. See Jum. 295; Muf. #60; 16.503 n 1.

16.312 (1) Direct objects may also be operated upon by the verbal noun (maṣdar, 17.0) and agent noun (ism al-fā'il, cf. 10.34 n 1), e.g. lawlā daf'ū llāhi n-nāsa 'were it not for God's holding back the people' (v. 7.11), with an-nāsa as direct object of the verbal noun daf'ū 'holding back', ḥikrī 'my thinking of you' (24.54, with free object pronoun, 16.504), yā tāli' an jaban 'O climber of a mountain' (23.45). Cf. 24.31 n 1 on paraphrases by means of subjective or objective genitive. The dep. form with agent nouns is held to imply the same meaning as the imperfect tense (thus 'anā gātilun ġulāmaka means 'I am going to kill your slave-boy', 'aqtulu ġulāmaka), while annexation gives the noun adjectival meaning ('anā gātilu ġulāmika 'I am the one who killed your slave-boy'). Jum. 95; Muf. #345; Nöldeke 75; 16.512 n 1.

(2) The text has an-nūn...li-ja[n]swa 'the n is for the fem. plur.' (also in 7.57, 7.62, 16.307), and in view of the historical difficulties (7.57 n 1) it is transcribed exactly as realized, either nna or na as required. Cf. also 3.241 n 1.

16.4 (1) See 5.81 n 3 on 'status', maḥall, and observe that here, too the notion of status is closely tied to the fact of invariability, binā', q.v. 1.41 n 4.

(2) 'Hotchpotch' renders the oxymoron al-ḡaṭṭu s-samīnu, lit. 'thin meat, fat meat', an echo of the cliché fi-l-kalāmi l-ḡaṭṭu wa-s-samīnu 'speech can be thin or meaty' (Lane, s.v. ġaṭṭ, and cf. Ibn Ḥaldūn, Muqaddima, ed. Beirut 1967, I, 786).

16.5 (1) Here are some genuine examples to make up for the wholly artificial series to follow: S. 1 v 5, 'iyyāka na'budu wa'īyyāka nastā'īnu 'Thee we worship and Thee we call upon for help'; S. 17 v 67, man tadūna 'illā 'iyyāhu 'those whom you call upon except him'.


16.501 (1) It is tempting to expect the object suffix of the 1st person sing. to be nī (16.301), but instead we find ya, evidently the
same as the possessive suffix allomorph ya (see next note). This is consistent, however, with the Arab view that the n of nf is not part of the pronoun (cf. 16/301 n 1), as well as with their (intuitive?) realization that 'iyyā is certainly not a verb (see 16.504 n 2). For Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 281, Synt. Verh. 394, there is no question that the elements suffixed to 'iyyā are possessive ('genitive') pronouns.

(2) After long vowels and diphthongs the possessive suffix I 'my' is realized as ya, see examples in 23.62.

16.502 (1) It is so here, but 'iyyā and suffix occur in contexts where it is apparent that they have independent function, e.g. 'aqūlu hiya 'iyyāhā 'I say that she is' (lit. 'that she is she'), 'anta l-mā'niyyu wa-'iyyāka turādu 'you are the one meant and you are intended', and cf. the interesting variant of the Qur'anic verse quoted in 16.5 n 1: 'iyyāka tu'badu 'Thou art worshipped', with passive verb tu'badu (these and other examples collected and discussed by Fischer, Islamica 5, 211).

(2) See 7.52 n 1 on the pluralis majestatis, here expressed as ta'zīm '(self-)magnification' to contrast with mušāraka 'association with others', i.e. the normal plural.

16.503 (1) In 26.96 aš-Širbīnī says 'iyyāka 'an tažunna... 'beware of thinking...', using 'iyyāka as a warning (tahdīr). Here it is followed by a subordinate clause (but with noun status: 5.41), but a common pattern is to follow it with a dependent noun prefixed with wa 'and', e.g. 'iyyāka wa-`asada 'watch out for the lion!' (a variety perhaps of the 'object of accompaniment', but cf. 25.6 n 1). These dependent forms are always explained by the Arabs as due to an elided verbal operator, compulsorily elided in the case of 'iyyāka (which is another way of saying that the construction has acquired proverbial status and is no longer productive). Other expressions of warning with dep. nouns are frequent (e.g. 'akukan 'akukan 'your brother! your brother!'). and the main problem is to decide whether 'iyyāka is, in fact, a dependent form or an old exclamatory form (cf. 25.1 n 2) which fell together with the dependent forms: see Fischer, Islamica 5, 225; cf. 16.311 n 1.

16.504 (1) Another example of 'iyyāki in 24.54, dikrī 'iyyāki 'my thinking of you', this time direct object of a verbal noun (16.312 n 1).

(2) Seven different explanations of the status of 'iyyā and its suffixes are offered in Insāf, prob. 98. Those who make 'iyyā the pronoun itself are rebutted on two grounds: first it is annexed to its suffixes (proved by the nominal suffix form of the 1st person ya, q.v. 16.501), and pronouns cannot be annexed to other elements; second if 'iyyā is a pronoun why does it need to be specified by suffixes? This is incompatible with the function of pronouns (11.718 n 2). Those who treat the whole compound as the pronoun are avoiding the issue, while those who take the second element to be the pronoun leave 'iyyā thereby unexplained, nor can they thus account for 'iyyāyā!

16.505 (1) See 16.305 n 1 on transliteration and translation problems.
(2) Note that there is no general restriction on suffixation in terms of person: 1st person verb with 1st person suffix is possible, e.g. kiltunī liya smun 'I imagined myself to have a name' (10.63), 'ajidunī fī ḥyaratin 'I find myself at a loss' etc. A famous Qur'anic example, S. 12 v 36: 'innī 'arānī... 'verily I see myself...' (describing the contents of a dream).

16.506 (1) Another example is in 12.41: 'innā 'aw 'iyyākum 'verily we, or you...', avoiding the repetition of 'inna 'verily' (because it does not sound natural in the interior of a clause?).

(2) Two minor aspects of pronoun suffixation can be pointed out here: (a) after 2nd plur. masc. past tense ī is inserted between agent and object suffix, e.g. katabtūnū hu 'you wrote it' (cf. 10.66 n 2), and (b) after 2nd sing. fem. past tense the ī which marks the fem. agent is occasionally lengthened, e.g. katabtīnī 'you wrote it' (note also vowel harmony, 13.6 n 9); this lengthening is doubtless a survival of the Proto-Semitic original (Moscati ##137, 141).

16.507 (1) Instead of 'fem. n' (16.312 n 2), the text has here an-nūn al-mušaddadān, lit. 'the tied n', referring to the convention by which doubled consonants are indicated diacritically, see 24.23 n 2.

(2) Doubly transitive verbs (16.310 n 1) may take double object pronoun suffixes, e.g. 'aṯānī hu 'he gave me it', under the general rule that 1st precedes 2nd precedes 3rd person (so 'he gave me to him' should be 'aṯāhu 'iyyāya); other examples, 'anšadanīhimā 'he recited them both to me' (Kitāb I, 437), yuṣlimukahu 'he informs you of it' (id. 248).

16.508 (1) Bravmann's theory for the origin of 'iyyā (J.S.S. 16, 50): it has detached itself from the double object suffix, thus 'aṯānīyahu (with archaic niya for nī) 'he gave me it' split into 'aṯānī - yāhu, and the second element became free-standing as 'iyyāhu.

16.509 (1) Here ḥā is spelt out in full: normally only ḥ is named as the pronoun (e.g. 16.309, though transcribed as ḥā for convenience, and cf. 9.42 n 1 on segmentation of huwa 'he', hiya 'she').

(2) One type of apparent direct object occurs through 'latitude of speech' (saḏat al-kalām, 18.1 n 4), and involves space/time qualifiers, e.g. alladīf sirtuhu yawmu l-jumū 'what I travelled was Friday' for sirtu fihi 'travelled on (it)', and, with agent noun, yā sāriqa l-laylati 'O thief of the night', i.e. 'in the night'; through the same 'latitude' these objects may become agents of passive verbs, v. 8.0 n 4. Muf. #66.

16.510 (1) Inversion (taqdīm wa-ta'ğır, 'advancing and retarding', cf. 2.13 n 1) is possible in two ways: (a) simple inversion, e.g. zaydan darabtu 'Zayd I struck' (especially common in questions, e.g. 'a-zaydan darabta 'Zayd did you strike?') (b) inversion with pronoun on the verb, e.g. zaydan darabtu 'Zayd I struck': this is a variety of the nominal sentence with complex predicate (9.75) where the dep. form of zaydan is allowed 'alā ṣarīṭat at-tafsīr 'on condition of explanation', i.e. that the object pronoun suffix should explain the function of the
preposed dep. form, v. Muf. #62.

16.511 (1) Attraction may occur when a noun occurs after a direct object, e.g. darabtu zaydan wa-‘amran marartu bihi 'I struck Zayd and passed by', where ‘amran, though not a direct object (marra operates through bi), has dep. form by attraction; the phenomenon has acquired the name ištīqāl 'preoccupation'. A related type of attraction occurs when a noun is both object of one verb and agent of another in the same sentence, e.g. darabani wa-darabtu zaydan of which the English passive gives the best reproduction: 'I was struck by, and struck Zayd'. The term tanāzuC 'mutual struggle, competition’ is used for this circumstance. Alf. v 278; Qaṭr 200, 210.

16.512 (1) Object pronouns may also be suffixed to agent nouns and verbal nouns (16.312 n 1), though out of context qatluhu ‘his killing’ is ambiguous, as the agent may also be suffixed. Where both agent and object are present only the former is usually suffixed, the object being expressed either as a free object pronoun (qatluhu ‘iyyāhu) or by the paraphrase with li’ (qatluhu lahu, cf. 24.31 n 1). It is seldom that more than one pronoun is suffixed to the verbal noun (see examples in Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 284), though an anonymous and late grammar does offer the ludicrous min ‘iṣṭā‘ihi hāhu 'at his giving him it', with three suffixes, two written separately! (Carter, Arabica 26, 271).

16.6 (1) Patient noun, ism al-mafCūl, as a form class: 10.34 n 1.

(2) Not universally: the order varies according to the ideas of the grammarian. For az-ZamaḵšarI the absolute object (ch. 17) has first place; the vocative (ch. 23) is treated by Ibn Hišām as a subdivision of the direct object.

17.0 (1) Jum. 44; Muf. #39; Alf. v 286; Qaṭr 240; Beeston 89; Fleisch 177; Nöldeke 35. On maṣdar ‘verbal noun’ see 24.21 n 1.

17.1 (1) 'Conjugating the parts' reproduces the schoolbook flavour of the term taṣrīf: its broader meaning is the derivation of all possible forms, nominal and verbal, from a given root (cf. 10.3; Muf. ##368, 482; Fleisch, Tr. #145p n 1), hence sarf for 'morphology' in general (cf. 1.01 n 2). Versteegh 64 suggests Greek origins (klisis or ptosis) but without proof (though it is true that sarf and its derivatives are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary, v. Troupeau, Lex.-Index root š-r-f). There are two sets of terminology, the morphological set sarf-taṣrīf-taṣarruf ('process of being conjugated'), and the cognate
series srarf-mutasarrif-munzarif, denoting the syntactic freedom of the fully inflected noun (see 18.4), the bifurcation as yet unexplained.

(2) Though third in sequence, the verbal noun is held by the 'Basrans' (9.4 n 3) to be the origin of all verbs (it is logically prior because it denotes an event without time). The 'Kufans' base their expected counterview on the fact that phonological weaknesses in the verb are reproduced in the masdar (Insaf, prob. 28).

17.2 (1) 'Ways' here is 'anwâC, lit. 'sorts', but used evidently as an arbitrary synonym of wajh 'mode' (22.4 n 1) or ḥâla 'state' (11.2 n 1).

(2) See 16.301 on the 'preserving n', and note that here the verb must be translated as a past stem rather than infinitive (see 7.51 n 1). The verbal noun here has independent function as agent (cf. noun phrase with 'anna, 7.02), but can also function as subject of an equational sentence, e.g. darbuka muntaqarun 'your blow is expected' (cf. 9.02). The translation 'your striking' assumes the subjective genitive, but the objective genitive 'the striking of you' is also possible (16.512 n 1). Verbal noun as inverted subject, 12.51.

(3) Dependent verbal nouns may occur in other functions than absolute object, of course: as direct object (qasadtu darbaka 'I intended your striking'), circumstantial qualifier (karhan 'unwillingly', 19.33 n 1), object of reason ('ijlālan 'out of respect, but see 24.22) and object of accompaniment (wa-ītyānahu 'while doing it', 25.33).

17.3 (1) 'Absolute object', maftâl mutlaq, is indeed the most common name for this function of the verbal noun; see 16.1 on maftâl, and cf. 11.717, 12.1 for mutlaq in other contexts. Köbert, op. cit. 16.11 n 2, 330, plausibly suggests that mutlaq here is not '(logically) absolute' but literally 'free to be object of any verb', transitive or not (17.53).

17.4 (1) 'Congruent with the verb' renders al-jâriC l-fiC l, lit. 'which runs according to the verb'; the verb jarâ and its derivatives have been used from the first to describe linguistic processes both in themselves and as actions performed by the speaker, cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index, root j-r-y. See also 17.51 n 1.

(2) 'Synonyms of verbal nouns not true verbal nouns' is rather free for 'asmâ'u maşâdira wa-laysat maşâdira, lit. 'nouns of verbal nouns, not verbal nouns themselves'. The problem is that wudâ' and ġusl are, in fact, Stem I verbal nouns (17.52 n 1), not 'absolute objects', because their verbs are Stems VIII and V respectively (see next note); ġatâ', however, is a pure noun, a straightforward direct object.

(3) See 8.3 n 2 for qiğâs 'analogy', here translated 'regularly derived (form)'. The verbal nouns here are respectively Stems VIII, V and IV, q.v. 10.34 n 1.

17.5 (1) Note the dichotomous classification (cf. 1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on the opposition between 'formal' (lafzi) and 'abstract' (maCnawi). 'Constituent letters' translates ħurûf, plur. of harf,
'particle, element, letter', q.v. 1.25 n 2; 'consonantal phonemes' could perhaps have been used for 'letters', or even 'radicals' (cf. 5.1 n 2), but it is not certain how far below the surface structure the Arab analysis intends to delve.

17.51 (1) While in 17.4 a morphological criterion is applied, the distinction here is purely lexical: both the verb and the absolute object have the same lafż 'form' (i.e. stem, cf. 3.65 n 9), contrast the next paragraph.

(2) Perhaps 'I killed him dead' would sound more natural, but would not then reproduce the Arabic structure: rather 'dead' would correspond to a circumstantial qualifier (cf. gatalahu sabran 'he killed him in bonds', 24.52).

17.52 (1) Unlike Stems IV-X (q.v. 10.34 n 1), the verbal noun patterns of Stems I-III are not wholly predictable. Stem I verbal nouns range over a very large number of patterns (44 in Wright I, 110, cf. also Muf. #331; Fleisch 109), but only five are common: faqīl (gatlun 'killing'), faqīla (qasamun 'swearing', 1.71 n 2), faqīla (malāḥatun 'being pretty'), fuqūlı (wqūfūn 'standing') and fuqūla (guqūbatun 'being difficult'). Stem II has mostly taqīla (tankirun 'making undefined'), but 3rd weak rad. roots and a few odd cases have taqīla (tarbiyatun 'bringing up'), tajribatun 'experiment'. Stem III has mostly muqāla (muqātalatun 'combat'), less often fīqāl (qītalun 'combat').

17.53 (1) On mutaqaddī 'transitive' and lāzīm 'intransitive' see 16.309 n 1, and note that in the present passage qāsir 'falling short' occurs as a synonym of lāzīm. Only the direct object, mafqūl bih, in fact requires a transitive verb as operator, and since mafqūl is used for various other verbal complements, 'object' is retained in the translation in spite of Köbert's reservations, q.v. 16.11 n 2.

(2) It goes without saying that passive verbs may operate upon anything except a direct object (8.0): here with absolute objects, fūlīla fatlān 'it was twisted with a twisting', i.e. firmly, tubbirū tābirān 'they were crumbled with a crumbling' (examples after Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 82). The Qur'anic example in 13.14, dukkāt il-'ardu dakkān dakkān 'the earth was crushed with a crushing' also shows a passive verb operating on an absolute object.

(3) On the medial vowel alternation between darabtu and fariḥtu see 10.22 n 2; 'ahbabtu 'I loved' is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) derivative of a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), whose 2nd and 3rd radicals assimilate when the latter is followed by a vowel ('ahhabba 'he loved') but otherwise remain dissimilated, as here; migatun is from a 1st rad. w root w-m-q, and the w is regularly lost in certain nominal forms (see 3.412 n 9) and the imperfect tense and imperative verbs of Stem I (10.67 n 1).

17.54 (1) Abū CŪṭmān al-Māzinī, d. 863, is an important, but shadowy transitional figure between the earliest grammarians and such better known grammarians as his own pupil, al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1). Almost nothing survives of his works outside some substantial contributions in
phonology and morphology (largely preserved by Ibn Jinnī), yet he has been called the greatest grammarian since Sibawayhi (G.A.L. I, 168 and Suppl., and cf. R.A.R. al-ʿUbaydī, Abu ʿUṯmān al-Māzinī wa-maḏhabuh fī-ṣ-ṣarf wa-n-naḥw, Baghdad 1969).

(2) The former opinion being that attributed above to al-Māzinī, though this whole paragraph is, as might be expected, taken from al-Azhari, this time Āj. 82. The reference cannot be traced directly to al-Māzinī, and suspicion is in any case aroused by the fact that al-Mubarrad is silent both about al-Māzinī and this theory in the relevant parts of the Muqtadāb (esp. I, 73).

17.6 (1) Except for the type set out in 17.63, these elements are all annexed to the verbal noun: the resulting compound functions as a single element, cf. 26.91 n 1. On 'replace' see 17.61 n 2, and cf. 18.34 for the same phenomenon with space/time qualifiers.

17.61 (1) See 20.42 n 3 on the syntax of the superlative.

(2) The analysis assumes an underlying *sirtu sayran ʿahsana sayrin *'I travelled a travelling, the best of travelling'. 'Replacing' here is naḥa, lit. 'to stand in place of, deputize', used for allomorphs in 3.0, and for the agent of the passive verb in 8.0.

17.62 (1) Note that ḍarbāṭin is sound fem. plur. (3.23): the fem. form of the verbal noun denotes individual (countable) actions, whence it is termed ʾism al-marra 'the noun of time' (′nomen vicis′ makes clear which sense of the word 'time' is involved!). The distinction between the class of action (masc.) and the number of times (fem.) could hardly be better observed than in the treatment of the Qur’anic verse next quoted (but see below, n 4 on the reason for the fem. sing.). See 17.7 n 3.

(2) S. 24 v 4. Note the juncture feature in the imperative verb (q.v. 5.2 n 3, 13.12 n 1). See further n 4.

(3) 'Original form' is *ʾasl, q.v. 8.2 n 3.

(4) After the numbers from 11 to 99 the counted noun has undefined dep. sing. form (contrast the undefined. obl. sound fem. plur. after '10' above, and see further 20.21-22), and is analysed as a structurally redundant 'specifying element' (20.0), hence jaldatan does not appear in the reconstructed underlying form. Decades are used in this example to point up the functional difference between the two dependent forms, verbal noun and specifying element (cf. 18.31).

17.63 (1) Here the replacement element does not have the form of an annexation unit, but one still must be assumed, scil. ḍarabtuḥu ḍarba sawṭin *'I struck him the striking of a whip'. Cf. 2.5 on ʿaṣan, which follows the behaviour of fatan (though its 3rd rad. is w). 'Instrument' is ʿāla: there is a morphological category ʾism al-ʿāla 'the noun of instrument', with the patterns mifʿal, mifʿal, e.g. miṭhaḳ 'oven', miftāḥ 'key', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36.

17.64 (1) See 13.4 on kull and its synonyms; the other corroboratives nafs and ʿayn (13.31) behave similarly. Cf. also 18.32.
NOTES

(2) S. 4 v 129; see 5.76 on apocopated verbs after la of prohibition, 10.23 n 2 on hollow verbs (tamālū/mayl have root m-y-l, unrelated to root m-w-l, denotative from māl 'wealth').

17.65 (1) Synonyms of baçd are fractions, cf. 18.32. From its use in qāla baçduhum 'some (or one) of them said' etc., baçd has developed a reciprocal function, e.g. qāla baçduhum li-baçdīn 'some said to others' i.e. 'they said to each other'. Cf. Yushmanov 33, Fleisch, Tr. #118j.

17.8 (1) Agent nouns and verbal nouns themselves may be qualified by an
absolute object, e.g. murtaqiyyatun 'aqlā l-irtiqā'i lit. 'rising the highest rising', i.e. 'highly progressive' (the absolute object here is displaced by an annexed elative, exactly as in 17.61).

18.0 (1) Jum. 45; Muf. #64; Alf. v 303; Qaṭr 246; Beeston 88; Fleisch 179; Yushmanov 61; Nöldeke 35. Terminology: al-mafCül fīh 'that in which the action is done' ('object of location' is intended to imply location in both space and time, cf. Kitāb I, 16, where waqt 'point' refers to both); zarf zamān lit. 'container of time', zarf makān lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1.

(2) The reference is from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 337; al-Kisā'ī, died 805, was the master of al-Farrā' (1.21 n 2) and a legendary opponent of Sibawayhi (0.1 n 1), G.A.L. I, 115, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Kisā'ī. Cf. Insāf, prob. 6 for his and other 'Kūfan' terminology.

(3) Al-Azharī (loc. cit.) has made a pun here: ʾistilāh can mean 'making peace' or 'agreeing on technical terms' (cf. 1.1 n 2).

18.1 (1) 'With the implicit meaning of fī "in"' renders bi-taqdīrī fī (cf. 2.101 n 1 on taqdir), i.e. al-yawmā 'today' is to be understood as fī ʾl-yawmi 'in this day' (asterisked because the prepositional paraphrase almost never occurs). On fī see further 1.705.

(2) 'Power exercised' is literal for tasalluṭ (denominative from sulṭān 'power, authority, Sultan'), an interesting, and coincidental parallel to the Western notion of grammatical 'government', cf. 2.11 n 1.

(3) 'Systematically' renders bi-ʾttirād, lit. 'uniformly, continuously', and commonly applied to generalizations and their applicability (cf. qiyyās muṭṭarīd 'a generally valid analogy').

(4) 'Latitude' is literal for tawassuC, often termed saCa ('width', same root w-s-C as tawassuC), and undoubtedly an early borrowing from law (cf. Troupeau, Lexique-Index for many examples in Sibawayhi). The present case has similarities with such English compounds as 'sleep-walker', 'nightwatchman', 'shoplifter', where the initial element corresponds to a space/time qualifier, contrast 'dog-catcher' etc. (cf. also 26.9).

18.101 (1) The choice of zarf 'container' for 'space/time qualifier' has been confidently explained as due to Greek influence by A. Merx, Historia artis grammaticae apud syros, Leipzig 1889, 146 (v. 1.705 n 2) but the precise manner in which the idea could have been transmitted.
remains a mystery. The borrowing, if genuine, is also inspired, as the Greek (and Syriac) grammarians certainly had nothing to offer with their epirrhemata and prothesis.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on sāliha 'proper', from the verb šaluha.

(3) The transliteration yawma is a compromise: the text reads yawm, presumably inflected with the case required by its context (so here yawmun, as subject of the sentence, scil. 'the word for "day"'), but yawma is chosen to remind the reader that it always has dependent form when functioning as a time/qualifier, defined or undefined. Other examples: 11.742; yawma annexed to sentences 2.44 n 1.

18.102 (1) There is an interesting possibility with layl of using the undefined masc. to mean 'by night', e.g. ištakaftu laylan 'I made my devotions by night', contrasting with the fem. sing. laylatan 'for one night' as in this paragraph. There is thus an exact parallel with the use of the masc. verbal noun to denote a class of action and the fem. to denote individual, countable acts (17.62 n 1, and cf. 11.44 n 2 on the fem. as an individualizing category). For yawm the procedure is different: yawman 'for a day' contrasts already with al-yawma 'today', and for the opposition 'by night/by day' another word has to be used, viz. nahāran (see also 18.41 n 2).

(2) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), of course, argue otherwise: they claim that space/time qualifiers are dependent through being 'different' from their antecedents (kilāf 'difference' or šarf 'divergence', cf. Inşāf, prob. 29, Carter, Arabica 20, 292). The basis of this interpretation is that elements which are structurally redundant tend to have dep. form (19.6, 20.01), especially when they are not identical with their antecedents (concord implies identity, cf. 19.5 n 2).

18.103 (1) This item is cognate with ġadan 'tomorrow', 18.106.

(2) That nouns of time can be regarded as proper names is justifiable on formal grounds (absence of tanwin, cf. makkatu 'Mecca', and see 3.89 (4) on the semi-declinability of fem. proper names) as well as semantic grounds (ġudwata must denote the morning of a specific day, cf. 11.72). But see 18.2 n 2.

(3) 'Final n' here and elsewhere in this chapter is preferred (in spite of the remarks in 1.4 n 1) for tanwil in because it makes the contrast between, say, ġudwatan and ġudwata more apparent.

(4) Note that yawmī l-kamīṣī here is not a time/qualifier as it is in 18.101: the head word yawmī of the annexation construction has oblique form because ġudwata is annexed to it (cf. 18.32).

18.104 (1) See 8.21 n 2 on 'iqrāb in the sense of 'parsing', and 11.2 n 1 on 'ahwāl 'states'. Throughout these paragraphs aš-Sirbīnī is freely adapting al-Āzhari, Āj. 82-3, often without bothering to reproduce the entire material.

18.105 (1) See the previous note for 'states', 'parsing' and the reason for the failure to provide examples. They are predictable enough and
need not be supplied here: instead we should note that the time qualifier in general can also occur as a prepositional phrase, e.g.

\[ \text{bi-sahar in 'in the morning', } \text{fi l-layli 'at night'} \text{ etc.} \]

18.106 (1) This is reduced from \( \text{gadwan} \), and is cognate with \( \text{gudwatan} \) in 18.103. It seldom occurs in any but the undefined form given here, though the phrase \( \text{fi l-\text{-gadi}} \) 'on (lit. 'in') the morrow' etc., is found.

(2) Here might be mentioned the unique phrase \( \text{ladun gudwatan} \) 'from early in the morning': the first element of this phrase is evidently cognate with \( \text{lad} \) (18.214 n 1), and the dep. form of \( \text{gudwatan} \) is due to assimilation to the structure of specifying elements, particularly of the numbers 11-99 (cf. 20.21 n 4), as if the \( n \) of \( \text{ladun} \) were a tanwīn (contrast the variant \( \text{ladun gudwatín} \), and cf. Nöldeke 58).

18.107 (1) Note that, in the absence of clocks, day and night are divided up into periods (and cf. the verbs in 10.11-16). By the time of \( \text{aš-širbīnī} \), however, these words had either lost their precision or become mere antiquarian items.

18.108 (1) Cf. \( \text{'asbaha} \) 'to do, or be, in the morning', 10.13.

(2) Verbs with 1st rad. \( ' \), such as \( \text{Itūnī} \) here (masc. plur. imperative \( \text{atā} \) 'to come'), lose the \( ' \) under certain conditions. The principle is that the syllable \( V \) reduces to \( \overline{V} \): this occurs often when \( ' \) is prefixed to the verb, e.g. Stem I, 1st sing. imperfect tense \( \text{'ātī} \) (\( 'a'tī)\), imperatives \( \text{'īti} \) (\( 'i'tī)\), \( \text{'ītū} \) (\( 'i'tū)\) etc., Stem IV past tense \( \text{'ātaytu} \) (\( 'a'taytu)\) etc., 1st sing. imperfect tense \( \text{'ūtī} \) (\( 'u'tī)\), imperative \( \text{'āti} \) (\( 'a'tī)\), \( \text{'ātū} \) (\( 'a'tū)\) etc. (NB. \( 'atā \) is further complicated by being a weak 3rd rad. verb: its imperfect ends as \( \text{yarmī} \), 4.81 n 2 (2), and its past tense as \( \text{ra'ā} \), 10.65 n 1). Note \( 'atā \) with direct objects where English uses indirect objects: many verbs of motion are thus transitive in Arabic, e.g. \( \text{jā'ānī} \) 'he came to me' (cf. also 5.82 n 5). Three verbs with 1st rad. \( ' \) behave as 1st rad. \( w \) verbs in the imperative only (10.38 n 1), viz. \( \text{akala} 'to eat' \ (\text{kul} 'eat!', etc.), \( \text{'amara} 'to order' \ (\text{mur} 'order!' etc.) and \( \text{'aṣha} 'to take' \ (\text{kud} 'take!' etc., see example in 23.31).

18.109 (1) Cf. \( \text{'amsā} \) 'to do, or be, in the evening', 10.12. Moscati #15.2 cites \( \text{sābāha masā'a} \) 'mornings and evenings', without \( \text{tanwīn} \).

18.110 (1) Cf. 3.53, where az-Zamaṣṣarī's claim that \( \text{lān} \) denotes perpetual negation is not strengthened by the presence of \( \text{'abādan} \) in the same sentence.

(2) A defined form, \( \text{'al-'abada} \), is impossible, cf. 18.112 n 1.

18.111 (1) This is presumably a variant of \( \text{‘abādan} \) above: interchange of \( m \) and \( b \) in both directions is well attested (Broekelmann, Gründr. I, 232, Cantineau, Études 28, note especially \( \text{bakka} \) for 'Mecca'), but \( \text{‘amada}/‘abada \) is not mentioned. Cf. also Fleisch, Tr. #9c.

(2) There is evidently no \( \text{‘amada l-‘amādīnā} \), and our source, al-Azharī ʻĀj. 83, can only cite \( \text{‘amada d-dahri} \) and \( \text{‘amada d-dāhirīnā} \) (cf. \( \text{dahra d-dāhirīnā} \), \( \text{dahr} \) meaning 'age, era, time' (cf. 18.113 n 1).
18.112 (1) 'Noun of vague time' is *ism li-zamān mubham* (cf. 11.73 on *mubham* 'vague', also 18.113 n 1). Neither the generic article (11.741) nor the article of familiarity (11.742) can occur with this class of time qualifier: 'at the time' can only be expressed either by making *hān* specific by means of a demonstrative (*ff dālika l-hān* 'at that time') or by annexing it to a specific event, as in the example in the text (and cf. *hān* 'at that time', like *waqta* 'at time', etc., 5.43 n 1). Dep. plural 'āhāyanan means 'sometimes', and there is a plur. of the plur. (3.221 n 2), *ff l-āhāyanan* 'at times'.

18.113 (1) Aš-Šīrbīnī has conflated here the three classes of time qualifier in his source, al-Azhari, *Taq.* I, 341. As listed there, we find (a) nouns of vague time (*mubham*, 18.112 n 1), the same as Aš-Šīrbīnī (to whose examples we should add mudda 'period', marra 'time, occasion', several words meaning an indefinite period, such as *dahr*, *fatra*, *ása*, 'awān, zamān* etc., two words which occur only in annexation, viz. *ba* 'after', *gabla* 'before', cf. 18.41 n 2, and such pairs as tāratan...tāratan 'one time...another time', etc, not forgetting *fawran* 'immediately', *aydan* 'also'); (b) nouns of specific time (*muktass*), e.g. *yawma* 1-kamīsi 'on Thursday', which answer the question 'when?' (this class may be closed: we can add only al-bārihata 'yesterday' and al-ānā 'now'); (c) nouns of countable time (*ma*), e.g. *sāhran* 'for a month', answering the question 'how long?' (this class is not quite closed: neologisms *daqiqa* 'minute' and *ţaniya* 'second' have been added, and the 'vague' noun *sā*a 'moment' has extended from class (a) to class (c) in the meaning of 'hour'). It will be seen that Aš-Šīrbīnī's second class is a mixture of al-Azhari's (b) and (c).

Note also that in the metalanguage all items bear the definite article, e.g. *al-waqtu* 'the word *waqt*', which does not mean that they may occur as time qualifiers with the article.

18.2 (1) 'Space qualifier' is *zarf makān*, lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1, and see 18.4 n 2 on the difference between these nouns and pure prepositions.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on *sālih* 'proper'. Unlike time nouns, only vague (mubham) place nouns may normally occur as space qualifiers (*dahabtu* š-ṣāma 'I went Damascus' is cited as an anomaly, *Kitāb I, 15*). In his discussion of this problem, Sībawayhi makes two important points: (a) time qualifiers are inherently appropriate for verbs because time is a formal component of the verb, and (b) places have a physical being (juţa 'body'), while time is merely the alternation of night and day, i.e. is cyclic whereas places are unique.

18.201 (1) There is no attempt to escape the circularity of these paraphrases (cf. 18.203!), see 12.92 n 1.

(2) That *amāma* still has an independent existence as a noun is seen in such phrases as *i̯lā l-amāmi* 'to the front', where is still has the nominal markers *al* (1.5) and the oblique case ending *i* (1.31).

18.202 (1) This, too, retains its nominal quality, cf. *i̯ilā l-kalfi* 'to the rear', and also occurs undefined, *kalfan* 'behind'. It is cognate.
with kalīfā 'caliph', i.e. he who remains behind or follows on. For 'iṣrāʾīl ' parsing' see 8.21 n 2, and note that in these paragraphs aš-Širbīnī adapts very freely from al-Azhārī, Āj. 84.

18.203 (1) Here one may register a very minor quibble against the use of the term 'preposition' by Brockelmann (Grundr. II, 420) in his discussion of this word. It was never anything but a noun, just as 'front' is a noun still; note, however, Brockelmann's comment that guddāma does not appear in this 'prepositional' function in the earliest Classical Arabic.

18.204 (1) The ' in this word causes problems for lexicographers: in one dictionary it will be found under the root w-r-', as if the ' were the 3rd radical, in another under w-r-y, as if the ' were the reflex of y after a long vowel (cf. samāʿun ← samāwun, 3.62 n 2).

(2) See 26.33 n 2 on the phenomenon of enantiosoma.

(3) S. 18 v 79; in similar contexts English can also be illogical as, for example, when we speak of a popular movement having the 'backing' of its 'leaders'. Not the inverted sentence structure: even the subject noun and predicate of kāna (10.11) must obey the rules for equational sentence, cf. 9.73 n 1.

18.205 (1) We are still in the realm of pure nouns, though fawğa has some peculiarities of its own, q.v. 18.41 n 2. But its nominal status is assured by the existence of a diminutive (3.421 n 1), e.g. fuwayğa s-saṭḥi 'a little above the roof'.

18.206 (1) It may be worth pointing out that space qualifiers are not limited to their literal meaning, cf. taḥta 'amrika 'under your command' (and cf. also 1.704).

18.207 (1) Though a root c-n-d exists (with 'resist, oppose' among its meanings), Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 414, derives cinda from *cīm 'at' (cognate with maʾcā 'with', 18.208) and a deictic element d 'there'. Nevertheless it retains nominal inflections (cf. 18.41), which suggests that for the Arabs, at least, it has come to be regarded as a regular noun. Note that, in common with several time qualifiers, cinda combines with maʾ 'what' (q.v. 5.89 n 2) to form a conjunction 'when'. Beeston 57; Fleisch 208.

18.208 (1) This is the first in our list of nouns which has nearly lost its nominal quality and become, in effect, a preposition, though it retains one nominal feature, viz. that it may occur with tamwīn, e.g. sīrnā maʾcān 'we travelled together'. See previous note for etymological connections, and 26.27 n 1 on maʾcā paraphrasing the verb 'to have'. Note also maʾṣYYYaa 'withness', 25.0 n 1.

18.209 (1) This is a difficult word for scribes, hence the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2): long before aš-Širbīnī's time Classical Arabic ġ had fallen together with z in the pronunciation of learned or literary words, and a hypercorrect spelling 'iḡā'a would probably have resulted here, by confusion with 'iḡā.
(2) From the beginning of 18.111 to yamīnun in 18.214 (marked * in the text and translation) is missing from MS C. and has been restored from MS D. To preserve the folio sequence of MS C. for purposes of cross-reference, however, a folio 55c has been arbitrarily created.

18.210 (1) Yet another difficult word (one marvels at the choice, seeing that such common space qualifiers as bayna 'between', dūna 'beyond, without' etc. are not mentioned, q.v. 18.214 n 1).

18.211 (1) The prefix of this word seems to show dissimilation of ta to ti (so Fleisch 83, Tr. #92d), though whether, as Fleisch suggests, this was helped by the existence of synonyms with identical vowels (in this case liqā'a), or whether there was pressure from functionally similar words such as 'izā'a, biqā'a etc. is an open question. Note tujāha 'opposite', where the prefix tu appears to retain the quality of the 1st rad. w. of this word (←*tawjāha?).

18.212 (1) ism 'išāra, cf. 11.73 n 1: it is a combination of deictic elements h and n (Fleisch 144); the final ā is a mystery (one might expect *hunan), perhaps it is to be compared with 'igā, 5.43 n 1.

(2) Parallel with the demonstratives (11.73) there is a series hunā, hunāka, hunālika for near, middle and remote distance respectively (Fleisch 144, where also other variants).

18.213 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish tamma from tumma 'then' (q.v. 12.3; evidently not etymologically related to ġamma). Cf. Fleisch 146. On the imperative ijlis cf. 13.12 n 1.

18.214 (1) Several other space qualifiers can be added to the list, e.g. bayna 'between', dūna 'beyond, without', ġawla 'around', dākila 'inside', kārija 'outside' (the last two being agent nouns, scil. 'in that which is inside/outside' or 'being inside/outside'), ġilāla 'during, between' (lit. 'in the gaps of'), qibala 'opposite' (cf. 18.211 n 1), ladā 'at, with' (final a like īlā, 1.702, so ladayka 'with you'), ladun, variant of ladā (18.106 n 2). Brockelmann, Grundr. I, 466, regards the future particle zawfa (1.82) as an old 'adverb'.

(2) Though defined by annexation (11.761) these may not occur with the def. article alone: 'I sat on the right' has to be personalized or otherwise made specific, viz. jalastu yamīnahu 'I sat on the right of him (or it)'. Contrast jalastu yamīnna (undef.) 'I sat right'.

(3) Even when space/time qualifiers occur in verbless sentences, e.g. baytuka yamīnayatī 'your house is to the right of my house', an underlying verb or equivalent is assumed (9.74, but see 19.25 n 1).

18.3 (1) 'Accidentally happen to denote' renders ġarađat dalālatahu, lit. 'its denotation occurred fortuitously'. Behind this expression lurks the philosophical antithesis between 'substance' (jawhar) and 'accident' (Carad). Cf. ġarija 'accidental' in 5.1, also 5.88 n 4.

18.31 (1) Note first that the cardinal numbers are all nouns, which in part explains the peculiarities of their syntax (see further 20.21-22).
The relationship between the numeral and the counted can best be seen in a literal translation: 'I travelled twenty (in units of a) day and thirty (in units of a) parasangs', the actual units being expressed as 'specifying elements' (mumayyiz, q.v. 20.0). Cf. also 17.62.

(2) Only the numbers from 11 to 99 are followed by specifying elements, the remainder being annexed to the counted noun, e.g. sirtu ta'lātata 'ayyāmin wa-ta'lātata farāsiḵa 'I travelled three days and three parasangs'. It is not clear why aš-Sirbīnī (following al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 338) omits to mention the other numbers either here or in 18.32, where they could easily have been accommodated.

18.32 (1) Cf. 11.721 n 4 on the formation of abstract nouns with the iyya suffix (kuliiya 'totality' from kull 'all', likewise juz'iyya 'partiality' from juz' 'part'). See 13.4, 17.64 on kull etc.

(2) Here may be included fractions, e.g. sirtu ṭu'la ta'lātul1yawmī 'I travelled a third of the day' etc. Cf. also 12.41, 14.21 n 1, 17.65.

(3) The examples are all of defined nouns of specific time (18.113): undefined examples are sirtu ku'lla yawmīn 'I travelled every day' (cf. 13.4 n 6), ba'qa yawmīn 'for part of a day' (cf. 12.41), ništa yawmīn 'for half a day'. Nouns of vague time (18.112) never have kull etc. annexed to them: for 'all the time' Classical Arabic uses various verbs, q.v. 10.19-22, while in modern Arabic an impersonal form of the circumstantial qualifier has evolved, viz. dā'īman, 'lastingly', agent noun of dāma 'to last, remain' (10.23), which remains masc. sing. regardless of the antecedent (contrast 19.21 n 1). 'All the time' as a conjunction is kullamā, i.e. kull 'all' with the indefinite relative suffix mā 'what, that' (cf. 5.89 n 2).

18.33 (1) Note that ġarbiyya can be made specific by annexing it to ad-dārī (scil. 'at the western point of the house'), while tawīlan cannot be made specific, because it cannot be annexed to a noun of specific time (18.113: *tawīla s-sā'cati 'long of hour' does not occur). Instead it is explained by a partitive phrase, scil. 'something long, from time', the article of ad-dahri here being the generic article (11.741).

18.34 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'ašl 'original'; 26.7 on annexation. In waqta șalātī l-Ca'sri, waqta (marked as a time qualifier) is annexed to șalātī: when waqta is dropped șalātī (marked as annexing element) becomes șalāta, now marked as time qualifier. Note that waqta ș-șalātī 'at the time of the prayer' and șalāta l-Ca'sri 'at evening prayer' are possible, but not aš-șalātā or al-waqta alone (18.112 n 1).

(2) Commoner is the periphrasis bi-qurbi zaydin lit. 'in the nearness of Zayd', or the adjectival qarīban min zaydin 'near to Zayd', with the same structure as 18.33, scil. an understood makānān qarīban 'in a near place'.

18.4 (1) 'Fully current' is mutaṣṣarrif, lit. 'circulating freely', synonym of munṣarrif and mutamakkīn, q.v. 1.41, 3.87 n 3. Here the emphasis is not so much on the morphology (viz. ability to bear the
marker tanwîn), but on the syntactical freedom associated with tanwîn and inventoried in the ensuing lines. Note overlap of morphological and syntactic terminology (cf. 1.41 n 4, 17.1). See also Diem, Oriens 23/4 321.

(2) This flexibility is one of the features which distinguishes space/time qualifiers from prepositions. Theoretically the former are all nouns (hunā, 18.212 and ṭamma, 18.213 are problematical, but are at least morphologically similar to dep. nouns), while the latter are not only mostly biliterals (i.e. outside the root system, cf. 26.26 n 1), but also have only one function (scil. can only occur with a following oblique noun, cf. 1.7). Cf. Beeston 88; Bateson 44.

18.41 (1) 'Not freely current' is ġayr mutašarrīf (ġayr 'not', 21.42, and see 18.4 n 1 on mutašarrīf). As the examples show, these elements neither have tanwîn nor the syntactical freedom it implies.

(2) A class of nouns as yet unexplained is the seemingly fossilized locatives in u, e.g. baḏu 'afterwards', qablu 'before', faqwū 'above', ḥaytu 'where, when' (cf. Reckendorf, Synt. Verh. 14, Fleisch, Tr. #149b, Lekiashvili, Arch. Or. 39, 62). These have come to be known as gūyāt 'limits, ends' because they cannot be followed by an annexing element (v. Muf. #201), but this is probably a misunderstanding of Sībawayhi (Kitāb II, 44), since it is clear that gūyāt for him also applied to the rest of the space/time qualifiers (id. I, 207). Note also invariable compounds layla nahāra 'night and day', bayta bayta 'house to house' etc., and numerals 13-19 (20.22 n 1(a)).

(3) Numerous examples in Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 221, Nöldeke 51; one in aš-Širbînî, 5.41 end. Because only min is found in this position it is regarded as the archetype of all prepositions (26.21 n 1).

18.5 (1) The other is the time qualifier, already dealt with (18.1) as the third kind of dependent element. It is important to distinguish between functional category ism zamān/ism makān 'noun of time/noun of place' and formal category ism al-marra/ism makān 'noun of time/noun of place: see 17.62 n 1, 17.7 n 3 on ism al-marra. The 'noun of place' mostly has the pattern mafC al, e.g. mašrab 'drinking place', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36; Bateson 18; Muf. #361.

19.0 (1) Jum. 47; Muf. #74; Alf. v 332; Qatr 257; Beeston 89, 95; Fleisch 181; Bateson 47; Yushmanov 75. Terminology 19.21 n 2. Note that this chapter deals only with nouns as circumstantial qualifiers: see 19.9 n 1 for sentences as circumstantial qualifiers.
(2) See 3.421 n 1 on the diminutive. The reduction of the sequence *awa* (and *aya*) to *ā* is a regular feature, most noticeable in the 'hollow verbs' (cf. 8.2 n 5). 'Converted' is literal for *mungalibatun*, cf. the cognate *taqlibu* 'converts', *galbun* 'conversion' in 5.71, showing again how morphological and syntactical terms form a continuum (cf. 1.5 n 3).

(3) The examples show *hālun* as masculine or unmarked feminine (cf. 11.43 n 3): the marked fem. *hālatun* exists in free variation with *hālun* (cf. 11.2 n 1), but does not depart from its marked gender.

19.1 (1) 'Structurally redundant' is *fadla*, lit. 'a surplus', i.e. outside the minimal sentence (q.v. 20.01 n 1); the equation dependence = structural redundancy was axiomatic for Sibawayhi (Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491), but *fadla* does not appear to be in use before al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. Muqtadāb III, 116, 121). It must not be confused with *mulgā* 'neutralized', 5.431 n 3. See also 15.06 n 1; 19.6; 25.1.

(2) i.e. verbal nouns, agent nouns, patient nouns, see 19.25.

(3) 'Exterior aspects' renders *hay'āt*, lit. 'forms, states', in its sing. *hay'a* a term borrowed from philosophy (perhaps no earlier than az-Zamaḳṣarī, e.g. Muf. #74). In some contexts it is virtually a synonym of *ḥāl* (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Hay'a', esp. 301b infra), and our present translation reflects more the need to contrast the functions of *ḥāl* and *tamyīż* (q.v. 20.01) than to avoid the circularity of Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation.

19.21 (1) It is taken for granted by aš-Ṣirbīnī that the reader will know the concordance rules for the circumstantial qualifier, viz. that it has the number and gender of its antecedent but is always undefined (19.5) and dependent. Apart from the obligatory dependent form, the circumstantial qualifier thus follows the same rules as the predicate of an equational sentence, see further 19.7.

(2) Terminology: 'antecedent' is *gāhib al-ḥāl* or *gū l-ḥāl*, both lit. 'owner of the circumstance', and 'circumstantial qualifier' is simply *ḥāl*, lit. 'circumstance, situation' (it is a fair comment that *ḥāl* would be more accurately translated 'situational qualifier' here, but 'circumstantial' seems to be favoured, e.g. Wright, Cantarino, Bateson etc.). Against Merx's claim (loc. cit. 18.101 n 1) that *ḥāl* must be a borrowed term because Sibawayhi uses it without explanation (!), we should consider the likelihood that *ḥāl* was not a technical term at all for Sibawayhi, which is why al-Mubarrad (Muqtadāb IV, 166) has to make a special point of ensuring that it is recognized as such.

19.22 (1) 'Unambiguously qualifying' here and in 19.21 renders *nasṣan*, lit. 'as a clarification, proof-text', but explained by Aḥū n-Najā (fl. 1808) in his Commentary on al-Azharī, Āj. 84 (which aš-Ṣirbīnī is now quoting) as intended to contrast these instances of the circumstantial qualifier with the ambiguous type in 19.23.

(2) This has been read as the Stem IV patient noun (q.v. 10.34 n 1) in preference to the synonymous Stem II *musarrajan* because the latter,
though indistinguishable in a text without diacriticals, is evidently a post-classical form.

19.23 (1) There seems to be no convention which would make reference to one or the other of the antecedents more likely (cf. Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 98), but ambiguity can always be avoided by using the sentence type of circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1), thus laqātu ʿabdallāhi wa-ʿanā rākibun 'I met ʿAbdullāh while I was riding' or wa-huwa rākibun 'while he was riding', alternatively laqātu ʿabdallāhi ʿarkabu 'I met ʿAbdullāh, I riding' or yarkabu 'he riding'.

(2) See 10.14 n 2 on this type of weak 3rd rad. verb, and note the convention of referring to the verb in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense (3.52 n 3).

19.24 (1) Being dual, rākibayni can only refer to both individual antecedents together, the same as in the equational sentence 'anā wa-zaydun rākibāni 'Zayd and I are (both) riding' (cf. 19.5). Note this example from Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 98: 'inna sawfa tudrikunā ʿan-manā yā muqaddaratan laḥā wa-muqaddarāna (lahā) 'verily the fates will catch up with us, they predestined for us and we predestined (for them)', with two antecedents and two circumstantial qualifiers in parallel.

19.25 (1) Later grammarians (and those who relied on them, e.g. Jahn, n 8 to #110, = Kitāb I, 230) were reluctant to accept that dep. forms could occur without at least an implicit verb (cf. 16.311 n 1). But for Sībawayhi many dep. forms were the result of the operation of a previous complete utterance (Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491), requiring no assumed verb, e.g. huwa nārun ḥumratan 'he is a fire in redness', hāgā baʿalit šaykhan 'this is my husband, an old man' (S. 11 v 72; see also Muf. #79; Nöldeke 49).

(2) Intransitive verbs, as well as passive verbs (e.g. qutila nāʿīman 'he was killed sleeping', cf. also 8.0) operate on all dependent noun classes except direct objects (16.309 n 1).

(3) S. 49 v 12.

19.3 (1) See 3.65 n 12 on ǧālib 'predominant usage'; 19.31 n 1 on muṣṭaqq 'derived'; 19.32 n 1 on muftārīq 'transient'. On the formal classes of nouns see also 20.7 n 1.

19.31 (1) 'Derived', muṣṭaqq, contrasts with jāmid 'underived', q.v. 20.7 n 1, and refers to the insertion of radicals into one or another of the patterns in which nouns occur (see 10.37 n 1). Each pattern has its own 'meaning' (maʿnā), translated here 'semantic function' in keeping with the use of maʿnā to denote the 'meanings' of particles (cf. 1.701 n 2), of nominal and verbal inflections (2.2 nn 5, 6), and of the imperfect tense verb (5.02).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun, and contrast fāʿil 'agent' and mafʿūl 'patient' as functional categories in chs. 7 and 16 respectively. On the 'quasi-participial
adjective', as-ṣīfa l-muṣabbaha lī-l-fi (lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the verb') see 26.92 n 2, and for the 'elative noun', ism at-tafḍīl see 20.4 n 1. Cf. also 19.33 n 1.

19.32 (1) 'Transient', mufārig (lit. 'going away') contrasts with mulāzim 'inherent' (lit. 'adhering', cognate with lāzim 'intransitive' 16.309 n 1), both introduced relatively late into definitions of the circumstantial qualifier (e.g. Alf. v 333, perhaps developing an idea of al-Astarābāḏī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 182, as both use muntaqil 'mobile' instead of mufārig).

19.33 (1) See 20.7 n 1 on underived nouns. The 'verbal noun' (masdar) may also occur as a circumstantial qualifier, e.g. qatal tūhu sabrān 'I killed him in bondage' (Muf. #76, and see 24.52 n 2); perhaps it has been omitted from the list of 'derived nouns' in 19.31 because of its disputed status as the source of all verbal paradigms (17.1 n 2).

(2) Another example in 13.14, ʿallamuṭuḥu n-nahwa bāhan bāhan 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'. Cf. 12.2 n 2 on tartīb 'ordering', and see 19.51 for ordered circumstantial qualifiers of defined form.

(3) Note the 'bi of price' (bā' at-taman, a function of bi 'with, by', q.v. 1.707), and cf. 9.03 n 5.

19.34 (1) This is another theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1): it is blasphemous to imply that a quality of God is not inherent in His nature. By the same token, an exception can be made in the case of S. 4 v 28, kūliqa ʿl-ʿinsānu daʿīfan 'man was created weak' (quoted 11.741), with an inherent quality as a circumstantial qualifier because mankind is inherently weak (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 333 who, however, attributes the dep. form to the repetitiousness of creation).

(2) This curious sentence is found in the earliest grammar, viz. Kitāb I, 77, where it is attributed to 'someone whose Arabic is trustworthy', i.e. a Beduin informant. Surprisingly, however, it did not attract the attention of Sībawayhi's most copious commentator (as-Sīrāfī, d. 978), nor of any of the relatively early grammarians: it seems to have been resurrected only about the time of Ibn Ḥišām (d. 1360, e.g. in al-Azhāfī, Taṣrī. I, 368, on which as-Sīrāfī is clearly drawing). Be it noted, however, that for Sībawayhi this sentence did not exemplify an inherent type of circumstantial qualifier, but simply the attraction into dependent form of an entire clause in apposition to a dependent noun, perhaps influenced by the fact that ḥalaqa 'to create' may sometimes be doubly transitive (see 10.69, and cf. 16.310 n 1).

(3) See 14.2 on partial substitution, badal al-baʿḍ min al-kull.

(4) See 5.82 n 6 on mutaʿalliq 'semantically connected'.

19.4 (1) See 19.31 for the equivalents. Note, however, that the operator of the so-called 'emphatic circumstantial qualifier', al-hāl al-muʾakkida is deemed to be the previous complete utterance, e.g. S. 2 v 91, huwa l-ḥaggū muṣaddigān... 'it is the truth, verifying...' (see also 19.25 n 1).
19.5 (1) As we shall see (19.6), circumstantial qualifiers are really predicates of their antecedents: normally only derived nouns (muṣṭaqq, v. 19.31) may function as circumstantial qualifiers because derived nouns are by nature predicative, i.e. can always be paraphrased by a verb, e.g. ṭākibun 'riding' = yarkubu 'he rides', musrajun 'saddled' = 'usrija 'he has been saddled' etc., see further 11.45 n 1. Herein lies the difference between 'nouns' and 'adjectives', cf. 11.61 n 1.

(2) 'Correlation' is expressed by ḥamala, lit. 'to carry', see further 23.411 n 2. Observe how incongruence in definition is a predicate marker (cf. 9.12 n 2), while congruence is an attribute marker, e.g. rakibtu 1-farasa 1-musraja 'I rode the saddled horse'. Cf. 18.102 n 2.

19.51 (1) Lit. 'enter, as the first and then the first'; in 'udkūlū 'enter' (masc. plur.) the first vowel is present to break up the initial consonant cluster of the imperative and harmonizes with the internal vowel of the stem (5.2 n 3, and cf. 22.1 n 1).

(2) Lit. 'he came back with his return on his beginning'; note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix hu/hī 'his' (13.9 n 9). It is annexation to this suffix which causes definition, v. 11.76.

(3) See 17.51 n 1 on similar problems of derivation, here embodied in the familiar antithesis of lafẓ 'form' and maḏnā 'meaning' (2.1 n 2).

(4) See 7.58 n 1 on concealed agent pronouns.

(5) There can be little doubt that waḥdahu is defined by its annexation to the possessive pronoun (11.76), but there is a type of annexation which does not confer definition (q.v. 26.92-93), and circumstantial qualifiers such as waqafa 'amāmahu maktūfa 1-yadayni 'he stood before him, arms crossed', lit. 'crossed of arms', are clearly undefined (cf. Cantarino, II, 191). Corroboration such as 'ajma'īna 'all together' in dependent form (Cantarino II, 189) might also belong here, in view of their intrinsic definition (13.6 n 1).

19.6 (1) Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation retains the term kalām 'utterance', the original descriptive title for the minimal meaningful unit of discourse (cf. 1.1 and 1.13 n 1). Later grammarians, however, (Muf. #74, Qatr 259) often prefer the term jumla 'sentence', lit. 'aggregate', first used, it appears, about the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898, e.g. Muqtadab II, 12, 17, 61, 310, III, 34, 279 etc.). This term, along with such notions as 'informativeness' (fā'ida, cf. 1.13 n 1) and falsifiability (see 9.11 n 1), reveals the penetration of philosophical ideas into grammar: 'sentence' eventually becomes indistinguishable from 'proposition', cf. Elamrani-Jamal, Arabica 26, 76.

(2) Perhaps from an undue concern with 'informativeness' (see above), the direct object is here regarded as an indispensable element, even though, from a strictly structural point of view, verb and agent alone are sufficient (cf. 7.9 n 1). The examples referred to are in 19.21 etc.

(3) 'Self-sufficient with regard to meaning' is lit. for muṣṭaǧnīn mīn
jihati l-maṣ'na, the semantic correlative of structural correctness (husn 'goodness', see 12.91 n 8): an utterance which both contains the minimal number of elements (two) and satisfies the listener's need for information (cf. 1.13 n 3) is 'good for silence' yaḥṣunu s-sukūtu ḡalayḥi (1.13), unless, as here, semantic restraints are in force.

(4) Schaw. Ind. 5, add al-Ūṣmūnī on Alf. v 332. Three kinds of circumstantial qualifier appear in this verse: (a) the quasi-participial adjective kaʿīban (19.31), (b) the agent noun kāṣifan, here not only predicative of its antecedent (19.7 n 2) but also, because it is a 'semantically linked' adjective (11.5, 11.51), qualifying bālūḥu 'his plight', (c) the undefined annexation unit qalīla r-rajāʿi, like maktūfā l-yadaynī in 19.51 n 5.

19.7 (1) Note 'judged', lit. for maḥkūm (and cf. ḥukm, 24.1 n 2), a legal/philosophical borrowing (the boundaries are not as clear as Versteegh, 74 n 22 implies: qaḍīyya 'judicial verdict' is also a regular term for 'proposition', al-Ḡwārizmī, Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, 146).

(2) The predicative nature of the circumstantial qualifier has been recognized from the first: Sībawayhi termed it kābar li-l-maṣ'rafa 'a predicate of the defined' (e.g. Kitāb I, 221, 233 etc.), evidently as part of a general scheme opposing attributives (ṣifa 'adjective') to predicatives (kābar) on the basis of concord (11.02) and discord (19.5 n 2) respectively (the whole topic needs further study, cf. Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 488). Note how Sībawayhi's original definition of a 'right' utterance reappears here in terms of 'informativeness' (1.13).

19.71 (1) 'Specialization', taḥṣīs, is an intermediate level between absolute indefiniteness and pure definition as set out in 11.7 et seq., and cf. Gätje, Arabica 17, 235f. In 9.81 it is seen that 'specialized' elements (i.e. qualified by adjectives, like fulukin mākīrin below) are sufficiently defined to function as subjects on nominal sentences (see further 26.91 for specialization by annexation, and contrast 19.51 n 5, where the very same 'specialization' is not enough, however, to make the circumstantial qualifier defined!).

(2) S. 41 v 10. Annexation of numerals does not confer definition (cf. 26.72 n 1); sawāʾan could also be translated literally as 'straight', i.e. one after the other.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 279 (where wrongly maṣjūnān; the verse invokes S. 37 v 140, 'When he (Jonah) ran away to the laden ship'): the dependent form maṣḥūnān is assured by the rhyme (5.88 n 4). Other points worth noting: najjāyta, Stem II (8.61 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. n-j-w with regular change of w to y in augmented Stems; see 23.61 (a) on vocative yā rabbī; wa-stajabta shows juncture feature (11.1 n 2), viz. reduction of *wa-istajabta (Stem X, 8.72 n 1 of 'hollow' stem j-w-b, 8.73 n 1); in al-yamm is seen an arbitrary doubling of the second radical to create a triliteral root from an original biliteral, cf. 4.71 n 1.

(4) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, and cf. 13.45 n 3.

19.72 (1) 'Generalization' is taqāṁīm, cognate with ḡāmma in 13.4. The
condition of general negation is, not surprisingly, also applicable to
equational sentences with undefined subjects (though not mentioned in
9.81) e.g. lā šāhiba cīlmin mamqūtun 'no possessor of knowledge is
despised' (22.11 n 1).

(2) S. 26 v 208; note the partitive min after the negative (cf. 7.11
n 2). The circumstantial qualifier in this verse is a nominal sentence
(see further 19.9 n 1), showing inversion of subject and predicate
because the former is undefined (9.73 n 1) and probably influenced by
the need to maintain the rhyme ūna/Ina of the verses in this passage.

(3) See 5.76 on nahy 'prohibition' and negation in general.

(4) This forms part of Alf. v 339, and it is not clear whether it is a
'saying' proper or whether aš-Širbīnī's gawluhum simply means 'what
they (i.e. grammarians) say'. Its most interesting feature is without
doubt the word imruʿun 'man': this displays a rare regressive vowel
harmony with repetition of the inflectional vowel in the interior of
the word, thus imraʿun, imriʿin (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #77a n 2, and see
5.2 n 3, 13.9 n 6 on regular vowel harmony). Moreover imruʿun (with
normal juncture feature of initial vowel, q.v. 13.12 n 1) alternates
with a dissimilated form marʿun which, however, has no vowel harmony.

19.73 (1) 'Inversion' is here taʿkīr 'retarding', more comprehensively
styled taqdim wa-taʿkīr 'advancing and retarding', q.v. 2.13 n 1. The
choice of taʿkīr is dictated by the fact that it is the delaying of the
antecedent which is under consideration: the circumstantial qualifier
is not so much 'advanced' as simply fitted into the vacant (i.e. struc-
turally redundant) gap between defined predicate and undefined subject
(q.v. 9.73 n 1).

19.74 (1) 'Particular justification' is a free translation of musawwiğ,
lit. 'that which makes allowable', a synonym of jāʿiz (q.v. 9.8 n 2)
used but rarely by Sībawayhi (Troupeau, Lex.-Index, s-w-g), but a
favorite of the later, more prescriptive grammarians.

(2) Mālik ibn Anas, famous early jurist of Medina, d. 795 (Brockelmann,
(1.01 n 4) is gathered in the book here cited, al-Muwatta', the title
meaning 'the well-trodden path' (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 147 for
synonyms of 'path, way' in the context of grammar). The Tradition here
adduced (which aš-Širbīnī has from al-Azharī, Tašr. I, 378) does not
occur in that exact form in published editions of the Muwatta', but see
the Karachi ed. 1962, 113 and Wensinck, Concordance V, 490.

19.8 (1) 'Indicated by the context of discourse' is li-dalīl lafẓī,
lit. 'because of some formal pointer', namely the verb jiʿta 'you came'
in the question actually asked, which is then understood as the opera-
tor on the circumstantial qualifier rākiban 'riding' uttered alone.
Cf. 17.7 n 2, dalīl maqāllī, synonymous with dalīl lafẓī.

(2) '(Indicated by) the context of situation' is li-dalīl bālī, lit.
'because of some situational pointer'. Not to be confused with the
'language of situation' (1.1 n 3), this aspect of linguistic form has
been well recognized and exploited from the first, e.g. Kitāb I, 109, 157 etc., and cf. 16.311 n 1. On elision, ḫagīf, see 3.73 n 2.

19.81 (1) Even grammarians must occasionally admit the special status of proverbs (e.g. Kitāb I, 24, 147, 302 etc.).

(2) Any restitution of a missing verb in a proverbial expression is, of course, purely arbitrary. By the same token it would be artificial to restore the time qualifier marratān 'once' (18.113 n 1) implied by the fem. ʿukrā 'other'.

19.82 (1) Another example has already been discussed in 19.6.

(2) On one level, if rākibān 'riding' is to be the whole of the answer in accordance with 19.8, then it can hardly be elided! It would have been better if the text had given the complete answer jiʿtu rākibān, in order to demonstrate that a reply jiʿtu 'I came' alone would fail to satisfy the requirements of a correct utterance (1.13, 1.15).

(3) See 21.3 on this type of exceptive sentence, and cf. the synonymous ʿinnamā jāʿa rākibān 'he came only riding' ('ʿinnamā, 9.83 n 2).

(4) The underlying structure is assumed to be *darbī zaydān darbī 'iyyāhu qāʿīman 'my striking of Zayd is my striking of him while standing' (see 16.312 n 1 on the operation of the verbal noun).

(5) S. 4 v 43; see 19.9 n 1 on the syntax.

19.9 (1) Because they are not nouns, circumstantial qualifiers in the form of sentences are not dealt with in this chapter. Both nominal and verbal sentences (9.24 n 2) have this function, however: verbal sentences are asyndetic, e.g. jāʿa zaydun yarkabu 'Zayd came riding', while nominal sentences are normally introduced by wa 'and', e.g. jāʿa zaydun wa-huwa rākibun 'Zayd came (and he) riding' (other examples: wa-ʿantum sukārā 'while you are drunk' in 19.82, wa-ʿantum ʿākifūnā 'while you are secluded' in 1.705, wa-ṣ-ṣamsu ʿālīcatun 'while the sun is rising' in 25.22; Muf. #80; Alf. v 351; Beeston 89; Fleisch 182.

(2) See 20.01 for the differences between the circumstantial qualifier and the specifying element.

20.0 (1) Jum. 245; Muf. #83; Alf. v 356; Qatr 263; Beeston 60; Fleisch 185; Nöldeke 39. The range of terminology (see further n 2) gives an impression of the way in which an originally ill-defined grammatical feature can, through the development of pedagogical grammar, acquire a specific identity and place in the system (cf. the treatment of the
'substitution of error' in 14.4, the 'wa of accompaniment' in ch. 25 (esp. 25.31 n 1), and see also 25.6 n 1.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'. Of the terms listed here only tamyīz is common, and may denote both the specifying function and the specifying element (cf. badal, 14.0). Sībawayhi has no specific name for this construction, but treats it as a subdivision of the circumstantial qualifier (Kitāb I, 275); tamyīz as a technical term seems to appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, Muqtadab II, 149, 168, 173 etc., and cf. Jum. 77 for mubayyin, tamyīz and tafsīr all together.

20.01 (1) 'Structurally indispensable' is ḍumda, lit. 'support, prop', antonym of faḍla 'redundant element' (19.1) and likewise not found in the earliest grammar. It refers to the fact that the minimal sentence comprises two elements (see 1.13), each indispensable to the other. This is most obvious in the equational sentence, since the uttering of a subject obliges the speaker to complete his utterance with a predicate (9.12 n 2): verbal sentences are also predicative (3.73 n 5), but their agents are in any case bound morphemes (7.9 n 1; cf. 21.31 n 1).

(2) Cf. 23.1 n 2 on ḍa'at 'entity, being', plur. ḍawāt, contrasting with hay'at, the 'exterior aspects' indicated by circumstantial qualifiers (19.1 n 3). Other main differences between the two are: specifying element may only be a noun (not sentence or prepositional phrase); circumstantial qualifier sometimes indispensable; there may be more than one circumstantial qualifier; specifying element may not be inverted; specifying element is normally an underived noun; (al-Uḏmūnī on Alf. v 363).

20.02 (1) See 11.721 n 4 on nisba in its primary meaning of 'blood relationship': in the present chapter it has the sense of 'logical relationship' (cf. mansūbaynī 'two things attributed', 12.5 n 2). For 'converted from the original agent' see 20.11 nn 2, 3.

20.11 (1) Cf. 7.21 on the parsing; the verb in this example is a Stem V (8.64 n 1), 'doubled verb' (11.3 n 1), root s-b-b.

(2) See 8.2 n 3 on ḍasl, lit. 'root, base, etc., and note how, in the following analysis, the technique has strong similarities with our present notions of deep structure and transformation.

(3) The term here is ḥawwala 'to transform, change' (Stem II of the 'hollow verb' ḥ-w-l, 8.73 n 1), though in 8.2 etc., in the context of the transformation of active to passive verbs, the preferred word is naqala, lit. 'to carry over'.

(4) See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates of their agents, 26.7 for annexation.

(5) Direct objects converted into specifying elements, 20.8 (2). Note how, in aš-Širbīnī's text (adapted from al-Azhari, Ḡj. 86), both the intransitive ja'ala bi 'to come with, bring' (5.82 n 5) and the doubly transitive ja'ala 'to make' (10.69) appear as impersonal passives, viz. ji'ala bi 'is brought' and ja'ala tamyīzan 'is made a specifying element', the latter retaining its second direct object (cf. 8.0 n 5).
20.12 (1) The lexical glosses here and above suggest that tašabbaba and tafaqqa'ā were no longer readily understood. Sībawayhi, Kitāb I, 105, uses the example with tafaqqa'ā, but few later grammarians seem to have bothered with it (only Muf. #83 from our group). In the light of 20.6 it seems odd that tafaqqa'ā is here glossed as intala'ā!

(2) Lit. 'there has been done to it what was done with the first example', the verb being 'umila, impersonal passive of the same verb which is used in 8.2 etc. to denote the 'operation' of converting active verbs to passive, see further 8.2 n 2.

20.13 (1) Normally 'ifrāb denotes 'inflection', q.v. ch. 2, but is here used in its not uncommon sense of 'parsing', see also 8.21 n 1.

(2) Note that the verb must become feminine with nafsun as its agent: nafsun is a member of a fairly large class of unmarked feminine nouns. These comprise (a) parts of the body occurring in pairs, e.g. 'aynut 'eye' (cf. 13.9, karajat 'aynuhā 'her eye went out', with fem. verb), 'aydun 'hand', 'aylun 'leg' etc. (very few exceptions), (b) words denoting females, e.g. 'ajžun 'old woman', (c) names of countries, towns, e.g. misru 'Cairo, Egypt', (d) some which are fem. by convention, e.g. nafsun 'soul'. See Wright I, 177, 11.43 n 3.

(3) 'Motive' is al-bāqīt, lit. 'the rouser, provoker'. Here we may be certain that rhetorical considerations are uppermost, but it should be borne in mind that the intentions of the speaker have always been recognized as a determinant of linguistic form, see 14.4 n 5.

20.21 (1) Not all numbers: only 11-99 fall into this group, being (a) those with a fixed tanwīn preventing annexation, viz. the decades from 20 to 90, (b) compound numerals whose second element has the status of tanwīn, also preventing annexation, viz. 11 to 19. See further n 4.

(2) This verb is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) from the 3rd weak radical root š-r-y: its past tense conjugates like ra'ā in 10.65 n 1, and its imperfect tense like yarmĪ in 4.82 n 1.

(3) See 3.71 on I as an allomorph of a.

(4) The decades 20-90 are formally sound masc. plurals (see 3.412 (a)) which never occur without tanwīn: the phrase Cisrūna dirhamān '20 dirhams' is chosen by Sībawayhi as an explanatory model for structures in which annexation is prevented for whatever reason (see Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 487).

20.22 (1) The syntax of numerals is complex: see Jum. 137; Muf. #313; Alf. v 726; Qatr 362; Beeston 61; Fleisch 94; Yushmanov 71; Hetzron, J.S.S. 12, 180. Setting aside '1' and '2', which are pure adjectives, the variables may be summarized as follows:

(a) all units (except '-1', '-2') are marked with the gender opposite to that of their counted nouns; '11' and '12' agree in gender with the noun in both tens and units, '13' to '19' agree in tens only; all numerals are fully inflected except the invariable compounds '11', '13' to '19' and the ten element of '12', which all end in a.
(b) after '3' to '10' counted nouns have plur. oblique form; after '11' to '99' they have sing. dependent form; after '100' upwards they have sing. oblique form, all determined by the last numeral in the series.

Most of the above principles are illustrated in the examples given in 17.62, 18.31, 19.71, 20.6, 23.45. See also 26.72 n 2.

20.3 (1) Note 'cindī 'with me' = 'I have' (see 18.207 on 'cinda, 3.421 n 3 on suffix I), a regular use of the space qualifier to denote possession (cf. also ma'fa, 18.208, 1.1, 26.27).

(2) See 9.73 n 1 on this inversion. According to Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 569, ratl is a metathesized borrowing of Greek litra 'a pound'.

(3) Although according to 9.74 these verbless sentences contain an implicit verb, the operation of a self-sufficient utterance is enough to account for the dependent form (see 19.25 n 1).

(4) 'Implicit original form' is a free translation of taqdfir, lit. 'estimation' (q.v. 2.101 n 1). See 26.93 n 1 on annexed form manawā.

20.4 (1) It will be recognized that the topic here is the comparative adjective. In Arabic both comparative and superlative adjectives are formally identical (cf. 3.411 nn 6, 7, 3.89 n 10) and are termed 'ism at-tafdīl, lit. 'the noun of causing to excel', usually rendered 'elative'. The comparative and superlative senses are revealed by differences of syntax: see 20.42 n 2 on comparatives and 20.42 n 3 on superlatives. General references: Muf. #118; Alf. v 496; Qatr 316; Beeston 57; Fleisch 188, Tr. #89e.

(2) i.e. in 20.11-13.

20.41 (1) There is a difference here between the specifying element and the circumstantial qualifier which, though it is implied by the differences enumerated in 20.01 n 2, does not seem to have attracted the grammarians' attention: as the circumstantial qualifier is essentially a predicate of its antecedent (19.7), so the specifying element is an agent or subject (ratlun zaytan in 20.3 can be paraphrased as az-zaytu ratlun 'the oil is a rotl-weight', like at-tawbu kazzun 'the garment is silk', q.v. 26.72. But see Muf. #87.

(2) These sentences are of the 'two-faced' (dāt wajhayn) type, q.v. 9.75 n 1. Note the stative verbs karuma 'to be noble', jamula 'to be handsome' (cf. Fleisch 117, dislikes the term 'stative'; Yushmanov 50, 10.22 n 2). Since the elative meaning is a property of the pattern 'af'alulu (cf. 20.42 n 2), it cannot be shown in the verbal paraphrase.

20.42 (1) See 20.11 nn 2, 3 on the 'transformational' terminology of this paragraph.

(2) Comparative syntax: attributive use is not common (cf. Cantarino, II, 471), and in predicative use the form 'af'al is used for all genders and numbers (e.g. 9.23). Comparison is shown by collocation with a phrase introduced by min, freely translated as 'than' but ultimately a noun meaning 'part' which has become a preposition (1.701). Given
that the pattern (10.37 n 1) 'afCāl originally might have an intensifying function (see Beeston 57), our present examples might be reconstructed as 'Zayd's father is extremely noble on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')' and his face is extremely handsome on your part (scil. 'with respect to you'). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 1.25, 5.411, 9.81, 11.754, 12.21, 19.34, 23.61 (c). On the irregular ḥāyr 'better/best' etc. see 5.82 n 5.

(3) Superlative syntax: attributive use fairly common (e.g. al-'asmā'u l-busnā 'the most beautiful names', 5.86), with full concordance (see 3.89 n 10). Predicatively and substantively 'afCāl is used, annexed to a noun or pronoun (same distribution as kull, 13.4 n 6), viz. (a) undefined sing., e.g. 'ajmalu wajhin 'the most handsome face' (specifying annexation, 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing, consisting of a face'; (b) defined plur., e.g. 'ajmalu l-wujūhi 'the most handsome of the faces' (partitive, also 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing among the faces'; (c) defined sing., e.g. 'aktu'rū l-waqī 'most of the time' (particularization, 26.71). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 3.89 end, 10.65, 17.61, and cf. 5.82 n 5.

20.5 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfīs'. Insāf does not record this debate, which aṣ-Šīrāzī has taken from al-Azharī, Taṣrī. I, 394.

(2) Schaw. Ind. 106, and add Alī. vv 108, 362, which allude to this verse, also Abū Naṣīr b. Hayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 34, 221. Cf. 20.13 on the regular construction, and note also: raʾaytu 'I saw' with double direct object, being a sentence (10.65), redundant 'an after lammā 'when' (5.413), assimilation of definite article al to nafs (11.41 n 2), gaysu without tanwīn in the vocative (23.41).

(3) This is the 'Baṣran' view. A third opinion is that an-nafsa is the direct object of šadadta: 'you turned—and were calm—yourself away'.

20.6 (1) This is adapted from an example in Kitāb I, 105, where it stands alongside tafaqqaʾtu šahman 'I was bursting with fat' (see 20.12), with no indication that it is in any way different in kind from its neighbour. If an underlying form had to be found, it would require an external agent, e.g. malaʾa l-ʾināʾa máʾan 'he filled the pot with water', not malaʾa l-māʾa l-ʾināʾa 'the water filled the pot', v. 20.8.

(2) Cf. 1.14 n 1 on wudīfā 'conventionally established'; 'construction' is tarkīb (cognate with murakkab 'compound, complex, 1.12 n 1, note the continuity of morphological and syntactical terms, cf. 1.41 n 3), see other examples in 2.14, 5.02, 8.3. The formula li-llāhī darruhū, lit. 'to God belongs his abundance of milk' obviously defies explanation: see further 20.9 n 2 for this and similar exclamatory expressions, and see 20.7 n 2 for 'verbs of surprise', 'afCāl at-taʾajjub.

Note also 'interrogative kam' (kam al-ʾistifḥāmiyya, contrast 'predicative kam' in 26.61 n 1), 'how much/many', e.g. kam kitāban laka 'how many books do you have?' This requires a specifying element for two reasons: (a) because it denotes a vague number (cf. 20.21-22), and (b) because it can be separated from its noun (kam laka kitāban), which rules out annexation (cf. 20.21 n 4).
(3) Schaw. Ind. 276, and add Abû Hayyân, op. cit. 20.5 n 2, 393. This verse belongs to a couplet said to have been spoken by Abû Tâlib, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, demonstrating (according to the orthodox interpretation) that Abû Tâlib remained a pagan in spite of a grudging admiration for Islâm (cf. aš-Sîrinî's Qur'ân Commentary I, 19).

(4) S. 9 v 36. It may well be that the repetition of the word for 'months' is felt to be excessive (and therefore corroborative, cf. 13.11), but this hardly alters the explanatory function of Šahrân, which by its undefined sings, dependent form shows that it is operated on in the normal way by the numeral '12' (q.v. 20.22 n 1).

20.7 (1) 'Underived noun' is ʾism jāmid, lit. 'rigid noun', i.e. having no corresponding verb (hence no deverbal cognates such as particip­les etc.), contrasting with ʾism muštaqq 'derived noun', 19.31 n 1.

(2) 'Underived verb' is fiʿl jāmid, lit. 'rigid verb', i.e. invariable and unproductive (there is doubt whether it ever was a true verb: cf. Fleisch 189 n 1). This is the 'verb of surprise', fiʿl at-taʿajjub, and has either the form given here or a pseudo-imperative ʾahsin bihi rajulan; Jum. 112; Muf. #477; Alk. v 474; ʿQâr 379. The verbs niʿma, biʿsa (5.11) can conveniently be included here, e.g. niʿma i-rajulu zaydun or niʿma rajulan zaydun 'What a good man Zayd is!'; Jum. 121; Muf. #468; Alk. v 485; ʿQâr 191.

(3) 'Freedom' renders yataṣṣarrafu (see cognates in 1.41 n 1, 18.4 n 1, 18.41 n 1); yataṣṣarrafu ff nafsihi 'is free in itself' is understood as morphological, and yataṣṣarrafu ff maʿmülühi 'is free in what it operates on' as syntactical (cf. 2.11 n 1 on 'operation').

20.8 (1) Only the quantitative type (20.3) is left, e.g. raṭlun min az-zayti 'a rotl-weight of oil', with 'explanatory min' (5.82 n 3). In ċiṣrūna min ad-darāhimi the min is now partitive (9.03 n 4) and the meaning is 'twenty of the dirhams' (darāhīm, plur.). The objection to ʾgarastu l-ʾarḍa min šajarin is that it makes al-ʾarḍa look like the true direct object of ʾgarastu when it is, in fact, only metaphorical (for ʾgarastu šajaran ff l-ʾarḍi 'I planted trees in the land', cf. S. 54 v 12: fajarnā l-ʾarḍa ʾayūnān 'we broached the land with springs').

(2) 'Artificially' is šīnāCatān, lit. 'in the craft or art', which may mean 'for rhetorical reasons' but more likely refers to the technical processes of grammar: as early as Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002, cf. his Sirr šīnāCat al-ʾīrāb 'Secret of the art of inflection') grammar had become sufficiently self-aware to regard itself as a šīnāCa (=techne).

20.9 (1) Here we insert a type of dependent noun which has some slight affinities with the specifying element, e.g. 'innā maʿšara l-ʾarabī... 'verily we, the Arab people... ', where maʿšara 'kinsfolk' has dep. form as a 'specialization' of its antecedent (taḵṣīṣ, not in quite the same sense as in 19.71 n 1). Adjectival discord as set out in 11.6 is usually treated as a variety of taḵṣīṣ.

(2) Many exclamations involve specifying elements, e.g. 'anta r-rajulu ʿilman 'you are the man for knowledge!', wayḥahu rajulan 'alas for him
as a man!*: these lack verbs (contrast 20.7 n 2), even so they still operate verbally upon extraneous elements (see further 19.25 n 1).

21.0 (1) Jum. 235; Muf. #88; Alf. v 316; Qatr 271; Fleisch 184 (also E.I. (2), art. 'Istithnā'); Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 42; Carter, J.S.S. 20, 69. Terminology is evidently a natural application of the literal sense, viz. istitnā' '(act of) exception', harf istitnā' 'particle of exception', mustaţnā minhu 'excepted from it', i.e. 'antecedent', and mustaţnā 'thing excepted', i.e. 'excepted element', but cf. E.I. (2), art. 'Hiyal' for istitnā' as a legal term for 'mental reservation', and cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 90.


21.01 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph: 'generic' is jins, lit. 'genus' (v. 23.31 n 1); 'substitution' is badal, q.v. 14.21 for the example quoted here; 'limitation' is gāya, lit. 'end, limit' (cf. 5.53, 5.56, 12.91, 12.911 for the overlap of 'illā, ḥattā and 'illā); 'strict' has been added to ensure that istitnā' has its full technical sense; see 21.1, 21.11 for continuous and discontinuous exception respectively; 'actually or implicitly' is tahqīqan 'aw tāqīran, not true antonyms, as tahqīq and cognates are usually opposed to majāz 'figure, metaphor' (v. 13.3 n 1) and tāqīr to lafz 'explicit form' (v. 2.101 n 1).

(2) S. 2 v 187.

(3) See 1.13 on informativeness. Both utterances are meaningful without the exceptive phrases, and with jā'anī nāsun there are interesting possibilities: either nāsun 'some people' is informative enough, though formally undefined, to be both grammatical and logical subject of the predicate jā'anf 'came to me' (cf. 18.106 n 2 on verbs of motion with direct object), or the logical subject is actually nī 'me', equal to passive ji'tu 'I was come to (by unidentified agent/s)', cf. 8.11 n 1. The second analysis is supported by the fact that nī is the only defined element in the utterance, cf. the considerations in 9.12 n 2, 9.73 n 1.

21.02 (1) 'Instruments' is adāwāt (sing. adāh), literally translated. It is a synonym of harf in its meaning of 'particle' (cf. 1.25 n 2), which at one time (e.g. Inşāţ, intro. 72 n 1) was thought to be a mark of 'Kūfān' grammar (9.4 n 3), but the arch-Bāşran Sibawayhi uses it once (Kitāb II, 143) and it seems to crop up indiscriminately.

(2) Lit. 'by predominance', tāqīban, cf. 3.65 n 12.
NOTES 395

(3) Orthographically ḥāṣā is ḥa'šay, and to shorten either vowel a consonantal lengthening marker has to be elided, see 2.43 n 2.

(4) See 21.44 n 1 on luğa 'variant realization', and note the use of well-known words to specify a particular morphology (an alternative to spelling out in full, q.v. 3.44 n 2). It is pedantic, but necessary, to point out that the transliterations are inconsistent here: sawā'un is quoted in its juncntural form, i.e. complete with its case vowel and final n (q.v. 1.4), not the pausal form (viz. sawā', cf. 2.14 n 2), while siwā, suwā etc. are quoted in their pausal form, without final n (like fatā, 4.2 n 2 (b)). There is no excuse for this, except perhaps that the juncntural form suwan never occurs in natural language, as suwā is always annexed to the following noun (2.14).

21.03 (1) Omitting laysa and lā yakūnu, which are dealt with in 21.62. Another type of exception which ought to be mentioned is the construction with 'innamā 'only', e.g. 'innamā daraba 'anā 'only I struck', explained in 7.7 as synonymous with mā daraba 'illā 'anā 'none struck but I' (see further 9.83 n 2).

21.1 (1) 'States' is lit. for ḥālāt, cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism and 25.62 n 2 on bāb (plur. 'abwāb) in the meaning of 'category'.

(2) Lit. 'mother of the category', cf. 11.2 n 1.

(3) 'Structurally complete' is perhaps not fully justified for the simple term tāmm, lit. 'complete, finished', and perhaps 'formally complete' would be less tendentious. The objection to 'structural' is that some of the 'complete' sentences below nevertheless contain more than a structural minimum, viz. ra'aytu l-qawma 'I saw the people' ('people' is redundant, cf. 15.06 n 1), marartu bi-l-qawmi 'I passed by the people' ('by the people' redundant). However, as aš-Šīrbinī's subsequent comment makes clear, in the context of exception these elements cease to be redundant. Further on tāmm, 9.71 n 2.

(4) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the passive mūjab from the active mūjib 'one who asserts, makes necessary' (root w-j-b, Stem IV, v. 10.34 n 1).

(5) 'Continuous exception' is fairly literal for istītnā' muttasīl (muttasīl, 'joined') is also used for bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1, and for a type of conjunctive construction in 12.51, and the definition provided by aš-Šīrbinī makes its application clear. What he does not explain until 21.2 (because Ibn Ājurrūm's over-simplification obscures the fact) is that continuous exception also occurs with negative sentences. Cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 70.

(6) The elements in the incorrect sentences in 21.01 do belong to the same class, but are too vague to be identified as being excepted from one another.

21.11 (1) See 21.14 n 1 on this dispute

(2) 'Discontinuous exception' is fairly literal for istītnā' munqatī (cf. munqatī 'disjunctive' in 12.52), referring, as the examples make
clear, to exception of something not in the same class as its antecedent. This distinction has something artificial about it: Kitāb I, 363 and later Muqtadab IV, 412f recognize the phenomenon, but it seems that the contrasting terms muttasil (21.1 n 5) and munqatı' did not become fixed until the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, e.g. op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 41). Sibawayhi, on the other hand, not only never uses muttasil in this context, but also uses munqatı' in a purely structural sense ('cut off from what operates on the antecedent', ibid.) and illustrates this with examples in which the excepted element is in the same class as its antecedent!

21.12 (1) S. 21 v 22: 'them' refers to heaven and earth, and the verse continues la-fasadatā 'they both would perish'. A secular example from the earliest discussion of this case may remove the theological distractions, viz. law kāna ma' anā rajulun 'illā zaydun la-ğulibnā 'if there had been with us any man except Zayd we would have been defeated' (Kitāb I, 370), where 'illā likewise has the status of ġayru 'other than' (21.4). An alternative explanation is that law 'if' is effectively a negative (by asserting impossible conditions, cf. 5.811 n 1), scil. 'no man but Zayd was with us', 'no god other than God was in them', hence the excepted element follows the rules of 21.2, 21.46. Sibawayhi seems to be aware of this possibility, but gives it no emphasis at all, though his commentators clearly recognize the underlying negation in this and similar constructions (cf. Jahn's notes to Kitāb #194, also Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 506).

(2) Cf. 21.41 on transfer of inflection in the opposite direction. Note sūra 'form', q.v. 11.712 n 2, and see 1.41 n 4 on invariability, binā'.

21.13 (1) The indifference here refers only to the obligatory dependent form after 'illā in positive sentences: the preferred word order remains as illustrated in 21.1 and 21.11, and inversions of the type qāma 'illā zaydan il-qawmu are rare (Reckendorf's examples, Ar. Synt. 511, are from poetry).

21.14 (1) See Insāf, prob. 34 on this debate between the 'Basrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3): some Kūfans make 'illā itself the operator, some others wrongly segment 'illā into the two dependence operators 'inna (10.41) and lā (22.0), while the Basrans tend to look for an implicit verb such as 'I except' as the operator. See Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 493, for the more plausible explanation of Sibawayhi.

21.2 (1) See 21.1 n 3 for some reservations about the translation of tāmm as 'structurally complete'.

(2) Both here and in 21.1 the antecedent and the excepted element are homogeneous, hence both belong to the category of istiţnā' muttasil 'continuous exception', q.v. 21.1 n 5. This is a purely semantic classification: the logical status of the excepted element and the structure of the sentence both differ from those in 21.1.

(3) See 14.2; one might have expected inclusive substitution (14.3) to be named, since membership of classes is involved, but the Arabs prefer
to regard this as a partitive relationship.

(4) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', and Insāf prob. 35 for the dispute alluded to here. The Kūfan position is based on the assumption that, since substitution requires no particle between the concordant elements, any particle which is there must be a conjunction (q.v. 12.0).

(5) See 26.7 n 2 on Abū Ḥayyān.

21.21 (1) S. 4 v 66; variant in 21.23 n 1.

(2) Traditionally the variants in the Qur'anic text have been systematized into seven sets called qirā'āt, of which 'Readings' is a literal translation. Each Reading is attached to the name of a prominent transmitter of the Qur'anic text, the earliest of whom was born in 641 and the latest of whom died in 804 (see Sezgin, G.A.S. ch. 1, E.I. (2), art. 'Kirā'a'; on Ibn ǦĀmīr, 641-736, see G.A.S. I, 6, E.I. (2), s.v.).

(3) Cf. 7.62 on the pronoun suffix ū.

(4) 'Understood as repeated' is a free rendering of fī niyyati takrāri l-ǦĀmīlī, lit. 'in the intention of repeating the operator'; niyya is a legal term corresponding exactly to mens rei, cf. the maxim al-ʿaǧāmāl bi-n-niyyāt 'actions depend on intentions'. See 14.4 n 5.

21.22 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on nahy 'prohibition', 5.741 n 1 on istifhām 'interrogation'; to these can be added the quasi-negative law 'if' in 21.12, and hal min ǧālīgin ǧayru ʾllāhī in 9.03 (rhetorical question).

(2) S. 11 v 81. See 13.12 n 1 on the juncture feature in imraʿatuka.

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; For Abū ǦĀmīr ibn al-ǦĀlā', d. 770, see E.I. (2), s.v., and for Ibn Ǧāṭīr, 665-738, see G.A.S. I, 7, E.I. (2), s.v. Needless to say, the existence of seven 'Readings' does not mean that every variant has seven different forms!

(4) S. 15 v 56; ǧālūna 'those who err' displays the only permitted type of over-long syllable CVC (2.43 n 2), viz. ǧāl, which occurs only on the assimilation of identical consonants (=*dālūna, cf. 10.34 n 1). Where the two consonants are different (which happens only in juncture, e.g. lā-m in ʿilla mraʿatuka) the vowel is pronounced short but the spelling is unaltered. Cf. Beeston 20; Fleisch 22; Yushmanov 14.

21.23 (1) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; the variants here would read mā faʾalūhu ʿilla qalīlan minhum (S. 4 v 66, 21.21) and wa-lā yalūfīt minkum ʿahdun ʿilla mraʿatuka (S. 11 v 81, 21.22). The dependent form is not appropriate to the logical status of the excepted elements, as they are, in fact, the true agents: but we may accept as-Zajjājī's explanation (Jum. 235) as intuitively sound, i.e. that the sentence is already complete without them. The ʿilla phrases can then be regarded as afterthoughts, their structural redundancy marked by the dependent form (cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 71).

21.24 (1) Etymologically ʿilla is 'in lā 'if not', and Reckendorf may be right in claiming (Synt. Verh. 712, 714) that it originally occurred only after negative sentences as here, and that the excepted element
had to concord with the function of its antecedent because it had that function itself (cf. the paraphrase in 21.21: *mā faqāluhu 'illā faqāla hu qalīlu minhum 'they did not do it, except that a few of them did it').

(2) If Reckendorf was right (n 1), this option may not have evolved simultaneously with the previous type, but would have arisen by contamination with the dependent forms in the newer type of exception after positive sentences, perhaps when the role of the dependent form as a marker of structural redundancy had become stabilized (cf. 19.1 n 1).

21.24

(1) By 'two possibilities' aš-širbIn means the choice between substitution in the appropriate case or obligatory dependent form. In the last example quoted above the dependent form results either way, but, as the ensuing analysis reveals, the deep structure is different. When the excepted element substitutes for a direct object the underlying form is *mā ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā ra'aytu minhum zaydan 'I did not see the people except I saw of them Zayd', the two conditions for substitution of the part for the whole (14.2) being (a) concord, hence the dependent form and (b) explicit or implicit pronoun reference to the 'whole' of which the excepted element is the partial substitute (14.21). In our example the pronoun is in minhum 'of them', and remains implicit, but this need not always be so, e.g. mā faqāluhu 'illā qalīlu minhum in 21.21.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik and 21.14 n 1 on the various theories on the operation of 'illā. This time the underlying form is *mā ra'aytu l-qawma; 'illā zaydan 'I did not see the people; except Zayd', where the 'illā phrase is structurally redundant.

21.3

(1) 'Structurally incomplete' is nāqis, lit. 'lacking', antonym of tāmm '(structurally) complete', q.v. 21.1, esp. n 3, and cf. 9.71, 9.94. In 10.11 and elsewhere in ch. 10 these terms are rendered 'syntactically complete/defective' because they denote functional categories rather than structural features of sentences.

(2) See 21.22 on the equivalents, prohibition and interrogation. There are no positive sentences in this kind of exception, cf. 21.35 n 2.

(3) 'Neutralized' is 'ulīhya, passive verb cognate with mulğa, q.v. 5.431 n 3, and see 21.31 n 1. On 'operators', qawāmil, see 2.11.

21.31

(1) An utterance mā qāma can mean one of two things: there may be a concealed agent pronoun (11.714 n 3), giving 'he stood', on condition that the reference of 'he' is intended by the speaker and understood by the listener, or else there may be no pronoun agent because an overt agent is about to be mentioned (cf. 7.22 n 1). The occurrence of 'illā rules out the first possibility, hence zaydan is both grammatical and logical agent and inflects accordingly, 'illā having no effect, except to revoke the previous negative, scil. 'there stood not, if not Zayd' = 'there stood Zayd'.

(2) S. 54 v 50; there is no verb in this sentence, and mā here could equally well be interrogative, scil. 'what is our command if not one?'
NOTES 403

21.32 (1) Here it is only convention which expects a direct object after a transitive verb: the sentence is already structurally complete in the form mā ḍarabtu 'I did not strike', cf. 21.1 n 3. However, it is certainly true that the occurrence of 'illā here leads to the expectation of a direct object, hence the dependent form of zaydan. There can be no question of the principles set out in 21.2, 21.23 operating in this case, as there is no antecedent for which zaydan could be a substitute or from which it could be excepted (cf. 21.34).

21.33 (1) Apologies have already been offered in 3.84 n 3 for the long-winded translation of jārr wa-majrūr as 'operator of obliqueness and oblique element'. For muta'alliq 'semantically connected' see 5.82 n 6, and cf. also 23.45 n 4.

(2) Note the assimilated 2nd and 3rd radicals in the 'doubled verb' marra, q.v. 10.61 n 1, and see 3.52 n 3 on the use of the 3rd masc. sing. in the metalanguage.

(3) When there is no antecedent, as here, 'illā can hardly be a conjunction, as the 'Kūfans' argue (21.2 n 4), contrast 21.24, where their case appears more plausible, since the preposition bī is not repeated before the conjointed element (cf. 12.1).

21.34 (1) 'Exhaustive' is mufarrag, lit. 'emptied, made idle', a term not found in the earliest grammars (e.g. Kitāb I, 360, Muqtaṣab IV, 389), but evidently established by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 39). It would be elegant if mufarrag here retained its primary meaning and denoted exception from an empty set, but it is more likely to have developed as the antithesis of šāgala 'to preoccupy, wholly engage' and its derivatives, used by Sībawayhi (loc. cit.) to express the idea that in exception the verb may or may not already be fully occupied by an agent etc., as in aš-Širbīnī's explanation here. Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 95, and ıştiḡāl, 7.30 n 2.

21.35 (1) This is aš-Šayk Kālid al-Azharī, the unacknowledged source of most of the contents of the present work (see further 14.63 n 3). The quotation is from Taṣr. I, 348.

(2) The translation emphasizes that the agents etc. of the verb remain positive: the structure of the verbal sentence (7.5 n 1) is such that only the verb can be negated, not its agent etc., and the type 'I passed by no man' is impossible in Classical Arabic. In modern usage, and under the influence of European languages, verbs with negated agents are tending to appear, see further 22.6 n 1.

(3) Note that 'exhaustive' exception is confined to negative sentences: a positive *qāma 'illā zaydun (or zaydan, as in 21.1), while appearing to contain a logical agent for the verb, is devoid of anything which could be its formal agent (contrast 21.31 n 1). Cf. Carter, J.S.S. 20, 71. There is, however, a positive equivalent using ḥayr, q.v. 21.46 n 3.

21.4 (1) Jum. 236; Muf. #89; Alf. v 326; Qatr 276; Fleisch, Tr. #118i;
NOTES

405

cf. also 21.42 n 1. See 21.02 n 4 on the spelling instructions and transliteration problems.

(2) Ibn Ājurrūm's phrase is lā ġayru, using the same word ġayr that is under discussion in this paragraph, but in an invariable and evidently fossilized form, possibly connected with other quasi-adverbial elements ending in u, q.v. 18.41 n 2 (and cf. Cantarino II, 6, 147). 21.41 (1) Remember that this time it is the excepting element which varies, the excepted elements always having oblique form (21.45).

(2) The three categories correspond to the previous types of exception with 'illā thus: (a) as in 21.1, i.e. positive sentences, 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' exception, illustrated in 21.42-44; (b) as in 21.2, i.e. negative sentences, 'continuous' exception, illustrated in 21.46; (c) as in 21.3, i.e. 'exhaustive' exception, not illustrated by our author, but see 21.46 n 3. For the inflection of ġayr see 21.45.

21.42 (1) The apparent negative meaning of ġayr is entirely conventional, as the Arabs have always known: Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 375) states that to say 'atānī ġayru Ǧāmīn, lit. 'other than Ǧāmīn came to me', is to assert that he did not come, 'even though it would be quite correct for it to mean that he had come'. The negative connotation of ġayr is so strong, however, that it is now regularly used to translate foreign prefixes 'un-', 'non-' etc., e.g. rasmīyun 'official', ġayru rasmīyun 'unofficial'; maḏbūṭun 'exact', ġayru maḏbūṭin 'inexact', cf. Beeston 101. According to Beeston 102, there is a tendency for this function of ġayr to be taken over by the negative particle lā 'not' (22.6 n 1).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.5 on dependence markers.

21.43 (1) See 11.2 n 2 on the reason why ḫāl 'state' cannot be translated as 'case' in these paragraphs.

(2) See 21.02, 21.03; the full list would be siwā/suwā/siwā'asawā'a.

(3) Note in passing that dep. forms of ġayr are not confined to the exceptive construction: since ġayr is annexed to the element it negates (21.45) it is also marked for the syntactic function of the whole unit, which may be dep. form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19, e.g. jā'ā zaydun ġayra rākībin 'Zayd came not riding'), or as a space/time qualifier (ch. 18, e.g. jalastu ġayra tawīlīn 'I sat for not long') etc. But see further 21.45 n 2 and cf. Cantarino II, 150.

21.44 (1) See 21.02, 21.03. See Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 9 on the many senses of luǧa, lit. 'language', but here 'variant realization' and elsewhere 'lexical meaning' as opposed to ǧistilāḥ 'technical meaning' (e.g. 1.1). Both lexicography and dialectology are embraced by fiqh al-luǧa, lit. 'jurisprudence of language' and ǧilm al-luǧa 'science of language', cf. J. Kraemer, Oriens 6, 201-238.

21.45 (1) 'Exceptives' here translates the more general term 'adawāt, plur. of 'adāh 'instrument', q.v. 21.02 n 1.

(2) See 21.11, 21.14 on 'illā as a dependence operator. Aš-Širbīnī's
explanation of the dep. form of ġayr is taken from al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 361, and is one of three given by Ibn Hišām, Muğnī I, 137, the others being either that ġayr takes the inflection that a noun after ʾillā has, or that ġayr has dep. form by analogy with space/time-qualifiers. See also 21.47 n 1.

(3) 21.4. Conversely ġayr never occurs without being annexed (except in the phrases laysa ġayru, lā ġayru, q.v. 21.4 n 2).

21.46 (1) To complete the examples omitted by aš-Širbīnī: dep. state mā raʾaytu l-gawma ġayra zaydin 'I did not see the people except Zayd', obl. state mā marartu bi-1-gawmi ġayra zaydin 'I did not pass by the people except Zayd'. See further 21.47 n 1.

(2) There would be five exceptive nouns if all the variant realizations (21.02) had been included, but one, siwāʿun, has been discarded in 21.4 in favour of the 'purer' form sawāʿun (see 13.31 n 6 on 'afṣāḥ 'purer'), following al-Azharī, Āj. 88.

(3) Through following al-Azharī so closely, aš-Širbīnī omits to give examples of 'exhaustive' exception (21.3, 21.34 n 1), viz. mā qāma ġayru zaydin 'none stood other than Zayd' etc., but it may be that this construction is not common enough to deserve mention (only one example in Cantarino II, 148 top). On the other hand, ġayr etc. are very frequent in positive sentences, e.g. qāma ġayruhu 'someone else stood', raʾaytu ġayra hu 'I saw someone else', marartu bi-ġayrihi 'I passed by someone else', but these, it could be argued, are not 'exception'.

21.47 (1) See 14.2 on 'substitution of the part for the whole'; the examples this time would be, indep. state mā qāma l-gawmu ġayru zaydin, dep. state mā raʾaytu l-gawma ġayra zaydin, obl. state mā marartu bi-1-gawmi ġayra zaydin, in which ġayr concords with its antecedent. The variation between concording ġayru/a/i and invariable (adverbial) ġayra presumably represents an inconsistency in natural usage, cf. the attempts to explain it in 21.45 n 2. Not every grammarian is willing to say which variant is preferable: Muf. #89 and Qatr 277 are vague, Jum. 236 mentions concordance only, while Alf. v 326 alone seems clearly in favour of concordance (cf. Ibn Qaḍīl ad loc.).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.1 on inflection markers. The parsing relates only to the example in 21.46 with indep. ġayru, the others having been omitted by aš-Širbīnī, q.v. n 1.

21.48 (1) By which aš-Širbīnī means that ġayr etc. will be marked for dep. orobl. function as required by their concordance with the antecedent.

21.5 (1) Jum. 236; Muf. #88; Alf. v 328; Qatr 276; Fleisch, Tr. #150d. As is apparent from their syntactical variation, the status of these elements has become uncertain. In the case of ǧalā and ǧadā there can be little doubt that they are originally genuine verbs (the root notion of ǧ-l-w is 'isolation, emptiness', and that of ǧ-d-w 'turn away from, pass beyond', cognate with mutaḍadd in 16.309 n 1), whose transition from verb to particle can be accounted for by assimilation to the
structure of ḡayr (which is perhaps why ḵalā and ẓadā are also invariable). For the problem of ḩāšā see below, n 4.

(2) See 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns formed by suffixation, in the present case ḥarfiyya from ḥarf 'particle' and fiṣliyya from fiṣl 'verb'.

(3) See 7.58 n 1. The reasoning is as follows: since the noun before ḵalā is plural it cannot be the agent of the singular verb ḵalā (cf. 7.12 n 1), and therefore the agent of ḵalā is a pronoun concealed in it (scil. 'the people stood, something excluded Zayd').

(4) Historically ḩāšā has been explained as 'an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily' (Fleisch, E.I. (2), art. 'Istithnā', paraphrasing Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 405). The exclamatory nature of ḩāšā has some confirmation in the final ā (cf. 23.22 n 1), and an original meaning of 'beware!' has been suggested, cf. the expression ḩāšā li-llāhi 'God forbid!'. This being so the transition to verbal syntax in ḩāšā zaydan shows the opposite assimilation to that of ḵalā and ẓadā above, which reaches its extreme in the creation of a spurious verb phrase mà ḩāšā by analogy with mà ḵalā etc., q.v. below. Likewise there is a doublet ḩāšāya/ḥāšānī 'except me', one showing the nominal suffix ya (3.241 n 4), the other the verbal suffix nī (16.301), cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. I, 491. As might be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) resolutely argue that ḩāšā is a verb (Inṣāf, prob. 37).

21.6 (1) These are all clearly verbs, for the reasons given in the ensuing paragraphs, though it should be noted that they are invariable in this structure, notwithstanding their behaviour in other contexts.

21.61 (1) See 10.23 n 3 on mà l-māṣdariyya 'the verbal noun mà', so called because it makes a noun phrase with its verb, scil. 'as long as one excludes...'; see 24.21 n 1 on maṣdar 'verbal noun'.

(2) See 21.5 n 2 on fiṣliyya 'verbal quality', lit. 'verbal quality'.

(3) Schaw. Ind. 182; the verse concludes wa-kullu naʿīmin lä maḥālata zāʾilun 'and every happiness inevitably ceasing'. As well as the dep. form allaḥa 'God' after mà ḵalā, note kuli (13.4 n 6), lä maḥālata (22.6 n 1) and positive zāʾil (contrast 10.19). The poet Labīd was born at about the same time as the Prophet Muhammad and died some thirty years after him in about 660, aged around ninety: see E.I. (2), art. 'Labīd', G.A.L. I, 36, G.A.S. II, 126.

(4) What aš-Širīnī (here quoting al-Azharī, Tasr. I, 364) means is that Labīd borrowed the idea for his verse from Qurʾān S. 28 v 88. The latter is also interesting for the occurrence of dep. wajhahu 'his face' after ʿillā in a verbless sentence: see 19.25 n 1 for the issues.

(5) Schaw. Ind. 140, anon. Verbal status of ẓadā is here confirmed by the suffix nī (16.301), also present on 'innanī in this line, because 'innā 'verily' is regarded as having verbal force (see 10.401 n 2). Note also kull (13.4 n 6), this time annexed to a relative clause (see 11.753), and the 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1) tamallu, fem. sing. because its agent is a broken plural (7.22 n 1 and see also 4.12 n 3).
(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The work referred to here (full title *al-Kulāsa l-‘alfiyā* 'The 1000-line Precis') is, as its name implies, a statement in about a thousand lines of low quality verse, of the main elements of Arabic grammar, and is the most famous work of its kind in the literature. The reference is to v. 330, though aḥ-Shirbīnī is again quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. I, 364.

21.62 (1) See 10.1 for the syntax of this kind of verb, and 10.11, 10.18 for *kāna* and *layṣa* respectively.

(2) In view of the syntax of these verbs, the example might literally be translated 'they stood, it is not Zayd and it is not Bakr'.

(3) Wensinck, *Concordance* VII, 6. The 'Tradition' (1.01 n 4) relates to the problem of meat not ritually slain (e.g. in battle or with a stone when no knife is available): it is lawful as long as blood has flowed and the *basmala* (1.0 n 1) has been pronounced over it.

21.7 (1) Among elliptical expressions worth noting are *layṣa ġayru* and *lā ġayru* (q.v. 21.4 n 2), and the synonymous *layṣa 'illā*, e.g. jā’anī *zaydun layṣa* 'illā 'Zayd came to me, none but', cf. *Muf*. #96, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 431.

22.0 (1) *Jum*. 241; *Muf*. #36, 99; *Alf*. v 197; *Qaṭr* 166: Beeston 100; Yushmanov 77: Nöldeke 46; cf. negation in general 5.76 n 1. Note the close structural similarities between *lā* and vocative *yā* (ch. 23), for which reason they are often treated in adjacent chapters (but contrast *Qaṭr*, which places *lā* among the 'cancellers', i.e. elements operating on equational sentences, q.v. ch. 10 and cf. 25.62 n 1).

(2) Terminology: *lā llatī li-nafy al-jins* 'lā which is for negating the genus', also *lā n-nafiya li-l-jins* 'lā negating the genus' (for *jins* see 23.31 n 1). The name *lā t-tabrī’a* 'lā of quittance' is not used at all by the early grammarians, but is already known to Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 194. Note that *ism* *lā* 'the noun of *lā'* (i.e. negated subject) and *kabar* *lā* 'the predicate of *lā'* follow the terminology of 10.1.

(3) See 10.4 et seq. on *‘inna*. The correlation (*ḥaml*, see 23.411 n 2) of *lā* and *‘inna* here offers a good specimen of analogical extension (*qiyyās*, q.v. 8.3 n 2, and see also 22.4 n 1 on *naẓfr* 'analogue').

(4) 'Rank' is literal for *rutba*: such hierarchical notions are rare in the earliest grammar, but see Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 1-22, and 11.711 n 2.

(5) i.e. *tawīn*, q.v. 1.4, but see notes to 22.12.
22.1 (1) Imperative verb 5.03, 5.2. Note that in transliteration here the verb has been given the ' which appears only in utterance-initial position and is elided in juncture, q.v. 13.12 n 1.
(2) 'In form or status' translates lafzan 'aw maḥallan: see 1.11 n 1 on lafz and 5.81 n 3 on maḥall. Note the three-way opposition between lafz, maḥall and mawdīC ('function', 3.1 n 4) throughout this chapter and see further 22.12 n 1.
(3) See 22.3 et seq. for repetition of lā.

22.11 (1) Observe the close parallel with the vocative structure in 23.44, and see 26.7 on annexation. It is a pedagogical simplification to refer to the noun here as 'undefined' (nakira, 11.8 n 1), as it has neither definition nor indefiniteness markers. Reckendorf (Synt. Verh. 343) explains this unmarked form as a survival from a stage before such markers had evolved. While he will not go so far as to assert that lā effectively defines its noun syntactically (enough to be a subject of a sentence, cf. 9.12 n 2), he makes a useful comparison with the generic article (id. 344, cf. 11.741). Since lā and al 'the' are in complementary distribution, are they simply the negative and positive members of the same function class? Cf. 19.72 n 1.
(2) Predicates (q.v. 9.11) after lā are nearly always prepositional phrases (Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 119, Cantarino II, 220).

22.12 (1) In this paragraph lafz 'form', mawdīC 'function' and maḥall 'status' are used contrastively (refs. 22.1 n 2). On the one hand the final a of rajula is called the true, formal dependence marker (q.v. 3.5), and on the other hand, rajula is said to function as an unmarked dependent element. But this leaves the final a unexplained, hence, if it is not an inflection marker (cf. 3.3), rajula can only be regarded as having equivalent status, maḥall, to a dependent noun.
(2) See 9.4 n 3 on Başrans, 0.1 n 1 on Sibawaihi (though aš-Širbīnī is here quoting al-Azhari, Āj. 89, and cf. Inšāf, prob. 53). Although tanwīn is incompatible with lā (cf. 22.11 n 1), duals and sound masc. plurals with final n do occur after lā, e.g. lā taw'amayni 'no two twins' (Beeston 100). Unless we argue that a dual such as taw'amayni means 'a pair of twins' as a single, negatable category (cf. 3.65 n 2), these constructions must be seen as innovations (cf. 23.421 n 2).

22.2 (1) S. 37 v 47, meaning the harmlessness of the wine of Paradise. Here lā cannot operate on ġawlun because the sentence is inverted (q.v. 9.73 n 1). The question to ask, however, is whether it was inverted deliberately in order to draw ġawlun away from lā, i.e. to preserve the meaning 'there is not in it any single ill-effect' rather than 'no ill-effect is in it' (*lā ġawlaf fīhā), perhaps because 'ill-effect' is not felt to be a negatable category (cf. 22.44 n 1).
(2) As the translation implies, this is not categorical negation: where it does occur in literature (e.g. lā 'umayyata 'no Umayya', see Howell #99 for others) it is explained as equivalent to lā miṭla 'umayyata 'none like Umayya' ('umayyatu semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)). Proper names
being defined by nature or by form (11.72, 11.82 n 4), they can only be
negated as individuals, not categories (cf. 3.65 n 8, 23.421 n 2).

22.3 (1) See 12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān; his master Abū l-Qabbās Muhammad
ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad was born in Basra in about 825 and died in 898 in
Baghdad, where he had established himself as the leading 'Basran' gram­
marian (cf. 9.3 n 4). We refer frequently to his Muqtaḍab, a pedagogi­

(2) If we replace the first lā by laṣṣa 'is not' (10.18), then wa-lā
reveals itself as a normal repeater negative, q.v. 12.8 n 2.

22.31 (1) See 2.11 n 1 on 'operate' and 5.431 n 3 on 'neutralized'.

(2) The abundance of alternative constructions probably reflects mere
confusion rather than any actual differences of use (e.g. dialect) or
meaning. Yet another possibility is adduced by Nöldeke 46, viz. lā
caṣfan wa-lā 'irama 'no CAwf and no Iram', with both elements dependent
but differing from 22.42 in that the first noun retains its final n.
Both elements are proper names and occur thus in a poem: seemingly this
is an anomaly like those in 22.2 n 2.

(3) By 'end in a' we are to understand that this is not an inflection
marker of the dependent form but an invariable ending, q.v. 22.12.

22.4 (1) 'Modes' here is 'awjuh, lit. 'faces, aspects, directions', a
part of the linear metaphor in which grammatical abstractions were ex­
pressed in Arabic (cf. 1.01 n 1); its singular waţh has been used from
the first in the sense of 'proper manner, correct way' (Troupeau, Lex.
-Index, w-ţ-h), retaining in grammar its original ethical connotation.

(2) 'Illustration' is a very free translation of naẓîr, lit. 'like,
corresponding', rendered elsewhere as 'analogue' (e.g. 22.0). It is
aš-Šibînî's way of saying that the phrase discussed in the second half
of this paragraph (reproducing al-Azharî, Taṣr. I, 240) is 'analogous'
to the principle stated in the first half of the paragraph (this time
reproducing al-Azharî, Āj. 89).

(3) An often quoted, perhaps proverbial expression from the Traditions
of Muhammad (1.01 n 4; see Wensinck, Concordance I, 533 for loca­tions).
Muf. #105 is devoted to it, and the following notes are largely drawn
from Ibn YaQīb's Commentary thereon.

22.41 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'aṣl 'regular way'. Here lā quwwata has the
same form as lā ḥawla because it is regarded as making a fresh start
(isti’nāf) to the sentence.

(2) S. 2 v 254, referring to Judgement Day.

(3) See 21.22 n 3 on these two. This 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) is evident­
ly a minority one, as the standard editions have lā baγun fihā wa-lā
kullatun, both with independent form as in 22.45.

22.42 (1) Schaw. Ind. 142 (and see 164 for alternative second hemistich
rhyning in ar-rātiqī); it concludes ittaswaţa.l-ţargu wałam r-rāgiţi 'the
hole has become too wide for the patcher' (so Howell, #105 = p. 332).
(2) This time lā is redundant (zā‘ida, q.v. 5.413 n 1) and only reinforces the previous negation (cf. 13.13), while the conjunction wā 'and' transmits the operation of the first lā to the second noun (cf. 12.1).

(3) 'Status' is maḥall, cf. 22.12 n 1; kullatan is genuinely dependent, but nasaba, to which it is coordinated, has only dependent status, not dependent form. Likewise lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatun.

22.43 (1) Schaw. Ind. 11 (add Jum. 243, note variant). For metrical reasons (5.88 n 4) the undefined, independent form 'abun loses its final n and is pronounced (but not spelt) 'abū; in transliteration 'abu has been retained, to prevent confusion with the annexed form 'abū, cf. 4.7 n 1. This time the second negated noun has the independent form proper to the function of the whole phrase lā 'umma 'no mother' to which it is coordinated (lā 'umma itself, being incapable of inflection, can only be said to have the status, maḥall, of an independent element); the same would apply to lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatun. Other points to note: prefix la in oaths, cf. 'emphatic la', 13.6 n 3; vowel harmony in la-Camrukum, from *la-*umrukum, cf. 13.9 n 9; juncture feature in Camrukumu, 11.1 n 2; corroborative ʾayn, 13.31 n 2.

22.44 (1) First half of a verse (Schaw. Ind. 229, rhyme muqīmun, and cf. Qurʿān S. 52 v 23), describing the wine of Paradise. The problem is why lagwun is not inverted like gawlun in 22.2. We may come no closer than the answer of Ibn Yaṣīṣ (on Muf. #105, discussing the identically structured lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwata, cf. 22.4 n 3), that the first lā has the status of laysa 'is not' (10.18) with lagwun in the regular form of a subject-noun, the second lā and its noun having the normal categorical negation pattern. Note, however, that the standard editions of the Qurʿān do not have this 'Reading' (21.21 n 2), but instead the form set out in 22.45 n 1. Cf. also 23.61 n 10.

22.45 (1) Thus lā lagwun fīhā wa-lā taʾīmun (S. 52 v 23, the orthodox 'Reading') and lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun, with lā again equivalent to laysa (v. previous note). In Muf. #105 a sixth possibility is given, viz. lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun, formally identical with 22.43, but with the second lā this time explained as equivalent to laysa 'is not', so that quwwatun is its subject-noun, not an independent noun coordinated to the function of the previous lā-phrase!

(2) The excluded case is *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun (contrast 22.42).

22.5 (1) S. 37 v 35, being the first half of the Muslim declaration of faith (see F.I. (1), art. 'Shahāda'). On 'parsing', 'iczāb, see 8.21 n 1; on ḥarf 'particle' see 1.25 n 1; for 'substitute', badal, see ch. 14, and for 'function', mawdiʿ, cf. 22.12 n 1.

(2) Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1) does not discuss the syntax of this phrase, but deals with it in a general way in Kitāb I, 345. The actual source for aš-Sīrbīnī, however, is al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 246.

(3) The assumption of an elided predicate (cf. 9.93-93) accords with the fact that lā-phrases seem to function only as subjects (cf. Beeston 100). But al-Azhari, Taṣr. I, 246, reproduces a dissenting view from
az-Zamaḵšarî (3.53 n 6) that no elision is involved here: rather the sentence is an inversion of an underlying complete sentence 'God is the only god' with the surface structure 'not a god is anything but God'. It is clear that az-Zamaḵšarî, as a Muḵtazilite (3.53 n 5), wanted to avoid the vagueness of the orthodox explanation which, with its indeterminate elisions, substitutions and predications, left too much scope for loose thinking! Try also P. Nwiya, M.U.S.J. 49, 739-765.

22.6 (1) Some items not dealt with by aš-Širbînî: (a) a number of elliptical expressions with lā, e.g. lā šakka 'no doubt, doubtless', lā maḥālata 'inevitably', lā jarama 'certainly', lā ġayru 'no other' (note final u, v. 21.4 n 2), lā budda 'unavoidably', this last commonly for Eng. 'must', cf. Beeston 101 n 1, Fleisch, Tr. #74 n 3; (b) lā for Eng. prefix 'un-' etc., e.g. lā silkī 'wireless', lā 'adrī 'a "don't know"', cf. 21.42 n 1; (c) the phrase lā 'ahada 'no one' now tends to function, under influence of European syntax, as 'no-one' even in verbal sentences, e.g. lā 'ahada yaqūlu dālika 'no-one says that': in Classical Arabic, if the sentence contains a verb, only this can be negated, thus lā yaqūlu dālika 'ahadun, lit. 'someone does not say that', mā fāza bi-ṣay' in 'he won nothing', lit. 'he did not win something', see Beeston 101; Cantarino I, 118; other examples in 12.902, 18.110, 19.72, 21.22, 21.35.

23.0 (1) Jum. 157; Muf. #48; Alf. v 573; ʿAṣr 220; Fleisch 190; Nöldeke 44. Terminology: nidā' 'action of calling', ḥarf nidā' 'particle of calling', munādā 'thing or person called' (see further 23.1 n 1). In transliteration munādā is preferred to munādan, see remarks on siwā in 21.02 n 4. See 10.34 n 1 on Stem III patient nouns.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'; 'unqualified' is muṭlaq, elsewhere translated as 'absolute', cf. 11.717 n 3.

(3) These are listed in Muf. #554; the 'long' varieties of 'a and ay are 'ā and 'āy (here 'long', mamdūda, lit. 'stretched' and 'short' maqsūra, lit 'shortened', are hardly technical terms at all, contrast their special application in 3.89 n 2).

23.1 (1) Note that there is no distinction between the linguistic element (a noun with vocative function) and the external reality (the person called): both are termed munādā, cf. 16.1 n 1 on a comparable ambiguity in the term fiʿl, 'action' or 'verb'.

(2) 'Essence' is dāt, an interloper from philosophy which appears for the first time perhaps in the time of Ibn al-Hājib (d. 1249, cf. Kāfiya,
ch. on tamyız); see E.I. (2), art. 'Dhāt', and 20.01 n 2.

23.2 (1) 'Status' is manzila, lit. 'place of dismounting', but which has had from the earliest times the metaphorical meaning of 'standing, rank'. It was taken into grammar from law: in both systems status and function (mawḍūţ, 3.1 n 4) are the mutually determining axes of behaviour. Cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 84; 5.81 n 3; 8.1 n 1.

(2) Son of the famous Ibn Mālik (1.02 n 2), see 17.71 n 3. The reference here is to his unpublished Commentary on the Alfiyya (e.g. Brit. Mus. Or. 25Ad, = 7425 Rich., fol. 133v), though the immediate source for as-Šīrūnī is not clear: he seems to be quoting al-Azharī, Taṣrīr II, 164, but there is no mention of Badr ad-Dīn at that point.

23.21 (1) This is an anomaly, since yā may not normally occur before nouns prefixed with al 'the', see further 23.5 n 2.

(2) 'Calling for help' is literal for istigāta, e.g. yā la-llāhi li-l-muslīmina 'God help the Muslims!': the prefix (lām al-istigāta 'of calling for help') is la before the noun invoked and lā before the noun for which help is invoked. This 1a may be a remnant of yā 'ālā 'family of...', Nöldeke 5, but cf. Fleisch 143. See Jum. 178; Muf. #48; Alf. v 598; Qaṭr 236.

23.22 (1) 'Lamentation' is nudba, hence ḥarf nudba 'particle of lamentation', mandūb 'thing or person lamented', e.g. wā zaydā(h) 'alas for Zayd'. See Jum. 190; Muf. #55; Alf. v 601; Qaṭr 238; another example 23.3. On the ending ā(h) see Fleisch, Tr. #150g.

23.3 (1) The vocative particle is never found with allāhumma 'O God', see further 23.31 n 3. Another elided voc. rabbi 'O my Lord', 5.55(c).

(2) S. 12 v 29. Compare the converse: a minority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) of S. 27 v 25, 'allā yasjudū 'that they do not bow down' is 'a-lā yā sjudū 'why not, O, bow down?', with elision of the vocative noun (see al-Farrā', Maḏānī II, 290, also Muf. #59 as expanded by Howell).

(3) See 23.21 n 2 on istigāta 'calling for help', 23.22 n 1 for nudba 'lamentation', and cf. 14.4 n 5 on motive determining linguistic form.

23.31 (1) 'Generic noun' is ism jins, lit. 'name of a genus', cf. 3.64 n 2 on semantic categories of nouns, though here it simply contrasts with the specific individual normally addressed in the vocative, q.v. 23.42 and cf. also 23.43.

(2) But yā hāqā 'O this one' etc. are not excluded because hāqā 'this' etc. are nouns, not pronouns (11.73).

(3) The final mma of allāhumma 'O God' has never been explained: the 'Baṣran' view (Inṣāf prob. 47) reproduced here by as-Šīrīnī, that mma compensates for the elided yā is problematical. Fleisch 146 (Tr. #115k) sees an old demonstrative element m here.

23.4 (1) By 'kinds' ('anwāţ, 17.2 n 1) Ibn Ājurrūm means formal categories, not structural or inflectional varieties, contrast 22.4.
NOTES

23.41  (1) See 11.72 on  'proper name' and 23.431 on  'single'.

(2) See 3.1 on  and its allomorphs; 'constructed as invariable' is an explanatory translation of  , lit. 'is built' (cognate with  'invariability', 4.1 n 4, and cf.  8.0 n 1). As with  'no' (22.12), the theory of the vocative requires that the noun should have dependent function (see 23.42 n 2), hence  here cannot be an inflection marker.

(3) The examples  do not belong here, but  is following  222, where instead of 'single proper name' uses the category 'singled defined noun' , see 11.8 n 1 on . See further 23.421 n 2.

(4) See 3.63 for dual, 3.41 for sound masc. plur. Note that both retain their  suffix ( , 4.81 n 1), possibly to avoid confusion with sing.  'O Zayd',  'Alas for Zayd' (though this would not also account for retention of  in categorical negation as well, 22.12 n 2). The distribution of this  is a problem in itself, as it is only partially identical with that of its singular corelative (compare paradigms in 4.11 n 1, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1).

23.411  (1) For a historical  see 0.1 n 1. The name is one of several ending in the invariable suffix , ultimately an adaptation of a Persian diminutive suffix  (cf. 1.101 n 1). The class of names represented by  is somewhat obscure, cf. Fleisch, Tr. #70; Jum. 233; Muf. #193; 7, and see further 5.552 n 2. For the inflection of  see 2.5, for  2.6.

(2) See ch. 11 on adjectival concordance, and cf. 22.12 for the opposition of  'form' and  'status'. 'In keeping with' is literal for  , though this notion is more often expressed by the true technical term  'to correlate', lit. 'to carry back to, bear upon', (e.g. 19.5, 22.0; in 20.5 it is rendered 'construed as').

(3) Although it is fairly clear that  etc. have in some sense a 'new' form (juddida binā'ulu, lit. 'its invariability has been newly made'), there is no need for such a formulation in our text: it is only a phrase used by (v. 578) under pressure of rhyme, and survives here (via  , Taşr. II, 166) by simple inertia.

(4) The rule for common nouns is different, see 23.51.

23.42  (1) 'Specifically intended individual' paraphrases  , lit. 'the unknown thing aimed at' (see 11.8 n 1 on ). The force of  (cf. 14.4 n 5) is to single out a formally undefined element 'by the act of accosting' (bi-l-'iqbāli  , 23.41), so that it becomes defined by context.

(2) The interpretation of the status of the vocative noun given here is the orthodox ' ' (9.4 n 3) opinion: they suppose a compulsorily deleted verbal operator such as  or  'I call'. Most 'Kifans' dispute this, and argue that the vocative noun has no operator at all,
and is only given independent form to avoid confusion with other functions, likewise lacks tanhûn to distinguish it from the true indep. noun (e.g. as subject of sentence). The Başrans, not without justification, brand this as 'pure arbitrariness', Inşâf prob. 45.

(3) This is a statement of a rule rather than a description of actual practice: Nöldeke 44-46 supplies examples (admittedly mostly from poetry) of vocative nouns not only in u but also in un, a and an, often with no particular metrical constraint.

23.421 (1) Aš-Şirbînî is here anticipating Ibn Ājurrûm's formulation in 23.5, probably from too closely following Qaṭr 222.

(2) Dual and plural are indeed uncommon with the vocative, as they are with the structurally similar categorical negative (cf. 22.12 n 2), and possibly for related reasons: both lâ 'no' and yâ '0' have the effect of particularizing their nouns (cf. 22.11 n 1), and in the case of yâ it seems a fair assumption that its original purpose was to attract the attention of an individual (and in poetry, by natural extension, of a whole tribe). But see also 23.44 n 1.

23.43 (1) Cf. yā rajulan ḥud bi-yadî '0 (any) man, take my hand' in 23.31. In both cases the context is decisive: neither the preacher nor the blind man can particularize any of the listeners (cf. 19.8 n 2 on the influence of context on linguistic form). Nevertheless this structure must be regarded as a secondary development from the true vocative (cf. previous note). Note the sentence introduced by wa 'and' in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1).

23.431 (1) As the explanation makes clear, mufrad, lit. 'alone' means here that the noun is isolated; elsewhere mufrad denotes 'singular' as opposed to plural etc. (e.g. 3.21, 4.11; cognate 'ifrâd 'being singular', 11.02), and 'simple' as opposed to composite (murakkab, 1.12 n 1), e.g. 9.5, 11.723. Note how this term, like others, does not recognize boundaries between morphology and syntax, cf. 1.41 n 3.

23.44 (1) See 26.7 on annexation. Here we may include the phrase yâ šahibayi s-sijni '0 two companions of the prison' quoted in 26.9, as an example of the dual vocative noun. In šahibayi we see (a) the regular loss of final n in annexation (šahibay-ni, cf. 26.93 n 1), and (b) the resolution of the resulting consonant cluster y-s-s by insertion of the glide vowel i (see 11.1 n 2).

23.45 (1) 'Suffixed by something which completes the sense' renders mā ittasala bihi šay'un min tamâmi mā'nahû, lit. 'what has attached to it something which is part of its whole meaning': for ittasala 'suffixed' was chosen because the second element of an annexation unit is regarded as a bound morpheme (see 26.91). On 'operation', ḫamal, see 2.11 n 1, and see below, n 5 for ġâṭf 'coordination' in this context.

(2) Lit. '0 handsome his face', and equivalent to the formal annexation construction yâ ḥasanâ l-wajhi '0 handsome of face' (26.92). Note that ḥasanan, though formally an adjective, is analysed as a verb phrase (equivalent to yaḥsunu 'is handsome'), of which wajhuhu 'his face' is
NOTES

therefore not the subject but the agent; see 11.45 n 1, 26.92 n 5.

(3) Lit. 'O climbing a mountain', and equivalent to yā tāliqā jabalin 'O climber of a mountain' (an extremely unlikely construction, cf. also 26.92). This time the agent noun tāliqān operates on a direct object, like its equivalent verb phrase yatluqū 'he climbs', cf. 16.312 n 1, and see 7.58 n 1 for the notion of the concealed agent pronoun.

(4) See 3.84 n 3 on 'operator of obliqueness etc.', 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', 5.81 n 3 on 'status', and cf. 21.22 n 4 on mārran (=*mārinan). In the Arab view, all prepositional phrases have dependent status through a verbal operator, cf. 9.74 n 2.

(5) 'Coordination' is ḡāṭf, here used in a restricted sense (contrast syntactic coordination, ch. 12) for the formation of compound numbers with wa 'and' (scil. 'three and thirty'), as distinct from the genuine compound set '13' to '19', e.g. ʁamša ʁaʃa' 15' (lit. 'five-ten').

23.5 (1) There is no choice if the proper name of common noun belongs to the classes which never have tanwīn, q.v. 3.89.

(2) One type of vocative construction omitted by aš-Širbīnī is that in which, for whatever reason, the vocative noun must retain its prefix al 'the'. In that case yā may not be used (exceptions, yā ʾllāhu 'O God', and some rarities, Muf. #52); instead 'ayyuhā or yā 'ayyuhā is used, e.g. (yā) 'ayyuhā r-rajulu 'O man', fem. 'ayyatuḥā l-ʾardu 'O Earth!' (Cantarino II, 219). The Arabs segment 'ayyuhā into a demonstrative noun 'ayyu and the 'ḥā of attracting attention' (q.v. 11.735 n 1), while the vocative noun itself (as we might interpret it) is regarded as being in adjectival apposition to the actual vocative noun 'ayyu, exactly as in yā hāḍā r-rajulu 'O this man' (cf. 11.73 n 1). Jum. 161; Muf. #51; Alf. v 588; Fleisch, Tr. #114g, 150g.

23.51 (1) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'. Note that the nouns here revert to their formal state of indefiniteness. However, the other option, to use 'ayyuhā with the defined noun, always remains possible, e.g. 'ayyuhā r-rajulu l-Cāgilu 'O wise man' (variant al-Cāgīla as argued in 23.411).

(2) See 1.01 n 4 on 'Tradition'.

(3) This Tradition is not to be found in Wensinck's Concordance: the immediate source for aš-Širbīnī, however, is undoubtedly al-Azharī, Āj. 90, and cf. al-Ušmūnī on Alf. v 577. Curiously al-Farrāʾ himself does not mention this Tradition at the place where he deals with this very topic in Maʿānī II, 375. Ibn Mālik 1.02 n 2, al-Farrāʾ 1.21 n 2.

23.52 (1) See 24.1 n 2 on ḥukm 'rule'.

(2) Though translated here and elsewhere as 'equivalent' (e.g. 9.7), slaught could just as well have been rendered 'analogous', since its literal meaning is 'similar, like'. However, the principle has already been established that formal similarity can imply functional similarity (cf. giyās 'analogy', 8.3 n 2, and arguments in 5.02, 22.0).

(3) See 23.43-45.
23.6 (1) See 3.421 n 3, 23.62 n 3 on this suffix, which is peculiar in that it blankets out the inflection of the noun to which it is attached (note that, in the Arab analysis, the noun is regarded as being attached to the suffix, not vice versa; see further 26.7 n 3).

23.61 (1) See 21.44 on luğa 'variant realization'.

(2) 'Sound' is literal for saḥIn, i.e. not one of the 'defective' consonants ʻ, w or y (see 2.43 n 2), and see further 23.62 on suffixation of I 'my' to weak consonants and long vowels.

(3) S. 39 v 16; cf. yā rabbi 19.71, rabbi 5.55(c). Far more interesting in this verse is fa-ṭṭaquīn: it is Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) of root w-q-y, showing assimilation of 1st rad. w to infix t, and loss of 3rd rad. y before masc. plur. suffix ā (as ramā, 4.81 n 2), also reduction of nī 'me' (16.301) to ni for the sake of rhyme, so as to give pausal form (2.14 n 2) fa-ṭṭaquīn (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #108o).

(4) Schaw. Ind. 265; see next note on the form of lahfa 'Oh my regret'. Other points to note in this verse: lāstu 'I am not' (see 10.18 n 3) here has its predicate in oblique form prefixed with bi instead of the dependent form (see 10.18 n 4); rājīcin is an agent noun (cf. 10.34 n 1) with tanwīn, therefore the following noun phrase mā fāta minnī 'what has escaped me' is construed as having dependent status as its direct object (see 16.312: presence of tanwīn rules out objective genitive, cf. 24.31 n 1); minnī 'from me' shows unexplained doubling of n before I suffix (*min-I, try Fleisch, Tr. #108n); lahfa, laṭya etc. have become 'formal nouns' (1.6 n 5) by being prefixed with bi.

(5) It seems most unlikely that the final vowel of lahfa has anything to do with possessive suffixes: in its full form lahfā doubtless displays the ā suffix characteristic of expressions of dismay etc., cf. 23.22 n 1, Nöldke 45 nn 1, 2. No form lahfi 'my woe' has been noted.

(6) Observe the use here of ḥaḍf 'elision' for both the morphological elision of yā and the phonological reduction of ā to a by removing the lengthening marker (cf. 3.9 n 2, 2.43 n 2).

(7) This tautology is in the text, even though it has already been explained at 23.431 that 'single' means 'non-annexed'.

(8) S. 12 v 33. It might be argued that no possessive suffix is involved here, and that rabbu, like yūsusfu in the same Sūra (q.v. 23.3) is simply a case of elided yā, but the majority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) preserves rabbī, as in type (a). 'For phonetic ease' renders taqaffu, lit. 'so as to lighten', contrast istiqgāl, 2.31 n 4.

(9) S. 39 v 53; this is optional in juncture (q.v. 11.1 n 2), the I (= iy, 2.43 n 2) being realized either as a short vowel to avoid the over-long syllable (cf. 21.22 n 4), or receiving the glide vowel as here (cf. liya in 10.63 n 3).

(10) S. 43 v 68; see 2.43 n 2 on 'unvowelled I'. On indep. kawfun after the categorical negative cf. 22.44 n 1: is it possible that this lā 'no' is not categorical, but a kind of negative optative (an avenue
(11) S. 39 v 56. As with lahāf (see n 5), it is very unlikely that ḥasrātā is derived from any form *ḥasratī with the possessive suffix, not least because it is in any case never found with the other pronoun suffixes (contrast wayḥaka 'woe to you' etc.), cf. Fleisch, Tr. #150h.

(12) See above, n 6 on the meaning of 'elision' in this context, and 21.44 on luğa 'variant realization'. 'Purest' is 'afṣah, not stylistic but referring to the idealized Beduin norm, cf. 13.31 n 6.

23.62 (1) For luğa wāhida 'one recorded form' was preferred, as it did not seem logical to render it 'one variant realization'.

(2) 'Defective' is muqṭall, cognate with qilla 'defect, ailment', and subsequently 'reason, cause' (e.g., 24.22). According to Köbert, Orientalia (NS) 14, 280, qilla was borrowed from Syriac in the primary meaning of 'cause', and the extension to 'defect' is secondary.

(3) Excluded are (a) elision of ya, leaving qādi, fatā (=fatay, 2.5), identical then with the unsuffixed form, (b) *qādiyy, *fatayy with unvowelled y (2.5 n 3), (c) *qādiyya/qādiyy, *fatayy/fatayi (2.31 n 4). In the end only ya is left as the allomorph of I after long vowels, e.g. yadāya 'my two hands' and ay, e.g. bi-yadāya 'with my two hands'.

23.63 (1) The text has al-wasf al-muṣabbah bi-l-fīl al-mudāri, lit. 'the describing element made to resemble the imperfect tense verb'; cf. 11.0 n 1 on waṣf, 9.81 n 4 on muṣabbah, 5.02 on mudāri, and see also 5.01 n 1 on tenses, 16.312 n 1 on the implications here.

(2) The alternatives are yā mukrimiya, yā dāribiya, but only in juncture (q.v. 23.61 n 9). Note that these elements, despite their verbal operation, never bear the object suffix ni 'me' (16.301), even though they may be followed by overt nouns in direct object form (16.312 n 1).

23.64 (1) These are old biconsonantal stems (cf. 4.71 n 1) which by their nature are likely to harbour extinct or anomalous features.

(2) Viz., in the order set out in 23.61, yā 'abi, 'aba, 'abu, 'abiya, 'ābī, 'ābā, and likewise for yā 'ummi etc.

(3) Qatr 225, Howell #54 also cite yā 'abatā and yā 'abatī; the final t, rather than being a 'compensation' (Ciwaḏ, 1.44 n 1) is more likely to be related to the deictic t in țummata etc., cf. 1.83 n 3.

23.7 (1) These are alternatives to the regular yā bna 'ummi, yā bna ġammI. The old biconsonantal stem b-n displays some interesting features: in isolation a dummy syllable is prefixed to give ibn- (v. 11.1 n 2) which disappears in juncture, while in the plural the problem is resolved by dissimilating to banūna (see 3.412 (b)). There is a unique form ībnam-: the function of the m is unknown, perhaps it is to extend b-n into a triliteral root (Fleisch, Tr. #100e, and cf. 4.71 n 1).

(2) 'Paragraph' was inserted here to give some coherence to this rather clumsy backward reference: aš-Širbīnī is here apparently making his own paraphrase of Qatr 224-5.
23.8 (1) The arbitrary shortening of the vocative noun, termed *tarkīm* 'softening' is dealt with at length by most grammarians even though it hardly occurs outside poetry, e.g. *yā sāḥī* 'O friend' (for *yā sāhibu*), *yā māli* 'O Mālik' (for *yā māliku*, S. 43 v 77: the speakers, it is said, were too weak to finish the word, *Qaṭr* 232). *Jum.* 181; *Muf.* #58; *Alf.* v 608; *Qaṭr* 231.

24.0 (1) *Muf.* #71; *Alf.* v 298; *Qaṭr* 244; Fleisch 179; Nöldeke 34. Terminology: *al-māfūl* lah 'that for which it is done', *al-māfūl* min 'ajlih (or li-'ajlih) 'that because of which it is done'; see 24.6 n 1.

24.1 (1) *sabab* wuqūc al-fīqī, translated literally (see 24.22 n 1 on *sabab* 'cause'), leaving open the question of whether *fīqī* is the technical term 'verb' or the common noun 'action', see further 16.1 n 1.

(2) *hukm*, plur. *'aḥkām*, here translated '(grammatical) rule' is one of the terms which entered grammar in its second phase of contact with the law, during the ninth century, when legal methodology was becoming established (e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 96, 225, 237, 314 etc.). It retains its full legal meaning in grammar, viz. 'rule, precept', but note that, at an even later stage (not before the 10th cent.), *hukm* was borrowed again, this time from philosophy, see 12.1 n 3, 19.7 n 1). Though himself heavily influenced by law (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 86), Sībawayhi never uses *hukm* (see Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, root ḥ-k-m), but the examples from *Muqtaḍab* certainly show that the term was current long before the 10th cent. (cf. A. Mehiri, *Les théories grammaticales d'Ibn Jinnī*, Tunis 1973, 122). See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Hukm' II, for an exhaustive treatment by Fleisch of *hukm* as 'rule' in grammar.

24.21 (1) Behind the term *maṣdar* 'verbal noun' hides an obscure aspect of the earliest stage of Arabic linguistic speculation. It means lit. 'source, origin', but is is unknown whether this referred originally to a lexical feature (scil. 'root meaning') or an etymological one (scil. 'root form'), to mention only the two most obvious possibilities. While there is no doubt that Arab grammarians of the time of az-Zajjājī and later have assimilated Greek ideas on the 'verbal noun', there is no evidence of a Greek connection in the period of Sībawayhi or before (see Versteegh 83-89). See further 17.1 n 2.

(2) *ism* ḣayn, lit. 'name of a thing in itself' (cf. ḣayn, 13.31), synonym *ism* ḥāt 'name of a being' (ḥāt, 23.1 n 2), and *ism* maṣnā, lit. 'name of an idea' (maṣnā, 2.1 n 2) are the two types of common noun, 3.64 n 2.

24.22 (1) Both *ṭilla* 'reason' and *sabab* 'cause' seem to be used more or
less indiscriminately (cf. E.I. (1), Suppl., art. 'Sabab'), though  
Cīlla has become the key term in Arabic theoretical linguistics, both  
in the treatment of grammatical causality and the critique of method,  
each pursued to a high level of abstraction, v. E.I. (2), art. 'Cīlla'.

24.23 (1) Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are necessary here because  
active and passive participles differ only by one vowel (v. 10.36 n 2).

(2) Orthographically muṣallil and muṣallal are both maṣlī, with diacritical  
vowels and a sign over what aš-Širbīnī calls 'the first l' to show  
that it is doubled. This sign is called ṣadda or ṭābdīd, lit. 'tying  
together', written as a small, vestigial š over the affected consonant.

(3) Both MSS have muṭa‘akkir can 'later than', but this is clearly a  
mistake, and has been corrected according to aš-Širbīnī's source,  
al-Azharī, Taṣr. I, 335. The error may be due to confusion with the  
example to be discussed in 24.53.

24.24 (1) See 16.501 for the free object pronoun 'iyyāya and 16.312 n 1  
for the operation of verbal nouns corresponding to both subjective and  
objective genitives in English. See also 24.31 n 1.

24.25 (1) 'afcāl al-qulūb, lit. 'verbs of the hearts', the heart being  
the seat of the intellect (Beeston 115), and explained by al-Azharī,  
Taṣr. I, 334, as meaning 'verbs of the inner self' ('afcāl an-nafs  
al-bāṭiniyya) in contrast with 'verbs of the extremities' ('afcāl  
al-jawāriḥ). These latter include the 'verbs of the tongue' ('afcāl  
al-lisān) and 'verbs of the hand' ('afcāl al-yad) mentioned here by  
aš-Širbīnī, though whether we should also reckon among them the 'verbs  
of the (five) senses ('afcāl al-ḥawāss) is not certain, as they show  
signs of assimilating to the 'mental verbs', see further 10.71. It  
goes without saying that these semantic categorizations are completely  
lacking from the earliest grammar, though there are signs of their em-  
gerence as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. 'verbs of being near',  
'afcāl al-muqāraba (q.v. 10.101 n 1), Muqtadab III, 68.

(2) The traditional method of instruction was for the pupil to learn a  
book by heart through hearing it recited from memory by the teacher.

24.31 (1) Although the object of reason my be defined (see 24.32) it is  
usually undefined, and cannot therefore be annexed to its direct object  
(cf. 16.512 n 1). In that case a paraphrase is used, namely to prefix  
the direct object with li 'of, to', as in qirā'atān li-1-2ilmi 'because  
of lecturing in science' in 24.25 and 'ijlālan li-1-2amrin 'out of re-  
spect for 1-2Amr' here. The same procedure is used if the verbal noun is  
already annexed to its agent, e.g. qatlu saydīn li-1-2amrin 'Zayd's kill-  
ing of 1-2Amr', i.e. the killing by Zayd of 1-2Amr. With pronoun objects  
li or 'iyyā may be used: gatlulu lahu/1-yyāhu 'his killing of him'.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on '(semantically) connected', and cf. 10.34 n 1 on  
Stem IV verbal noun 'ijlāl, from 'doubled' root (11.3 n 1), j-l-l-

24.32 (1) See 13.12 n 1 on the initial juncture feature in ibtiğā',  
a Stem VIII verbal noun (10.34 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. stem b-ğ-y.
(2) Segmented qaṣad-tu-ka: verb stem (5.1 n 2), agent pronoun suffix (7.51) and direct object pronoun suffix (16.303). Note that this verb of motion is directly transitive to its goal, cf. 18.108 n 2.

(3) Note that ibtiġā' is not defined by annexation to maCRūf, because the annexation is purely 'formal' (26.92), i.e. the elements are not in a possessive or explanatory relationship. A paraphrase in the form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19; these may also denote purpose) shows that the object of reason is intrinsically undefined: mūbtāğiyan maCRūfa 'desiring your favour' (maCRūfa marked as a direct object), cf. Nöldeke 34 and see also 24.52 n 2.

24.4 (1) See 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. A glance at the dependent noun summary in ch. 15 will confirm that it is misleading to associate transitivity too closely with direct objects. It is better to consider first the binary structure of the minimal sentence (20.01 n 1), from which it emerges that elements occupying the 'third' position will be prepositional phrases (9.74 n 2) or dependent nouns (19.1 n 1). It also follows that, since all verbs are sentences (7.9 n 1), dependent nouns are really operated upon by sentences: this accounts for the occurrence of dependent nouns after verbless sentences, see 19.25 n 1.

24.5 (1) See 24.23 n 2 on the spelling instructions. 'Condition' is šarṭ, the same as for the protasis of a conditional sentence (5.811 n 1) and 'allowing' paraphrases jawāz 'permissibility', q.v. 9.8 n 2.

(2) 'Particle of causation' is ḥarf at-taCllī (see 1.92 n 1 on this way of identifying particles): taCllī is the verbal noun cognate with muCcallīl, i.e. Stem II, doubled root ġ-l-l (see 10.34 n 1). For bi see 1.707, for li 1.709, for ff 1.705 and for min 1.701.

24.51 (1) S. 2 v 29, previously quoted in 13.42 to illustrate the occurrence of jamīCcan 'totally' as a circumstantial qualifier of mā ff l-'ardī 'what is in the earth'. By no stretch of the imagination could the phrase lakum 'for you' be regarded as an object of reason (it also infringes conditions (4) and (5)). Strangely, in the light of his theological scruples elsewhere (v. 5.751 n 1), aš-Širbīnī does not flinch from implying that God's creation is dependent upon some external cause (perhaps because here he is following Qāṭr 245).

24.52 (1) The reference is to a method of execution by tying up the victim and either throwing at him till he dies or allowing him to die by neglect (the same was also done with animals), a practice much disapproved of by Muḥammad (see Wensinck, Concordance III, 242).

(2) This is, in fact, classified as a circumstantial qualifier (cf. Muf. #76 and 19.33 n 1), though Nöldeke 33 objects that it is neither, but an example of the gerund, on the grounds that it fails to meet the condition of being a predicate of its antecedent (19.7). The line between the object of reason and circumstantial qualifier is, however, by nature narrow: it would be difficult to distinguish, for example, between 'he stood in respect' and 'he stood out of respect'. Cf. 24.32 n 3
(2) The difference in time would not of itself disqualify nawm 'sleep' from being an object of reason (it is in fact rule (5) which is operative here): absolute simultaneity is fundamentally irrelevant to this construction, proved by such well-formed examples as ji'tuka 'islāhan li-'amrika 'I came to you for the betterment of your situation', where the time relationship is totally vague. What is essential is that the verbal noun should express a logical reason for the action, cf. aš-Sabban on al-Ušmānī on Alf. v 299, drawing on al-Astarābādī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 175.

(2) See 16.504 on 'iyyāki, here required as a free direct object because dikri 'my thinking' is already an annexed unit (subjective genitive, see 24.31 n 1). Contrast the paraphrase dikrāki 'the thought of you', invariable fem. noun dikrā (4.2 c)) and possessive suffix ki (4.72 (2)).

(2) See 1.701 on min in general. The category min at-talīliyya 'causative min' is somewhat ad hoc, probably a simple extension of its original partitive function, scil. 'as part of becoming destitute' etc.

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24.6 (1) The work is unfortunately not to be found (0.4 n 6). Historically the 'object of reason', like some other constructions (e.g. the 'wa of accompaniment', ch. 25) seems to have become more autonomous with age: al-Farrā' (d. 822, 1.21 n 2) does not identify it in MaCānī II, 123, where one might expect it (and cf. id. I, 17), while Sībawayhi has so many names for it (mawqūf lah 'that for which it happens', ṣudr 'excuse', tafsīr li-mā qablah 'explanation for what precedes', mafūl lah 'that for which it is done', cf. kitāb I, 184) that we must assume he did not want to make a technicality of it. For Reckendorf, Ar. Synt. 100, it is simply a variety of the 'absolute object' (q.v. ch. 17).
25.0 (1) Muf. #68; Alf. v 311; Qāṭr 251; Fleisch 191; Nöldeke 42; Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 99. Terminology: al-mafūl maţāh 'that with which it is done', wāw al-maţiyya 'the wa of withness' (v. 11.721 n 4 on such abstract nouns, and cf. 5.54 n 2 on letter-names for one-letter particles—wāw = 'w'); wāw bi-maţñā maţā 'wa in the meaning of "with"'; wāw aš-şarf 'wa of diversion'. Origins 25.1 n 2; cf. also 25.11 n 4.

(2) 'Productive' here renders qiyyāsī, lit. 'analogical' (see 8.3 n 2), i.e. a valid basis for analogical extension: the antonym is samāţī, lit. 'by hearing', i.e. isolated recorded data not to be generalized.

25.1 (1) On mufrad 'single' see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Fleisch 191 suggests that this is not an inflection, but a relic of the ā ending still found in lamentation etc. (23.22): he finds a possible model in such expressions as mā 'anā wa-l-mujūna (<*mujūnā) 'what have I to do with obscenity!?', lit. 'what am I and obscenity!?'.

(3) See 19.1 on faḍla 'redundant element', and see further 25.23.

(4) Observe that intention is a necessary component, cf. 20.13 n 3.

(5) 'Sentence containing a verb' should be 'verbal sentence' (jumla fiţliyya, 7.1 n 1: word order is decisive), but anticipates the looser formulation used later and in 25.11, jumla gāt fiţl, lit. 'sentence possessing a verb', i.e. regardless of word order.

(6) See 17.5 on 'constitutent letters', which here simply means that the operator must be deverbative (cf. 10.34 n 1).

25.11 (1) The verb in these examples is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2), which in the agent noun pattern fāţil (10.34 n 1) acquires a dummy radical ', hence sāţir instead of *sāyir.

(2) See 1.5 on al as a noun marker, 11.41 n 2 on assimilation l= n.

(3) A neat statement of this characteristic feature of dependent elements, see further 24.4 n 1.

(4) For the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) wa simply mediates (cf. 16.309 n 1) between verb and noun, but the 'Kūfans' attribute the dep. form to a kind of incongruence which they term sarf 'diversion, deviation', i.e. the difference in function between the two nouns on each side of wa (cf. Inšāf prob. 30). A closer study suggests that the 'Baṣrans' originally shared this view, see Carter, Arabica 20, 292, and 25.34 n 1.

25.21 (1) This is a true case of 'wa of accompaniment' but is excluded here simply because the topic happens to be nouns. It is easy to see that this wa is not a coordinating conjunction (12.1): the command is
not 'do not eat fish, and also do not drink milk', but 'do not eat fish and drink milk at the same time', see further 25.33.

25.22 (1) In this example the sentence introduced by wa 'and' is one of the varieties of circumstantial qualifier (see 19.9 n 1). It has a particularly close resemblance to the 'wa of accompaniment' structure (a) in that the wa does mean something like 'with, while', and (b) in each case the wa-phrases are structurally redundant.

(2) The 'first instance' referred to here is the example given in the previous paragraph.

25.23 (1) It should be pointed out that structural redundancy is an ideal condition which cannot always be fulfilled (especially with circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. 19.6). See further 25.5.

(2) There might seem to be a semantic restraint here (co-operation requires at least two people), but a purely formal explanation is also possible: verbs with the t infix (Stem VIII, q.v. at 8.68 n 1) often denote reciprocal activities, hence two different agents may be needed. 'Structurally indispensible' renders ʿumda, see 20.01 n 1.

25.24 (1) This distinction is necessary because single nouns which function as verb qualifiers all have dependent form, as if they were direct objects of the verb (but see 24.4 n 1).

25.25 (1) Though maṣa 'with' is here synonymous with a 'wa of accompaniment', it is a pure space-qualifier which can only occur in annexation to its noun (see 18.208).

25.26 (1) So far aš-ŠirbInĪ has been following fairly closely al-AzharĪ Taṣr. I, 342, but here he must be drawing upon some other source, most likely Qatr 252 (or perhaps his own lost Commentary thereon, 0.4 n 6), for the importance of intention (20.13 n 3). The example is not well chosen: it is impossible to tell, as both nouns are dependent, whether the second is an object of accompaniment or merely coordinated. Qatr 252 is better, with jāʿa zaydun wa-Ṣamrun 'Zayd and ʿAmr came', ruling out wa-Ṣamran as an object of accompaniment. See 12.1 on coordination.

25.27 (1) Expressions of this kind are regarded as elliptical nominal sentences without a predicate; moreover, in such quasi-proverbal utterances no predicate can be restored except purely notionally, e.g. in 9.94, which supplies a vague muṭtarināni '(are) connected' for the saying kullu šānīṣīn wa-mā šanaṣa 'every doer and what he has done'. Nevertheless some grammarians (e.g. Muf. #29) allow kullu rajulīn wa-ḏayUTCatahu with dependent form of ḏayUTCatahu as an object of accompaniment.

25.3 (1) Another example of 'rational dichotomy', q.v. 1.2 n 2.

25.31 (1) Cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr. II, 99 (who uses an alternative name for this wa, viz. wāw al-muṣāḥaba, 'the wa of accompanying'). Doubts exist about the genuineness of the object of accompaniment construction (cf. reservations in 25.0). The example cited by Nöldeke 42, wa-ʿiyyahah 'and her' (cf. 16.509) as proof that it is not an 'invention of the
grammarians' is somewhat weakened by the fact that 'iyyā does not automatically mark the suffixed pronoun as dependent (see 16.502 n 1). And there are inconsistencies in the technical history of the construction: it is described in detail by Sībawayhi (Kitāb I, 150) but seems to have been overlooked by grammarians of the following century (or to have been regarded with some perplexity, cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 297). It eventually achieved a settled place in the pedagogical scheme by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 36). Nevertheless it does crop up in modern Arabic (e.g. Cantarino II, 214), though to what extent such occurrences are 'grammaticogenic' is not clear.

(2) This is an example of tagdīr (see 2.101 n 1): it comes as close as one could wish to the notion of deep structure in this context, though it is perhaps a pity that no such reconstructions are offered in the place where they would have been expected, i.e. in the analysis of simple coordination (ch. 12).

25.32 (1) The verb istawā is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) form of the root s-w-y, i.e. its second and third radicals (5.1 n 2) are 'defective consonants' (2.43 n 2). However, in this situation the second radical is always syllable-initial, hence behaves as a 'sound' consonant, and only the third radical is weak; istawā therefore follows ra‘ā in the past tense (10.65 n 1) and yariru in the imperfect tense (4.81 n 2(b)). It has no passive, but in any case passives of w-y verbs follow du‘iya in 10.14 n 1, e.g. ruwiya 'it was related', yurwā 'it is related'.

(2) Note that the fem. suffix at (11.44 n 2) has individualizing function here: ġašabatun 'one piece of wood' contrasts with the unmarked masc. ġašabun 'wood' as a substance. When the system is fully observed (which is not always the case), the fem. sing. takes sound fem. plur. (3.23) for countables and the masc. takes broken plur. (3.22) for species (cf. generic nouns, 3.64 n 2). Fleisch 45.

(3) This specious explanation may be an original contribution from aš-Širbīnx, perhaps developed from al-Azhārī, Āj. 92.

25.33 (1) This is a paraphrase of a verse often discussed in this context: lā tan håxa ‘an ġuluqin wa-ta‘tiya miṭlahu; ʿArūn ġalayka ‘in faqalta ġaḏmūn 'do not forbid a certain conduct while doing the same yourself; it is a great shame on you if you do' (Schaw. Ind. 227). In the prose paraphrase wa-‘ityānahu 'with the bringing of it' (i.e. doing of it) the dependent verbal noun functions as an object of accompaniment equivalent to the dependent verb wa-ta‘tiya 'while you bring it' (i.e. do it) in the verse, both with dep. form for the reasons given in the text (but see 25.11 n 4 for 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' dispute). Compare also the verse quoted in 5.411, where a different reason (false coordination of verb to noun) is advanced for the dep. wa-taqarra 'and it may relax', and the noun paraphrase wa-qarratu 'and the relaxation' can only have indep. form because it is correctly coordinated to the indep. noun lubsu 'the wearing'. Cf. also next note.

25.34 (1) The example is a pure grammarians' fiction (cf. 25.31 n 1), and genuine cases of this construction are rare. However, it does
illustrate neatly one of the characteristic features of the dependent form, viz. the tendency not only to be structurally redundant (19.1 n 1 and cf. 25.11), but also to be excluded semantically from the antecedent ('continuous' exception, 21.1, is a good example). For this reason the dependent form is often attributed to the property of being different from, or not included in the antecedent, expressed as šarf 'diversion' or kilāf 'difference', cf. Carter, Arabica 20, 292, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 491.

25.4 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'ašl 'norm'. Both ḍaḡ_if 'weak' and qawf 'strong' have been used as value terms for well-formedness from the earliest grammar (see Troupeau, Lex.-Index, roots ḍ-ḍ-f, q-w-y), and see Baalbaki, Z.A.L. 2, 16 on qawf.

25.5 (1) See 25.23. Cantarino II, 215 has a remarkable example, ištaraka wa-ʾismāʾīla 'he collaborated with Ismāʾīl': presumably the author avoided the regular coordination ištaraka huwa wa-ʾismāʾīlu 'he and Ismāʾīl collaborated' because it transfers the emphasis from the action to the participants. See 12.11 n 3 on coordination to pronouns.

25.6 (1) One object which did not catch on in the general exploitation of Sībawayhi's Kitāb is the maḍḍ-ul minhu, 'that from which it is done', referring to the dependent form in such constructions as 'iyyāka wa-l-ʾasada 'beware of the lion!' (and cf. 26.96 'iyyāka ʾan tazunna 'beware of thinking...'). Sībawayhi explains 'iyyāka as the direct object of an elided verb (scil. 'I warn'), and al-ʾasada as a maḍḍ-ul minhu 'that which it is (warned) about', Kitāb I, 138.

25.61 (1) See 10.1 on kāna etc., and 6.4 n 2 on 'related'.

(2) See 10.4.

(3) See 10.6. There are inconsistencies in the manuscripts (cf. 15.14) and/or in Ibn Ajurrūm's arithmetic: we accept aš-Širbīnī's explanation that the two objects of ẓanantu form one item of the inventory, likewise the four concordants together, thus making the fifteen required.

(4) See ch. 11.

(5) See ch. 12.

(6) See ch. 13.

(7) See ch. 14.

(8) See 10.1 n 3 on nawāsik 'cancellers'. Other dependent forms not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī: 16.311 n 1 (dep. forms in isolation); 20.9 n 1 ('specialization'); 22.6 n 1 (lā 'not' with single nouns); 25.6 n 1 (warnings), and cf. 11.6 for the suspension of adjectival concordance.

25.62 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing grammatical features. The actual arrangement of material is not without interest, as it reveals differences in approach: thus Muf. treats concordants entirely under oblique elements and makes one chapter of kāna and 'inna, while Qatr disperses dependent elements throughout the book, treating the vocative as a subdivision of the direct object (cf. 16.6 n 2).
(2) Note how, in this paragraph, bāb (lit. 'door') is used to mean both 'category' (other examples 1.41, 21.1) and 'chapter'.

(3) By way of conclusion, here is a sentence containing six qualifiers in dep. form and one prepositional phrase: ḍarbūt ḍarban zaydan bi-sawṭīn nahāran hunā taʿdīban wa-tulū s-šāmsi 'I struck hard Zayd with a whip by day here as a discipline with the sun rising' (Goguyer, Qaṭr 256 n 7, taken from aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Uṣmānī on Alf. v 315).

26.0 (1) Jum. 72, 155; Muf. #110, 498; Alf. vv 364, 385; Qaṭr 279; Beeston 45, 88; Fleisch 170; Yushmanov 61, 64; Bateson 44, 48. There are two unexplained sets of parallel terminology: jarr or ḱafq 'obliqueness, oblique function', see further 3.8 n 1, jārr or ṫāfid 'making oblique, obliqueness operator', cf. 2.11 n 1, majrūr or makfūd 'made oblique, oblique element', see 3.84 n 3. Apart from Sībawayhi, who uses only jarr, most grammarians seem to use both sets indiscriminately, though traditionally jarr was said to be a 'Basran' and ḱafq a 'Kufan' term (q.v. 9.4 n 3).

(2) See 26.72 on explanatory annexation, 2.44 on the lack of oblique form in verbs, and cf., 2.101 n 1 on taqdiī 'implicit meaning'.

26.01 (1) In Western terms this also includes all those 'prepositions' which were, and often still are nouns (cf. 18.4 n 2), hence this category is structurally identical with the next one, annexation.

(2) As Arabic nouns only have three cases, of which one (independence) is a marker of subject or predicate status (chs. 7-9) and another (dependence) marks structural redundancy (cf. 19.1), annexation remains as the only possible bond between nouns (excluding concordance, chs. 11-14 and the small, unproductive class of genuine compound nouns, 3.411 n 5).

(3) See 1.31 n 4 on this argument. Al-ḵfāṣ (here cited via al-Azhārī, Āj. 93) is best known for having preserved and transmitted Sībawayhi's Kitāb in the version which we now have. He died in 830 or 835; G.A.L. I, 105, Fleisch, Tr. p. 31, E.I. (2), art. 'al-ḵfāṣ', sect. II.

(4) S. 1 v 1, parsed above in 1.31.

26.1 (1) Jum. 72; Muf. #498; Alf. v 364; Qaṭr 279; Fleisch 175. Note the pedagogical enumeration (cf. 9.3 n 1), which is extended by Qaṭr to twenty-one by including lawlā 'if not for' (6.6 n 6), on the grounds that it may take pronoun suffixes (e.g. lawlāka 'if not for you', but lawlā 'anta 'if not for you', with free independent pronoun, is the regular construction).
NOTES

(2) See 21.5 for these.

(3) A tribe east of Mecca, regarded as speaking a western dialect with heavy eastern influences, v. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. ch. 8, E.I. (2), s.v.

(4) The usage is probably genuine enough (see this and other examples in Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 91), though grammarians never mastered it.

(5) See 10.46 on normal laCalla. The C'qayl tribe inhabited the eastern dialect area of the Najd, v. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 3.

(6) Schaw. Ind. 226; the line concludes bi-šay' in 'anna 'ummakum šarīmun 'through something, i.e. that your mother had a ruptured peritoneum'. The verse is as anonymous as it is unpleasant.

(7) Both MSS have 'an (5.41) for kay here, suggesting that the confusion stems from aš-Sirbīnī's radical simplification of al-Azhari, Tağr. II, 3: this states that kay is a preposition because it is prefixed to nominalized clauses (see 5.44 n 1) and also to the pronoun mā 'what', viz. kaymā, synonymous with limā 'for what, why?', see 5.44 n 4.

26.2 (1) See 26.64 for other methods of classification.

(2) The Qur'anic illustrations (cf. 1.704 n 2) are provided by Ibn Hišām, via al-Azhari, Tağr. II, 3f, contrast 1.701-13, where aš-Sirbīnī was drawing on al-Azhari, Āj. 14 in his treatment of the same particles.

26.21 (1) S. 33 v 7, and see 1.701; on 'fundamental particle', lit. 'mother of the particles' cf. 6.4 n 2, and see also 18.41 n 3.

26.22 (1) S. 5 v 48, S. 6 v 60 respectively; note that ā becomes ay before pronoun suffixes (1.702 n 1), entailing here the change hu to hi by vowel harmony (13.9 n 9).

26.23 (1) S. 84 v 19, S. 5 v 119 respectively. The latter has become the normal invocation after the mention of any dead person except Muḥammad (cf. 14.34 n 3 on optative verbs). See also 1.703.

26.24 (1) S. 23 v 22: this example (like the one in 26.21) has the added distinction of illustrating both oblique noun and oblique pronoun in the same sentence! See also 1.704.

26.25 (1) S. 51 v 20, S. 43 v 71 respectively (note al-'anfusu 'the souls' here in its literal meaning, contrast 13.9). Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 371, says that fi 'in' is originally the oblique form of fū 'mouth' (q.v. 3.42, and cf. 3.61 n 1). It is classified by Fleisch, Tr. #151f without comment as a peculiarly Arab creation.

26.26 (1) S. 3 v 179, S. 17 v 107 respectively, and see 1.707, 26.4. In common with other invariable elements (negatives, conditionals, ch. 5; conjunctions, ch. 12; demonstratives, 11.73, pronouns, 11.71 etc.), bi and most other prepositions are primitive roots which lie outside the derivational system (Beeston 31; Fleisch 134; Bateson 37). Some former nouns (e.g. min, 1.701) and verbs (e.g. laCalla, 10.46, gālā, 21.5) have drifted into this category. Others seem to be in the process of doing so, e.g. qablu etc., see 18.4 n 2, 18.41 n 2.
26.27 (1) S. 2 v 284, S. 2 v 116 respectively, and see 1.709, 26.4; li is possibly cognate with 'īlā (q.v. 26.22), Brockelmann, Grundr. II, 377. Note that li (and also Cinda 'with', 18.207, ma'ca 'with', 18.208) paraphrases the Eng. 'to have, possess' (cf. 26.71), and see also 14.2 n 2. The alternation li before nouns, la before pronouns (except of course if 'to me, mine') is unexplained.

26.3 (1) But see 26.33 and 26.4 n 2 for rare exceptions; for zāhir 'ov­ert (noun) see 7.2 n 1. The distributional criteria here are taken from Ibn Hişám, via al-AzharI, Taṣr. II, 3.

26.31 (1) See 5.53, 12.91 on ḥattā; 1.708, 26.4 on ka; 1.711, 26.5 on wa (also 12.1 on wa as a coordinating conjunction).

26.32 (1) See 26.62, esp. n 2, on the reason why these were left till last by Ibn Ājurrūm, which has been obscured by aš-ŠirbīnI's arbitrary rearrangement of the material (on which see 26.4 n 1).

26.33 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on nakira 'undefined'.

(2) See 1.706. This word has contrary meanings, as appears in the translation: the phenomenon itself was well known to the Arabs, who made collections of such words under the heading of 'aḍḍād, lit. 'opposites' (see E.I. (2), art. "Aḍḍād", D. Cohen, Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe, The Hague/Paris 1970, 79, 101, esp. 95, for rubba in particular Fleisch, Tr. #118n-q). Curiously enough, rubba itself does not appear in standard collections of words with contrary meanings, unlike warā'a 'behind/in front of', q.v. 18.204.

(3) See Schaw. Ind. 16. Points to note in this verse: fityatan 'as to youths', a specifying element, plural by poetic licence; dā'awtu 'I called', weak 3rd radical (10.14 n 2); yūritu 'bequeathes', Stem IV of 1st rad. w (= yuwritu, 8.63 n 1); dā’īban 'habitually' (variant dā’īman 'always', 18.32 n 3), circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19); 'ajābū 'they answered', Stem IV of hollow verb (8.73 n 1).

26.34 (1) See 1.713 and further examples in 26.5.

(2) S. 21 v 57. Note the collocation of asseverative ta and verbs prefixed with 'emphatic la' (lām at-tawkIḍ, 13.6 n 3) and suffixed with 'emphatic n' (mān at-tawkIḍ): this n is realized as a 'light' (qaffa) form an (other examples 1.4, 5.32) or a 'heavy' (qaffa) form anna (see 3.241 n 2; other examples 2.101, 3.241, 5.32, 5.56, 9.92, 13.6). It has the effect of obliterating mood inflections, though these are in any case assumed to be those of the apocopated form (paradigms Fleisch 108, Tr. #119w, and cf. id. #120j, 5.32 n 4). 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argued with each other (Inṣāf, prob. 94) as to whether an was derived by lightening anna or vice versa, the 'Kūfans' maintaining the former view, the 'Baṣrans' insisting that neither was derived from the other!

(3) See Fischer, op. cit. 1.711 n 1, for numerous other forms of oath, including some entirely without particles, e.g. allāha 'by God', 14.62.
26.4 (1) The order that aš-Širbīnī is following is based on Qāṭr 279, incorporating Ibn Hišām's own comments on Alf. v 364f as expanded in turn by al-Azharī, Tašr. II, 3f (cf. 3.63 n 1).

(2) The grammarians cite rare instances of pronoun suffixation to ka, e.g. kāhā 'like her' (Alf. v 368, and cf. al-Ušmūnī ad loc. for ḥattāka 'till you' etc.). On ka see further 1.708.

26.5 (1) See 1.71, 1.711. Note that this wa (like all the particles of swearing) may be prefixed with coordinating wa 'and' (12.1), e.g. wa-wa-llāhi 'and by God!', and wa-ta-llāhi in 16.34.

(2) See 1.712, 26.26 on bi, 1.713, 26.34 on ta. The best known oath beginning with bi is surely bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful', q.v. 1.0 and notes.

26.61 (1) See 1.706, 26.33 on rubba; in this function wa always means 'how many', but its relation to coordinating wa (12.1) and asseverative wa (26.5) is obscure (Fleisch, Tr. #151g). Here we may include predicative kam 'how many a...' (contrast interrogative kam, 20.6 n 2), e.g. kam dam'atīn ġarafnāhā 'how many a tear we shed' (Cantarino I, 158); Jum. 145; Muf. #217; Alf. v 746; Qāṭr 266; Fleisch, Tr. #149n.

26.62 (1) Jum. 150; Muf. #203, 510; Alf. v 379; Qāṭr 282; Fleisch, Tr. #151h: muḏ is a contraction of munḏu, from *min gū 'from that' (cf. 11.731 on deictic element ǧ).

(2) These two are left till last because (a) they are restricted to occurrence before nouns of specific time (never pronouns) and (b) they may be followed by independent nouns as well as oblique nouns (see n 3).

(3) See 2.101 on taqdir 'implicit meaning'. This distinction (from Ibn Hišām, Muḏnī II, 21) is entirely artificial: it is of more use to know that in positive sentences munḏu can correspond to English 'ago', e.g. waṣalānā munḏu ǧalāṭaṭi 'ayyāmin 'we arrived three days ago' (Cantarino II, 346). The alternative with indep. nouns is doubtless the original structure, scil. *min gū ġamānī 'since that (was) two years' (Fleisch, loc. cit. n 1, cf. Rabin, Anc. West-Ar. 187), with assimilation to the syntax of min 'from', which often has the meaning of 'since'.

26.63 (1) These are indeed dealt with in the chapter on exception, viz. 21.5, but the reference to 'the beginning of the book' is obscure. Both MSS insist on kitāb 'book' here, rather than bāb 'chapter', so if this refers to 26.1, where ǧalā etc. are mentioned, perhaps kitāb must be taken in a loose sense as 'booklet', i.e. part of the major work. Or possibly aš-Širbīnī had a copy of al-Azharī's Tašrīh with the same divisions as current printed versions: these dismiss ǧalā etc. on the very first page of vol. II, which aš-Širbīnī might thoughtlessly have copied.

26.64 (1) See 1.701 n 2 on maḏānī 'senses'.

(2) The work is unfortunately lost, however the information given here is substantially the same as Muf. #498, except that ǧalā has been made into a category of its own. Among other ways of classifying these elements are (a) according to the number of letters (Qāṭr 281), and (b) by
distribution, which is the method of Ibn Ājjurrūm above.

(3) Of all these *mudī* and *mungū* are regarded as invariable nouns which have acquired prepositional status (*Muf. #510*), *cān* and *cālā* are nouns when operated upon by *mīn* (*18.41 n 3, Muf. #507, 508*), and *ka* is a noun when operated upon by *cān* (*Muf. #509*); *cālā* is only a verb insofar as it has a productive verbal cognate *cālā* 'to be high'.

26.7 (1) *Jum. 75, 155; Muf. #110; Alīf. v 385; Qaṭr 283; Beeston 45; Fleisch 170; Bateson 48; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29. Terminology: *'idāfa* 'annexation', lit. 'causing to lean or incline' *mudāf* 'annexed element', lit. 'thing made to lean against another' *mudāf ʿilayh* 'element to which another is annexed', lit. 'thing against which something has been made to lean', see further 26.7 n 3. See also: annexation structure 26.91 n 1; annexation to pronouns 11.718 n 2; objective and subjective annexation 16.112 n 1, 24.31 n 1; semantic categories 26.71 n 1; formal categories 26.93 n 1.

(2) See *G.A.L. II*, 109, *E.I.* (2), art. 'ʿAbū Ḥayyān al-ʿGharnāṭī' on ʿAbū Ḥayyān, born in Granada, died 1344 after a turbulent career both as a theologian and grammarian. On ʿAbū ʿIshāq az-Zajjāj, died about 923 and one of the most famous pupils of al-Mubarrad (*22.3 n 1*) see *G.A.L. I*, 110. The dispute (here paraphrased from al-Azhari, *Taṣr. II*, 24) concerns the problem of 'formal' (*lafūţ*, i.e. some overt element) and 'abstract' (*maʿnawī*, i.e. the annexation function itself), cf. 1.31 n 4. Curiously this problem is not mentioned in *Insāf*.

(3) Note that it is the first element which is annexed to the second: in *kitābuḥu* 'his book' *kitābu* is prefixed to *hu*, not *hu* suffixed to *kitābu*. A reason for this may be that the form of the first element (i.e. loss of definition markers, 26.91 n 1) is determined by the intention to annex: failing annexation the listener will expect the final *n* (thus *kitābun* 'a book'), this *n* being in complementary distribution with the second element (see 23.2 n 1 on *manzila* 'status', 1.4 on -n).

26.71 (1) In fact a third category is identified in 26.9, the Arabs showing commendable restraint in subdividing into only three a structure capable of exhibiting a virtually limitless number of relationships between its constituents (contrast Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 139, Fleisch 171, and cf. Gätje, *Die Sprache* 11, 61).

(2) See 26.91 n 3 on *iḵ tiṣāṣ* 'particularization', 26.27 on *lī* (here *lām* al-*milk* 'the *lī* of ownership'), 2.101 n 1 on 'implicit'.

(3) See 26.7 n 2 for az-Zajjāj.

26.72 (1) See 26.21 on *min*, here al-*bayāniyya* 'explanatory', cf. 5.82 n 3. On purely formal grounds we include here the nouns made oblique by numerals (see 20.22 n 1), viz. plural after numbers 3-10 (e.g. *kamsu banātin* '5 girls') and singular after numbers 100 upwards (e.g. *miʿatu bintin* '100 girls', *al-fā bintin* '2000 girls'), with the reservation that *aš-Šīrīn*’s predicative paraphrase breaks down here, as both *al-kamsu banātun* 'the five are girls' and *al-banātu kamsun* 'the girls five in number' are possible (perhaps 26.72 n 5 applies).
(2) 'Main principle' is ḍabīṭ, lit. 'controller', elsewhere also translated as 'axiom', e.g. 3.422.

(3) Genuine semantic restraints may be operating here and at 20.3, 20.41 n 1, since one element in the construction is always a substance or measure. Evidently in both cases the original structure was appositional (raṭlun zayṭun 'a ratl-weight, oil', ṭawbun ḡazzun 'a garment, silk') the latter then assimilating to the annexation structure (see Fleischer, K. Schr. II, 1, 74, and cf. 11.9 n 1).

(4) Note in passing the suggestion (Fleisch, Tr. #56b, Bravmann, J. A. O.S. 81, 386) that the obliqueness marker i (3.8) may be connected with the gentilic suffix ḍ (11.721 n 3).

(5) In Inşāf prob. 61, the 'Başrans' (9.4 n 3) disallow annexation of synonyms on the grounds that a thing cannot be explanatory of itself: in masjidu l-jāmīṣi 'communal mosque', for example, an elliptical *masjadi l-mawdiṣi l-jāmīṣi 'mosque of the gathering place' is assumed.

26.73 (1) Observe how Arabic uses annexation to reproduce compound nouns from other languages, e.g. kušku l-kutubi 'bookstall', lit. 'the kiosk of books'. But Arabic has other resources in its derivational system (10.37 n 1), e.g. maktabatun 'bookshop', with the mafṣal pattern (18.5 n 1), kutubī 'bookseller', with the gentilic suffix (11.721 n 3), kitābun taʿlīmiyyun 'textbook', using simple adjectival qualification.

(2) Annexation also occurs with kull 'all' etc. (13.4 n 6), ġayr 'other than' etc. (21.4), 'ayy 'whichever' (5.861), certain numerals (20.22 n 1), superlatives (22.42 n 3) and space/time qualifiers (ch. 18, esp. 18.34). These last may also be annexed to sentences, either directly, e.g. yawma wulida 'on the day he was born' (= *on the day of he was born', cf. 2.44 n 1), or through a nominalizer, e.g. mīn qabli ṣan yaʿtiya 'before it comes' (= *before that it comes', cf. 5.41 n 8).

26.8 (1) Chs. 11-14. Because the annexation unit is indivisible (see 26.91 n 1) adjectives follow it and may qualify either element, marked accordingly: contrast yadu zaydin it-tawili 'the hand of tall Zayd' and yadu zaydin it-tawilatu 'the long hand of Zayd'.

26.9 (1) Although annexation of agents and direct objects is common, (16.512 n 1) it is felt unusual to annex space/time qualifiers (cf. the reservations about space/time qualifiers in 18.1 n 4).

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The reference here is to Alf. v 386 (ex al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 25 or Āj. 95). The phenomenon was known to Sība-wayhi, cf. Kitāb I, 89, who discusses the two Qur'anic verses mentioned below and some other interesting possibilities such as wulida lahu sittūna Ġaman 'he has been born for sixty years', lit. 'sixty years have been born for him'.

(3) S. 34 v 33, cf. yā sāriqa l-laylati 'O thief of the night', Kitāb, loc. cit. n 2.

(4) S. 12 v 39; see 23.44 on the juncture feature in ḡāhibayi.
Note that aš-Širbīnī does not mention the other two possibilities, that this might be particularizing (26.71) or explanatory (26.72) annexation, perhaps because he knows that some grammarians regard the type makru 1-layli merely as a variant of one of those two (e.g. al-Jāmī on Ibn al-Hājib, Kāfiya 190, as-Sajāṭī on Qatr ad loc.).

26.91 (1) 'Pure annexation' ('iḍāfa maḥḍa, cf. 5.552 n 1 on maḥḍa) is an inseparable bonding of two elements, most obvious when the second is a bound pronoun (cf. 26.7 n 3). The first element loses all definition markers (26.93 n 1) but is marked for the function of the whole unit (e.g. ra'aytu ǧulāma zaydin 'I saw the slave-boy of Zayd'), while the second is marked with oblique form (zaydin) or is a pronoun. If the second element is undefined, e.g. yadu rajulin 'the hand of a man', the whole unit is syntactically undefined, but see below, n 3.

(2) See 2.1 n 2 on maṣnaṯī 'abstract'.

(3) 'Specialization' is taḵṣīṣ, cognate (and almost synonymous with) iktiṣāṣ 'particularization' (26.71), in both cases denoting an intermediate stage between absolute definition and indefiniteness (cf. Gätje, Arabica 17, 225, esp. 235f): see also 19.71 n 1.

26.92 (1) 'Formal annexation' is 'iḍāfa lafẓīyya (v. 2.1 n 2 on lafẓī) or ġayr maḥḍa 'impure' (contrast 'pure annexation', 26.91).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun; 'quasi-participial adjective' renders aš-ṣifa l-mušabbaha (bi-l-fāḍil) lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the agent', i.e. one having a verb phrase as its underlying form (see 11.45 n 1). The 'operation' (ʿamal, 2.11 n 1) referred to here is in the surface structure, viz. of the annexed noun upon the noun it is annexed to (i.e. making oblique), contrast the deep structure in the paraphrases below.

(3) S. 5 v 95; note that the annexation unit is undefined, concording with undefined antecedent ḥadyan. The deep structure shows a relative clause, yablugu l-kaṣbata 'which reaches the Kaaba' (v. 11.753 n 3 on relative syntax), with al-kaṣbata now marked as a direct object.

(4) The deep structure is tuʿmaru dāruhu 'whose house is inhabited' (i.e. flourishing), itself a transformation of an underlying active verb (cf. 8.2), with dāruhu now marked as a 'substitute agent' (8.0 n 3). Unlike yablugu in n 2, which already contains a referential pronoun (7.58 n 1), dāruhu needs an overt referential pronoun.

(5) The deep structure is yahsunu wajhuhu 'whose face is handsome', with wajhuhu now marked as agent (cf. 11.5 n 2).

26.93 (1) In 'pure annexation' (26.91) the second element functions as a definition marker in complementary distribution with al 'the' and the suffix tanwīn (1.4, 26.7) as well as its allomorphs na/ni e.g. yadā zaydin 'the two hands of Zayd' etc. (see paradigms 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). But in 'formal annexation' the second element does not define the first and so definition markers must be added as required: contrast rajulu ḥasanu l-wajhi 'a man handsome of face' and ar-rajugu l-ḥasanu l-wajhi
'the man handsome of face', in which the alternation ḥasanu/al-ḥasanu exactly parallels the .signup al-yahsunu/yahsunu of relative clauses (v. 11.753 n 3). Try also Carter, B.S.O.A.S. 35, 486).

26.94 (1) 'Properly feminine' (ṣiḥḥat al-mu‘annaṭ, lit. 'the soundness of the feminine element') is evidently a gratuitous addition by aš-Širbīnī to his source (al-Azhari, Taṣr. II, 31), apparently meaning that the cases discussed in 26.96 are not covered by this rule. As the phrase only occurs in MS C. it is to be treated with suspicion anyway.

26.94 (2) The explanation unwittingly concedes that here it is not so much a case of ba signup (17.65) acquiring feminine gender as of the verb quṭiCat (see 8.0 for 'substitute agent', 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates). Cf. attraction in the opposite direction in ḥādara l-qādiya mra‘atun 'a woman attended the judge': the masc. verb is allowed by grammarians when not immediately followed by its fem. agent (e.g. Muf. #263).

26.95 (1) Though lacking a term 'gender' (cf. 11.02 n 1) the Arabs were well aware of its existence: Muf. #263 treats the masc. as the unmarked form, fem. as the marked form, and distinguishes between natural gender (ḥaqīqī 'true, real') and grammatical gender (gayr ḥaqīqī 'not real'). See also 11.42 n 1, 11.43 n 3, 11.44 n 2, and 26.96 n 4.

26.96 (1) S. 7 v 56. The prefatory 'perhaps' is needed because there are other explanations, e.g. that qarībun concords with masc. synonyms of rahmata (e.g. ǧufrán 'forgiveness' etc.), or that it qualifies an elided masc. noun, scil. Say‘un qarībun 'a near thing'. Note that in the text rahmata is spelt with the 'long t', q.v. 11.42 n 1.

26.96 (2) S. 42 v 17. The problem, however, remains, and we may be dealing here with the class of adjectives in the fa signup pattern (v. 3.411 n 2) which never vary for gender, because they have not lost their original noun status (so qarībun by itself may mean 'a near thing', cf. 11.61 n 1).
NOTES

(3) See 1.21 n 2 on al-Farrā', and MaCānī I, 380 for his comments on 
qarībun. Aš-Šīrīnī's immediate source, however, is al-Azharī, Taṣr. 
II, 31-32, from which all of 26.94-26.96 is taken.

(4) This is not a rhetorical distinction such as exists between, say, 
masc. manzilun 'real place, dwelling' and fem. manzilatun 'metaphorical 
place, status'. It means that masc. qarībun does not imply that the 
grammatical gender of rahmata or sāCata is also masculine, for if this 
were generalized there would be no need for fem. adjectives with any 
nouns except those of natural fem. gender, and this is disproved by 
aš-šamsu tālīCatum, where the fem. adjective qualifies a noun of un-
marked fem. gender.

(5) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām; the reference is to Muğnī II, 112-3. It 
means that nouns may acquire the other gender following a transfer to 
figurative meaning, but pronouns cannot (so a verbal paraphrase of S. 
42 v 17 would have to be as-sāCatu qarubat 'the hour, it is near', with 
fem. pronoun agent concealed in qarubat, 7.58 n 1); cf. Muf. #263 end.

EPILOGUE

(1) This is the conventional disclaimer of infallibility which often 
accompanies anything even slightly speculative in Muslim writings (but 
whose modesty may cloak a challenge to the reader to do better!).

(2) See 0.5 n 1 on the rhyming title.

(3) This part of aš-Šīrīnī's epilogue bears a striking resemblance to 
the corresponding passage in as-Suyūtī's Commentary on the Alfiyya 
(e.g. in the margin of Ibn Āqīl, Cairo 1925, 203). If this is plagia-
rism it is not without irony, for as-Suyūtī (d. 1505, G.A.L. II, 143) 
is himself best known for the energy and thoroughness with which he 
reproduced the contents of earlier works.

(4) Too much study of grammar, it has been remarked, drives one mad 

(5) Translations of grammatical texts are few, and of unequal merit and 
reliability. Still useful is S. de Sacy, Anthologie grammaticale arabe, 
Paris 1829 (see below). Among available translations are: 
al-HaRīrī, Molhat al-Irab, ou les récitations grammaticales, L. Pinto, 
Ibn Ājurrūm, Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Grammatiker, die 
Ajrūmiyyah des Muhammed b. Daūd, E. Trumpp, Munich 1876 (but see 
Ibn Āqīl, Ibn Āqīl's Commentar zur Alfijja des Ibn Mālik, F. 
Dieterici, Berlin 1852.
Ibn Hišām, (a) Qatr an-nadā wa-ball aš-ṣadā, la pluie de rosée, étanche 
-ment de la soif, A. Goguyer, Leiden 1887.
(b) Al-'iCrāb can qawāCid al-'iCrāb, de Sacy, Anthologie gramm. ar.,
NOTES 467

155-225 (Arabic text 73-92).
Ibn Mālik (a) L’Alfiyya, L. Pinto, Constantine 1887.
(b) La ‘Alfiyyah d’Ibnu Malik, A. Goguyer, Paris 1888.
(c) L’Alfiiah, E. Vitto, Beirut 1898 (Italian).
(d) Alfiyya, extracts, de Sacy, Anthologie gram. ar., 315-347 (Arabic text 134-144).
al-Muṭarrizī, Miṣbāḥ, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 224-239 (Ar. text 93-98).
Sībawayhi (a) Sībawayhi’s Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt, G. Jahn, Berlin 1895-1900.
(b) Kitāb, extracts, de Sacy, op. cit. 361-407 (Ar. text 152-166).
az-Zamakṣarī, Unmūdaj, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 240-280 (Ar. text 99-118).

(6) See 0.5 n 2 on the rhyming prose.

(7) Nevertheless the reader should not be deterred from consulting the following works of reference for further guidance:
Leiden/London 1960-.
Linguistic Bibliography/Bibliographie Linguistique, Utrecht/Brussels 1949-.
Pearson J. D., Index Islamicus, Cambridge 1958, then London 1972-.

(8) Here we summarize what little is known about the life of aš-Širbīnī and his works. In Ibn al-Imād’s biographical dictionary (loc. cit. G.A.L. II, Suppl. 441) aš-Širbīnī (after the village of Širbīn in his native Egypt, cf. 11.721 n 4) is conventionally eulogized as a man of outstanding piety and learning, which are confirmed by his authorship of a large Commentary on the Qur’ān, several minor religious treatises, and some grammatical works (cf. 1.0 n 3, but see 0.4 n 6). He died on the 11th January 1570, at what age is not known, though one of his biographers (aš-Šaqrānī, apud al-Kītāb al-jadīda, see G.A.L. II, 320) says that he had known him for forty years.
He would thus have lived through perhaps the entire reign of the most successful of the Ottoman Sultans, Sulaymān the Great (1520-66), during which period Egypt became definitively absorbed into the Ottoman Empire. This has been interpreted as an eclipse of Arabs by Turks, but culturally at least it was an era of profound intellectual complacency in which the Arabic language unquestionably remained the dominant medium, however unadventurously it functioned.