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A Study on *Tāʾ Marbūṭa* (II)

TAKASHINA Yoshiyuki *

** For editorial reasons, the first part of this study was published in the previous issue (vol. 18, 2020) of this journal, which covered following sections:*

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* 高階 美行 大阪大学名誉教授 professor emeritus, Osaka University
y.takasina@gmail.com

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7. Tāʾ marbūṭa as feminine singular

7.1. Gender or class

Thus far, we referred to tāʾ marbūṭa simply as a mark of the feminine (singular), but it is high time we discussed what grammatical category it belongs to. Fortunately, the answer is very simple, for Arabic is one of the Semitic languages that distinguishes two genders (masculine and feminine). In his *Grundriss* of Semitic languages (1908-13) about ten years after Brugmann and Delbrück's *Grundriss* of Indo-Germanic languages (1886-1900), which have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter), Brockelmann felt obliged to make a reference to the notion of 'class' to incorporate the ever increasing knowledge of human languages.

Granted that the feminine gender in Semitic languages (esp. in Arabic), which show quite a variety of usages as compared with that in the Indo-European languages, he seemingly tried to discuss the Semitic feminine in a broader framework¹⁶⁶), and actually he named one subsection as [Formenlehre - II. Nomina - 2. Flexion der

166) In GvG (I:404, § 224) he wrote: "More primitive languages now distinguish, not only three genders like the Indo-European or even two like the Semitic languages, but rather a larger number of different classes of rank and value like the Bantu and some American languages. Very probably the Semites also had once such a value class system, and some remnants may still exist in some nominal forms for fixed categories of meaning, e.g. the diminutives and deterioratives" (tentative transl.).

Nomina - A. Geschlecht -] c) Die sogenannten Fem.-Endungen als Klassenzeichen (I:418-421, §227 A). However, we do not find in his discussion more than a simple suggestion that ‘class’ means “nouns which express something secondary, therefore inferior”¹⁶⁷⁾.

In other words, there is no argument connected with the proper sense of ‘class’ as in the grammars of ‘the Bantu and some American languages’ (see footnote 166). According to Möhlig (p. 78), the notion of ‘class’ in the Bantu language group in Africa is this: “nouns in these languages have a system of grammatical genders, usually at least five. These genders are often called ‘classes’ and the grammatical agreement in the class denotes the syntactic relation”¹⁶⁸⁾.

It is certain that by ‘American languages’ Brockelmann meant the Algonquian family of North America, to which Lipiński added some Caucasian languages (2001:240), and Sumerian is now known well to employ another category ‘animacy’. In brief, he did not have to speak about ‘class’, because he could describe the usages of the feminine gender with no mention of ‘class’ in GvG (I:418-421). It resulted only in the entailment of comments by other scholars, which frankly proved to add almost nothing¹⁶⁹⁾. For example, Fleisch had to comment on every point in Brockelmann’s references to ‘class’ (I:324-336) and Lipiński wrote once ‘-āʾu class’ (§29.51, p. 233)¹⁷⁰⁾ and Kienast, after the discussion on ‘Genera’ (§122, p. 131), said that: “... können wir die sog. ‘Femininendung’ -at als eine Art Klassenzeichen verstehen ...” (§ 153.2, p. 169).

From section 7.4 onwards, however, we shall discuss the basic functions of *tāʾ marbūṭa* on quite a logical principle different from ‘class’. A reference to Brockelmann shall be made when necessary.

7.2. The relation of the four feminine markers

With no feature in Arabic of the classifier languages (e.g. the syntactic agreement on the class level), we are at a loss how to explain as many as four feminine suffixes

167) His text runs thus (GvG I:418, § 227): “The so-called feminine endings do not denote sex as such, but only insofar as (it is) in the later conception, it is considered to be something inferior. The original meaning of these endings is now clearly preserved outside of the sexual area in Semitic; the endings *at* etc. derive, from the pure stem form, nouns which express something secondary, therefore inferior, in relation to this. The conceptual analogy proves to be extraordinarily effective in this area even in later times and pulls some nouns, which are initially coined in the pure stem form in their construction, (and) sometimes in their form into the second class. To this second class belong ...” The passage is followed by examples according to his groupings.

168) For example, (a) the gender is expressed by prefixes that divide the nouns into several classes, about 10 to 20; (b) the prefixes are arranged regularly in pairs, one for the singular and one for the plural; (c) other words in a sentence that are grammatically dependent on a noun must match the class of the governing noun. This is achieved through a corresponding concord prefix (Möhlig, p. 78).

169) Paragraph 12.35 of Moscati (1964:86) summarizes everything about this: “This multiplicity of function points to the probable origin of the feminine ending in a more complex system of classes within which the category of number has to be included as well (by way of the collective).”

170) Incidentally, Lipiński’s transcription of ‘chameleon’ in this section should be corrected to *ḥirbāʾ* (triptote).

(see 6.1): *tāʾ marbūṭa* (ة), *-t*, *ʿalif maqṣūra* (ى)¹⁷¹⁾ and *ʿalif mamdūda* (اء)¹⁷²⁾. Since everyone knows that the suffix *-t* is almost negligible (see 6.1.1), one would instantly think of a possibility, either of grouping them into two (*-at* versus *-ā/-āʾu*) or of a dissimilatory process (*-at* > *-ā*, *-ā* > *-āʾu*), but with no testimony. Indeed, Brockelmann did speak of ‘class’ in this context, but he only left us helpless¹⁷³⁾ because he only collected examples from Arabic as well as from other languages. For Wensinck, the two endings “are used to denote feminina as well as abstracta” (p. 17) and “we cannot make a distinction between the forms of fem., abstractum, plural and intensivum” (p. 18), while Kienast maintains that *-ā* and *-āʾu* are used as ‘feminine’ only secondarily since they are of independent noun forms (section 124.2, p. 133).

But in so far as Arabic is concerned, we can conjecture something on *-ā* and *-āʾu*. Granted that the semantic coverage of each suffix is rather clearly outlined (see footnotes 171 and 172), it seems as if these significations might derive from something in the long past, now unidentifiable after the historical formation of the Arabic language. This should not be taken as implying that the two endings belonged to some ‘class’ in the primeval times. Only, it is very difficult to account for the existence of these two extra feminine endings without some relevant grounds in the prehistoric stage.

7.3. Other traces in a probable grouping of objects

Among the scholars in the field of Hamito-Semitic or Afroasiatic studies, there is a tradition¹⁷⁴⁾ to refer to the two groups of Arabic nouns as ‘classes’ of animals. Vycichl (pp. 87-88) listed 22 Arabic words ending in *-b* as the ‘hypothetical class of animals’.

171) Feminine words ending in *ʿalif maqṣūra* are the following (Wright I:179 and 184): 1) the feminine singular elative (فُعْلَى): حُسْنَى (masc. أَحْسَنُ ‘better’), دُنْيَا (masc. أَدْنَى ‘lower, nearer’); 2) some adjectives of the pattern (فُعْلَى) specific to females: أَنْثَى ‘female’, حُبْلَى ‘pregnant’; 3) adjectives for the temporary feature (فُعْلَى): كَسْلَى (masc. كَسْلَانُ ‘lazy’); 4) abstract nouns with this ending: سَجْوَى ‘secret’, ذِكْرَى ‘memory’. In the case of 2), there is no masculine form (Wright I:184D and 221C). See also Fischer, 2002, p. 40.

172) Feminine words ending in *ʿalif mamdūda* are the following (op.cit. pp. 179 and 185): 1) feminine adjectives (فُعْلَاءُ) for the permanent feature, either of color: حَمْرَاءُ (masc. أَحْمَرُ ‘red’), صَحْرَاءُ ‘desert’ (masc. أَصْحَرُ ‘of the desertlike color’); 2) or of bodily or innate traits: بَكْمَاءُ (masc. أَبْكَمُ ‘dumb’), شَقْرَاءُ ‘a blond’, حَسَنَاءُ ‘a beauty’; 3) feminines to some adjectives of the pattern فُعْلَانُ (masc. حَيْرَانُ ‘perplexed’); 4) abstract nouns with this ending: بَغْضَاءُ ‘hatred’, كِبْرِيَاءُ ‘glory, pride’. In the case of 2), the corresponding masculine may not be in actual use. Also, for some words in the pattern 2) like نَفْسَاءُ ‘woman in childbed’ (Wehr, p. 1156a), indigenous lexicographers register variants نَفْسَاءُ and نَفْسَاءُ (Hava, p. 788a; Lane, p. 2829a). If correct, نَفْسَاءُ is due to the wrong analogy to the same ending of the plural morpheme فُعْلَاءُ. See Fischer, 2002, pp. 40 and 48.

173) Brockelmann (GvG I:410): “In addition to the feminine ending *at*, *t*, there are also some endings of the same meaning in all Semitic languages, which are probably to be regarded as the remnants of a class system that was once richly graded.”

174) We call this ‘a tradition’, because only one or two groupings of nouns cannot constitute a whole system of ‘class’ in a language. Notwithstanding, they always call the groups ‘class’. In relation to this tradition, we quote here minimal bibliographical data. For more, see Militarev - Kogan, p. LXXXII.

This was later termed ‘the class of harmful animals’ by Diakonoff (p. 57) who added another ‘class of domesticated and wild useful animals’ (do.). It was Lipiński who took up the lists again, adding the third ‘names of parts of the body’¹⁷⁵). What follows is Lipiński’s list with his naming and our additions¹⁷⁶).

1) *-b* for wild and dangerous animals¹⁷⁷) (p. 240), 12 words

ʿarn-ab ‘hare’	ḏab-b (+) ‘buffalo, wild bull’
ṭaʿl-ab ‘fox’	ḏab-b ‘lizard’ ¹⁷⁸)
ḡund-ab ‘grasshopper’ (+)	ʿank-ab(-ūt) ‘spider’
dub-b ‘bear’	ʿaqr-ab ‘scorpion’
ḏiʿ-b ‘wolf’	ḡur-āb ‘crow, raven’
ḏub-b ‘flies’ (pl. of ḏubā-b)	kal-b ‘dog’

1*) Vycichl¹⁷⁹), 8 words

tawl-ab ‘young ass’	ʿuqā-b ‘eagle’
ḥawš-ab ‘hare, calf’	ʿandalī-b ‘nightingale’
šawh-ab ‘hedge-hog’	ʿunzā-b ‘big locust’
šaqaḥṭ-ab ‘ram’	qillī-b ‘wolf’

2) *-l/-r* for domestic or tamed animals (p. 234), 12 (8 + 4) words

ʿib-il (+) ‘camel’	ḥim-ār ‘ass’
baq-ar ‘cattle’	ḥinz-īr ‘swine, pig’
ṭaw-r ‘ox’	šaqr (+) ‘hawk, falcon’
ṭaw-l (+) ‘swarm of bees’	ʿiḡ-l ‘calf’
ḡam-al ‘camel’	naḥ-l (+) ‘bee’
ḡawz-al ‘the young of a dove’	nam-l ‘ant’

2*) Wild animals with *-l/-r*, 12 (3 + 9) words

ʿayy-il, ʿīy-al ‘mountain-goat’	ʿay-r ‘ass’ ¹⁸⁰)
ṭayt-al (+) ‘wild goat, ibex’	ʿudm-ūl (+) ‘frog’

175) This perhaps corresponds to ‘the element -n-’ in Diakonoff (p. 57.). See footnote 181.

176) Relying on the statistic ratio in the group (animals with *-b* and those without it; Militarev - Kogan, pp. LXXXII-LXXXIV) which leads one to question the grouping, Weninger wrote: “Semitic was never a classifier language of the Bantu-type: even more so, as no evidence of concord for either of the alleged noun-class-markers has been adduced.” (p. 166). He is definitely right when he denies the notion of the Bantu-type class in Semitic languages, but at the same time we cannot refuse the existence of a group of animal names with *-b*. It may be a vestige of some sort of language contact, or a result of unsuccessful development of grouping nouns (or notions) at the prehistorical time immemorial. Militarev - Kogan argued on part of it rigorously even after the statistical data. If statistics governs the linguistic study, the neuter gender (it - its - itself) did not exist in the history of English. Every likelihood should be reserved for the probable future solution. As Weninger writes, however, these may be a simple result from the fact that *-b* and *-n* are of higher frequency in the word formation. If so, it should be discussed in the light of, say, the frequency of the consonants according to the position within the word.

177) ‘+’ means items added by us. We are thankful to S. Nakao for reminding us of ḡundab.

178) Lipiński’s spelling ḏab-b is ‘buffalo’ and ‘lizard’ is ḏab-b.

179) Words listed in Vycichl but not found in Lipiński. There are 5 words unable to identify in Vycichl’s 22 words. Most of these words are of rare occurrence and may not be found in some dictionaries.

180) Lane says (p. 2208c): “both the wild and the domestic; its predominant application is to the former”.

ğay ^o -al (+) ‘hyena’ (diptote)	‘uṣf-ūr (+) ‘sparrow’
ğaz-āl (+) ‘gazelle’	qub-ar (+) ‘skylark’
dawb-al ‘small wild ass’	nas-r (+) ‘eagle’
ṭay-r (+) ‘birds’	wa ^o -l (+) ‘mountain-goat’

Those scholars who cling to Diakonoff’s idea of ‘class’ want to maintain the distinction between *-b* ‘wild’ animals (1) and *-l/-r* ‘domestic’ animals (2). But considering that we find many ‘wild’ animals with *-l/-r* (2*) which disprove the class, we ought to go back to Vycichl’s simple idea of ‘animals’. In that case, we may say that many nouns of animals end in either *-b*, *-l* or *-r*, and that it may, or may not, be a reflection of some process of the language formation during the primeval times¹⁸¹⁾.

7.4. Fischer’s theory

Now it is certain that we have no other choice but to discuss *tā^o marbūṭa* within the framework of gender but there are so many problems related to the Arabic feminine in addition to the four suffixes for it (see 7.2): 1) nouns take *ṭ* irrespective of the genre of the noun: common, collective, abstract or verbal; 2) some masculine nouns take *ḍ*; 3) some plural nouns also take *ḍ*; 4) non-human plural nouns mostly get syntactic agreement as feminine singular in MSA¹⁸²⁾, and so on.

At about the time we recognized the need of a new approach to *tā^o marbūṭa* (see section 0), a brief phrase in Fischer’s grammar (1972:39, §64a) struck us as quite a new synthesis: “*-at-un* kennzeichnet das ‘Besondere’ gegenüber dem Allgemeinen”¹⁸³⁾. This simple statement apparently could cover almost everything. But without telling why so, it seemed as if it were a philosopher’s aphorism. Another work worthy of note was Kienast’s equation (2001:131, 122.1):

“Masculinum” : “Femininum” = Kollektiv : Singulativ¹⁸⁴⁾

But when he uttered ‘Singulativ’ again, he went back to ‘class’ (153, pp. 168-9).

7.5. The ‘feminine singular’ as the source of its innate functions

Since a language consists of a set of signs, any single sign presupposes the existence of the remaining signs. In the set of the Arabic nouns, the instant we think of

181) As the third list (*-n* for parts of the body; p. 235), Lipiński lists 9 words as follows: *‘uḍ-n* ‘ear’, *baṭ-n* ‘belly’, *ṭad-an* ‘breast’, *ḥid-n* ‘lap, bosom’, *šin-n* ‘tooth’, *‘ay-n* ‘eye’, *qar-n* ‘horn’, *lis-ān* ‘tongue’, *yam-an* ‘right hand’. We should recall that *-n* is one of the most natural sounds in the human articulation (cf. Weninger, p. 166). It is to be wondered in what distinction this list, not necessarily homogeneous and in a limited number, stands from other (bodily?) terms.

182) As to the role of the feminine gender in concord, we are obliged to leave it out of the scope of the present study. Though closely related, it lies more within the syntax than within the morphology.

183) Fischer (2002:39, §64a): “*-at-un* designates the ‘specific’, as opposed to the generic”.

184) His ‘Singulativ’ is based on Leslau’s study on Tigré (North Ethiopic): “The singulative (or noun of unity) is expressed in the same way as the diminutive. It is often difficult to distinguish between the meanings of the diminutive and the singulative” (§19, p. 176). According to Raz (p. 15), the singulative form is derived on the basis of the collective noun to which the suffix *-at* (feminine) or *-āy* (masculine) is added. So it is much alike ‘nomen unitatis’ (a collective noun + *-at*) in Arabic (see 9.1.1).

a group of nouns with *tāʾ marbūṭa* (Y), there emerges the opposite group without it (X).



In one case, this will be the set of the feminine singular (Y) and the masculine singular (X). Or in another case, it will be the set of the feminine singular (Y) and the feminine plural (X). Which set of the two this is, depends on how the speaker of Arabic perceives. This means that the number of sets depends on that of the probable combinations of Y and X. Since it is Y that delineates what X is, we logically arrive at the conclusion that the study of *tāʾ marbūṭa* is to identify what Y is in its respective usage.

Seen thus, Y is ‘singulative’ in the Kienast’s set with ‘collective’ as X, while in Fischer’s set Y is ‘specific’ with ‘generic’ as X. Be it ‘singulative’ or ‘specific’, the two notions do not converge. In other words, it is very important that notions of Y should derive directly from the most basic (or original) usage of *tāʾ marbūṭa* and should not be arbitrary. Likewise this diagram tells very clearly that *tāʾ marbūṭa* (Y) is what is marked and X is unmarked, and suggests that the faculty to set combinations of X and Y rests on a very simple cognitive intuition. To put it otherwise, *tāʾ marbūṭa* marks something (Y) as different from others (X) on a simple principle¹⁸⁵⁾.

When we recall that there is no other choice but gender as the grouping principle of nouns in Arabic, such basic notions must come from the gender of *tāʾ marbūṭa*: ‘feminine’¹⁸⁶⁾. At the same time, however, this ending mostly denotes ‘singular’ in respect of number. In order to single out individual functions out of this ending, it is incumbent on us to set ‘femine’ and ‘singular’ apart¹⁸⁷⁾.

7.6. The innate functions of *tāʾ marbūṭa*

We shall now enumerate, with a brief comment, the innate functions that can be extracted from *tāʾ marbūṭa*.

I. The specification of the feminine gender.

185) Due to this, however, we have to state two things. First, there are some variations, as we see each usage of *tāʾ marbūṭa* in the next section (8), as to how well-grounded it is with widespread examples. They are mostly agreed upon by native grammarians and well-grounded, but there are some in which the usage is not so clear-cut. We mostly follow Wright and Fischer. Secondly, however marked Y is and however well-grounded, there are usages which it is difficult to classify and allocate clearly to one of the functions. The linguistic intuition of speakers, being simple, may at times allow some ambiguity. We shall try to be synthetic and consistent in our analysis. To S. Fujii, our former colleague, we are indebted for contriving the prototype of this diagram in the digital format.

186) Sometimes we find the function of *tāʾ marbūṭa* defined as both ‘feminine and singular’: “... à servir de marque du féminin singulier” (Blachère, §122, p. 198).

187) Most of the grammars regard *tāʾ marbūṭa* as the sign of feminine: “C’est ce *tāʾ marbūṭa* qui, dans l’écriture, est le signe habituel du féminin” (Blachère, §68, p. 112); “Das Femininum hat am gewöhnlichsten die Endung *atun*.” (Brockelmann (1910:81, §66); “The most frequent feminine ending is *-at/-ah*. It is used (1) to indicate feminine gender” (Yushmanov, p. 37).

This accounts for the addition of *tāʾ marbūṭa* to denote and confirm the feminine gender. See the last paragraph of the preceding section.

II. The specification of the singular number (oneness).

Now that *tāʾ marbūṭa* denotes ‘singular’ in number, it helps the individuation of things and notions, or the generalization of things into one group even if there are many members (‘plural’ in number). In other cases, oneness leads to the idea of singularity (or scarcity), difference or matchlessness.

III. The specification of the difference

The emphasis on oneness sometimes leads to the word formation that stresses that somebody or something is extraordinary with only one example. This includes affective words often termed diminutive, pejorative, deteriorative or even augmentative.

IV. The addition of a new syllable for compensation

This phonological function is seen everywhere in verbal nouns as well as in common nouns.

V. Miscellanea

There are words spelled with *tāʾ marbūṭa* seemingly due only to the phonetic resemblance, or word patterns spelled partially with *tāʾ marbūṭa*.

The last group (V) set aside, the first function (I) has three usages that reject ambiguity and the compensatory function (IV) of *tāʾ marbūṭa* has been long since acknowledged by scholars. The grouping of diminutives (III) is likewise accepted by most scholars, whereas the specification of oneness (II) includes many functions. But our approach to explain them by means of a single notion ‘oneness’ will hopefully prove to be quite natural and logical.

On the other hand, the logical grounds of our grouping need no historical factor for understanding and we are certain that the grouping is comprehensible simply on the synchronic level of today.

8. (I) The Specification of the Feminine Gender

8.1. (Ia) The feminine gender with animate (common) nouns

In the logical procedure, the first function is to denote the feminine member of natural or animate creatures: كَلْبٌ ‘dog’, كَلْبَةٌ ‘bitch’¹⁸⁸. But there are nouns that employ a different root for each sex: ثَوْرٌ ‘ox’, بَقَرٌ ‘cow’; حِمَارٌ ‘donkey’, أَثَانٌ ‘she-ass’; جَمَلٌ ‘(he-)camel’, نَاقَةٌ ‘she-camel’.

8.2. (Ib) The feminine gender with adjectives for agreement

Adjectives, including participles, that modify feminine nouns or become their predicates must agree with them in gender¹⁸⁹, and mostly take *tāʾ marbūṭa* except

188) Kienast (124.3, p. 134): “(f) Sekundäre Differenzierung natürlicher Feminina”.

189) Kienast (do.): “(g) Bildung des grammatischen “Femininum” bei Adjektiven”.

some cases (see footnotes 171 and 172): كَلْبٌ كَبِيرٌ ‘a big dog’, الْكَلْبَةُ كَبِيرَةٌ ‘the bitch is big’.

8.3. (Ic) The feminine gender with diminutives¹⁹⁰⁾

Diminutives made from feminine (trilateral) nouns without *tāʾ marbūṭa* must take it to mark the inherent feminine gender explicitly¹⁹¹⁾.

- a) typical cases¹⁹²⁾: شَمْسَةٌ ‘a little sun’, دُورَةٌ ‘a small house’, أَبْيَلَةٌ ‘a small camel herd’, عَيْنَةٌ ‘a small eye’ (Wright I:170-171, §274; Buckley, 5.3.1d, p. 47).
- b) nouns masculine or feminine: سَمِيَّةٌ ‘small roof’ < سَمَاءٌ ‘small market’ < سُوقٌ (Wright I:173, §279; Buckley, *ibid.*).
- c) even feminines with *ʿalif maqṣūra* and *ʿalif mamdūda* must take *tāʾ marbūṭa* for their diminutives: حُبْلَى < حُبْلَى ‘pregnant’; حُمَيْرَةٌ < حَمْرَاءُ ‘red’ (Wright I:174, §284).

9. (II) The Specification of the Singular Number (Oneness)

9.1. (IIa) The emphasis on oneness

As discussed at the end of section 7.5, *tāʾ marbūṭa* denotes ‘singular’ in number as far as the feminine nouns are concerned. This feature becomes all the more unparalleled because masculine nouns lack a specific mark of ‘singular’, now that *-ø* is shared by broken plurals. Under this situation, it is only too natural that *tāʾ marbūṭa* has acquired a symbolic status of oneness or singularity across the border of genders.

9.1.1. اِسْمُ الْوَحْدَةِ ‘nomen unitatis’ or noun of unit¹⁹³⁾

Many nomina unitatis are formed from non-human collectives¹⁹⁴⁾ (اِسْمُ الْجِنْسِ): حَمَامَةٌ ‘pigeon’, حَمَامَةٌ ‘a pigeon’; ذَهَبٌ ‘gold’, ذَهَبَةٌ ‘a piece of gold’; وَرَقٌ ‘leafage’, وَرَقَةٌ ‘a leaf’.

190) Brockelmann first refers in GvG to the Ethiopic diminutive and the noun of unit with the same suffix (I:400-401, § 221) and explains the diminutive use of *tāʾ marbūṭa* (see 10.1 below) in Arabic (I:420, § 227 Ae). In its *Anm.*, he writes: “this probably explains why secondary feminines as diminutives take the ending *at*” (do., tentative transl.). It is an honest question how many people understood his purport.

191) On the contrary, a man’s name with *tāʾ marbūṭa* loses it in the diminutive: حَارِثَةٌ > حَرِثٌ (Wright I:174, § 284).

192) Several exceptions are listed in Wright (I:171, § 274 Rem. c.): حُرَيْبٌ ‘fight’, نُعَيْلٌ ‘little shoe’.

193) With no fixed English phrase for the terms in Arabic and Latin, we shall adopt for it: ‘noun of X’. Thus far we have: ‘the noun of individuality’ (Wright I:147, §246) and ‘unit noun’ (Buckley 5.3.2b, p. 48; Ryding, pp. 94-95).

194) This is from Buckley’s ‘collectives referring to non-humans’ (5.3.2b; p. 48) and so is with other scholars such as Wright I:109 and 147, Fischer §64a (p. 39), Yushmanov (p. 38) and Kienast (124.3, p. 133), while Brockelmann writes (GvG I:419, §227 Ae): “On the other hand, collectives as genera can again be primary and, compared to the individual thing, appear as the more valuable, more important, hence the individual noun with the f. ending is derived from it.” Somehow most scholars seem to have adopted Brockelmann’s examples and added some others.

[Note 1] According to Blachère (§ 63, p. 106), **حَمَامَةٌ** does not mean ‘a female pigeon’ and if need be, an Arab would say **حَمَامَةٌ ذَكَرٌ** ‘male pigeon’ and **حَمَامَةٌ أُنْثَى** ‘female pigeon’ like ‘he goat’ and ‘she goat’ in English.

[Note 2] What is more, these collective nouns (**أَسْمَاءُ الْجِنْسِ**), without **tā° marbūṭa**, are ‘masculine by form, feminine by signification’ (Wright I:180D, §292). In other words, the gender of these collective nouns (**حَمَامٌ** etc.) may be either of the two. There is one interesting word that demands our special attention: **حَيَّةٌ** ‘serpent’ of which the collective **حَيَّاتٌ** is wanting (Lane, p. 681b). As in the case of **حَمَامَةٌ** (see Note 1 above), **حَيَّةٌ** is ‘applied to the male and the female’ (Lane, *ibid.*), while Fischer says that it is usually ‘masculine, but also occasionally feminine’ (§110.2, p. 69). By the same token, it is incumbent on us to refer to the rare variant: **حَيُّوتٌ** ‘(male) serpent’ (LA, p. 1081b; TA, vol. 37, p. 518b; Lane, p. 681b; Hava, p. 152a). We discussed that this Aramaic feminine ending behave as masculine in Arabic (above in 6.1.4.), be it a noun or an adjective (footnote 141). So this rule might have exercised some influence on ‘serpent’ in spite of quite a semantic gap. It could rather follow the way **عَنْكَبُوتٌ** ‘spider’ had stepped, which is ‘generally feminine but sometimes masculine’ (Lane, p. 2177b; Wright I:182C, §292 f). Seeing that it is impossible to derive **-ūt** in these words from Hebrew or Aramaic, it was certainly Arabic that affixed the ending to them. It is a wonder, to be sure, what sort of semantic nuance of ‘serpent’ Arabs expected the ending to amplify.

9.1.2. **إِسْمُ الْمَرَّةِ** ‘nomen vicis’ or noun of single action¹⁹⁵⁾ (**فَعْلَةٌ**)

This is a special noun pattern made from the verbal root ‘expressing a single action’ (Fischer, §232, p. 126). For verbs of derived stems, **tā° marbūṭa** is simply added to the ordinary verbal noun: **جَلَسَةٌ** ‘a session’, **إِبْتِسَامَةٌ** ‘a smile’ (VIII).

9.1.3. Noun of small size (**فَعْلَةٌ**)

The sense of ‘oneness’ easily changes to that of smallness. This noun pattern is also made use of for nomen speciei (see 9.4.1). Some of the words produced by this function are¹⁹⁶⁾: **بِضْعَةٌ** ‘piece of meat’, **خِطَّةٌ** ‘piece of land’, **فِرْقَةٌ** ‘sect’, **قِطْعَةٌ** ‘piece’, **كِسْرَةٌ** ‘fragment’.

9.1.4. Noun of small quantity (**فُعْلَةٌ**)

When the notion of ‘oneness’ is applied to the image of quantity, this noun pattern denotes a small quantity in the way as above: **أُسْكَلَةٌ** ‘morsel’, **شُرْبَةٌ** ‘sip’, **قُبْضَةٌ**

195) ‘Nouns that express the doing of an action once’ (Wright I:123, §219), ‘nouns expressing a single action’ (Fischer, §232, p. 126), ‘to mark the action as non-reiterated’ (Yushmanov, p. 38), ‘noun of time’ (Badawi, 1.11.2, p. 89), ‘nouns of single occurrence’ (Buckley, 5.2.4, p. 38), ‘noun of instance’ (Ryding, p. 89). On the contrary, Fleisch regards this as a special case of nomen unitatis (I, §72, p. 333).

196) Wright I:175, §285; Blachère §54bis, p. 94; Buckley 5.4a, p. 51.

‘handful’¹⁹⁷).

9.1.5. Noun of small portion (فُعَالَة)

To “small portions which are broken off or thrown away” (Wright I:176, §287b), viewed as ‘one’ bit of something, this noun pattern applies¹⁹⁸): بُرَادَةٌ ‘filings of iron’, كُسَارَةٌ ‘broken pieces’, كُنَاسَةٌ ‘sweepings’, نُحَاطَةٌ ‘chips of wood’.

As scholars mention, *tā' marbūṭa* here may be a noun of unit for the collective فُعَالٌ, “indicating a larger quantity” (Wright, *ibid.*). It is, however, the reverse is likely true, i.e., it was the collective that came into being secondarily by removing *tā' marbūṭa* from فُعَالَةٌ. This is because, in the case of بُرَادَةٌ, كُنَاسَةٌ and نُحَاطَةٌ, we do not find فُعَالٌ as found for بُرَايَةٌ ‘chips, shavings’ and بُرَاءٌ.

9.2. (IIb) The individuation of common nouns

There are many common nouns in a language, but it goes without saying that nobody knows how they came into being in ancient times. It is perhaps because of this that not many scholars tried to explain the process¹⁹⁹), and admittedly there still remains one point about which opinions are divergent.

9.2.1. The derivation of common nouns

Fischer describes this briefly: “The feminine ending *-atun* affixed to adjectives transforms them into substantives that designate individuals and things, as well as abstracts (§73, p. 46) ...; In other cases, *-atun* forms words that designate things (§73b)”: دَبَّابٌ ‘creeping’, دَبَابَةٌ ‘a besieging machine’; حَسَنٌ ‘good’, حَسَنَةٌ ‘a good deed’; مُشْكِلٌ ‘obscure’, مُشْكِلَةٌ ‘a difficulty’.

Surely Brockelmann specified more clearly from what words common nouns were derived²⁰⁰), but Fischer’s broader concept holds good in Brockelmann’s samples, too: أَكِيلٌ ‘eaten’, أَكِيلَةٌ ‘a prey eaten by a wild beast’²⁰¹); فَرِيسٌ ‘devoured’, فَرِيسَةٌ ‘a prey seized by a wild beast’; رَمِيٌّ ‘fallen, shot’²⁰²), رَمِيَّةٌ ‘a game’; نَطِيعٌ ‘gored by horns’, نَطِيعَةٌ ‘a sheep killed with horns’; ذَبِيحٌ ‘slaughtered’, ذَبِيحَةٌ ‘an animal for sacrifice’; سَاقٍ ‘watering’, سَاقِيَةٌ ‘a streamlet’; مُفْرِغٌ ‘emptying’, مُفْرِغَةٌ ‘flood channel’.

Though it sounds quite a different argument, Yushmanov’s words are due here: “[*-at/-ah* is used] (5) to take the place of a neuter (unknown in the Semitic languages)

197) Wright I:175, §285; Blachère §54bis, p. 94; Buckley, 5.4b, p. 51. This noun pattern is also used for the name of color: هُمْرَةٌ ‘redness’ and زُرْقَةٌ ‘blueness’ (Fischer §77, p. 49).

198) See also Blachère §54bis, p. 94; Fischer, §77, p. 49.

199) When a certain language acquired a set of elementary features enough to be called Arabic, there must have already existed in it common nouns with *tā' marbūṭa*.

200) He wrote: “So the feminine now derives concrete individual things from the adjectives and participles denoting the general categories of notion” (GvG I:420, §227Ad). Brockelmann even adds *nomina agentis* (فُعَالٌ) as the source for common nouns (1910:82, §66c). He often calls فُعَالٌ *nomen agentis*.

201) Lane, pp. 72c and 73a.

202) Lane, p. 1163a.

خَلِيفَةً ‘creature’” (p. 38).

9.2.2. Common nouns with tā³ marbūṭa applied to a male human

A few common nouns with tā³ marbūṭa are masculine because they apply to males. To follow previous discussions, we take up here two words from Brockellman’s list (footnote 207): خَلِيفَةً ‘a successor, deputy or caliph’, طَلِيعَةً ‘scout (Lane, p. 1870a)’.

Because the word ‘caliph’ is very appealing, there have been various explanations about tā³ marbūṭa used in it. However, we rephrase the simplest words by Wright and Blachère²⁰³) as above on the ground that certain common nouns are feminine even without tā³ marbūṭa, because they apply to females: عَجُوزٌ ‘old woman’.

First of all, it is a regret that the scholars²⁰⁴), including Wright, Blachère, Buckley and Ryding, have confused this function with another. When they (خَلِيفَةً etc.) are deprived of tā³ marbūṭa, they lose the signification or have no such equivalent, while the words discussed oftenest with these, namely عَلَامَةً ‘very learned’ and رَاوِيَةً ‘narrator’, can subsist without it in the similar meaning (رَاوٍ, عَلَامٌ). In our opinion, the explanations have mostly overlooked this fact and are inevitably incompatible²⁰⁵). Hence we remove عَلَامَةً and رَاوِيَةً from this discussion and shall argue separately in another section (9.4.3).

Second, the word طَلِيعَةً ‘scout’ can be cast away from this discussion, thanks to Arab lexicographers. LA (p. 2690c) lists three synonyms of طَلِيعَةً having the same grammatical usage in common:

بَعِيَّةٌ (pl. بَعَايَا) ‘outpost, vanguard’ (Steingass, 134a),

رَبِيعَةٌ (pl. رَبَايَا) ‘watch, scout’ (Hava, p. 236a) and

شَيْفَةٌ ‘military scout’ (Hava, p. 382b).

Indeed we are fortunate that Lane summed up, under the second entry, the famous grammarian’s view applicable to them all. Here we shall quote Lane in full.

“The first (‘a scout’) is fem. because the طَلِيعَةُ is also called عَيْنٌ, and عَيْنٌ is fem.: but Sb states that this last word in the sense of طَلِيعَةُ is masc. and fem.; fem. originally, and masc. as being turned from [the signification of] a part [i.e. an eye] to [that of] the whole [person]” (Lane, p. 1008a).

In sum, Sībawayhi (Sb) says that the agreement rule of عَيْنٌ as ‘spy, scout’ is copied to طَلِيعَةُ and to its synonyms. Admittedly he neglected explicit words for tā³ marbūṭa

203) Wright (I:179, §290b γ Rem.) states: “A few nouns ending in َ ُ ِ [, and those verbal adjectives to which َ ُ ِ is added to intensify their signification,] are masc., because they apply to males: خَلِيفَةً ‘a successor or caliph’ [, عَلَامَةً ‘very learned’, رَاوِيَةً ‘traditionary’]”. Blachère wrote the same thus (§68a, p. 112): “Cependant certains substantifs, terminés en َ ُ ِ , qui désignent nettement des individus mâles, sont masculins. خَلِيفَةً ‘calife’ [, عَلَامَةً ‘savant’]”.

204) See the bracketed parts in the footnote 203. Buckley (10.2.2 a, p.120) writes: “Exceptions to this are some singular nouns which refer to male humans”, though his list is not a simple one. Ryding calls those nouns, overtly spelled with tā³ marbūṭa but actually masculine, ‘cryptomasculine nouns’ (1.1.2, p. 120).

205) Fischer is almost of the same opinion but without خَلِيفَةً: “Masculines ending in -atun that refer to persons (§73a) are treated grammatically as masculines” (§110.2, p. 69). But frankly this is a tautology.

in *طليعة*, but doubtless he says that it comes from *عَيْنٌ طليعة*. Registered in Lane (pp. 2215c-2216a), *عَيْنٌ* ‘scout, reconnoiterer’ have lived into MSA (Wehr, p. 776b).

With the basic sense of $\sqrt{\text{TL}}$ ‘to go forth, rise’, *طليع* would mean ‘a person or a group (of persons) who has gone forth or up the hills’²⁰⁶. So *عَيْنٌ طليعة* meant originally ‘a scout up the hills or a spy beyond the frontline’. All through the history of Arabic, ‘spies and scouts’ have lived alone, until in MSA *طليعة* seems to have lost the old military sense ‘scout’, inheriting instead the figurative aspect: ‘front row, foremost rank’ (Wehr, p. 661a).

Finally we now argue *خليفة* itself. Brockelmann wrote (1910:82 §66c Anm.): “Such forms are sometimes also applied to persons”²⁰⁷, which rather approaches our formulation above. On the other hand, there are scholars who think that the word was first an abstract noun which now denotes a male person²⁰⁸. Yet this is an impossible supposition, for we know nothing of such an abstract usage.

As is known, al-Qurʾān is the first document that employed this word²⁰⁹, in which *خليفة* has quite naturally the expected sense ‘a representative, successor; a substitute’, and it was only in 632, when ʿAbū Bakr became *خليفة رسول الله* after the Prophet, that the new meaning ‘caliph’ was assigned to it. Applied to the top of a Muslim society, *خليفة* in the sense of ‘caliph’ automatically denoted a male. In spite of the lack of linguistic data earlier than al-Qurʾān, we safely take this semantic development as expected and natural on the ground of usages in al-Qurʾān (see footnote 209).

Though from the post-classical Arabic, there is another word which social environments in history necessitated a priori to be masculine: *عُمْدَةٌ* ‘chief of a village’ (< prop)²¹⁰.

Seeing that it paved the way to ‘caliph’, we must ask a basic question how this

206) According to Wright (I:136B, §232 Rem. c), *فَعِيلٌ*, when derived from *transitive* verbs, has usually a *passive* sense, while there exist words of the same pattern with the meaning of *فَاعِلٌ* (transitive or intransitive): *نَصِيرٌ* ‘helper’, *مَرِيضٌ* ‘sick’ (Wright, I:186B, §297). On top of it, some of these even take objects: *إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ دُعَاءِ مَنْ دَعَاهُ* ‘God hears the prayer of him who calls upon Him’ (Wright, II:70D, §33).

207) He apparently means ‘male persons’. That is ‘common nouns derived with *tā' marbūṭa* from participles and nomina agentis’ (1910:82 §66c). His examples for this were: *خليفة*, *راوية* and a man’s name *طلحة*. For nomina agentis, see footnote 200 as well as sections 9.3.3, 1γ and 9.4.4. But first Brockelmann had thought otherwise (for ‘deteriorative’ see section 10, esp. 10.2 under ‘pejorative’): “Perhaps originally *خليفة* ‘a deputy’ and *راوية* ‘a narrator’ (beside *شاعرٌ* ‘a poet’) may also have been thought of as a deteriorative, perhaps also *يَفْعَةٌ* ‘a young man, adult’ and *طليعة* ‘a vanguard’. But what was once a contemptuous term became an honorary name as the culture progressed, which gave higher value to the occupations so called, and *خامية* ‘defender’ and *علامة* ‘erudite’, *مغيرة* ‘a warrior’...” (GvG I:420, §227 Ag). See 9.4.3. [Note 2] for more about *مغيرة*.

208) Lipiński: “*ḥalīfat*- ‘deputation’ > ‘deputy’ in Arabic” (30.1, p. 236), as also Kienast (124.3, p. 134) and Badawi (1.12.2.1, p. 92).

209) In al-Qurʾān, the word is used 9 times and signifies ‘a representative, substitute’ (as *خليفة* 2:30, 38:26) or ‘a successor’ (as *خلفاء* 7:69, 7:74, 27:62) with another plural *خلائف* perhaps for both (4 times as in 6:165, 10:73). See EQ I:276-278 and EI² IV:937a.

210) See Lane for *عُمْدَةٌ* (p. 2152a-b) where we learn details of how the figurative sense developed across gender.

word acquired the meaning ‘a representative, successor; a substitute’. We shall first look to the etymological setup of the word which underlies its basic signification ‘he who succeeds some predecessor’. With the active use of the pattern فَعِيلٌ (footnote 206) and the root √HLF ‘after’, we can procure the signification with ease.

But this signification is not the monopoly of Arabic. In sister languages (Hebrew and Aramaic), we find cognate words *ḥalīp-at employed in the documents of the first millenium BCE almost in the same semantic sphere. First from Egyptian Aramaic (412 BC): *hlypt-hm* ‘equivalent’ (Cowley 26:13, p. 89; DNWSI, p. 374), ‘their replacement’ (TADAE A6.2, line 13, pp.96 and 99), ‘substitute’ (Muraoka - Porten p. 81). But from Biblical Hebrew (Judges 14:19) comes a semantic development: *ḥālīfāh* ‘a festal (substitute) garments’ (HAL, p.306a), while in post-Biblical Hebrew we find an exact parallel to Arabic: ‘but a scholar who is dead, who will bring us *his successor* (חליפתו *ḥālīfāt-ō*), who will bring us his substitution?’ (Jerusalem Talmud, Berakhot 5c, Venice ed.; Jastrow, p. 469a; Even-Šošan, p. 397a). Modern Hebrew has incorporated both of them: *ḥālīfāh* ‘suit (of clothes); change, replacement’ (Alcalay, col. 769).

What interests us in the post-Biblical Hebrew usage is that ‘his successor’ implies a male, his predecessor being a male, though the word *ḥālīfāh* (< *ḥalīp-at) itself is feminine. This is exactly what we read in the earliest dated papyrus with diacritical dots (see Note just below). The date of the papyrus, the 1st Jumādā of 22 AH falls on March, 643 AD, that is, the last year of Umar’s caliphate but one. So in a sense it is a great blessing on us that the papyrus recorded the ordinary non-political usage ‘representative < substitute’ long after the caliphate had started.

No doubt ‘substitute or replacement’ is neutral to the gender of what is replaced by. In the Egyptian Aramaic phrase, we read ‘their (*male*) replacement (a *feminine* word)’ and the phrase in Jerusalem Talmud ‘his (*male*) successor (a *feminine* word)’. In our Arabic papyrus, two ‘representatives (both a *feminine* word)’ were ʿAbū Qīr’s two sons (*males*). Consequently, until ʿAbū Bakr became Caliph, the word خَلِيفَةٌ was quite a common noun, assuming tāʾ marbūṭa like other words for the reason argued in 9.2.1.

Incidentally, we do not know the word used in this basic sense in the text of Ibn Hišām’s *Sīrat Muḥammad Rasūl ʿAllāh* ‘The Life of Muhammad’ (8 C). Doubtless the work was composed in a certain political and social milieu, though the whole book is dedicated to the description of pre-Islamic and early Islamic events.

[Note] In 2.1., we discussed this papyrus (No. 1 = PERF No. 558, dated 643) as the first document with diacritical points. As luck would have it, it had a secular usage of خَلِيفَة registered twice. The continued part of the papyrus²¹¹) runs as follows.

(5) ... اخذنا

(6) من خلفه بدرق ابن ابو قير الاصغر ومن خلفه اصطفى ابن ابو قير الاكبر حمس شاه

5) ... We have taken

211) See Grohmann (1952:113-114). In the present-day orthography, the text runs as follows.

(5) ... اخذنا

(6) من خليفة تدرق ابن ابو قير الاصغر ومن خليفة اصطفى ابن ابو قير الاكبر خمسين شاه

- 6) from the representative of Teodharaq, younger son of ʾAbū Qīr, and from the representative of Iṣṭafan, elder son of ʾAbū Qīr, 50 sheep.

9.3. (IIc) The abstraction into one notion

This primary function covers quite a wide range of nouns and produced a great quantity of vocabularies, and once the function is fixed, it automatically brought into use: abstract nouns, verbal nouns, collective nouns and plural nouns. Needless to say, this function works with ‘oneness’ as the axis.

9.3.1. Abstract nouns

Adjectives, to which *tāʾ marbūṭa* is affixed, often becomes abstract nouns: “Adjectives that have been transformed into substantives with *-atun* are often abstract in meaning”: رَذِيلٌ ‘low, base’, رَذِيلَةٌ ‘vice’; لَائِمٌ ‘accuser’, لَائِمَةٌ ‘censure’ (Fischer, §73c, p.46), وَقَاحٌ ‘insolent’, وَقَاحَةٌ ‘insolence’; سَيِّئٌ ‘bad’, سَيِّئَةٌ ‘evil’ (Brockelmann, GvG I:418).

But there are cases in which we find a slight gap between the original adjective and the new abstract noun: فَاضِلَةٌ ‘benefit’, ذَاهِيَةٌ ‘misfortune’, هَزِيمَةٌ ‘defeat’ (GvG, *ibid.*; please refer to original adjectives.)²¹²⁾

In the case of common nouns (see 9.2.1), the notion of ‘oneness’ works toward the image of ‘one substance, one item’, while in our present case it works toward the image of ‘one common feature’²¹³⁾. Most of the scholars approve of this function²¹⁴⁾.

[Note 1] *Tāʾ marbūṭa* very often transforms *nisba*-adjectives into abstract nouns, which is called اِسْمُ اَلْكِنْفِيَّةِ ‘nomen abstractum qualitatis’: نَصْرَانِيَّةٌ ‘Christianity’ (Wright I:110, §194 and I:165, §268; Fischer, §73c, p. 46; Buckley 5.5, p. 52). This ending is very productive in modern times (قَابِلِيَّةٌ ‘aptitude’, أَكْثَرِيَّةٌ ‘majority’), but in fact Muslim scholars benefited a good deal by this method of coining new technical terms since (post-)classical days: سَلِيْقِيَّةٌ ‘natural speech manner’, هُوِيَّةٌ ‘essence’ (Fleisch, I:328).

[Note 2] Three other points are noteworthy about endings of abstract nouns (Fischer, §76, p. 48): (1) there are some pairs of a simple *tāʾ marbūṭa* and *-īya*: فُرُوسَةٌ and فُرُوسِيَّةٌ ‘knighthood’; (2) there are some words with a short *-iyatun*: كَرَاهِيَّةٌ ‘hatred’²¹⁵⁾; (3) a few abstract nouns are patterned after yet another ending *-āʾu*:

212) Fleisch (I:328) commented on what Brockelmann actually said in GvG (I:418, see just above), suggesting that فَائِدَةٌ ‘utilité, avantage’ came from فَائِدٌ ‘survenant à (avantage)’. It is in fact difficult to locate such a usage for the latter.

213) Consequently, it so happens that the distinction is very moot. Fischer takes up حَسَنَةٌ ‘good deed [Gute tat]’ from حَسَنٌ ‘good’ as a sample for the common noun (§73b, p.46; our 9.2.1), but for Brockelmann (GvG I:418) the same set is taken up as a sample for the abstract noun: حَسَنَةٌ ‘good conduct [Guttat]’.

214) Kienast (124.3, p. 134) and Ryding (1.2, p. 121) who speaks of ‘abstract concepts’.

215) Wright (I:111, §196) regards this group as one of the patterns of the verbal noun.

كِبْرِيَاءُ ‘glory, pride’ (see footnote 172).

9.3.2. Verbal nouns (nomen verbi or nomen actionis)

Certainly it is logical that the function of abstraction should cover verbal nouns and perhaps this is why Brockelmann did not mention expressly the role of *tāʾ marbūṭa* in forming verbal nouns²¹⁶). It is Fischer who stated this plainly: “The feminine ending *-atun*, in its function of forming abstracts, is also added to the morphemes listed in ... As such, they also function as verbal substantives of verbs that refer to qualities” (§75a, p. 47).

1) Verbal noun patterns with *tāʾ marbūṭa*:

The list of Wright (I:110-112, §196) enumerates 19 patterns with *tāʾ marbūṭa* among 44+4 patterns²¹⁷) in all. They are (numbers refer to those in Wright):

فَعَالَةٌ (8), فَعْلَةٌ (9), فَعْلَةٌ (10), فَعْلَةٌ (11), فَعْلَةٌ (12), فَعْلَةٌ (13), فَعْلَةٌ (13*), فَعَالَةٌ (28), فَعَالَةٌ (29), فَعَالَةٌ (30), فَعَالِيَّةٌ (31), فُعُولَةٌ (33*), فُعُولَةٌ (34), فُعُولِيَّةٌ (35), فُعُولِيَّةٌ (36), فَعِيلَةٌ (38), مَفْعَلَةٌ (42), مَفْعَلَةٌ (43), مَفْعَلَةٌ (44).

Fischer lists 12²¹⁸) (§75a, p. 47; §§228-230, pp. 124-125), but his list (§75a, p. 47) should be revised²¹⁹).

2) Verbal nouns with or without *tāʾ marbūṭa*:

As a matter of fact, however, it is by no means rare that we find a verbal noun with *tāʾ marbūṭa* coexistent with one without it. Sometimes there is a differentiation of the meaning, and at other times they seem to be interchangeable (Kienast, 124.3, p. 134)²²⁰).

جُمُودٌ ‘dryness’, جُمُودَةٌ ‘hardness’, سَلَامٌ ‘soundness, peace, greeting’, سَلَامَةٌ ‘intactness’; سَرِقٌ ‘stealing’.

3) فَعَالَةٌ (no. 29 above) nouns of trade and profession:

Among the many patterns for verbal nouns, we cannot skip over this one, for it has a very specific signification. We may term it ‘post or office’ alternatively. Yet there are cases nearer a pure verbal noun. The following shows a grouping of them²²¹).

216) Neither in the section of the feminine ending (§227A, pp. 418-421) nor in that of the infinitive (§263B, pp. 578-579).

217) Somehow Fleisch took up 14 patterns as those with *tāʾ marbūṭa* (I:329).

218) The last of his list, *fiʿalatun*, should be replaced by *faʿilatun* فَعْلَةٌ (no. 10 in Wright’s list), for the former is a pattern for the broken plural. Moreover, Wright’s list does not have فَعْلَةٌ.

219) In §75a, he states that “the feminine ending *-atun*, in its function of forming abstracts, is also added to the morphemes listed in §74” and lists the patterns. However, *faʿlun* (the first in §74) + *-at*, namely *faʿlatun*, is not found in the list of §75a. Yet he writes in §75 Note 2 that فَعْلَةٌ, فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَةٌ are the variants of فَعْلَةٌ. But the fact is that فَعْلَةٌ is not found in Wright’s list. The systematization of verbal nouns may well be different from Wright’s, but should be consistent and lucid.

220) The spelling of Kienast is partly amended, and the forms of فَعْلَةٌ (9.1.2, nomen vicis) are excluded.

221) Blachère §47h, p. 80; Buckley, 5.4f, p. 52; Fischer, §77, p. 49; Wright I:114A, §22, I:176A, §287.

- (a) Verbal noun: زِيَارَةٌ 'visiting', سِيَاسَةٌ 'policy, management', عِبَادَةٌ 'worship'.
 (b) تاجِرٌ 'merchant' > حَاجَرَةٌ 'governor' > قَائِدٌ 'leader' > حَاجَرَةٌ 'governor' > كَاتِبٌ 'writer' > نَائِبٌ 'delegate' > نِيَابَةٌ 'governor' > وَلَايَةٌ.
 (c) إِمَارَةٌ 'chief, prince' > أَمِيرٌ 'chief, prince'.
 (d) حَدَّادٌ 'blacksmith' > حَيَّاطٌ 'tailor' > خَيَّاطَةٌ 'cook' > طَبَّاحٌ 'cook' > لَبَّانٌ 'milkman' > مَلَّاحٌ 'sailor' > مِلَّاحَةٌ 'carpenter' > حَاجَرَةٌ.

[**Note**] Interestingly, the same pattern ^{فَعَالَة} (29) covers at times ‘vessels and instruments’ (Buckley, 5.4 f, p. 52). When we deem ‘profession or office’ as some function to offer a service, it is quite logical that the pattern is put to use for tools figuratively²²²):

سِقَايَةٌ ‘drinking vessel’, حَبَالَةٌ ‘snare, net’, خَزَانَةٌ ‘safe, closet’, رِحَالَةٌ ‘leather horse saddle’, وَسَادَةٌ ‘pillow’.

9.3.3. Collective (broken) plurals

It is indeed very difficult to explain why there exist nominal patterns with *tāʾ marbūṭa* among the patterns of the broken plural. Yet when we recall that a plural with a suffix *-ūna* or *-āṭun* is called an individual plural (شَجَرَاتٌ ‘trees’, a plural of the nomen unitatis شَجَرَةٌ ‘a tree’), it is quite logical that أَشْجَارٌ ‘trees’ (a pattern of the broken plurals) should be termed a ‘collective plural’ as distinct from the ‘singular collective’ شَجَرٌ ‘tree (as a genus)’²²³).

[**Note 1**] The method, however, to explain a broken plural as a collective might sound incongruous to the conventional way of teaching Arabic that regards it simply as a type of plural. It was, however, Wright who described it earlier as ‘an abstract collective’. He stated: “The former [the plurales fracti] may be styled *abstract*, the latter [those nouns which are called *أَسْمَاءُ الْجِنْسِ*, i.e. non-human collectives, see 9.1.1] *concrete collectives*” (I:234, §306 Rem.)²²⁴). For him, broken plurals are *abstract collectives*²²⁵) as against (ordinary) non-human concrete collectives (= [Fischer’s] singular collective).

The abstraction faculty of $tā^o$ marbūta unifies the members into one notion or group

222) See 12.1.1 C) for ‘noun of vessel’, 9.4.4 for ‘nouns of instruments or machines’ and 12.1.1 B) for ‘noun of instrument’.

223) See Fischer's argument in §83 and Note 1 there (p. 53). A singular collective (شَجَر 'tree') can work also in place of a collective plural 'trees' according to the context.

224) His statement remains the same since the 1st edition in spite of some emendations (1st ed. §306 Rem., p. 189; 2nd ed. §306 Rem., p. 262).

225) Incidentally Fischer employs the same term. Wright's term is broader and covers all the broken plurals, while Fischer's covers only what are mentioned in (2) just below.

and brings a collective (broken) plural into being²²⁶⁾. There are two slightly different methods of applying *tāʾ marbūṭa* to form these plurals. It is to be admitted that the abstractive effect of *tāʾ marbūṭa* is clearer in the case of (1), for in the other the effect is also borne by the change of nominal stems (pattern), but it is not known in which of the two this function originated first.

(1) Adjectives with *tāʾ marbūṭa* used for humans

- (α) A *nisba*-adjective²²⁷⁾: صُوفِيَّةٌ ‘Sufis’, مَالِكِيَّةٌ ‘Malikites’.
- (β) An active participle²²⁸⁾: رَاجِلَةٌ ‘pedestrians’, سَابِلَةٌ ‘passers-by’, عَامَّةٌ ‘people’, مُسْلِمَةٌ ‘Muslims’.
- (γ) Nomen agentis (فَعَالٌ)²²⁹⁾: حَمَّارَةٌ ‘donkey drivers’, حَمَّالَةٌ ‘porters’, خَبَّازَةٌ ‘bakers’, رَجَالَةٌ ‘pedestrians’, سَيَّارَةٌ ‘a band of men in a caravan’.

(2) ‘Abstract collectives’

According to Wright, the total number of nominal patterns of the broken plural amounts to 29 (I:199-226, §304), out of which 7 patterns (here written with Wright’s Roman numeral) have *tāʾ marbūṭa* as a feminine suffix. Fischer says that the following 5 patterns²³⁰⁾ produces collective plurals, which work in actuality as (broken) plurals, and he calls them ‘abstract collectives’²³¹⁾.

- (α) فِعْلَةٌ (XII): إِخْوَةٌ ‘brothers’, نِسْوَةٌ ‘women’, صِبْيَةٌ ‘boys’.
- (β) فِعْلَةٌ (XI): قِرْدَةٌ ‘apes’, فَيْلَةٌ ‘elephants’, شَيْخَةٌ ‘old men’.

[Note 2] Brockelmann²³²⁾ quotes a very strange noun, whose *tāʾ marbūṭa* is due to none other than this function: كَمٌّ ‘truffle’, كُمَّةٌ ‘truffles’²³³⁾. Fischer does not list فِعْلَةٌ, but he did not have to, for it is only too evident that its word formation originated as كِمَاءٌ when we see other terms of the same botanical species: جَبٌّ ‘red truffle’, جِبَاءٌ or جِبَاءَةٌ ‘red truffles’ (Lane, p.372c), فَقْعٌ ‘white truffle’, فَقْعَةٌ ‘white truffles’ (Lane p. 2428a), غَرْدٌ ‘small bad truffle’, غَرْدَةٌ ‘small bad truffles’ (Lane, p. 2245c).

- (γ) فَعْلَةٌ (IX): طَلَبَةٌ ‘students’, بَاعَةٌ ‘sellers’, سَادَةٌ ‘chiefs’.
- (δ) فَعَالَةٌ (XXVII): حِجَارَةٌ ‘stones’, صِحَابَةٌ (> صَحَابَةٌ) ‘companions’.
- (ε) فُعُولَةٌ (XXVI): عُمُومَةٌ ‘uncles’, بُعُولَةٌ ‘husbands’, غُلُوفَةٌ ‘fodder’.

226) Kienast (124.3, p. 134) thinks that collective plurals came into being “aus formal ‘femininen’ Abstraktbildungen”.

227) Wright (I:232, §305 Rem. d); Brockelmann 1910:82; Blachère, §58, p. 101 and §122, p. 198. They may be ‘Sufism’ and ‘Malikite school of the Islamic Law’. If not post-classical, حَرَامِيَّةٌ ‘robbers’ is a good sample for this usage.

228) Wright (I:233, §305 Rem. d); Brockelmann 1910:82; Blachère, §122, p. 198.

229) Wright (I:233, §305 Rem. d); Brockelmann 1910:82; Blachère, §122, p. 198. See footnote 207.

230) To Fischer’s five (α - ε) enumerated here are added two more which he takes up elsewhere. To cover all of Wright’s 7 entries, we shall list them as 3-α and β in the next subsection (3).

231) Fischer §64a, p. 39 and §89b, p. 57; Buckley p. 121.

232) GvG I:418-419, §227 Ab and I:427, § 228 ba.

233) Lane, p. 2629a. WKAS (I:346b) explains كَمٌّ as nomen unitatis of the collective كُمَّةٌ.

(3) Other collective plural patterns

- (α) أَفْعَلَةٌ (XV) one of the plurals of paucity²³⁴): أَجْنِحَةٌ ‘wings’, أَدْوِيَةٌ ‘remedies’, آلهَةٌ ‘gods’, أَوْدِيَةٌ ‘wadis’, أنديةٌ ‘clubs’, أئمةٌ ‘imams’.
- (β) فُعْلَةٌ (X) the plural pattern for the active participle of III-weak roots denoting humans²³⁵): قُضَاةٌ ‘judges’, رُؤَاةٌ ‘reciters’, رُمَاةٌ ‘archer’.

[**Note 3**] About *tāʾ marbūṭa* in this pattern فُعْلَةٌ (X), Fischer says that these are “compensatory forms with the feminine ending *-atun*” (§69 Note 3., p. 44). In sum, Fischer’s remark could efface this pattern فُعْلَةٌ (X). We shall return to this *tāʾ marbūṭa* in 11.4.2.1, 2) again²³⁶).

- (γ) مَفْعَلَةٌ (42), مَفْعِلَةٌ (43), مَفْعِلَةٌ (44):

Properly speaking, these noun patterns with *tāʾ marbūṭa* belong to *maṣḍar mīmīy*²³⁷), and here are their secondary use as collective plurals²³⁸): مَشِيخَةٌ, مَشِيخَةٌ, مَشِيخَةٌ ‘old men, chiefs’.

9.4. (IId) The specification of being one-of-a-kind (matchless or rare)

All the functions grouped into this category are ultimately ascribed to ‘oneness’ of *tāʾ marbūṭa*. There are two methods for *tāʾ marbūṭa* to participate in the word formation. In one method, it is found in fixed noun patterns to denote either phenomena limited almost to a single very rare case or things that always do one thing. In the other, it is used with several noun patterns to express singularity, in intensity or exaggeration. Some of the latter are very productive while the former ceased being so.

9.4.1. إِسْمُ النَّوْعِ ‘nomen speciei’ or noun of manner (فُعْلَةٌ)

While the Latin term is equal to the Arabic original, Wright called it ‘nouns of kind’ (I:123, §220) and Blachère ‘noms de manière’ (§54bis, p. 94), and other scholars

234) Wright (I:234B, §307; 212B, §304) and Fischer, §100, p. 64.

235) Wright, I:208B, §304 and Fischer, §90, p. 58.

236) Yet elsewhere he says (§73 Note 1., p. 46): “In its function of signifying the ‘specific’ [see 7.5 and footnote 183], *-atun* is found in ... *fuʿalun*, *fuʿcālun* (§121)”. In §121 (p. 75), he discusses a group of adjectives, including فُعْلٌ and فُعَالٌ, which deny syntactic agreement. In other words, he seems to regard the latter usage (the denial of concord) as innate to these nominal patterns, and explains here that the forms such as رُمَاةٌ with *tāʾ marbūṭa* take it for the ‘specific’ reason, i.e. they now take *tāʾ marbūṭa* (فُعْلَةٌ and فُعَالَةٌ) to form collective plurals (رُمَاةٌ) and signal that this temporary function does not conform to their innate usage. This statement should frankly be canceled. What he stated in Note 3 above is enough. Also, we could not locate the corresponding remark in Wright’s grammar except *mifʿalun*, *mifʿālun* and *mifʿīlun* (I:138B, §233; 186C, §297c). The rest of the patterns we could not locate include those discussed here: *fuʿalun*, *fuʿcālun*, *fuʿcālun*, *faʿālun*, *fīʿālun*.

237) Verbal nouns with prefix *ma-* in Wright (I:112C, §196 Rem.) correspond to Fischer’s verbal substantives formed by *ma-* (§66b, p. 41; §230, p. 125). Numbers are those allotted to the pattern in Wright.

238) Brockelmann, 1910:70, §56a; Wright, I:225A, §304 Rem. a; Fischer, §78b Note 4, p. 50 and §89 Note 4, p. 57. Wright listed all the 3 forms (42-44), but Fischer excluded مَفْعِلَةٌ (43), though as a verbal noun he listed them all (§230, p. 125).

chose either or mixed them (see footnote 239).

The function of this nominal pattern is “to express manner of action”²³⁹): جَلَسَةً, كَتَبَةً, مَشَى, رَكَبَ, ‘the way or manner of sitting, writing, walking, riding a horse’. Ordinarily, one does not need such words. Nevertheless, they are in need when one has to describe a very peculiar and striking manner of someone’s doing something, be it worthy of blame or of praise. Considering that this noun pattern is used at the same time for ‘noun of small size’ (see 9.1.3), we can infer that the pattern فَعْلَةٌ invokes the sense of ‘oneness’.

9.4.2. إِسْمُ الْكَثْرَةِ ‘nomen abundantiae’ or noun of abundance (مُفْعَلَةٌ)²⁴⁰

Very particular term as it is in the grammar, this noun pattern accounts for the role of tā° marbūṭa quite well. مُفْعَلَةٌ is composed of مَفْعَلٌ (a well-known pattern for the noun of place) and tā° marbūṭa, which automatically signify ‘a very peculiar place where something abounds only at this place’: مَأْسَدَةٌ ‘a place abounding in lions’.

As scholars say²⁴¹), the point lies in this, that the pattern works only on the denominative roots. They are, so to speak, “a mere variety of the nouns of place” (Wright I:148, §247) and this explains why مَكْتَبَةٌ ‘library’ and مَقْبَرَةٌ ‘cemetery’ are ordinary nouns of place.

9.4.3. Tā° marbūṭa for emphasis (تَاءٌ مَرْبُوطَةٌ لِلْمُبَالَغَةِ) on adjectives

Admittedly, the adjective group we discuss here lacks a common name, but for the reasons stated in the footnote²⁴²), we should like to term this function ‘tā° marbūṭa for emphasis on adjectives’. For clarity’s sake, α shall mean the adjective (patterns) with this tā° marbūṭa, while β the adjective (patterns) that can take this tā° marbūṭa. Then we can name α ‘an emphasized adjective’ and β ‘an original adjective’. As it turns up below, α cannot exist without β , whereas β can work in its original pattern.

Seeing that, however, this is neither a commonplace rule in the grammar nor is it

239) Yushmanov, p.38. ‘Nouns of kind or manner’ (Fischer §77, p.48; Buckley 5.2.5, p. 41), ‘nouns of manner’ (Badawi, p. 90). Brockelmann writes the Latin only (1910:71, §56c).

240) Fischer says that this pattern sometimes “has the meaning of a noun indicating cause (*nomina causae*)” (§78b, Note 4., p. 50), whereas Wright (I:148D, §247 Rem. c) doubts such a definition. We follow the latter. Those interested in the quadriliteral nouns, e.g. ‘the place where many foxes live’, consult Wright.

241) Wright I:109, §194; Brockelmann 1910:70, §56a; Blachère §55bis, p. 96; Fischer §78b, p. 50.

242) Wright introduced the Arabic term لِلْمُبَالَغَةِ “to signify intensiveness” (I:139, §233 Rem. c), followed by Blachère who said “un tā° marbūṭa, qui leur ajoute un sens d’intensité” (§52 f, p. 91), while Fischer wrote ‘intensive adjectives’ without further reference to the term (§73a, Note 1., p. 46). Brockelmann applied the term لِلْمُبَالَغَةِ to فَعَالٌ and called it ‘Steigerungsformen [enhanced forms]’ (1910:68, §55) but فَعَالَةٌ ‘Verstärkungsformen [intensive forms]’ (§66 c, p. 82). On the strength of Lane (p. 251b), we should like to interpret the term as ‘emphasis’ as Badawi termed “the emphatic pattern *fa‘āla* فَعَالَةٌ” (1.12.2.1, p. 92) and said: “the fem. of these occur for even greater emphasis” (1.8.1.1, p. 49). As to the term مُبَالَغَةٌ, we need a caution. Wright calls 3) فَعِيلٌ and 4) فَعُولٌ (numbers refer to those in the list just below) أَثْبَتَةُ الْمُبَالَغَةِ ‘intensive forms’ (I:136, §232 Rem. d), while he names 6) فَعَالٌ ‘the noun of intensiveness’ إِسْمُ الْمُبَالَغَةِ (I:137, §233).

observed often in MSA, many grammars do not touch upon this function and the varying approach among scholars has not been subjected to rigorous scrutiny. As is evident in the examples below, some of the ‘emphasized adjectives’ (α) have often been made to serve whimsical purposes by scholars. This obliged us to put things in order first.

Now, apart from the nomenclature, scholars agree on the emphasizing function of *tāʾ marbūṭa* affixed to the emphatic adjective patterns. However, they argued two different things in one reference, as we pointed out earlier: *خَلِيفَةٌ* on the one hand, and *عَلَّامَةٌ* ‘very learned’ and *رَاوِيَةٌ* ‘narrator’ on the other (see 9.2.2). So we removed the latter two from the discussion of the former, because *tāʾ marbūṭa* in the latter two belong to the emphasized adjectives (α) we now argue.

The most important point in our argument is that the addition of *tāʾ marbūṭa* does not affect gender agreement, i.e., the emphasized adjectives (α) remain masculine with *tāʾ marbūṭa*²⁴³). To put it otherwise, *tāʾ marbūṭa* adds nothing to the gender of the word but the sense of being ‘one-of-a-kind’.

The emphatic adjective patterns are 12 in all (Wright I:139-140, §233 Rem. c). Out of these, we shall take up²⁴⁴) those needed for discussion or for a fresh check, because some works have taken them up out of tune, improperly or only superficially, as stated above. Examples are cited from Wright (*ibid.*) unless otherwise noted.

The examples below are emphasized adjectives (α) that have ‘an original adjective’ (β). As a matter of fact, however, in the case of the pattern 2), we find many words lacking in the original form. For example, *سُؤْلَةٌ* ‘asking often’ and *فُؤْلَةٌ* ‘loquacious’ have no corresponding *فُعْلٌ*. Perhaps these adjectives came into being by direct analogy with others that have both with and without. Dictionaries witness many words of this kind. The same is true of four samples in brackets (the pattern 2 below), taken from Fleisch (I:327, §71g = 461, § 98j) who took them from Barth (§27c, pp. 40-41). These words (α without β) testify eloquently that *tāʾ marbūṭa* for emphasis on adjectives had allured many Arab writers to coin new words, and grammars ought to describe this as a given fact.

- 1) *فَاعِلٌ* *خَائِنَةٌ* ‘faithless’, *رَاوِيَةٌ* ‘transmitter, relater’, *نَابِغَةٌ* ‘distinguished man’, *طَاغِيَةٌ* ‘tyrant’²⁴⁵), *حَامِيَةٌ* ‘rear-guard, garrison’²⁴⁶).
- 2) *فُعْلٌ* *حُطْمَةٌ* ‘breaking in pieces’, *عُدْرَةٌ* ‘treacherous’²⁴⁷), *رَجُلٌ* *نُكْحَةٌ* ‘a man

243) We might recall the diagram (see 7.5) and let us presume that X is ‘an original adjective’ (β) of a certain pattern and Y is ‘an emphasized adjective’ (α). Since X is masculine, it is out of question that Y should change gender and remain masculine even with *tāʾ marbūṭa*.

244) The remaining 5 patterns are: 7) *فَعِيلٌ*, 8) *فَعُولٌ*, 9) *فَاعُولٌ*, 10) *مِفْعَالٌ*, 12) *تَفْعَالٌ* and for examples of them, see Wright, *ibid.*

245) Buckley says “the masculine sometimes occurs with *tāʾ marbūṭa*” (5.2.8, p. 45) and quotes these two words saying: “some singular nouns which refer to male humans” (10.2.2 a, p.120).

246) The last example is from Brockelmann (GvG I:420, §227 Ag). See footnote 207 for the context of Brockelmann’s explanation.

247) See Wright I:134, §232, no. 8 and dictionaries such as Hava (p. 518a).

vehement in coitus'²⁴⁸); [سُخْرَةٌ 'scoffing', هَذَرَةٌ 'talkative', لَمَزَةٌ 'reproachful', هُمَزَةٌ 'reproachful (backbiter)'²⁴⁹].

3) فَعِيلٌ كَرِيمَةٌ 'noble'²⁵⁰.

4) فَعُولٌ كَذُوبَةٌ 'lying', مَلُوءَةٌ 'tired, weary'.

5) فَعَالٌ عَلَامَةٌ 'very learned', فَوَالٌ 'very talkative', رَحَّالٌ 'great traveler'.

6) فُعَالٌ لُقَاعَةٌ 'humbugger', كُرَامَةٌ 'noble'.

11) تَفْعَالٌ تَفْعِيلٌ, تَفْعَالٌ تَفْعِيلٌ, تَرَعَابَةٌ تَرَعَابَةٌ 'timid'²⁵¹, تَرَعِيَّةٌ 'a good herdsman of camels (> a simpleton)'²⁵².

Judging from his examples رَاوِيَةٌ, عَلَامَةٌ (§73a, p. 46) and his comment (*fu^calun*, *fu^cālun*, note 1, p. 46)²⁵³, Fischer seems to admit only 4 as our emphasized adjective patterns with tā³ marbūṭa (α): 1) فَاعِلَةٌ, 2) فُعَلَةٌ, 5) فَعَالَةٌ and 6) فُعَالَةٌ. He comments on the two patterns (1 and 5) met with commonly: “-atun that has transformed an adjective into a substantive indicates ‘one who practices an occupation in an exemplary manner’: رَاوِيَةٌ, عَلَامَةٌ” (§73a, p. 46). His words conforms exactly with our understanding that tā³ marbūṭa denotes the sense ‘being one-of-a-kind’.

[Note 1] As regards يَفْعَةٌ ‘adolescent, grown-up’, quoted by Brockelmann (GvG I:421, §227 Ag)²⁵⁴, we count it as belonging to group 1) فَاعِلَةٌ, assuming that the current form resulted from the change يَفْعَةٌ > يَفْعَةٌ. Lane lists يَفْعٌ = يَفْعٌ = يَفْعَةٌ = يَفْعَافٌ (p. 3063c) while LA writes: يَفْعٌ: شَابٌ ... وَيَفْعَةٌ: ... (p. 4963b). These testify that يَفْعَةٌ is nothing but يَفْعَةٌ in disguise. At the same time, the signification suits the sense of ‘one-of-a-kind’: ‘grown-up’ = ‘worth one membership equal to respectable men of the tribe’.

[Note 2] Without Arab lexicographers, we could not but list مُغِيرَةٌ ‘warrior (*Krieger*)’, taken up by Brockelmann with يَفْعَةٌ (footnote 207), under 1) above, though it is from the derived stem. LA writes (p. 3314c): وَالْمُغِيرَةُ وَالْمُغِيرَةُ الْحَيْلُ الَّتِي تُغِيرُ, ‘muḡīra or

248) Lane, p. 2848b. Brockelmann quotes this as a deteriorative (GvG I:420, §227 f). See also 10.1.

249) Fleisch took them as pejoratives (see 10.2). For the last هُمَزَةٌ (I:327), read هُمَزَةٌ. See footnote 297.

250) Wright (I:139, §233 Rem. c) lists only two examples for فَعِيلٌ, and we could not find an original adjective (β) for one of them: عَقِيلَةٌ ‘noble, excellent’. For the other كَرِيمَةٌ, we found: فَهُوَ كَرِيمٌ وَكَرِيمَةٌ (LA, p. 3861a). So such a paucity of the pattern 3) فَعِيلٌ in the function of ‘emphatic adjective patterns with tā³ marbūṭa’ makes it impossible to account for the setup of words like خَلِيفَةٌ by way of it (like ‘caliph, successor < *the very person who succeeds someone’), even if they conform to the semantic notion ‘one-of-a-kind’.

251) GvG I:420, §227 f. See footnote 252. Kienast (124.3, p. 134) also says this is a deteriorative.

252) See Lane, p. 1110b. Brockelmann’s transcription *tar-tyāt* (GvG I:420) was corrected. See footnote 251. He chose this for a deteriorative (GvG I:420, §227 f). Also, according as Wright (I:139D, §233 Rem. c) points out, the adjective pattern for this group (11) should be modified to include this as we did here. We find تَرَعَابَةٌ and تَرَعِيَّةٌ in Lane, *ibid*.

253) Fischer writes: “In its function of signifying the ‘specific’ [see 7.5], -atun is found in intensive adjectives of the morpheme categories *fu^calun*, *fu^cālun*.”

254) In the section cited, Brockelmann regarded tā³ marbūṭa in this word as that of the deteriorative, while in GvG I:348-9 (§132a-b) he took يَفْعَةٌ as a compensated form of يَفْعَافٌ. See footnote 294 about this word.

migīra is raiding horsemen' with *حَيْلٌ مُغِيرَةٌ* 'raiding horses or horsemen' four times in the same entry (also Lane, p. 2308b). About the gender of *حَيْلٌ*, Lane says it is a quasi-plural (p. 835b), which refers us to the rule in Wright (I:179A, §290 a. (ε)). In MSA, *مُغِيرٌ* 'assailant' is singular without *tā' marbūṭa* (Wehr, p. 805a). Then it is no wonder to find *مغيرة* in the lineage of the person who inscribed on Jabal Usays (528 AD; see Ap4 in Appendix). Also, the following verse of the contemporary pre-Islamic poet will help us imagine what role *مُغِيرَةٌ* had played in their social circumstance:

وَمُغِيرٍ سَوَّمَ الْجُرَادِ وَزَعْنُهَا
locusts, have I restrained!' (line 20 of the poem by Ta'labā bn Ṣu'ayr, 6 C, No. 24 of *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt* in Lyall, vol. 1, p. 261; vol. 2, p. 87).

9.4.4. Nouns of instruments or machines (فَعَالَةٌ)

This noun pattern designates an instrument or machine that performs a specific task "regularly and constantly" (Wright I:176, §288)²⁵⁵. They serve only one service at all times, and needless to say, their function matches the notion 'one-of-a-kind': *بِرَائَةٌ* 'pencil sharpener', *ثَلَاجَةٌ*, *بِرَادَةٌ* 'refrigerator', *دَرَّاجَةٌ* 'bicycle', *رَشَّاشَةٌ* 'perfume spray', *سَجَّادَةٌ* 'prayer rug', *سَيَّارَةٌ* 'car', *غَسَّالَةٌ* 'washing machine', *فَتَّاحَةٌ* 'can opener', *كَنَّاسَةٌ* 'broom, cleaner', *مُحَايَةٌ* 'eraser', *نَشَّافَةٌ* 'dryer', *نُظَّارَةٌ* 'glasses'.

One as it is in the nominal pattern on the surface, the gender of the word in this function is feminine, whereas that of 5) *فَعَالَةٌ* in the preceding section (9.4.3 (*tā' marbūṭa* for emphasis on adjectives')) is masculine²⁵⁶.

[Note] Wright is of the opinion that this usage (instruments or machines) is the original of the pattern *فَعَالَةٌ*, for he writes (I:177, §288 end): "Hence the tropical application of this form to persons, as an intensive (§233, rem. c)". But in the section he referred to, he discussed an important function of *tā' marbūṭa* as a whole applicable to many other patterns and this obliges us to refute his opinion. If he should speak of a tropical application, it is contrariwise, for the difference in gender agreement between the two usages accounts for everything²⁵⁷.

10. (III) The Specification of Affective Emotion

One sometimes needs vocabularies that can express one's emotion directly, affection or aversion. We should like to discuss now the function of *tā' marbūṭa* that adds to nouns this affective emotion in two different ways: 1) diminutive, and 2) pejorative. It would be possible to analyze these functions from the viewpoint of 'oneness' (section 9) as before, but scholars were indifferent to the terminology. A

255) See also Blachère §52 f, p. 92; Buckley 5.4d, p. 51; Badawi 1.11.2, p. 89; Ryding 5.2, p. 88.

256) In the same section (Wright I:176, §288), he says that the pattern also signifies "the place where something is constantly obtained or prepared". Being mostly obsolete in MSA, however, they are explainable when we regard them as large instruments or containers: *مَلَاخَةٌ* 'plaster kiln', *جَصَّاصَةٌ* 'salt mine'. See 9.3.2 Note for 'vessels and instruments' and 12.1.1 B) for 'noun of instrument'.

257) In all likelihood, this remark is a slip of Wright's pen.

word labeled as ‘pejorative’ is called ‘deteriorative’ or ‘augmentative’ elsewhere. Be the term what it may, we frankly wonder what is the difference between them. Wright’s words about diminutives (فُعَيْلٌ) for endearment, contempt and enhancement also hold good here (I:166C, §269 Rem.a)²⁵⁸.

In contrast, we list here very distinct usages based explicitly on a particular emotion or feeling. Certainly words in this section still used in MSA are not so many. Still, we should like to account for this function of tāʾ marbūṭa in two terms above, and to collect the remaining usages of the word formation with tāʾ marbūṭa.

10.1. (IIIa) The diminutive

Brockelmann, who left great works both in Semitic and Arabic studies, found nothing particular in the ‘diminutive’ marked by tāʾ marbūṭa (not by the pattern فُعَيْلٌ). Indeed he began his words abruptly: “As the unit noun and the diminutive are formed by the same ending in Ethiopic²⁵⁹, so also in Arabic sometimes ...” (GvG I:420, §227 e): طَاحُونٌ ‘a mill’, طَاحُونَةٌ ‘small mill’²⁶⁰; دُكَّانٌ ‘bench, shop’, دُكَّانَةٌ ‘small shop’²⁶¹.

In this context, he listed only these samples, but we find others elsewhere. In the last place of the discussion of the feminine ending *-at*, he tried to argue quite another thing, the ‘deteriorative’ usage of the diminutive²⁶². Granted that the diminutive logically connotes some decreasing value, we are of the opinion that the term ‘diminutive’ can cover his ‘deteriorative’ and this is why we list them together. They are (GvG I:421, §227 h): سَمَاوَةٌ ‘tent, roof’²⁶³ from سَمَاءٌ ‘sky’, شَمْسَةٌ ‘a parasol’ from شَمْسٌ ‘the sun’, نَعْلَةٌ ‘a metal at the lower end of the scabbard’ from نَعْلٌ ‘a sandal’, طَرِيقَةٌ ‘a streak’ from طَرِيقٌ ‘a way’.

10.2. (IIIb) The pejorative

It is to be admitted that Brockelmann did not use this term but we should like to

258) The term ‘affective’ has been taken from Fleisch’s wording: “Le suffixe *-at*, suffixe du langage affectif” (I:460, §98 h). Also Fleisch explains about this emotion: “Le diminutif ne fait pas difficulté: par lui-même il indique quelque chose d’amointri, de petit, d’inférieur (avec les nuances affectives qu’il entraîne). Cette petitesse facilement peut se ranger dans la moindre valeur” (I:326, §71 f).

259) See now footnote 184.

260) GvG (I:420) quotes the latter after the Syrian dialect. Barthélemy says the former is ‘a water mill’ and the latter ‘a hand mill’ (p. 472). Though most dictionaries describe the two alike (Lane, p. 1832a), the illustration for the latter in Was (2011, p. 572b) is unmistakably a hand mill. This is why we quote it as non-colloquial.

261) Unable to identify the sense Brockelmann cites (‘Vorhalle’ for *dukkānat*, GvG I:420) from the Syrian dialect, we list here from Modern Standard Arabic (Wehr, p. 333a). As to the Syrian dialect, Barthélemy (pp. 246-247) gives us their corresponding forms: *dakkān* ‘a shop’, *dekkēnē* ‘a pretty small shop’.

262) By the term ‘deteriorative’ Brockelmann tried to show: “Also originally as deterioratives are meant the derivations with *at*, first from limbs to designate an instrument that serves as a substitute for them, then more generally from objects to designate something new, in some of which the diminutive meaning still clearly stands out. In Arabic this use is still rare” (GvG I:421, §227 h).

263) Most of the dictionaries list ‘tent’ (Hava, p. 338a; Fischer, §69 b, p. 43) but Lane (p. 1434c) and others register: ‘the ceiling or roof’.

collect such examples still left, with nowhere to go, and to rename them as ‘pejorative’ because the term is much simpler²⁶⁴).

As seen in the list, they are made up of two noun patterns, which are paralleled by the corresponding word without *tāʾ marbūṭa*. First Brockelmann collected them (GvG I:420, §227f)²⁶⁵ and Fleisch added some. The latter wrote: “Et la liste n’est pas close” (I:461, footnote 1; see also I:327), suggesting that the following is to be added to Wright’s list (see 9.4.3). But insufficient testimonies persuade us to keep them out of the list and to accommodate them under this term used once for discussion.

- 1) *فَعْلَةٌ* for *فَعْلٌ*: *كَاءٌ* for *كَاءٌ* ‘cowardly’; *كَيْفَةٌ* for *كَيْءٌ* ‘faint-hearted’; *رَبْعَةٌ* ‘of medium height’²⁶⁶.
- 2) *فِعْلَةٌ* for *فِعْلٌ*: *إِمْرَةٌ* for *إِمْرٌ* ‘foolish, silly’; *إِمْعَةٌ* for *إِمْعٌ* ‘silly, stupid’.

11. (IV) *Tāʾ Marbūṭa* used for Compensation

11.1. The role in phonology: “Compensatory *Tāʾ Marbūṭa*”

As compared with ‘compensatory lengthening’ in linguistic studies, the term ‘compensatory *tāʾ marbūṭa*’ should sound less elaborate. Quite new as well as quite old (see 11.2), we should like to employ this term to designate the phonological phenomenon discussed in this part of our work. Seeing that the notion has a good ground in the traditional Arabic grammar (see 11.3), the term should be revived in the Arabic studies.

Tāʾ marbūṭa (-at), made up of a vowel and a consonant (-VC-), is able to help constituting a new syllable. Namely, it can add one syllable when some other phonetic unit is felt lost from a word pattern of a certain phonetic length. As stated above (section 7.6), *tāʾ marbūṭa* plays an important role to fill in the phonological loss for verbal nouns and for common nouns.

11.2. The compensatory function of -at in Semitic studies

It was Barth who first put forward the theory of “an ancient law of compensation” in his study of the word formation in Semitic languages:

Instead of a vowel lengthening, through which abstract nouns and infinitives come into being, the form can also remain un-lengthened, but then it needs must take the feminine ending (1894, pp. XIII-XIV, tentative transl.).

and he called these forms “compensatives” for short, which take a feminine ending -at according to his law (p. XIV)²⁶⁷. In his understanding, compensation is explained

264) Brockelmann discussed the samples below in his ‘deteriorative’ group (GvG I:420, §227f) with some others which we transferred to section 9.4.3 above.

265) Kienast (124.3, pp. 133-134) also wrote: “*Deminutiva* (arabisch auch *Deteriorativa*)”.

266) This word lacks its corresponding *فَعْلٌ*. About the derivation of this sense from ‘four’, see ‘square-built, stocky’ (Wehr, p. 373b). *رَبَّاعٌ* ‘boxer, wrestler, weight lifter’.

267) So far as Arabic is concerned, Barth quoted verbal nouns *زَلْزَالٌ* for *زَلْزَعٌ*, *تَفْعِيلٌ* for *تَفْعِيلٌ* and a plural pattern *فَعَالِلٌ* for *فَعَالِلٌ* with other examples (pp. XIV).

thus: between زَلْزَالٌ *zalzāl-un* and زَلْزَلَةٌ *zalzal-at-un* ‘earthquake’, the vowel shortening ($\bar{a} > a$ in the latter) is compensated by the addition of *-at*. Brockelmann summed up Barth’s study in his words (GvG, I:73) that the vowel lengthening and the feminine ending go together as parallel means of word formation²⁶⁸⁾, and added another case of verbal nouns of IVth and Xth stems for II-w/y verbs to those quoted by Barth²⁶⁹⁾.

As stated above, compensatory lengthening is a term used often in historical linguistics, according to which lengthening is known in two types: 1) of a vowel due to a consonant elision²⁷⁰⁾; 2) of a consonant (consonant doubling) due to the shortening of a long vowel²⁷¹⁾. It is quite natural that both the vowel shortening and the consonant dropping needs to be compensated. Seen thus, *tāʾ marbūʿa* does quite a good job of compensation in Arabic.

11.3. *Tāʾ Marbūʿa* for “compensation” among Arab grammarians

When it comes to Arabic, the first thing we do is to consult *Sībawayhi*. Then as soon as we turn several pages, gratefulness fills us to find his answer in the briefest and clearest phrase.

[vol. 1:25]²⁷²⁾

وَالْعَوَضُ قَوْلُهُمْ: زَنَادِقَةٌ وَزَنَادِيقٌ، وَفَرَاذِنَةٌ وَفَرَاذِينٌ، حَذَفُوا الْيَاءَ وَعَوَّضُوا الْهَاءَ.

[tentative translation]

“and the compensation is their [people’s] saying: زَنَادِقَةٌ *zanādiq-at* and زَنَادِيقٌ *zanādīq*, and فَرَاذِنَةٌ *farāzīn-at* and فَرَاذِينٌ *farāzīn*²⁷³⁾. They elided *yāʾ* (-ī-) and compensated with *hāʾ* (ة, -at).”

[comments]

Comparing this passage with that in [vol. 2:38b] (section 4.1), we find the phrase very much alike. The difference is the word for ‘compensation’. Above he used مُعَاقَبَةٌ ‘alternation’, while here he chose the direct equivalent عَوَضٌ. Given that the frequency of the former is only two²⁷⁴⁾, the term for this phenomenon is no

268) For this reason Brockelmann (GvG, I:348-349) compares its function to that of vicarage. Fleisch also said: “c’est-à-dire *-at* utilisé: pour établir en trilitarité l’équilibre syllabique d’un mot bilitère ou dans une équivalence syllabique” (I:456).

269) Brockelmann (GvG, I:349). At the same time, he states that the historical relationship of these pairs was perhaps a reversed one, i.e., the feminine ending, having been reduced for reasons uncontrollable any more now, was compensated by the vowel lengthening (pp. 73 and 349). See also Fleisch I:457, footnote 2.

270) A sample from Biblical Hebrew: **hāʾ-ʾāb* > *hāʾ-āb* ‘the father’ (Blau 2010:83, 3.3.3.1.6).

271) Again from Biblical Hebrew: *gaḏōl-ā* ‘big (f.)’ but *ʾāḏumm-ā* ‘red (f.)’ (HAL Lief. 1, p. 14b; Blau 1976:73, 40.12).

272) = Derenbourg 1:7. Since *Hārūn* forgot indexing this word, we relied on *Troupeau* (p. 150) for the location based on *Derenbourg*’s edition. This is the second use of the word by *Sībawayhi*.

273) Singular فَرَزَانٌ ‘queen in chess’. For the other, see comments on the passage from vol. 2:38b cited in 4.1 above.

274) 1:188 and 2:38 according to *Troupeau*.

doubt the latter, as we saw in later lexicons above.

Following this, Yushmanov took up this function of *tāʾ marbūṭa* (pp. 38-39): “(4) to complement the weak radicals, as in *ʾiqāmatun* ‘erection’ (type *ʾiqṭāl* from root QWM), *tarbiyatun* ‘rearing, upbringing, education’ (type *taqtīl* from root RBW),”²⁷⁵⁾

We have seen, in Yushmanov’s examples, that compensatory *tāʾ marbūṭa* working on verbal nouns is well-known, as Blachère also wrote: “à équilibrer des noms verbaux anormaux *إِجَارَةٌ*” (§122, p. 198), while it works likewise on common nouns if need be, just as Fischer mentioned (§69 Note 3., p. 44): “Sometimes, in III-weak roots compensatory forms with the feminine ending *-atun* occur ...” (see 11.4.2).

Inasmuch as the former cases are known better, we shall first take up the opposite case (common nouns).

11.4. Compensatory *tāʾ marbūṭa* with common nouns

As a matter of convenience, we shall see the nouns according to the outward makeup of the consonants without *tāʾ marbūṭa*: biliteral, trilateral and quadrilateral.

11.4.1. Biliteral nouns

Nöldeke once studied the topic of biliteral nouns which included many words with *tāʾ marbūṭa* (1910:109-178). Though he left no classification, it was easy to find four types among them (Takashina, 2016:38), and in this study we now revise the grouping into five types.

- (1) Biliteral nouns without loss of any root consonant.
- (2) Biliteral nouns that lose *wāw* from the *I-Wāw* trilateral root.
- (3) Biliteral nouns that lose *wāw* from the *III-Wāw* trilateral root.
- (4) Biliteral nouns with an elided *Hamza*.
- (5) Few other biliteral nouns.

Among these, the groups in which compensation is observed are (2) and (3), and yet we are going to check all of the five types in our study, since they form a sort of one peculiar group due to the mysterious guise that interested Nöldeke long ago, when he surmised that the type (3) seems to have been formed under the influence of (1) and (2).

11.4.1.1. Biliteral nouns without loss of any root consonant (21 words)²⁷⁶⁾:

275) Apart from his insightful grammatical essay, what we find for *ʾiwaḍ* or compensation is likely to be *tanwīn al-ʾiwaḍ* ‘the nunation of compensation’ in such cases as *جَوَارٍ* ‘girls’ and *جَيْنَيْدٍ* ‘at that time’ (Carter 1.44, p. 18; EALL 4:444-445).

276) The number may be two more (23 words), for scholars including Nöldeke count the first word *إِرَّةٌ* ‘fire-place’ among this group. But it also functions as a verbal noun of *وَأَرَّ* (I-W) ‘to prepare a fire-place’. To avoid duplication, we count it as a verbal noun only. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that it meant ‘fire-place’ at first in view of the plural formation with *-āna* and *-ātun*. See the top of the next section and Takashina 2016:51. Also, we understand *لِدَّةٌ* ‘coeval’, which Nöldeke did not include

This group of words has some peculiarities in common: 1) they take at least one plural suffix, either masculine *-ūna* or feminine *-īna* (or many take both²⁷⁷); 2) as a result of the completion of the trilateral system²⁷⁸, many of them became *III-W/Y* and acquired (another) broken plural; 3) the apparent indifference to the gender in the plural suffix seems to hint the antiquity of the formation of nouns, which signify parts of the ancient life²⁷⁹. Here is the list²⁸⁰.

إِرَّةٌ ‘fire-place’, plural إِرَاتٌ, إِرُونٌ (listed under the root W°R, Hava, p. 846a; Was, p. 1049b; Nöldeke 1910:156)]

أَمَةٌ ‘slave girl’, plural أَمَاتٌ, أَمَاتٌ, أَمَاءٌ, آمٌ (°MW, Nöldeke 1910:130).

بُرَّةٌ ‘nose ring of a camel, anklet’, plural بُرَاتٌ, بُرُونٌ, بُرَى (BRW, Hava p. 31b; Lane, p. 197a, Nöldeke 1910:158).

ثُبَّةٌ ‘troop (of horse-men)’, plural ثُبَاتٌ, ثُبُونٌ (TBY, Hava 67b; Lane, p. 331c; Nöldeke 1910:160).

حَرَّةٌ = حَرٌ ‘vulva’, plural حَرُونٌ, أَخْرَاحٌ (HRH, Fischer §72 c, Note 4. p. 45; Lane, p. 543c; Nöldeke 1910:148)

رِئَةٌ ‘lung’, plural رِئَاتٌ, رِئُونٌ (R°Y, Wright I:196B, §302 Rem. d; Lane, p. 1001b; Nöldeke 1910:151)

رِفَّةٌ ‘the first vegetation after rain’, plural رِفُونٌ (WRQ, see Takashina 2016:48, section 3.1 end; cf. وَرَقٌ ‘to put forth leaves (tree)’, verbal noun وَرَقٌ).

سَنَةٌ ‘year’, plural سَنُونٌ, سَنَوَاتٌ, سَنَهَاتٌ (SNW, Lane, p. 1449c; SNH, Hava, p. 340b; Nöldeke 1910:124).

سِيَّةٌ ‘curved part of a bow’, plural سِيَّاتٌ (Lane under SYW, p. 1487c; Hava under SYY, p. 346a; Nöldeke 1910:157).

شَفَّةٌ ‘lip’, plural شَفَّوَاتٌ, شَفَّهَاتٌ, شَفَّاهٌ (ŠFH, Lane, p. 1574a; Nöldeke, 1910:128).

ظُبَّةٌ ‘edge of a sword’, plural ظُبَّاتٌ, ظُبِّيٌ (ZBW in Lane p. 1908a; ZB in Hava, p. 445a; Nöldeke 1910:160).

عِصَّةٌ ‘(thorny) tree’, plural عِصَّوَاتٌ, عِصَّوَاتٌ, عِصَّاهُ (°DH, Wright I:196B, §302 Rem. d; Nöldeke 1910:130; Lane, p. 2076a-b, عِصَّاهُ with nomen unitatis عِصَّاهُ and عِصَّةٌ; Hava, p. 479b; for etymology, see Takashina 2016:38, footnote 4).

in his study, as a verbal noun, and we do not count it here, either.

277) As Blachère says, they add *wāw* or *hāw* to the plural suffix to attain triliterality (Blachère p. 160, §103^{quater}). As regards the role of *h* in the process, see Brockelmann (GvG I:455, §243). According to him, Arabic *‘ilāh* ‘god’ might have been a plural to (the more primitive) **il* in origin.

278) See Fischer §70 Note. 2, p. 44. For two words of I-w in §70a (p. 44; جَهَةٌ and لَدَةٌ), see 11.4.1.2.

279) Fleisch wrote: “Il est très probable que, du moins originairement, les noms bilittères avec *-at*, comme إِرَّةٌ, سَنَةٌ, فِئَةٌ etc., (possédant un pluriel externe avec suffixe *-ūna -īna*), ont reçu ce *-at* pour acquérir une troisième syllabe. Ce suffixe de pluriel externe indique une préoccupation autre que celle du genre” (I:457, §98b).

280) See Wright (p. 194, §301 Rem. d.; p. 196, §302 Rem. d.), Fleisch (I:252-253, §52) and Lipiński (p. 247, §31.13). The two words noted in footnote 276 are in brackets.

- فَيْتَةٌ ‘party of men, troop, one’s people’, plural فَيْتَاتٌ (F^oY, Lane, p. 2326c; Nöldeke 1910:152).
- قَبَّةٌ (> قَبَّةٌ) ‘the fourth ventricle of a lamb’, plural قَبَاتٌ (WQB, Lane 2478b; Hava, p. 885a; Takashina 2016:48, footnote 35; Nöldeke 1910:155).
- قِصَّةٌ ‘bitter plant’, plural قِصَّاتٌ, قِصَّيٌّ (QDY, Hava, p. 613a; Nöldeke 1910:156).
- قُلَّةٌ ‘piece of wood for play’, plural قُلَلَاتٌ, قُلُلُونَ, قُلُلِينَ (QLW, Wright I:196B, §302 Rem. d; Was, p.784c; Hava, p. 626a; Nöldeke 1910:159; Takashina 2016:38, footnote 5).
- كُبَّةٌ ‘sweepings’, plural كُبُونٌ (KBW, Hava, p. 642b; Nöldeke 1910:162).
- كُرَّةٌ ‘ball’, plural كُرَاتٌ, كُرُونٌ, كُرَيٌّ (KRW, Hava, p. 653a; Wright I:196B, §302 Rem. d; Nöldeke 1910:158).
- لِئَةٌ ‘gum of the teeth’, plural لِيَاتٌ, لِيُونٌ (LTY, Hava, p.678a; Nöldeke 1910:155).
- [لِدَّةٌ ‘coeval’, plural لِدُونٌ, لِدَاتٌ (WLD, Hava, p. 893a; Wehr, p. 1285b)]
- لُعَّةٌ ‘speech, language’, plural لُعَاتٌ, لُعُونٌ, لُعَيٌّ (LGW, Hava, p. 690b; Nöldeke 1910:161).
- مِئَةٌ ‘hundred’, plural مِئُونَ, مِئَاتٌ (M^oY, Nöldeke 1910:153).
- هَنَّةٌ ‘thing’, plural هَنَاتٌ, هَنَوَاتٌ (HNW, Hava, p. 839a; Wehr, p. 1213b; Nöldeke 1910:119).

11.4.1.2. Biliteral nouns that lose *wāw* from the *I-Wāw* trilateral root (50 words):

In reference to the words of this group, Nöldeke wrote: “die im Arabischen zahlreichen Wörter wie صِفَّةٌ von وصفٌ” (1897a:15)²⁸¹. But nobody knew the total number of the words belonging to this type until we counted 48 in Takashina (2016). Whether 48 is ‘zahlreich’ or not, please refer to our work for the reasons of difficulty, where the procedures of our checking is also stated. Having confirmed this result for now, we shall go on our discussion to make the result clearer.

As Nöldeke’s words show explicitly, those belonging to A below are verbal nouns of the root *I-W*²⁸². However, there are some exceptions, about all of which we stated in our previous work. Here in this study we group them explicitly as B. Both A and B have *tāʾ marbūṭa* as compensation.

A) Verbal nouns of the root *I-W* (48 words).

48 words include: إِرَّةٌ (W^oR, ‘to prepare a fire-place’) and لِدَّةٌ (WLD, ‘to bring forth, beget’).

إِرَّةٌ as a verbal noun is apparently secondary, and the common noun ‘fire-place’ is likely to be original. On the other hand, in the case of لِدَّةٌ we understand each of the usages, as a common noun as well as a verbal noun, is primitive. But to avoid counting twice, we take both of them only as a verbal noun (see footnote 276).

281) About another word cited there by Nöldeke, see footnote 7 in Takashina 2016:38.

282) See Kienast p. 122, §112.5.

B) Other nouns of the root *I-W* (2 words).

جَهَةٌ (جَهَةٌ/جَهَةٌ) ‘front side’ (WGH, وَجَهَ ‘to strike on the face’, verbal noun وَجْهٌ).
 دَكَّةٌ ‘fatness’ (WDK, وَدَكَ ‘to be fat’, verbal noun وَدَكٌ).

These words look very much alike those of A, but for the reasons stated in our previous work, they are different. The third²⁸³ is now in the first group (11.4.1.1).

Apart from the above, it should be noted that the following sets are mutually variant and are counted as one.

سَعَةٌ and سِعَةٌ	ضَحَّةٌ and ضَحَّةٌ	طَاةٌ and طَائَةٌ
صُلَّةٌ and صِلَّةٌ	ضَعَّةٌ and ضَعَّةٌ	قَحَّةٌ and قَحَّةٌ

11.4.1.3. Biliteral nouns that lose *wāw* from the *III-Wāw* trilateral root (6 words):

A few words of the *III-Wāw* root drop *wāw* and get compensatory tā° marbūṭa (see 11.4.1).

حَدَّةٌ (< HDW) ‘opposite, against’ (= حَذَاءٌ, حُدُوءَةٌ and حِدُوءَةٌ; Nöldeke 1910:157, Lane, p. 537b).

حِظَّةٌ (< HZW) ‘share, luck’ (= حُظُوءَةٌ and حِظُوءَةٌ ‘small arrow > favor of a man’, also a verbal noun of حَظِيَ ‘to be fortunate with’; Nöldeke 1910:148, 157; Lane p. 596b-c)

حُمَّةٌ (< HMY) ‘vehemens of fire, poison’ from حَمِيَ ‘be hot (fire, sun etc.), be angered’ (Nöldeke 1910:154; Lane p. 651c; Takashina 2016:38, footnote 7).

رُبَّةٌ (< RBY) ‘sand hill; a company of men, ten thousand, myriad’ (Nöldeke 1910:164).

عَضَّةٌ (< °DW) ‘portion, sect’, cf. عُضُوٌّ ‘member’ (Takashina 2016:38, footnote 4).

قِدَّةٌ (< QDY) ‘example, model’ (= قِدُوءَةٌ and قُدُوءَةٌ; Nöldeke 1910:157).

As regards رُبَّةٌ above, we must make a comment on it, because Nöldeke argued the word (1910:164) taken from the phrase: جَمَلٌ صَغْبُ الرُبَّةِ (LA, p. 1574a). Adding after it the paraphrase: أَيْ لَطِيفُ الْجُفْرِ, he translated it “mit dünnem (oder wohl besser ‘strammem’) Bauch”, which we interpret “namely thin of the belly” in the sense ‘without a good feed’. All things taken together, رُبَّةٌ = رُبُوٌّ and رُبُوءَةٌ in the sense (α) ‘sand hill’ and (β) ‘a company of men, ten thousand, myriad’ (LA, p. 1574a; Lane, pp. 1023c-1024a). So it is certain that *rubatun* < *rubwatun*, which clarifies the phrase “a camel difficult of the sand hill (due to the tight stomach coming from the insufficient feeding)”.

Indeed Nöldeke wrote رُبَّةٌ ‘ten thousand, myriad’, for which lexicographers recorded رِبَّةٌ as well. Inheriting this tradition, Was admits ‘a great many’ for both, but, in the case of ‘myriad’, only for رِبَّةٌ (p. 333c). This is a very reasonable judgement, seeing that رِبِّيُونَ (al-Qur’ān 3:146) is evidently a nisba adjective of رِبَّةٌ. But when it

283) That is, the three words in the Table 6 (Takashina 2016:48). The last of the three رِبَّةٌ ‘the first vegetation after rain’ is now in the group 11.4.1.1 due to its peculiar plural form.

comes to the meaning, it displays a mystery. Just think of the word in the singular رِبِّي*. Curiously enough, we cannot make out from it ‘a member of the myriad people’. Then this is a plurale tantum: رِبِّيُونَ ‘myriads of people’.

This word has yet another sense which strikes us most: (γ) ‘a knot’ = أُرْبَةٌ (LA, p. 56b; Lane, p. 1176b, under RWB). It has quite another etymology, about which see the next section.

11.4.1.4. Biliteral nouns with an elided *hamza*²⁸⁴ (5 words):

Appearing the same, these words became biliteral by way of dropping the radical *hamza*. Curiously they are all of the pattern *CuC-at*, two of which have a counterpart which does not lose *hamza*: لُؤْمَةٌ ‘accessories of saddle, plough’ (WKAS II, p. 64a) and دُرَّةٌ ‘gray hair on the forehead’. So *tāʾ marbūṭa* in this group is not what they got by compensation.

A) the 1st *hamza*

بَلَّةٌ (إِبَالَةٌ* < بِلَّةٌ) ‘bundle of firewood or dry herbage’ (Lane, p. 9a).

رُبَّةٌ (أُرْبَةٌ* < رُبَّةٌ) ‘a knot’ (see our comment in the preceding section).

هَبَّةٌ (أُهْبَةٌ* < هَبَّةٌ) ‘apparatus’ (Lane, p. 120b).

B) the 2nd *hamza*

لُمَةٌ (*lumʾat < لُؤْمَةٌ) ‘equal, mate’.

C) the 3rd *hamza*

دُرَّةٌ (*duraʾ < دُرَّةٌ) ‘to sow [the ground]’ ‘maize, millet’.

11.4.1.5. Few other biliteral nouns²⁸⁵ (6 words):

At the end of our discussion of (outwardly) biliteral words with *tāʾ marbūṭa*, we register here such words as have various origins.

A) Loss of consonant doubling:

قَبَّةٌ (قِبَّةٌ*) ‘ventricle of a lamb, tripe of a sheep’ (Lane, p. 2478b; Nöldeke 1910:155).

B) Elision of a consonant:

رُقَّةٌ and ثُقَّةٌ (Nöldeke 1910:163).

Nöldeke took up these two words used in a proverb as uncertain. When he studied this, he could have availed himself of Freytag’s Latin edition (1838-1843) of al-Maydānī’s *al-mağma*^c, but he left no mention of it. Nonetheless, according to the current improved edition, al-Maydānī registers this proverb (2:425, no. 2700)²⁸⁶ as

284) See Takashina 2016:38 (footnote 6) and 48 (footnote 35).

285) See also Takashina 2016:48, footnote 35.

286) In Freytag, the proverb corresponds to no. 40 of Caput XIX Littera Ghain (2:183): ... مِنَ الثُّقَّةِ عَنِ الرُّقَّةِ.

Nöldeke spelled: أَعْنَى عَنْهُ مِنَ التُّفَّةِ عَنِ الرُّفَّةِ. In the light of al-Maydānī's very clear explanation, the confusion is evident in orthography with lexicographers as seen in Lane's spellings as well as in the nominal patterns. For example, the former = تُفَّةٌ 'badger' (Hava, p. 60b) and the latter = رُفَّةٌ (Hava, p. 260b), رُفْتُ (Lane, p. 1118b) or رُفَّةٌ (Lane p. 1129a) 'chopped straw'.

Yet we are grateful to Lane for the interpretation of the proverb (in the improved spelling): أَنَا أَعْنَى عَنْكَ مِنَ التُّفَّةِ عَنِ الرُّفَّةِ 'I am more free from the want of thee than the badger is from the want of straw'. Al-Maydānī says that تُفَّةٌ and رُفَّةٌ are the original, suggesting that the phonetic forms of the proverb may get corrupted as they are on the lips of people. When we follow him, we see here the elision of a consonant: tufh-atun > tuf-atun, rufh-atun > ruf-atun. This is almost haplology.

C) Unknown etymology²⁸⁷⁾:

جَعَّةٌ 'kind of beer, barley-wine'²⁸⁸⁾.

رُئَةٌ 'another name of Ġumādā II' (Nöldeke 1910:164).

According to the known sense of the word, Nöldeke interpreted the phrase مِنْ رُئَةٍ حَتَّى يَوَافِيهَا رُئَةٌ 'from Ġumādā II till another'. Yet its etymology troubled him, for he suspected it to have come from the root √WRN (*I-W*). Equipped with lexical tools edited far better now, we can first remove وَرْنَةٌ, for this is another name of Dū al-Qa'da (LA 4820c; Steingass 1209b), not of Ġumādā II. Lexicons are, still worse, at variance as to the root (RNN, RWN or RNW/Y) and the semantic derivation is perhaps a speculation (Lane, pp. 1164b, 1194a, 1167c; LA, pp. 1747c, 1783b; TA, 35:117a). First they derive it from رُونَةٌ 'the greater part of a thing' or رُئَى 'all created things' then رُئَةٌ (also الرُّئَى or الرُّئَةُ). It is a regret that there is no knowing the ultimate etymology now, and in all probability this tā° marbūṭa tried to represent the colloquial pronunciation (*al-*)Runa. Lastly for another dubious word أَنَّةٌ (Nöldeke 1910:164; LA, p. 1747c) quoted in a very similar phrase of unknown source, there is no clue.

D) A personal name:

دُعَّةٌ (Nöldeke 1910:164)²⁸⁹⁾.

This word was taken up by Nöldeke also from a proverb: أَحْمَقُ مِنْ دُعَّةٍ 'more foolish than Duġa'²⁹⁰⁾. Fortunately, TA lists the word (vol. 38:53-54), saying that it is a nickname of a certain woman, hence دُعَّةٌ. Also, TA had a reference to al-Maydānī (1:389, no. 1178) which tells more about this woman with two episodes, and this time

287) Once we found 'reindeer' spelled رَنْةٌ or رَيْةٌ instead of رُئَةٌ. An apparent mistake in the spelling set apart, we wonder what the etymology of رَنْةٌ is, because in some dictionaries including Wehr there is no such entry, much less in older ones.

288) The word, not listed in Nöldeke 1910, is arranged under Ġ°W in Hava, while Wehr and Steingass list it alphabetically.

289) When we finished this work, we found دُعَّةٌ Duġa (a woman)' in Wright I:243B, §309 cġ. The name is there from the 1st ed. (1859) of Wright I:198, §309 3f, which Nöldeke (1910) could consult.

290) Freytag's text is أَحْمَقُ مِنْ دُعَّةٍ (1:395, no. 163 of Caput VI Littera Ha) but the Latin reads; "stupidior, quam Dogha".

it was al-Maydānī that added a new word. In the end of this proverb (1:390), he wrote al-Layṭ's word: "a man is called a *duḡa* or *duḡayna*, when people wants to say he is a fool". This gave us the source of the entry of Was (p. 298b) عَلِمَ لِلْأَحْمَقِ، دُعَيْنَةً a mark for the foolish', the etymology of which we could not make out without the reference in al-Maydānī²⁹¹).

11.4.2. Triliteral nouns

As stated above (11.2 end), there are two types of compensation, for the vowel shortening and for the consonant dropping, of which we have a good specimen for the latter.

11.4.2.1. The compensation for the consonant dropping (فُعَاةٌ)

This takes place in two cases, one very popular and the other very rare. In the former case, we would be obliged to set up an ad hoc plural pattern for *III-W/Y* verbs: فُعَلَةٌ (Wright I:208B; Fischer §90, p. 58), were it not for the notion of compensation.

In view of this, Fischer's statement should deserve a due attention (see 11.3 end). For the need in argument, we begin with the rarer case.

1) فُعَاةٌ (*I-W* and *III-Y*):

فُتَاةٌ 'fear of God' (WQY; al-Qurʾān 3:28, 102).

فُتَاتٌ 'legacy' (WRT) and فُتَاهٌ 'opposite' (WGH) help us understand the setup of this word in which the compensation took place as if by magic:

*wuqāy-un > *tuqāy-un > tuqāt-un.

Very rare noun pattern as it is for the root (*I-W* and *III-Y*), the process is very important: -āy-un > -āt-un.

[Note] As Fischer points out (§240 Note 3, p. 130), the prefix *tu-* is shared by some others: فُخْمَةٌ 'indigestion', فُكَاةٌ 'prop, support', فُكَلَّةٌ 'one who relies on others'. In view of فُعَالٌ (e.g. *turāt*), we find here *tāʾ marbūṭa* compensating for the shortening of a long vowel: *tuk-āl-un > tuk-alat-un. See also 11.4.2.2, 3). Others suffer a slight change فُعَلَةٌ > فُتَلَةٌ either or both of which dictionaries may register: فُتُوبَةٌ / فُتُوبَةٌ 'disgrace', فُتُودَةٌ / فُتُودَةٌ 'deliberateness', فُتُهْمَةٌ / فُتُهْمَةٌ 'indictment'.

2) The broken plural فُعَالٌ for the active participle فَاعِلٌ (*III-W/Y*)²⁹²:z

One example for فُعَاةٌ will suffice owing to the peculiar but very common outward

291) In search of this last word, it struck us that دُغْنَةٌ or دُغْنَةٌ 'gloomy dark weather, dark cloud' with its verb 'to let rain fall (of clouds)' might have something to do in etymology with the ancient Canaanite (Philistine) Dagan or Dagon, the god of vegetation or grain. The more famous Baal is called the son of Dagon.

292) The VIIIth pattern in Wright (I:207B, §304). This is a well-known pattern, such as كُتَّابٌ plural of كَاتِبٌ 'writing, secretary'. This is the right place for what we referred to above (9.3.3, 3β). Also please be aware of some cases that retain فُعَالٌ pattern (Wright I:207C): غَزَاءٌ plural of غَزَاٌ 'soldier'.

appearance: رُمَاةٌ, plural of رَامٍ ‘thrower, archer’.

As to the compensatory process, there are two possibilities.

α) رُمَائِي *rumm-āy-un > *rum-āy-un > rum-ātun رُمَاةٌ.

β) رُمَائِي *rumm-āy-un [> *rum-āy-atun] > rum-ātun رُمَاةٌ.

In the case of α), one tā° marbūṭa compensates for the two dropped consonants (-m- and -y-) by means of the above method 1). But in the case of β) the process is a little complicated. What we have known is -aya- and -awa- > -ā- (رَمَى and دَعَا), but in the brackets the change is -āya- > -ā²⁹³).

11.4.2.2. The compensation for the vowel shortening

In the other case of compensation, i.e., the shortening of a long vowel (see 11.2), it is as good as impossible to tell if فَعْلَةٌ is a compensation by tā° marbūṭa for فَعَالٌ, considering that both are most likely to be authentic noun patterns. Moreover, in the case where we find فَعْلَةٌ in the text without فَعَالٌ in no lexicon for the related meaning, it is out of question to argue that the former is the compensated form of the latter which is nonexistent. There is no testimony for such a presumption, though in most cases the original word (before compensation) is replaced by the compensated form and disappear.

We have now mentioned the gist of this section, namely, how difficult it is to find unquestionable cases of compensation for the vowel shortening in ‘triliteral’ words. To avoid arbitrary argumentation, we are in need of both forms, before and after the compensation.

Now we shall collect pairs of such words, in order just to know how scholars exerted themselves so far. What we could pick up below speak eloquently that we should be very cautious about them, and we must state that they are rather very rare coincidences. In an effort to demonstrate a contradiction, as it were, examples we cite here are very few.

1) فَعْلَةٌ = فَعَالٌ:

No example²⁹⁴).

2) فَعْلَةٌ = فَعَالٌ:

تِرْسَةٌ = تِرْسٌ, plural of تِرْسٌ ‘shield’ (Fleisch, I:477; Lane, p. 303a; Hava, p. 58b).

رَجَلَةٌ = رَجَالٌ, plural of رَجُلٌ ‘man’ (Fleisch, I:457; Lane, p. 1045a-b; Kazimirski, p. 831a). We take this with a great caution in view of too many plurals looking alike each other: رَجَلَةٌ, رَجَلَاتٌ, أَرَجَالٌ, مَرَجَلٌ.

293) So we are in need of some help, for example, the influence of the ending of the feminine passive participles *murm-ayaton > مُرْمَاةٌ murm-ātun.

294) Fleisch (I:457, §98c) lists the set of يَفْعَةٌ = يَفْعَاعٌ, as Brockelmann once thought (GvG I:348-9, §132a-b). About this, see footnote 254. But in view of many other variants quoted above (9.4.3. Note 1), this assumption is impossible and we think otherwise. It is out of question that this set alone could survive and remain to date.

طَلَبَةٌ = طَلَابٌ, plural of طَلَبٌ ‘object wished for’ (Barth, pp. 88-89; St, p. 640a; Kazimirski, 2:93b). In view of no registry in Arab lexicons (Lane, LA, TA), we must take this with all reservation.

- 3) فُعَلَةٌ = فُعَالٌ:
 دُجْحَةٌ = دُجَاحٌ ‘angina, sore throat, croup, diphtheria’ (Barth 88-89; Fleisch I:457). But dictionaries (Hava, p.226a; St., p. 384a; Lane, p. 954b) register so many variants that we can pair another set: دُجْحَةٌ = دُجَاحٌ, which both Barth and Fleisch missed for 2) above. There are still other variants: دُجْحَةٌ, دُجْحَةٌ, دُجْحٌ. In view of too many variants, we note this with a great caution²⁹⁵⁾.

Barth listed adjectives²⁹⁶⁾ of the pattern فُعَالٌ and added others²⁹⁷⁾ of the pattern فُعَلَةٌ ‘als Compensativum hierzu’ (§27 c, pp. 40-41). As we see them in the list (see footnotes 296 and 297), there is no knowing if the latter are compensated forms of the former, for the simple reason that they are words with no relation whatever between them. In addition, we have discussed the latter فُعَلَةٌ as *tā' marbūṭa* for emphasis on the adjective 2) فُعَالٌ and noted that they came into use by direct analogy with other adjectives that exist both with and without *tā' marbūṭa* (see 9.4.3)²⁹⁸⁾.

Therefore, it is practically impossible to find a testimony except in some rare cases discussed in 11.4.2.1 Note. But they are the evidences for another case, being restricted in a very specific pattern, and not for this.

- 4) فَعِيلَةٌ = فَعِيلٌ:
 No example²⁹⁹⁾.

295) Barth (p. 88) lists two other sets, but they are logically ruled out. First, as to نُفَقَةٌ ‘Ausgang, Loch’, we do not find its corresponding نُفَاقٌ in any dictionary (cf. St. p. 1138a ‘hole of a field-mouse; نُفَقَةٌ ‘burrow of a mole’ in Hava, p. 789b). Concerning نُفَاضٌ = نُفَاضٌ, the former means ‘shivering caused by fever’ (Hava, p. 788b) while the latter نُفَاضٌ ‘exhaustion of victuals, dearth’ (do.; Kazimirski, 2:1313b). What matches نُفَاضٌ in the meaning is rather نُفَاضٌ (do.), for which there is no نُفَاضَةٌ.

296) بُتَارٌ, هُدَامٌ, هُدَامٌ, هُدَامٌ all meaning ‘sharp (sword)’, صُرَامٌ ‘sword, war’, جُرَافٌ both meaning ‘carrying away everything’, هَمَامٌ ‘noble, magnanimous’.

297) لَمَرَةٌ and هَمَرَةٌ ‘reproachful’, هُدَرَةٌ ‘talkative, glib’, سُبَيْةٌ ‘abusive (reviler)’. See also 9.4.3, 2).

298) So in the case of the adjective هُدَمَةٌ used in the following phrase, it is best to regard it as belonging to an emphasized adjective 2) with *tā' marbūṭa* (فُعَلَةٌ) lacking in the original هُدَمٌ. See the related adjective هُدَامٌ ‘a sharp sword; sharp-edged, bold’ (Was, p. 1020b; Hava, p.822b; St, p. 1170b). With a noun شَفْرَةٌ ‘(blade of a) sword’, they constitute an idiom: شَفْرَةٌ هُدَامَةٌ أَوْ هُدَمَةٌ ‘sharp-edged sword’ (TA vol. 32, p. 81b; LA, p. 4645c; Was, p. 1020b; Mun, p. 860b). It is evident that هُدَامٌ agrees with شَفْرَةٌ in gender, but with no adjective like هُدَمٌ we take it as belonging to the emphatic adjective pattern as stated just above. Indeed, it is not impossible to look upon هُدَمَةٌ as a compensated form of هُدَامٌ, but as seen above, with virtually none of the compensated examples, such a discussion is to no avail. About the last phrase in Was هُدَامٌ شَفْرَةٌ, the only interpretation may be that the two stand in apposition ‘a sword, a sharp-edged one’.

299) Fleisch (I:457, §98c) lists حَرَمَةٌ = حَرِيمٌ from verbal nouns of حَرَمَ. But when we collect all the verbal nouns for it, no one would assert such, even as a possibility: حَرَمٌ, حَرَمٌ, حَرَمَةٌ, حَرَمَةٌ, حَرِيمٌ, حَرِيمَةٌ (Lane, pp. 553c-554a).

11.4.3. Quadriliteral nouns (فَعَالِلَةٌ)

In the case of quadriliteral nouns that normally take the pattern فَعَالِلٌ in the plural, tā° marbūṭa can monopolize the chance to replace the long vowel ī: فَعَالِلَةٌ. It must be stressed that ‘quadriliteral’ generally means Arabicized foreign words, be the loan ancient or modern. Yet there are several cases on which we are going to comment briefly.

The very fact of Arabicization seems to have allowed an elastic application of the rule. Inasmuch as ‘foreign words’ mean the frontier between the two languages, we must be ready to find spellings, in the primary sources, before a refined full Arabicization: فعالية. Such is not Arabic, to be sure, but it is doubtless one of the socio-linguistic phenomena of the history of the Arabic language³⁰⁰.

A) Loan words.

(1) From فَعَالِلٌ:

بَطْرِيْقُ ‘general of Christian army (patricius)’ > أَسَاتِدَةٌ > أُسَاتِذُ ‘teacher’ أُسْتَاذٌ
بَطَارِكَةٌ > بَطَارِيْكُ ‘patriarch’ بَطْرِكُ > بَطَارِقَةٌ > بَطَارِيْقُ.

(2) From فَعَالِلٌ:

جَوَارِبَةٌ > جَوَارِبُ ‘stocking’ جَوْرِبُ > تَرَاجِمَةٌ > تَرَاجِمُ ‘interpreter’ تَرْجُمَانٌ
كَسَاسِرَةٌ > أَكَاسِرَةٌ > أَكَاسِرُ ‘Persian king’ كِسْرَى.

(3) Semantic differentiation:

تَبَاعِيعُ ‘queen bee (masculine among Arabs)’ تَبَابِيعُ (Lane, p. 295bc).
تَبَاعِيعَةٌ ‘ancient king of Yemen’ تُبَيْعُ.

(4) فَعَالِلَةٌ only (without فَعَالِلٌ):

فَرَاغِنَةٌ ‘Pharaoh’ فِرْعَوْنُ > فَيَاصِرَةٌ ‘emperor’ فَيَاصِرُ > مَلَائِكَةٌ ‘angel’ (مَلَكٌ) مَلَأَكُ > فَلَاسِفَةٌ ‘philosopher’ فَيْلَسُوفُ
فَرَاغِنَةٌ.

B) Genuine Arabic words.

(1) From a nisba noun:

As Fischer writes (§96, p. 62), this is one of the collective plural patterns for people (see 9.3.3): صَيْرِيٌّ ‘money changer’,³⁰¹ صَيَارِفَةٌ ‘pharmacist’ صَيْدِيٌّ; بَغْدَادِيٌّ ‘Baghdadi’ بَغْدَادِيَّةٌ; مَغْرِبِيٌّ ‘Maghribi’ مَغْرِبِيَّةٌ; أَفْرِيْقِيٌّ ‘African’ أَفْرَاْقَةٌ.

(2) From a common noun:

300) Badawi, 1.12.2.1 (p.92); Barth p. 483; Blachère §108 3, pp. 171-2; Brockelmann, GvG I:435, §237 e, f; Buckley pp. 118, 121; Fischer §96, p. 62; Fleisch I:458-9; Wright I:305, pp. 230-1.

301) Cf. صَيْرِفٌ ‘money changer’ صَيَارِفُ.

مَلَا حِدَةً³⁰² ‘heretic’ مُلْحِدٌ

(3) From singular فَعَالٌ:

شَمَامِسَةٌ [شَمَّاسٌ ‘deacon’,³⁰³ جَبَابِرَةٌ > جَبَابِيرُ ‘tyrant’ جَبَّارٌ]

(4) Proper names in ʾidāfa (Fischer §96 Note 1, p. 62):

مَرَا قِسَّةٌ > إِمْرُؤُ الْقَيْسِ; عَبَادِلَةُ > عَبْدُ اللَّهِ

(5) A strange plural:

سَوَاسٍ (سَوَاسِيَّةٌ, سَوَاسِيَّةٌ > أَسَوَاءٌ ‘an equal’ سِيٌّ or سَوَاءٌ)

11.5. Compensatory *tāʾ marbūṭa* with verbal nouns

As seen above (11.2 end), the compensatory function of *tāʾ marbūṭa* makes up for the dropping of a consonant or the shortening of a vowel, and this is true with the common nouns as well as verbal nouns.

11.5.1. Stem I (*I-W* verbs or ‘assimilated verbs’)

As stated above (11.4.1.2. A), the number of the verbal nouns of the basic stem (I) of *I-W* root, in the pattern of عِلَّةٌ is 48. Here it will be enough to cite Wright’s words: “The termination ةَ - , with which these nouns are furnished, is a compensation for the lost radical” (I:118, §206).

11.5.2. Stem II (تَفْعِلَةٌ > تَفْعِيلٌ)

In the case of the derived stem II, when the long vowel *-ī-* becomes short, it is compensated for by *tāʾ marbūṭa*. This rule is best known for *III-W/Y* verbs, but the same takes place also in some *III-Hamza* verbs by analogy with the former. Somehow we find the same in some strong verbs, too³⁰⁴.

11.5.2.1. Strong verbs (II)

Even among strong verbs³⁰⁵, including geminate ones, we find sporadically verbal nouns in the pattern of تَفْعِلَةٌ. The number of the verbal nouns in question is rather limited, though we did not check extensively. About the relation between the two patterns (تَفْعِلَةٌ and تَفْعِيلٌ), we confirmed³⁰⁶ that every تَفْعِلَةٌ below has its doublet

302) Evidently, people felt as if the singular were مُلْحِدِيٌّ.

303) This word came from Syriac *šammāšā* by way of Christianity, but it certainly had been arabicized before Islam.

304) Brockelmann, I:386, §208a.

305) Badawi, I.10.2, pp. 76-77; Barth, p. 304; Buckley, 39.1.2, p. 396; Fischer, §231, p. 125; Fleisch, I:459; Wright, I:115, §202.

306) We checked it by Lane, except تَكْمِلَةٌ checked in LA (p. 3930b) due to the known reason. There are some words difficult to take as the pattern تَفْعِلَةٌ: 1) تَسِيرَةٌ listed in Wright (I:115, §202), but Lane (p. 1337a) did not adopt the word, saying that this word cited in Freytag’s dictionary has no authority; 2)

تَفْعِيلٌ. As seen below, some may have a certain semantic differentiation between them.

1) Strong verbs:

تَبَصَّرَ (Qur 50:8) ‘to make one understand the affair or case’.

تَجَرَّبَ ‘test’.

تَذَكَّرَ (Qur 69:12) ‘to remind one of the results of affairs, admonish’.

تَفَرَّقَ ‘to share’.

تَقَدَّمَ ‘to present’.

تَكْرَمَ ‘to honor’.

تَكَمَّلَ ‘to perfect’.

2) A geminate verb:

تَجَلَّلَ ‘to honor’³⁰⁷.

تَحَلَّلَ (al-Qurʾān 66:2) ‘to annul an oath’.

3) Typical semantic differentiation:

Barth (p. 304) picked up two words used almost completely as a common noun, but no doubt such a specific meaning originated in verbal nouns.

تَبْلَعَةٌ ‘rope joined to the bucket-rope to get water’ (Lane, p. 252c) < ‘to cause one to reach’.

تَسْبِغَةٌ ‘mail of a helmet protecting the neck (Hava, p. 307b)’ < ‘make fully long (Lane, p. 1298b-c)’.

11.5.2.2. III-W/Y verbs (II)

In this group, تَفْعَلَةٌ is the regular pattern of verbal nouns for the stem II³⁰⁸.

1) تَفْعَلَةٌ:

تَحِيَّةٌ (al-Qurʾān 4:86) ‘to salute’, تَرْبِيَّةٌ ‘to educate’³⁰⁹, تَذْكِيَّةٌ ‘to stir the fire’, تَزْكِيَّةٌ ‘to purify’, تَصَدِيَّةٌ (al-Qurʾān 8:35) ‘to clap hands’, تَصْلِيَّةٌ (ṢLY; al-Qurʾān 56:94) ‘to cause to be burnt’ and many others.

2) As a common noun, too:

Wright also listed تَصَرُّفٌ (ibid.), for which Lane (p. 1775c) registers no verb for stem II, and hence تَصَرُّفٌ and تَضَرُّفٌ ‘an evil state or condition’ (p. 1776b) are common nouns; 3) تَعْظُمَةٌ listed by Fleisch (I:459) as quoted from Ibn Yaʿīṣ (Commentary on Zamahṣarī’s al-Mufaṣṣal, p. 817 line 10), but frankly, it is difficult to accept a word with no registry in dictionaries, even if the work is a well-known commentary on a famous grammar.

307) The word is somewhat mysterious. Brockelmann (I:386, §208a) takes this as a verbal noun, whereas Lane thinks it is a common noun (p. 438b, ‘the act of magnifying, or honouring’), for there is no corresponding meaning as a derived stem II (p. 436b). Seemingly, this discrepancy was repaired as later lexicons testify.

308) Barth, pp. 304 and 306; Fischer, §257 Note 2., p. 138; Wright, I:115, §202.

309) For the quotation from Yushmanov, see 11.3, and see also Fischer §69 Note 3 (p. 44).

تَنْهِيَةٌ verbal noun (II) ‘to attain the utmost or end’; also ‘a limit point to which water comes in the wadi’ (= تَنْهَاءٌ). Cf. تَنْهَاءٌ ‘bank, wooden dam’ (Hava, p. 805a)

3) Rarely with تَفْعِيلٌ:

تَنْزِيٌّ and تَنْزِيَةٌ ‘to make one leap’ (NZW, TA 38:66a; Wright, I:116C, §202 Rem.a).

11.5.2.3. III-Hamza verbs (II)

Properly speaking, the verbs in this group form their verbal noun according to the regular rule تَفْعِيلٌ. On the analogy of III-W/Y verbs (II)³¹⁰, however, there are verbs that form it after the pattern تَفْعِلَةٌ. Excepting ‘to inform’, all the verbal nouns have been checked in Lane or in LA.

1) تَفْعِلَةٌ only:

تَبَرُّةٌ ‘to acquit’, تَوَطُّةٌ ‘to tread under foot’.

2) With تَفْعِيلٌ:

تَحْزِيَةٌ and تَحْزِيٌّ ‘to divide’; تَخْطِئَةٌ and تَخْطِئٌ ‘to declare guilty’; تَنْبِيَةٌ and تَنْبِيٌّ ‘to inform’³¹¹; تَهْنِئَةٌ and تَهْنِئٌ ‘to congratulate’; تَوْزِيَةٌ and تَوْزِيٌّ ‘to fill up a bag or a skin’.

3) تَفْعِيلٌ only:

تَحْجَرِيٌّ ‘to encourage’.

11.5.3. II-W/Y verbs (IV and X)

The derived stems IV and X, of the root II-W/Y, exhibit the same phenomenon, in which compensation takes place in a very primitive manner. To wit, *tāʾ marbūṭa* makes up for the dropped consonant in its etymological phonetic form:

(IV) *ʾiqwām-un > ʾiqām-at-un ‘to stay’,

(X) *ʾistiqwām-un > ʾistiqām-at-un ‘to be straight’³¹².

The attachment of *tāʾ marbūṭa* in these verbal nouns attracted scholars, and we shall quote Blachère here as one of them: “Je persiste à croire que ce *ta* [tāʾ marbūṭa] est ajouté pour rendre au nom son équilibre rythmique; que c’est une forme ‘compensatrice’” (§89e, footnote 1, p. 144)³¹³.

310) Barth, p. 304; Fischer §237 Note 3., p. 128; Fleisch I:459; Wright, I:115, §202, I:307.

311) LA and TA fail to list a verbal noun and other dictionaries disagree about this verb: St (p. 1095b) and Mun (p. 784a) admit both; Kazimirski (2:1179a) has تَنْبِيَةٌ only; Hava (p. 744a) has تَنْبِيٌّ only.

312) Socin (1885:42, §39e), Socin-Brockelmann (1904:58, §70a), Socin-Brockelmann (1909:61, §65i), Brockelmann (1960:77-78, §63i). For the bibliographical information, see 5.4.2.

313) Blachère in another place: “à équilibrer des noms verbaux anormaux إِجَارَةٌ (§122, p. 198); Fischer, §247b, p. 134; Wright “the termination ة is appended to the noun by way of compensation” (I:120, §211); Yushmanov, p. 38 (see 11.3).

Apart from this, there remains one comment of ours regarding the form without tā³ marbūṭa. Blachère lists both إِقَامَةٌ, إِسْتِجَابَةٌ and إِقَامٌ, إِسْتِجَابٌ (§89e, p. 144) with the comment that the former is preferred, while Fischer (§248 Note 2., p. 134) and Wright (§211 Rem., p. 121) are of the opinion that the form without tā³ marbūṭa is very rare. We quote such rarities from Wright (ibid.): إِقَامٌ (QWM; al-Qurʾān 21:73) and إِزَاءٌ (R^oY, along with إِزَاءَةٌ; Lane, p. 999c-1000a).

11.5.4. Quadriliteral verbs (QI)

It was the verbal noun of the basic stem of the quadriliteral verb (QI) فَعْلَالٌ and فَعْلَلَةٌ, together with تَفْعِيلٌ and تَفْعِلَةٌ, that Barth demonstrated the compensatory function of tā³ marbūṭa for the first time (pp. XIV, 57 and 88), when at the same time, he had stated clearly that Sibawayhi knew this function of the feminine ending as compensation (Barth, p. 88 footnote 3).

Certainly ‘compensation’ suits best to account for the relation between فَعْلَالٌ and فَعْلَلَةٌ. However, the distinction among nouns are often ambiguous because of the third pattern فَعْلَالٌ. See the following examples taken from Hava (words in brackets are not registered in it³¹⁴). Wright (I:117C, §203) and Fischer (§226, p.123) agree in stating that فَعْلَلَةٌ is the common form for the verbal noun of the quadriliteral basic stem.

1) قَلْقَلٌ ‘to agitate’, قَلْقَلَةٌ, قَلْقَالٌ, [قَلْقَالٌ] ‘trouble’ (p. 622b).

2) زَلَزَلٌ ‘to shake’, زَلَزَلَةٌ, زَلَزَالٌ, زَلَزَالٌ ‘earthquake’ (p. 293a).

It was Fleisch (I:460, §98g) that offered an explanation. According to him, فَعْلَالٌ is the result of dissimilation within فَعْلَالٌ. The truth, however, seems to be more complicated in view of the situations mutually different among the quadriliteral verbs.

12. (V) Miscellanea

As seen so far, tā³ marbūṭa plays quite an important role in various aspects of the Arabic language. In fact, tā³ marbūṭa is always there to help Arabic express what people feel and think, as if it were a shadow of the language.

This is why we find tā³ marbūṭa even in cases where it is not apparently expected, or even where it has nothing to do with the word. In this last section of our study, we are to argue these two strange phenomena. Here we shall register each item only as a fact.

12.1. Tā³ marbūṭa on undue duty

12.1.1. Tā³ marbūṭa in nouns with *Mīm*

A) أَسْمَاءُ الْمَكَانِ وَالزَّمَانِ ‘nomina loci et temporis’ or nouns of place and time:

Most of these nouns are masculine, but they “not unfrequently take the feminine form ة” (Wright I:128, §225)³¹⁵, but there is no knowing what roots might take

314) But registered in other dictionaries.

315) See also Badawi, 1.11.2, p. 89; Blachère, §55, pp. 94-95; Buckley, 5.2.3.f, p. 37; Fischer §78b, p.50; Ryding, p. 87.

the feminine ending³¹⁶).

- (1) مَفْعَلَةٌ: مَدْرَسَةٌ 'school', مَحْكَمَةٌ 'court'; مَعَارَةٌ 'cave'; مَضِيْفَةٌ 'guest house'; مَرْعَاةٌ 'pasture ground'.
- (2) The 2nd root vowel fluctuating (strong roots): مَقْبَرَةٌ, مَقْبِرَةٌ 'cemetery'; مَهْلِكَةٌ, مَهْلُكَةٌ 'desert'.
- (3) Figurative sense: مَشْغَلَةٌ 'concern, worry', مَظْنَّةٌ 'a fancy place where one hopes something to be'.
- (4) Semantic differentiation: مَنَزِلَةٌ 'station, rank', مَنَزِلٌ 'stopping place, house'.

B) اِسْمُ الْآلَةِ 'nomen instrumenti' or noun of instrument³¹⁷:

Some nouns of instrument may also have *tāʾ marbūṭa* affixed.

- (1) مِفْعَلَةٌ: مِمْعَلَةٌ 'broom', مِكْنَسَةٌ 'broom', مِكْوَاةٌ 'hot iron'.
- (2) Doublet: مِرْوَاخٌ and مِرْوَاخَةٌ 'fan'; مِصِيدَةٌ and مِصِيدٌ 'net, snare'.

C) اِسْمُ الْوِعَاءِ 'nomen vasis' or noun of vessel³¹⁸:

Some words in this group may also take *tāʾ marbūṭa* in the pattern مِفْعَلَةٌ.

- مِخْبَرَةٌ 'inkwell', مِغْرَاةٌ 'glue pot', مِغْلَمَةٌ 'pen case'.

12.1.2. *Tāʾ marbūṭa* in men's names

A certain percentage of men's names are spelled with *tāʾ marbūṭa*³¹⁹. Yet they are masculine in gender, and in declension they are all diptote according to the overriding rule that "proper names which end in ةَ, whether masculine or feminine [are diptote]" (Wright I:243B, §309 cη)³²⁰: اُسَامَةُ, حَمْرَةٌ, طَلْحَةُ, عَلْقَمَةُ, قَتَادَةُ.

12.2. *Tāʾ marbūṭa* in confusion

This section deals with a problem of the spelling of a certain suffix and as such, it has nothing to do with *tāʾ marbūṭa*. However, its phonetic similarity *-a* or *-at* provoked the image of *tāʾ marbūṭa*, allowing people at last to spell with it. Since the words in question are by no means nouns or adjectives, there is nothing of gender here, and we do not go into details, either.

316) There are two other kinds of مِفْعَلَةٌ, one is *nomen causae* (see footnote 240) and the other 'noun of abundance' (see 9.4.2). Nouns of place and time are deverbal, while these are denominative.

317) Badawi, p. 89; Blachère, §56, p. 97; Buckley, 5.2.6c, p. 43; Fischer §79, p. 51; Wright I:130, §228. About 'noun of instrument', see 'vessels and instruments' (9.3.2 Note) and 'nouns of instruments or machines' (9.4.4).

318) Buckley, 5.2.7, p. 44; Wright I:149 §248. See also 9.3.2 Note for another pattern of vessel.

319) See Badawi, 1.12.2.1, p. 92; Blachère §60b, p. 103; Brockelmann, 1910:82, §66c, Anm.; Buckley, 10.2.2a, p. 120, 12.2.1 h-iii, p. 130; Fischer, §153d, p. 93; Ryding, 1.1.1, p. 120; Wright, I:107C, §191 (5), I:243B, §309 cη.

320) So the spelling in اِسْمُ الْوِعَاءِ (Buckley, 10.2.2a, p. 120) is a simple error. In passing, Wright gives اِسْمُ الْوِعَاءِ as a plural of اِسْمُ الْوِعَاءِ (I:197B, §303), while Fischer writes اِسْمُ الْوِعَاءِ 'the Ṭalḥas' (§102, Note1, p. 65).

12.2.1. **ثُمَّ ‘thereupon’ and its ending -a, -at, -ata**

Be it an adverb or a conjunction, it is known that in classical texts **ثُمَّ** ‘then, thereupon’ has a variant **ثُمَّت** and its variant **ثُمَّتُ** *tumm-at* (Fischer, §330 Note 1., p. 177; Lane, p. 351a; Wright I:293B, §367i). The third one perhaps originated in its pausal form³²¹). While TA has the three forms (31:361b), LA do not register the third (p. 508a-b).

In sum, three endings were employed in the past: *-a, -at, -ata*. This seems to have provided a groundless association in the spelling of the following word. Nonetheless, it is a solemn fact that the three extensive MSA grammars speak only of **ثُمَّ** with no reference to other variants (Ryding 6.2.8, p. 416; Badawi, 2.19.3, p. 296, 6.4, pp. 557-8; Buckley, 96.3, p. 856). This partly reflects a moderate judgement among modern writers toward being too conscious of etymology.

12.2.2. **ثُمَّ ‘there’ and its endings -a, -ata**

On the other hand, in the case of **ثُمَّ** ‘there’, each dictionary registers its own variants for itself, and one wonders what became of this adverb. For the sake of our argument, we group the data as follows.

- 1) **ثُمَّ** only (Hava, p. 72a; Fischer §284, p. 149; Lane, pp. 350c-351a; TA 31:361b).
- 2) with *-ah* (= *-a*; see below): **ثُمَّ** or **ثُمَّه**, in pause **ثُمَّة** (Wright I:286, §362w).
- 3) with *-ata*: **ثُمَّت**, **ثُمَّتُ** (LA, p. 508b-c).
- 4) with *-ata* (*tā marbūṭa*): **ثُمَّ**, **ثُمَّه**, **ثُمَّة** (Was: **ويوقف عليها بالهاء** ‘-a in pause’; p. 104b), or **ثُمَّت**, **ثُمَّة**, **ثُمَّتُ** (Mun, p. 74b), or **ثُمَّت**, **ثُمَّة** (Wehr, p. 127b).

When we think of **ثُمَّة** ‘a handful of dry herbage’ (Lane, p. 351c), there arises no problem, because its forms as a common noun are lucid, *tamm-at-un* in context and *tamm-a(h)* in pause. But in the case of **ثُمَّ**, the two forms will logically be: *tamm-a* and **tamm-ø*. Yet the phrase ‘in pause **ثُمَّة**’ in 2) and the note of Was in 4) clearly show that the spelling tries to represent the pausal form **tamm-a(h)*. Further, when we think of no need to add *-h* to this adverb (because it is not a feminine suffix attached to the noun), the sound represented by it is actually not **-ah* but *-a*: *tamm-a*. Namely, **ثُمَّ** in pause is *tamm-a*³²²).

In addition, there are two other variants **ثُمَّت**, **ثُمَّة**: *tamma-ta*. But etymologically speaking, there is no need to imitate a feminine suffix, and we are obliged to presume that an analogy worked³²³) to the variant suffix of *-ata* in **ثُمَّت** at some time in the

321) Was specifically states: **ويوقف عليها بالتاء** (p. 104b).

322) Also, various dialect forms, that do not lose final vowel, support this fact. For details, see Fischer, 1959:126-128.

323) Fleischer stated briefly: “Es ist also eine Verwechslung mit **ثُمَّة**” (1885:427). But he should have spelled **ثُمَّت**, because dictionaries do not list such a spelling including *Muḥīt al-Muḥīt*. About this, see Fischer 1959:129, footnote 1. Though Fleisch (II:68, footnote 2) seems to be against Fischer, Fleisch himself writes the same thing: “vu leur similitude formelle” (do.).

past.

Contrary to such a variation, two grammars of MSA take up *ثُمَّ* only (Buckley, “a less common alternative to *هُنَاكَ*” 88.8.3, p. 788; Ryding 3.1.2, p. 289), while Badawi refers also to *ثُمَّ* (2.5.5, p. 165; 3.1.3.1, p. 316). This means that *ثُمَّ* is the usual alternative to *هُنَاكَ* and, etymology set apart, that it got the status of being a standard in MSA.

When we ask ourselves why MSA writers could not follow the same judicious judgement as in *ثُمَّ*, the only conjecture would be that they needed a spelling easy to offer a visual clue to dissimilate *ثُمَّ* from *ثُمَّ*. In other words, *ة* served in *ثُمَّ*, while *ت* worked for *ثُمَّت*.

[Note 1] It was de Goeje, who revised the third edition of Wright’s grammar, that added: “To these demonstratives belong also *وَذَيْتَ* and *كَئِيتَ* ‘thus and thus’” (Wright I:268D [3rd ed., vol.1, 1896], §344). A little afterwards, Nöldeke widened the discussion, for he saw a demonstrative suffix *-t* (< **tū*) in: *كَيْتَ*, *لَيْتَ* ‘would that ... !’, *لَا تَ* ‘not’, *ثُمَّ* (= *ثُمَّ*) ‘there’, *ثُمَّ* (= *ثُمَّ*) ‘and then’ (1904:14, footnote 6). Now remember that *ثُمَّ* is a ghost word (see footnote 323) pace Nöldeke. Taking note of Nöldeke’s remark, A. Fischer expressed his opinion that the suffix was originally feminine *-t* (1904:873-874). Later W. Fischer (1959:126-129) discussed various cognate adverbs in modern dialects, but without a word on this point. To our regret, it is not known whether the ending *-ta* really goes back to the common demonstrative element, in spite of Fleisch who added *هَيْتَ* ‘come here!’ and *رَيْتَ* ‘many a ...’ (II:61, 68-69).

[Note 2] As we argued in this section, it is only too evident that Wright did not intend to note the sound **tamm-ah* by his spelling *ثُمَّ* precisely because this is neither a noun nor an adjective. So his spelling *هَ* **-ah* stands for nothing but *-a*. In spite of his contention that *tāʾ marbūṭa* in pause sounded *-ah* (see 6.2.4 *ult.*), it will at once turn out to be groundless, if its real sound is *-a* as in this case.

13. Further Studies on *Tāʾ Marbūṭa*

In a hope that scholars will find in the study of *tāʾ marbūṭa* a fruitful byway to grasp lucid historical stages that Arabic stepped till now, other scholars are sincerely expected to modify our result and add more to it, since a single study cannot squeeze a true image of something. We think we have checked what has the slightest in our concep to do with *tāʾ marbūṭa* to register scholars’ past efforts in quest of *tāʾ marbūṭa*.

But others are sure to find something lacking in ours. One of the most urgent is to search and collect *ة* in early documents, because what we could search was very limited. It will not be hard to fix the year of printing *تاء مربوطة* in the national textbook of Egypt. The feminine singular bears a good deal of syntactic load in the agreement of gender and number, but we did not touch upon it (see footnote 182) or on

the related phenomena in dialect studies. They will surely enrich Tā^o Marbūṭa studies. Lastly, it is to be hoped that part of our Tā^o Marbūṭa discussion (section 9.3) might happen to be a counterpart to that on the Proto-Indo-European feminine suffix, used also for a collective noun and for an abstract noun (see Luraghi 2009 and 2011).

Appendix: The Nabataean Script

A1. The cursive Nabataean script

In section 1.1, we stated that the Arabic script comes from the Nabataean cursive script and this interpretation is now generally accepted. But it took a time till everyone could have a look at the cursive Nabataean script³²⁴ found at Naḥal Ḥever (near the Dead Sea), since the papyri were in the hands of Y. Yadin who was preparing the publication of the texts. We owe the real cursive forms to Naveh who included, in Yadin's acknowledgment, the cursive script forms in his chart on the study of the Mandaic script (Naveh 1970:35 = 1987:137) and again in another chart of the study on a Nabataean incantation text (Naveh 1979:115 = 1987:156).

Hence Naveh could write: "Nabataean cursive, which has many letter forms resembling the Arabic script, reached a well-developed stage in the late first century A.D., dispensing with certain bars and assuming a ligatured form" (1987:157). At long last, we could see the papyri in Yardeni (2000) and the documents came to light in full by the hands of Yadin et al. (2002).

However, it is a pity that the papyri were found damaged very badly and that even photos cannot convince readers readily of the authenticity of the Nabataean provenance. In our case, seeing was not believing³²⁵. To remove this inconvenience, we should like to do what we did in the class. At a glance, students understood how the cursive Nabataean script chanced to be the ancestral prototype of the later Arabic script (al-ḥatt' *'the line'*).

Being cursive, this script is made up only of lines. The principle in writing is to write a word in one connected line, excepting some proclitics prefixed to the word coming next³²⁶. These papyri antedate the earliest Arabic script (6 C) quite a long time. The Arabs are supposed to have been exposed to this script, if not all of them.

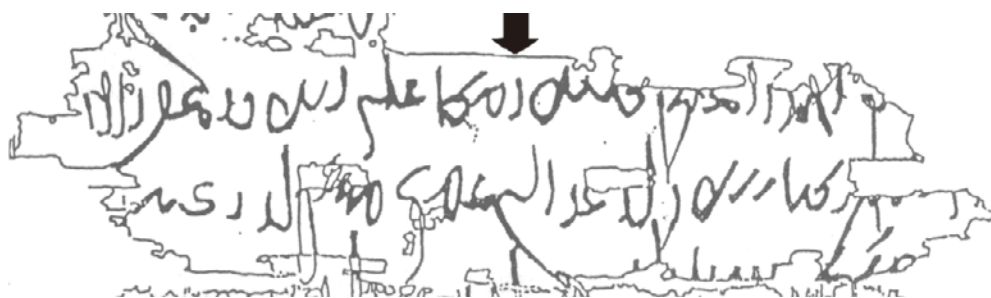
Ap1: 122 AD (P. Yadin 9 = 5/6 Ḥev 9) the **cursive script** on the papyrus³²⁷)

324) It was too early to include them in our article 'Arabic script' (Takashina 2001:42b-59a). What we could do was simply to add undotted Arabic script (*ḥatt*) for comparison in the chart of Naveh (1970:35 = 1987:137) with some scripts of the Aramaic origin (e.g. Takashina 2001:952 for Mandaic). EALL, vol. 1 (2006, 1:160-161) could include one photo of them (see footnote 325).

325) Plates IIIa and IIIb in the article "Arabic Alphabet: Origin" (EALL 1:160-161) reproduce the papyrus of P. Yadin (5/6 Ḥev) 6, but even with the help of Table II (Plate IIa) prepared by John F. Healey, it is frankly no easy task to understand.

326) The rule is the same as in Arabic, or Arabic inherited it from Nabataean.

327) Yadin et al., pp. 272-76; Yardeni, pp. 297-98. See also the bibliography referred to in footnote 4.



(II. 5-6)

- (5) ... ومطأ على إيه يوسف ديه
(6) ... كينا ديه ولما عدال عى عمك مددم لار عير ...

[Translation]

5) ... and came onto me, I, this Joseph

6) ... this writ. And nothing comes to me, with you, neither small (nor large) ...

[Comment] The text is written in Nabataean Aramaic and the Arabic script is only a transcription³²⁸). In Aramaic, an ʾAlif-like letter represents the sound of *hamza*. The Arabic transcription is given here to illustrate this cursive line (al-ḥaṭṭ) without diacritics as the ancestor of the present-day Arabic script. Also, please identify the letter form *hāʾ* which is later to produce *Tāʾ Marbūṭa*.

Only, we must recall that papyri or parchments are too fragile not to decay. This is why we did not know any text written in the cursive script until the first dated papyrus was found (PERF No. 558, 643 AD; see 2.1). On the other hand, this is not the case with inscriptions and graffiti, for dated inscriptions carved in the Nabataean script are known to exist until 5 C AD. Concerning the difference of letter forms between the two kinds of the writing material, Macdonald (2010:21) once explained by way of ‘writing in ink’ and ‘carving on stone’.

A2. The transitional group of the Nabataean texts

The period of records written in Nabataean Aramaic is generally understood to range 170 BC - 356 AD³²⁹). The Nabataean kingdom was annexed to the Roman empire in 106 AD as Provincia Arabia³³⁰) but people kept writing in their Aramaic and script under the Roman rule. However, with no cultural center now, the script began to evolve (i.e., change letter forms) gradually.

328) A forced interpretation in Arabic would be:

(5) ... ومضى على أنا يوسف هذا
(6) ... الكتب هذا ولا غدئ [عاد] لى معك شيء لا صغير ...

329) ATTM, pp. 40-41.

330) The provincial capital also moved from Petra to Buṣrā/Bostra in Syria a little after the annexation. In most texts in the transitional period (see just below), the year counts with March 22, 106 AD as the new epoch, termed sometimes the Bostran era.

Ap2: 1 BC or AD (JS nab 16, ll. 1-3) the Nabataean **classical** script on the rock³³¹⁾



- 1) dnh kpr^o dy ʿbdw kmkm brt w^olt brt ḥrmw
- 2) w-klybt brt-h l-npš-hm w-ḥr-hm b-yrḥ ṭbt šnt
- 3) tš^c l-ḥrtt mlk nbṭw rḥm ʿm-h w-ylⁿ dwšr^o

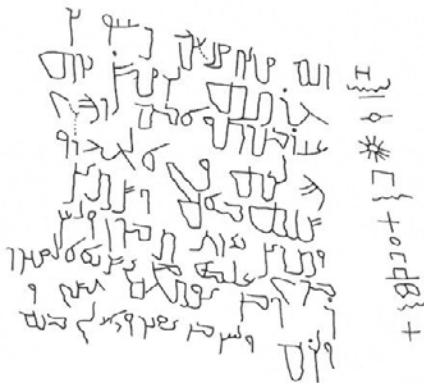
[Translation]

- 1) This is the tomb which Kamkam, daughter of Wāʾilat, daughter of Ḥaramu
- 2) and Kulaybat her daughter made for themselves and (for) their posterity in the month of Ṭebet, (in) the year of
- 3) nine (belonging) to Ḥaretat, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dušara curse ...

[Comment] The text is a typical Nabataean inscription written in the beautiful classical script. It is to be noticed that most of the letters are not connected, and each letter stands alone by itself. So the reader judges the word boundaries.

Laïla Nehmé grouped Nabataean texts into two groups (pp. 47-8): classical and transitional (between the Nabataean and the Arabic scripts). Based on the change of letter forms, she chose 3-5 C AD for the latter group (p. 48) and singled out some 116 texts as belonging to the latter group, out of which 23 texts bear an explicit date³³²⁾.

Ap3: 267 AD (JS nab 17) the Nabataean **transitional** script on the rock³³³⁾



- 1) dnh qbrw šn^c-h k^cbw br
- 2) ḥrtt l-rqwš brt
- 3) ʿbd-mntw ʿm-h w-hy
- 4) hlkt p(=f)y ʿl-ḥgrw
- 5) šnt m^oh w-štn
- 6) w-tryn b-yrḥ tmwz w-lⁿ
- 7-9) ...

[Translation]

- 1) This is the tomb (which) Kaʿbo son of
- 2) Ḥaretat made for Rqoš, daughter of
- 3) ʿAbd-manato, his mother. And she
- 4) died in al-Ḥigro

331) Taken from Healey, *Copies of Inscriptions*, H 16. See also Cantineau, II, p. 26.

332) See Appendix 1 (p. 65) for the list of texts and the map (p. 57) for their distribution, which include, among others, Hijaz, southern Sinai, northern Syria and the Sakāka area.

333) Taken from Nehmé, p. 69 (Figure 24). See also section A3.

5) (in the) year of 100 and 60

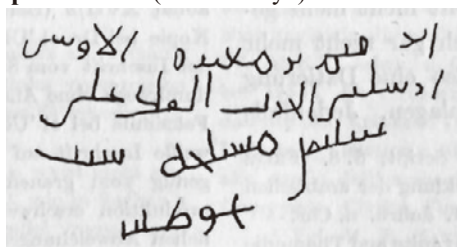
6) and 2 in the month of Tammuz. And
may he curse

7-9) ...

[Comment] This is the very famous bilingual inscription, for the text is accompanied by one vertical line of the resumé in Thamudic which was used in other parts of Arabia. The Nabataean letters are written in one line within each word, and as a result the script became more round to be connected to the next. Also the text itself betrays that the writer is an Arab, seeing that in line 4 we find the Arabic preposition في as well as the article ال.

The 6th century is when we witness some earliest North Arabic texts, that is, the script employed is now called the ‘Arabic’ script. Then it is to the transitional group that the earliest Arabic script on stones is related genetically³³⁴⁾.

Ap4: 528 AD (Jabal Usays) the **earliest north Arabic** script on the rock³³⁵⁾



(1) ابراهيم بن معمره الاوسي
(2) ارسلني الحرب الملك على
(3) سليمان مسلحه سب
(4) 3+20+100+4
ابراهيم بن مغيرة الاوسي ارسلني الحرب الملك
على سليمان مسلحه سنت ٤٢٣

[Translation]

The king al-Ḥārīṭ sent me, ʾIbrāhīm son of Muḡīra al-ʾAwsīy, in garrison against Sulaymān in the year of 423.

[Comment] We followed Grohmann’s reading in spite of other interpretations. The date 528 comes from 423 + 106 (the Bostran era, see footnote 330). *br* is the Aramaic equivalent to Arabic *bn*. Without this, the text is almost perfectly Arabic. Also, when compared with the transitional group, the letter forms became clearly cursive as if to defy the hard surface of the rock. This can suggest us that people made it a habit to write in the cursive script on soft materials. Otherwise, it will be difficult to account for the process of the development from the transitional (rock) to this earliest north Arabic script (‘cursive’ in spite of ‘rock’). Also, it deserves our special note that مغيرة is used here as a personal name with tāʾ marbūṭa, which we discussed in 9.4.3, 1). No other name in his lineage is more suitable for this person’s mission (footnote 246).

334) Macdonald stated once (2009:217): “in terms of graphic development there are not two scripts — Nabataean and Arabic — but simply one script, developing over centuries and used first to write the Aramaic language, then sometimes Aramaic sometimes Arabic, then Arabic”. Quite a beautiful reasoning as it is to help us grasp the situation, a script depends solely on the graphic elements. Though it is very difficult to tell the Arabic script from the Nabataean, we must give it a new name when the language switched. Or else, we can remark almost the same for the Greek and the Latin.

335) Taken from Grohmann (1971:16). See also Larcher, pp. 104-5 for the photo and other facsimiles.

A3. The Nabataean script and the dot

Cantineau stated that a dot is sometimes found on *r* to distinguish it from *d*, notably in JS nab 181 and 321 (1930 I:35). Though he did not state expressly, it was a natural association with the Syriac *r* (ܪ) which distinguishes itself from *d* (ܕ).

Nehmé checked this dot and found it in 12 classical texts and in 28 transitional texts, because by then many other texts were discovered in which this dotted letter should be read as *d*, not as *r*. In addition, this dot is often overlooked in earlier studies. This is evident when the new figure (Ap3 above) is compared with the earlier one (JS I, Planche XXV).

According to this check (Nehmé pp. 55-59), in both texts Cantineau cited (181 and 321), the letter in question could better be understood *d*. At the same time, in 3 texts out of 12 classical texts, Nehmé judged that *r* would fit the text better³³⁶.

So far as the classical period is concerned, using a dot as a diacritic mark is well grounded because the two letter forms were like each other (see the figure in AP2). Yet two things are very important, that the total number 12 is very small for the classical period, and that it was not fixed firmly to which to add a dot, *d* or *r*.

This dot continued to be in use during the transitional period, while the two forms (*d* and *r*) evolved separately. Therefore, the need of the mutual distinction decreased. According to Nehmé (p. 59), 28 texts still employ the dot for *d* in spite of the fact that in 24 texts (out of 28) *d* and *r* coexist each in a quite distinct form. In the case of JS nab 17 (figure Ap3 above), two dot-like points on line 2 are not artificial (Nehmé, p. 55). So the remaining dots (lines 3, 8, 9) all stand for *d*. Indeed the ratio of 28 against 116 transitional texts is not high, but again this is the story of writing on the rock.

As to the dot in the cursive script (diacritical points) on soft materials, we have no testimony, even if Bergsträßer had stated “their origins go back to the pre-Islamic period” (see section 1.2 *mid.*). If we are to conjecture the process, it might have been thus. The memory of a dot on the rocks prolonged in the mind of Arabs during pre-Islamic days. At some time, someone hit upon the use of the dot to alleviate the mismatch³³⁷ on the soft materials. Likewise, the use of a dot for *d* and *r* in Syriac might have been another hint, for the missionary activity in the peninsula is well known.

Even this speculation cannot explain the rapid spread of diacritics after Islam but for the extraordinary enthusiasm evoked by the new social and cultural milieu.



JS I, Planche XXV

336) JS nab 212, Ir3 and UJadh 398, the last of which may be either *d* or *r*.

337) Arabic has 28 sounds, while the Nabataean script had only 22 letters.

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338) Abbreviations are also arranged in the alphabetical order. When the pagination continues in all volumes, the reference is made only to the page, or else to volume:page.

339) Syriac words are transcribed in the eastern Syriac pronunciation, even if the original study uses the western one, seeing that the former preserves the original phonetic forms more faithfully.

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*) Corrigenda for *A Study on Tāʾ Marbūṭa (I)*, *JAIS*, vol. 18 (2020), pp. 59-108:

p. 71, section 2.8.

(2) ... لهم فيها فاكهة ولهم ما يدعون ...

(3) [يطاف علـ] يهيم بكـ[أ]س من معين بـ[يـ]ضـ[ء] لذة للشار[بين] ...

p. 78, end of 3.2. Add: But now it is certain that the fourteen ‘mysterious letters’ in al-Qurʾān had a fixed name in mid 7 C. For this, see 1.4.5 in Takashina (forthcoming), “Writing in Ancient Arabic Poems in *al-Muʿallaqāt* and *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* Translated by Ikeda”.

p. 107, 11.4.3. Quadriliteral.